History

S4

Student's Book

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FOREWORD

Dear Student,

Rwanda Basic Education Board is honoured to present to you this History book for Senior four which serves as a guide to competence-based teaching and learning to ensure consistency and coherence in the learning of History subject. The Rwandan educational philosophy is to ensure that you achieve full potential at every level of education which will prepare you to be well integrated in society and exploit employment opportunities.

The Government of Rwanda emphasizes the importance of aligning teaching and learning materials with the syllabus to facilitate your learning process. Many factors influence what you learn, how well you learn and the competences you acquire. Those factors include the instructional materials available among others. Special attention was paid to the activities that facilitate the learning process in which you can develop your ideas and make new discoveries during concrete activities carried out individually or with peers.

In competence-based curriculum, learning is considered as a process of active building and developing knowledge and meanings by the learner where concepts are mainly introduced by an activity, a situation or a scenario that helps the learner to construct knowledge, develop skills and acquire positive attitudes and values. For effective use of this textbook, your role is to:

Work on given activities which lead to the development of skills

Share relevant information with other learners through presentations, discussions, group work and other active learning techniques such as role play, case studies, investigation and research in the library, from the internet or from your community;

Participate and take responsibility for your own learning;

Draw conclusions based on the findings from the learning activities.

I wish to sincerely extend my appreciation to REB staff who organized the editing process of this textbook. Special gratitude also goes to lecturers, teachers, illustrators and designers who supported the exercise throughout. Any comment or contribution would be welcome to the improvement of this textbook for the next edition.

DR. MBARUSHIMANA Nelson

Director General/REB

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I wish to express my appreciation to all the people who played a major role in the editing process of this book. It would not have been successful without their active participation. Special thanks go to those who gave their time to read and refine this book to meet the needs of competence-based curriculum.

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Finally, my word of gratitude goes to the Rwanda Basic Education Board staff particularly those from Curriculum, Teaching and Learning Resources Department (CTLRD) who were involved in the whole process of in-house textbook editorial work.



Joan Murungi

Head of Department/CTLR

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UNIT 1

CONTRIBUTION OF THE MAIN ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN SOCIETY

Key Unit Competence: The learner should be able to explore the contribution of the main ancient civilizations of the world to the development of the modern society.



Introductory Activity 1.1

Using the Atlas, internet and historical sources of information:

1. Identify the location, occupation and expansion of the Greeek and Roman Civilizations in Europe
2. Present your findings in class.

1.1. Location, occupation and the expansion of the Greek and Rome civilisations



Learning Activity 1.1

Using the Atlas, internet and historical sources of information:

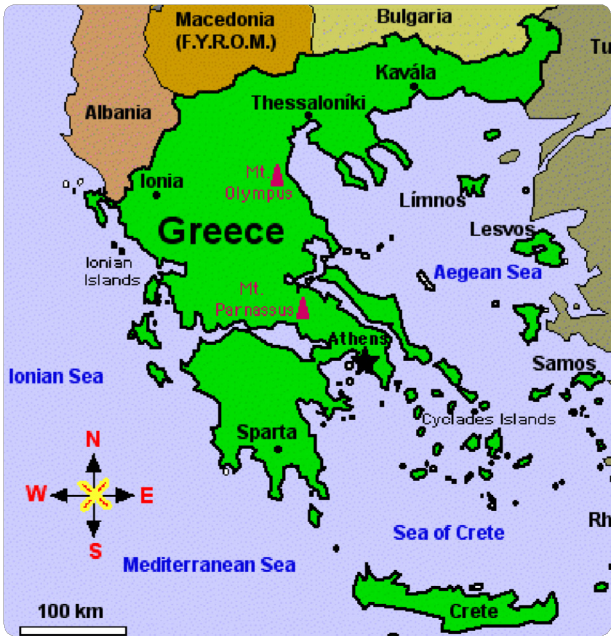
1. Identify the location, occupation and expansion of the Greeek and Roman Civilisations in Europe
2. Present your findings in class

Location, occupation and expansion of Greek civilisation

From the ancient times to today, the Greeks have called their land Hellas while they call themselves Hellenes.

The names Greek and Greece were used to describe them later on by the Romans. Superiority of Roman Civilisation made their names to stick.

Greece is to be found in a rocky, mountainous southward extension of the Balkans, on the east of Mediterranean Sea. On one side, the eastern shore lays the Aegean Sea. The Ionian Sea, facing Italy, is on the western side. To the south, across the Sea of Crete from the portion of Greece known as the Peloponnesus, is to be found the large island of Crete.



The whole country is stunning and very beautiful. It has over one thousand islands, the sea, the mountains and numerous fertile green valleys.

Only 20 percent of Greece is suitable for agricultural production. Most of the high mountains ranging unto 6000 feet, narrow fertile valleys and small to medium size but fertile plains such as those of Thessaly and Boeotia are usable for agriculture. Rivers are small and sometimes dry up during summer thus making farming a challenge. Nevertheless, most of her climate is mild and favourable for cultivation of crops such as wheat, olive and grape vines that could support the population of ancient times. As during the Ancient times, today, the hills and mountains provide pasture to goats, sheep and cattle.

Greece was founded on conquest. The area witnessed invasions from time to time from around 1900 BC. By the beginning of the eighth century B.C, The Greek Civilisation had taken shape. But it was not until the 4th Century BC that it became the common cultural currency of the Mediterranean and Near Eastern worlds. This was the time of the conquests of Alexander the Great's empire.

Human settlement in ancient Greece

Greece was invaded by various groups at different times. The decedents of these groups were the ones who were later to be known as the Greeks. They settled in the peninsula and evolved an unusual system of government for themselves on the hills and rocky coasts which gradually developed into city states.

Cretans

Their entry into the Peninsula began around 2500 BC and was first done by Cretans. One of their ancient kings was known as Minos. Theirs was therefore known as Minoan civilization, named after their king. The civilization was mainly concentrated along the Aegean Sea. These people are described to have lived well had hot and cold running water, bathrooms and possessed elaborate furniture. They are also said to have protected their valuables with metal locks and keys. Their houses are also said to have had plastered interiors which were decorated with paintings called frescoes, a technique of painting on wet plaster still in use even today. Cretans are further said to have been fond of dancing, boxing, racing and bull leaping among other sports. Lastly, they are described to have been slender, short and had dark curly hair and been a very peaceful community who were among the earliest sea traders in the region. Trade what was thus brought them to the shores of main land Greece.

Archeans

After the Cretans were the Achaeans who arrived about 2000 B .C. These groups came to dominate the trade and government of the area. Near the Sea, they met and interacted with the Cretans thus giving rise to a new civilisation called Mycenaean. This civilisation was marked by constructions of walled cities and development of bronze goods. They occupied Knossos around 1400 BC and ruled it until 1100 B .C hence making them rule the whole of the Aegean area.

Later the Bronze – Age civilizations of the Mycenaens were acquired by later groups. One of the outstanding groups was the Dorians. They invaded the area and overran Knossos around 1100 BC.

Dorians

The Dorians invaded Greece from the North and drove the Myceanaens off to Asia. At around the same time, another linguistic and religious subgroup known as Ionians reached the area. Around the 5th Century the Ionians and Dorians engaged in intensive rivalry in Greece. The Ionians mainly inhabited the city of Athens and even prohibited the Dorians from entering their sanctuaries. There was thus tension between the groups even though they interacted in various ways to give forth to the Greek Civilisation between 1000 BC and 800 BC.

The Greek city states that existed in the area during their civilisation included: Athens, Sicyon, Megara, Corinth, Thebes, Chalccis, Eretria, Boetia, Argolis, Phoxcis and Thessaly, Arcadia, Archaea, Aetolia.

These cities were involved in various wars. Examples of such wars are:

- Peloponnesian war (431 – 404 BC); and Corinthian war (395 – 386 BC).

The main elements of the Greek Civilisations

The Greek Civilisation permeated virtually every aspect of the human life. It marked a complete refinement of its predecessors that is Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilisations. Some of its elements were:

A common language

All the Greece islands spoke an identical language known as Greek. They were thus able to communicate easily with one another. The common language also brought feelings of togetherness among the islands' inhabitants.

Greeks had forgotten their diverse backgrounds. All of them considered themselves as one race. They regarded non-Greeks as barbarians- men and women whose speech was to them meaningless noise

The Greek language gave them a great advantage. It was something of superb beauty and clarity. The people closely associated settlement in city states with it. Greek was spoken and written. The language was also used for instruction in both private and public functions. The Greeks also had

a common alphabet. This formed the basis of the Greek language. In the 8th Century BC, they adopted a simpler alphabet from the Phoenicians.

Settlement in cities

City states were a major feature of the Greek Civilisation. Greeks lived in cities which were all independent of each other. Each city and the farms around it formed a separate state called a *polis*. Sometimes a city sent out a band of its citizens to found a daughter city elsewhere. The new city was quite independent of its parent city, although naturally it had close ties with the latter.

At first, each Polis consisted of farming villages, fields, and orchards around a fortified hill called an acropolis. At the top the acropolis stood the temple of the local god. At the foot was the agora, an open area used as a market place.

By the 8th and 7th Centuries BC, cities were built almost everywhere throughout Greece. All these cities were independent. The city-states forged alliances with one another.

Each city state was proud and jealously guarded its independence. This made them to be characterized by battle and shifting alliances. Cooperation among them also took place. The citizens were very patriotic. Where the enemy was non-Greek, the other city states came to the defense of their counterpart.

The city-states governed themselves differently. Sometimes they had kings for example at Sparta. Other cities were led by a self-imposed strong man who ruled the way they wanted. Such a leader is known as a tyrant. Sometimes the nobleman ruled, and this was called an aristocracy. Sometimes all the citizens took part in the government. This was called a democracy. It was practised in Athens. All adult male assembled together to discuss issues of interest to their polis. Other forms of government in the city states were: monarchy, oligarchy and aristocracy.

Ancient Greek city of Athens



Fig 7.2 Ancient Greek city of Athens

In city states were found the *asty* (city itself) with its watchtower, the *agora* (public square/ market place) and surrounding rural-agricultural lands referred to as the *chora*. The asty was the business, political, religious and social centre of the entire community while the Chora provided the food to both the villages and to the city.

Participation in games

In Ancient Greek, there was a strong belief that athletic competitions were a way to please the gods and honour the dead heroes. Greeks therefore participated in the Olympic Games from 776 BC. During the games, fighting city-states even suspended wars between them to allow the competitions to go on.



Fig 6.3 Myron's sculpture of a Greek athlete

The games were held after every four years. They attracted some 40,000 Greeks into the stadium built in Olympia.

The games were dedicated to the god Zeus, father of the gods. The games lasted for more than five days. Games events included foot races, wrestling, boxing, jumping, Javelin, discus throwing and chariot-riding Athletes were proud of their bodies and emphasized physical fitness.

A Greek by the name Myron, made a famous marble sculpture of a discus thrower around 450BC. This sculpture survives in the Roman copy of the Greek Bronze. The most celebrated event during the Olympic Games was known as the pentathlon. It was considered the supreme contest of athletic skill. Winners were crowned with a wreath of olive leaves, a coveted Olympic prize. The wreath of olives awarded the candidate was considered sacred to Zeus.

The Greek Olympic Games came to an end in 393 AD. They were banned by a Christian Roman Emperor. He saw them as pagan practices. But fifteen hundred years later, the games were revived through the efforts of a French baron, Pierre de Coubertin, who was inspired by the ideals of the Ancient Greeks. In 1896, the first modern Olympic Games were held in Athens, Greece. Since then, the games have been a major event in the history of sports in the world.

Belief in gods and goddesses

Ancient Greeks were very religious. Although most Greeks held similar religious beliefs, there was no single Greek religion. Each City –State worshiped its own gods. Officials within each polis took charge of feasts and sacrifices. Heads of families could pray and sacrifices to the gods in their own households.

Greek priests served as Oracles, or persons who could communicate with the gods. Greeks went to the Oracles for advice, which was given in the form of a prophecy, or a statement of what might happen in the future.

They believed in gods and goddesses. They had a common religion based on twelve chief gods and goddesses. These deities were thought to live on Mt. Olympus, the highest mountain in Greece.

The gods and goddesses include the following:

- Zeus – the chief god and father of the gods
- Athena – goddess of wisdom and craft
- Apollo – god of the sun and poetry
- Aphrodite – goddess of love and beauty
- Poseidon – brother of Zeus and god of the seas and earthquakes

- Hades – the god of the underworld – where the spirits of the dead went
- Nemesis – god of vengeance
- Nike – goddess of victory
- Apollo - god of archery, music, poetry, prophecy, medicine and later on god of the sun

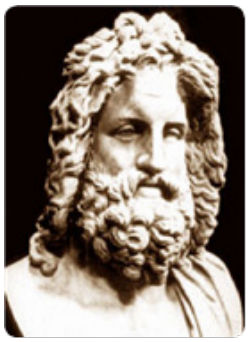


Fig 7.4 (a) Zeus



Fig 7.4 (b) Athena



Fig 7.4 (c) Aphrodite

Although the twelve gods and goddesses were common to all Greeks, each citystate usually singled out one of the twelve Olympian gods as its guardian e.g. Athena was the patron goddess of Athens, for example. Each polis also had its own local gods. These local gods, remained vital to the community as a whole.

Important elements in the Greek religion were rituals and festivals. The Greeks wanted the gods and goddesses to look favourably upon their lives and activities. This was what informed these religious practices.

Artistic heritage

The Greeks attached a lot of importance to artistic expressions. Their arts have greatly influenced the standards taken by those of other European groups.



Fig 7.5 Remains of the Parthenon in Athens, Greece

Human beings were the subject matter of ancient Greeks' art. In them, people were presented as objects of

great beauty. It was based on the ideals of reason, moderation, balance and harmony in all things. Greek art was shown in their unique architecture and sculptures. Here, they went to great lengths to show their expression of beauty. Some of these works still stand today. On architecture, their artistry was visible in the temples they built for their gods and goddesses. An example was the famous building built in the fifth century BC, the Parthenon. This temple was built between 447 and 432 BC under the supervision of Ictinus and Callicrates as the master builders. The temple covered 23,000 square feet.

It was dedicated to Athena, the patron goddess of Athens. The temple was also dedicated to the glory of Athens and the Athenians. It shows the principles of classical architecture: the search for calmness, clarity, and freedom from unnecessary detail. The Parthenon still stands on the Acropolis in Athens. Its classical beauty and symmetry symbolize the power and wealth of the Athenian empire. The temple was decorated with statuary and beliefs by the sculptor Phidias.

They also made sculptures and statues. Their sculptors, showed relaxed attitudes. Most of their faces were self-assured, their bodies flexible and smooth muscled. They were life-like as the figures bore natural features. The sculptors shown their ideal standards of beauty. Most were informed by Doryphoros, a reknown sculptor at the time, who operated on the theory that use of ideal proportions, based on mathematical ratios found in nature, could produce an ideal human form, beautiful in its perfected features. The figures were graceful, strong and perfectly formed. Their faces showed neither laughter nor anger, only serenity. Sculptors also tried to capture the grace of the idealized human body in motion. They valued order, balance and proportion in the works.

Love of philosophy

In the Greek society, there were thinkers who challenged the belief that events were caused by the whims of gods. Instead, these thinkers, used reason and observation to establish the causes of things. They were known as philosophers or lovers of wisdom.

The philosophers explored many subjects from mathematics and music to logic (rational thinking). Some were interested in ethics and morality.

Through reason and observation, the thinkers believed that, they could discover laws that governed the universe.

They based their philosophy on two assumptions:

- The universe is put together in an orderly way, and subject to absolute and unchanging laws;
- People can understand these laws through logic and reason.

Greek philosophers were divided into two. There were those who questioned people's unexamined beliefs and ideas of justice, and other traditional values. These were known as the **sophists**. The most famous of them was Protagoras. He took a position questioning the existence of the traditional Greek gods. Pythagoras also argued that there was no universal standard of truth, saying 'Man (the individual) is the measure of all things ...' These ideas were considered dangerous and radical.

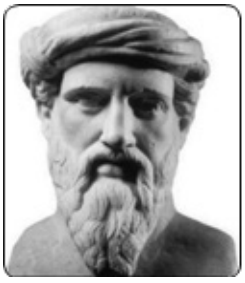


Fig 7.6 (a) Socrates



Fig 7.6 (b) Aristotle

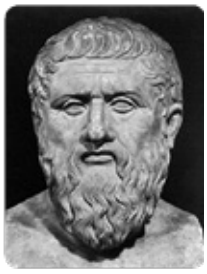


Fig 7.6 (c) Plato

Then there were critics of the sophists. One of their harshest critics was Socrates. Socrates believed that absolute standards did exist for truth and justice. He however, encouraged Greeks to go further and question themselves and their moral character. But like the sophists, his ideas were considered radical and poisonous. He was later sentenced to death over the same. Others were Plato (a student of Socrates) and Aristotle (a student of Plato).

Literature and drama

Athens led the other Greek city states in literature and drama. The latter was made up of both tragedy and comedy. Epic and lyric were other literary forms in the Greek world of literature. Drama is said to have developed out of the choruses that chanted lyrical poems also known as Odes, to

the god Dionysius. A group of citizens judged the plays and awarded the winner a simple prize: a wreath of ivy. The plays were partly acted and partly chanted. Action was limited as emphasis was on the story and its meaning. Greek literature began with the epics of Homer, whose stirring tales inspired later writers.

The drama was closely tied to the political and religious life of the state, which sponsored it. The Dionysian odes were improved by adding characters and chorus into them, making them conversational, hence being able to bring human conflict on the stage.

In the drama, staging remained simple. There were two or three characters (all male) wearing masks, with a chorus of twelve to fifteen members chanting commentary on the action. Dialogue was in verse, and movements were slow, solemn and formal, punctuated by music and dance; but the emotional impact of tragic drama could be overwhelming.

Aristotle is credited with the introduction of definition and explanation of the nature of tragedy. He declared that the purpose of tragedy was to inspire pity and fear in the audience, and so to purge these emotions through a catharsis.

Comedy, on the other hand, was even more directly a form of direct political commentary. It also addressed themes such as sex, farming, the good old days, the nightmare of politics, the oddities of religion and the strange manners of the town, among others.

Prose was another literary genre that emerged in Ancient Greek.

The people, from the fifth century, began to express philosophical and political ideas through prose. This symbolised the increasing functional literacy of mostly, the Athenians.



Fig 6.7 The Greek theatre of Epidaurus

It was in this background that later major literary achievements, by Plato and Aristotle, were to emerge.

Drama held a vital position in the public life of Athens that citizens were sometimes paid to attend the plays, just as they were paid to hold public office. As part of their civic responsibility, wealthy citizens bore the cost for producing the plays.

Writing of History

We owe the discipline of History to the Ancient Greeks. At first, History was part of literature until Herodotus campaigned for its separation from literature. The Greeks applied observation, reason, and logic in understanding the human past. Herodotus was the pioneer in this hence he is often referred to as the Father of History.

According to Thucydides, history was to be written in an accurate, factual and impartial way. He also vouched for the use of eye witness accounts in writing in this discipline.

Trade

Ancient Greeks were also seamen and traders. They traded with the neighbouring lands in a variety of goods. The Greek city states also traded with each other. Trade made the city states to be rich and prosperous.

In sum, the Greeks were ahead of other people in virtually all fields. Little wonder, Cicero, the Roman scholar is quoted saying that "in all branches of learning, the Greeks are our masters". He made this statement in the first century B .C. It still holds today. Even in medicine, astronomy and other sciences, they made their footprints. The Greek Civilisation spread to other parts of the world through education (literacy), trade and conquest. They built their civilisation from the wide array of resources which abounded in their environment. A few examples were marble, limestone, copper and silver. Coupled with the bounty of the sea, and fertile land, they had a lot of wealth and food which supported their strong and growing population.

Contributions of the Greek Civilisation in the modern world

Sports

In sports we owe to the Greeks the Olympic Games which are held after every four years. The games are today a global event which attracts teams from various nations in different parts the World.

Literature

Greeks pioneered drama as a form of entertainment. They performed plays which explored the struggles made by individuals to free themselves from the imperfections in their characters. The playwrights balanced their tragedies with comedies that poked fun at the important and the disliked. Some of the outstanding playwrights included:

- **Aristophanes** added his genius by using satire and comedy to make his points about society and politics of the time.
- **Hommer** believed to have been two people with the name to have written the Iliad and the Odyssey.
- **Sappho** brought lyric poetry as a genre.
- **Aeschylus** introduced ideas of dialogue and interacting characters to playwright hence inventing drama.
- **Sophocles** brought irony as a literacy technique.
- **Plato** introduced philosophy in literature through his dialogues.
- **Writers** valued and preserved much of the knowledge and writings of the past in libraries such as Alexandria, the most famous in the world.

Athenians led other Greek city states in literary appreciation. They are famous for their love and appreciation of literature especially poems and plays. The world today has borrowed heavily from their rules and habits for writing, reaching and theatre arts performance. Some of their plays are still being performed in different parts of the World today.

History

The Ancient Greeks are credited with developing history as a distinct discipline of study. Prior to this, history was considered to be part of

literature. Herodotus constructed a narrative of the Persians wars using critical methods and interpretative framework. Later, Thucydides (460 – 400 B .C) used scientific methods in writing the History of the Peloponnesian war. He used the analytic methods borrowed from science and philosophy in writing the history so as to produce 'an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the interpretation of the future.'

Philosophy

- Philosophy is the study of nature and meaning of the universe and of human life. The Greeks believed in rational explanation for the existence of the universe or wise people. They believed that truth was relative and depended on how one argued his or her case out not withstanding whether what was at stake was truthful or false.

The philosophers tried to understand humanity's relationship to nature, the gods, individual to another and between the individual and the groups of human society. Some of the most renown philosophers of ancient Greeks are. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, Epicurious.

Science and Mathematics

Greeks made most pronounced legacy in science and mathematics. Various personilities made numerous contributions. A few examples include:

Aristarchus of Samos living around 200 B.C discovered that the earth and the other planet revolved around the sun.

Eratosthenes discovered that the earth is spherical.

Euclid around 300 B.C, in his school at Alexandria, borrowed from the ideas of other scientists from Mesopotamia and Greece and developed the basic principles of geometry. Later other Greek mathematicians developed trigonometry. In schools today, students still study Euclid geometry. Euclid also noted that light travels in straight lines and described the law of reflection.

Archimedes (287 -212 BC). He was a student of Euclid. He developed various laws of physics. His discoveries included: the principle of determining

specific gravity and the basic principle of the modern conveyor belt. He is also said to have known the use of the pulley system and the lever and once used them to pull a loaded ship out of the sea and brought it to the beach. Today, there is even a screw pump which bears his name. Archimedes also defined a spiral

Hero living in Alexandria, around 100 BC made a long list of inventions some of which includes a fire engine and steam engine.

Hippocrates is known today as the father of medicine. He believed that sickness is a result of natural cause and not a product of god's wrath. He formulated the Hippocratic Oath which outlines the responsibilities of the medical profession up to today.

Herophilus lived around 200 B .C. He made several discoveries on how the body functions. The main ones were that blood is pumped from the heart through the arteries to other parts of the body, the pulse is vital in revelation of sickness, there exists a relationship between the brains and the nerves and lastly, the brain is divided into many sections, each with its own functions in controlling various parts of the body.

Thales of Miletus (640 – 610 to 548 – 545 BC) – He travelled widely and learnt a lot during his travels. Thales brought Phoenician navigational techniques into Miletus. He also revised the calendar, brought Babylonian mathematical knowledge to Greece and used geometry to solve problems such as calculating the height of pyramids and the distances of ships from the shore. Thales studied astronomy in Babylon and came back home and predicted the eclipse of the sun.

Pytharogras (569 – 475 B.C). He was a philosopher and mathematician. He studied astronomy and geometry before founding the Pythagorean cult. The cult was devoted to the study of numbers which they saw as concrete. As a mathematician, Pythagoras also investigated the ratios of lengths corresponding to musical harmonies and developed methods of geometric proof. In geometry, he developed the Pythagoras theory or Hypotenuse theorem that is still being used today.

Architecture

Ancient Greeks excelled in great architectural works. Most of the formulas they invented as early as the 6th Century B.C have informed the world of architecture for the past two millennia. They built temples, theatre and stadiums which are still the envy of the present world. We owe today our theatres and stadium designs to this Ancient civilisation.

Greek architecture still influences many people today. The US Supreme Court design, for example, was influenced by the Parthenon, the Greek temple to the goddess Athena.



Fig 7.8 Part of the United States of America

Supreme Court showing Greek architecture

Government and law

Greeks are credited for introducing and practicing democracy, system of checks and balances in government, equality before the law and active citizen participation in the civic functions of the state. They also brought the issue of political and civil rights which were limited to citizens of a city state. As citizens, people had their duties and responsibilities to the state and fellow citizens clearly spelt out.

Athens was the first Greek city to set up a democratic government. All free men were members of the government. They passed laws and were allowed to serve on a jury of its 30,000 citizens, 500 were chosen on a yearly basis to run the city. Those chosen were given stipends as token of appreciation for their work. The outstanding Athenian leaders who

contibuted towards the development of democracy were Solon (early 594 – 508 BC) Pericles (461 – 429 BC) and Alexander the Great (336 – 323 BC).

Art, music and dance

Greek art, music and dance have exercised an enormous influence on the culture of the present world. In art they made sculptures and statues of stones marble, limestone and clay. Drinking vessels were made from lumps of gold, silver or bronze, stamped with a geometric design. One of the great sculptors was Phidias who lived during the 400 B .C. He is credited with carving the massive statues of Athena which stood within the Parthenon. He also carved the great statue of the seated Zeus at Olympia, the site of Olympic Games – today listed as one of the Seven Wonders of the World. Other well known sculptors were Praxiteles and Myron who both lived in the 300s B.C.

On music and dance, Greek folk music and the ballad-like reciting of epic poetry. The Greeks created their art to look natural and realistic. The depictions of nature, humanity and noteworthy events of society were designed to please the public, support civic pride and to reinforce Greek ideals of beauty.

The Greeks civilizations as can be seen from these contributions left a rich legacy to the modern world. However, it equally had it flaws. Women and slaves had no political rights. Foreigners were also prohibited from owning land. These made the Greek system to be discriminative by today's standards.

Religion

The Greeks shared a common religion and belief system. They believed in many gods and goddesses. Their belief system was also made up of heroes and myths.

Greek gods and goddesses had human appearance. They also bore human characteristics and attributes. The deities, participated directly in human affairs according to Greek beliefs. In addition, the Greeks believed in oracles to tell the future and to give prophesies.

Today, religion is common to humanity. It is based on a system of beliefs just as during the Ancient Greek period. Belief in oracles is still practiced in games and sports and many other fields of human endeavour. The belief in existence of gods (or god), life after death, provision of sacrifices and offerings to god, command of divine powers over human life and observance of festivals and rituals in religious life, were evident in the Greek Civilisation. We owe these partly to the Greek Civilisation.

Belief in military power of a country

Sparta, was renowned for her military power. She built an army which proved fatal to other Greek city – states and beyond. War was glorified and every efforts was made to train boys to serve in the military. Today, all world states have developed their military along almost similar lines. A might of a nation is partly seen through its military capability.

During training today, like during the Spartan period, body and mind held a central place. The recruits and those in service have their bodies and minds hardened and shaped for war. This is also what took place in Sparta.

The Roman Civilisation

Location and foundation of Roman civilisation

The Roman Civilisation grew along the Tiber River in central Italy. It was mainly first concentrated in the city of Rome. This was after the Romans, conquered the Greeks in 146 B .C. They founded the city in 753 BC.

According to Legend, this was done by two twin brothers – Romulus and Remus who were abandoned on the Tiber River as infants and raised by a she-wolf. The two decided to build the city. By the end of the Fourth Century BCE. The city was already the dominant power on the Italian peninsular. For five centuries thereafter, Rome's power steadily increased. By the first century CE, it controlled Greece and most of her colonies, as well as most of Western Europe. It expanded her hegemony in these areas through conquest.

Rome also managed to take control of the powerful North African city of Carthage hence uniting the entire Mediterranean region. She also

controlled the Mediterranean Sea. At the peak of its powers, her empire covered Egypt, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria – all to her East. To her west were Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Spain, Portugal, France, Switzerland, Belgium and England. She managed to Conquer all these lands.

Rome's development was greatly influenced by the geography of the Italian peninsular. The area had excellent marble and small quantities of lead, tin, copper, iron (on the island of Elba) and silver in its extensive coastline. There were few good harbours, most of which faced the west away from Greece and the Near East. Ancient Italy, nonetheless, was well endowed with large forests. It had more fertile land than ancient Greece. However, it was more exposed to invasion. Invaders entered it easily, as the Alps posed no effective barrier to invaders from central Europe. To make matters worse, Italian low lying coastline opened it to invaders from the sea. All these made the Romans, from an early time in their settlements, to be absorbed in military pursuits to defend their own conquests against the invaders.



Ancient Roman Empire

Ancient Roman Empire

The geography of the Italian Peninsular made possible the rise of Rome. The peninsular extends about 750 miles from north to south with a width of about 120 miles. It is centrally located in the Mediterranean. The city of Rome is in the centre of Italy. This central location made Rome to expand, first in Italy, and later in the lands around the Mediterranean Sea.

Italy's location made it easier to unify than Greece. The Peninsular is not broken up into small, isolated valleys. The Apennine Mountains formed a ridge from north to south and divides the country into west and east. Italy was equally blessed by having broad, fertile plains, both in the north under the shadow of the Alps, and in the west, where the Romans settled. The fertile lands supported her growing population. Rome was built on seven hills and was easily defensible.

Occupation of Rome

The earliest settlers in the Italian peninsular arrived in prehistoric times. From as early as 1000 to 500 BC the area was already settled. Three groups inhabited the region and eventually battled for its control. These were: the Latins, the Greeks and the Etruscans. The Latins were farmers and livestock keepers. They wandered into Italy across the Alps around 1000 BC. These people settled along the Tiber river valley in a region they called Latium. They are credited with building the first settlement at Rome. This was a cluster of wooden huts on Palatine Hill, one of the seven hills in the city. Other main hills were Esquiline and Quirinal. The Latins were the first Romans.



Fig 6.10 Remains of the earliest human settlement at Palatine hill in Rome

Next to invade the area were Greek settlers. They arrived and settled in the area between 750-600 BC. They brought with them elements of their civilisation.

They established about 50 colonies on the coasts of southern Italy and Sicily. Their cities became prosperous and commercially active. They taught the Romans farming, especially how to grow grapes and olives.



Unlike Latins and Greeks, the Etruscans (or Rasenna as they called themselves before they were given the name Etruscans) were native to northern Italy. These people were skilled in metal works and engineering. They exerted a great influence on the Roman Civilisation. This was especially in writing, (where the Romans, adopted their alphabet) and which had been borrowed from the Greeks) architecture (where they influenced Rome's architecture, especially the use of the arch). The Romans are also said to have borrowed religious ideas from both the Greeks and the Etruscans e.g. from the Etruscans, they borrowed rituals which they believed helped them to win the favour of the gods. The Etruscans are also the ones who built the city of Rome and even gave the Romans their dress – the toga and short cloak. The Romans also borrowed their military organisation.

The Romans, from the Greeks, even took Greek gods but changed their names e.g. Zeus became Jupiter, while

Hera, the queen god, became Juno. They also gave Rome its artistic and cultural models through their sculpture, architecture and literature.

Application Activity 1.1

Use the Atlas, Internet and other historical sources of information to;

1. Identify the location, occupation and expansion of the Greek and Roman Civilisation in Europe.
2. Present your findings in class.

1.2. Elements of the Greek and Roman civilisations

Learning Activity 1.2

Using the Internet and other sources of historical information;

1. Identify the unique elements of the Greek and Roman Civilisation.
2. Write them down in your notebook and present them in a class discussion

Architecture

Like other ancient communities, the Romans paid attention to architecture. Their architecture borrowed a lot from the Greek and Etruscans ones. They also introduced new designs and materials in their works. The Romans, for example, pioneered the use of concrete in construction. Roman architectural works were hence an improvement over the earlier Greek ones.

Roman civil engineering and building construction technology became developed and refined. Some of what they built have remained to date for example, the Pantheon (with one of the largest single span domes in the world), a building still found in the business district of the present city of Rome. There was also the Colossium, a theatre which could accommodate 50,000 spectators. The pantheon was a temple of all Roman gods.

Roman architectural developments were found in virtually all the cities under its control and influence. A few examples are: the Verona Arena in Verona Italy; Arch of Hadrian in Athens, Greece; Temple of Hadrian at Ephesos in Turkey; a theatre at orange in France and Lepcis Magna in Libya among others.

The architectural works were visible in palaces, stadiums, temples, private dwellings, villas, public buildings and hydraulics. Roman architectural works emphasized grandeur.

Roman Aqueduct at Segovia, Spain

Romans are known to have experimented with the dome and pioneered in the building of amphitheatres, public baths, and race courses. In the empire, public buildings were of massive proportions and solid construction.

Roman architecture made use of rows and columns and rectangular buildings. They also used curvilinear forms (forms based on curved lines): the arch, vault, and dome. Combined with concrete, the curvilinear forms saw the Romans building massive building by their times.

Closely related to architecture was road construction. They made big strides in this area even though they did little in science. Engineering was thus their strength. The Romans built magnificent roads and bridges some of which have survived to date. Aqueducts brought water into Rome from nearby hills. The water was used for drinking and bathing. It also served as sewage system.

Law

The early Roman republic had a written code of law which was heavily based on custom. It was known as the '*Twelve Tables or tablets*'. They were written to make the interpretation of the law objective. Work of writing the law begun in 451 B.C. It involved a group of ten officials. Upon finishing the work, the laws were carved on twelve tablets or tables and hung in the Forum (market place). These laws became the basis for future Roman law. They were based on the spirit of equality of all citizens to the law. Every individual had thus a duty to protect the law.

Through the universal laws, they were able to establish standards of justice that applied to all people. The standards of justice brought by the Romans included principles that were recognizable by people. An individual was regarded innocent until proved guilty. Every suspect was allowed to face his or her accuser and himself or herself before a judge who was expected to weigh the evidence carefully before making a verdict. The Roman law was based on the following principles:

- All persons had the right to equal treatment under the law.
- A person was considered innocent until proven guilty.

- The burden of proof rested with the accuser rather than the accused.
- A person should be punished only for actions, not thoughts.
- Any law that seemed unreasonable or grossly unfair could be set aside.

Government

From the earliest times, the Romans had distrust of Kingship and of a sole ruler. This was due to the lessons they learned from their experience with Etruscans. As a result, the Romans devised a complicated system of government.

In the Roman republic, the chief executive officers were the consuls and praetors. Two consuls, chosen every year, ran the government and led the Roman army into battle. In 366 BC, a new office, that of praetor was created. The occupant was in charge of civil law. A counsul's term was only one year, and once elected, he could not be elected again for ten years. One counsul could also overrule or veto the others' decision.

The senate was made up of a select group of about 300 land owning men who served for life. It begun by serving as an advisory body to government officials. Later, by the 3rd Century BC, it got the force of law. Senators each year, elected from the patrician class two consuls. The power of the consuls was thus checked by the senate. Consuls' power was further checked by limitation of terms. They could only serve for one term. Membership to the senate was for life.

There were also a number of assemblies in the Roman republic. It was organized by classes based on wealth. This assembly was fixed in such a way that the wealthiest citizens always had a majority. It elected the chief officials and passed laws.



Fig 7.12 Statue of Emperor Augustus, Octavian

The senate was allowed during war, to elect a dictator, or a ruler who enjoyed complete control over government. The consuls chose him before the senate elected. Each Roman dictator was granted power to rule for six months. After the expiry of the time, the dictator had to give up power and go back to his former duties. This governmental set-up made Roman writers to boast by about 275 B.C. that they had attained a balanced government. This was because there was a blend of monarchy, Aristocracy and democracy. They believed that mixture gave them the best features of all kinds of governments.

When Rome became an empire, from the reign of Octavian, Senate gave him the honorific title of emperor. He became known as Emperor Augustus. This marked the beginning of the Roman Empire. From the date, Roman rulers adopted the name of emperor. But like before, they exercised the very powers as during the period of consulship.

Social organisation

The family held a central place in the Roman society. By law and custom, power at the household was vested exclusively in the eldest man, known as the '*pater familias*' or the father of the family. This individual had absolute authority over the family. He controlled all family properly. He could sell a member of his household into slavery or even kill any member of the family without penalty. The father was equally the individual who protected the family, spoke on behalf of the family in public assemblies or in law courts. He also acted as the family's chief priest.

Roman women were in charge of the day to day management of their families. Generally in Rome, women enjoyed more freedom than in the Greek society. They had right to own property and testify in court. They also often provided advice to their husbands on business and politics

All members of the family and by extension the clans, were supposed to uphold the principles of their ancestors, a set of traditions known *mos maiorum*. Traditions were considered sacred and were products of many years of experience

The Roman society was divided into classes. At the top was a group of families which claimed that their ancestors had been patres or "fathers"

who had founded the city of Rome. These families were privileged and belonged to a class known as the **patrician**. They claimed that due to their ancenstry, they had the right to make laws for Rome and its people.

The other class which brought together common farmers, artisans and merchants formed the **plebians.** They were citizens with a number of rights, including the right to vote. However, they were considered to be below the patricians. In the Roman society thus, birth and not merit or wealth, was the sole determinant of an individual's social and political status.

Voting when the Republic was founded in 509 BC was exercised by the patricians and plebians. Slaves, women and children were not allowed to vote.

On food, the Romans observed very simple dietary practices. They usually ate the first meal of the day at around 11 O'clock. It consisted of bread, salad, olives, cheese, fruits, nuts and cold meat which had been left over from the previous night's meal. They also had other meals such as breakfast and dinner.

Education

Formal schooling begun around 200 BC. In most of the Roman Empire, pupils began to learn at around age six and spent the next six to seven years in school. They learnt basics of reading, writing and counting. By age twelve, they were introduced to learning Latin, Greek grammar and literature after which, they undertook training for public speaking. Romans highly valued oratory. Good orators commanded respect from the rest of the society. It was for this reason, that one of the objectives of education and learning, was becoming an astute orator.

Language

The Romans' native language was Latin. This was a form of Italic language in the Indo-European family. There were several forms of Latin spoken in the empire. Silver Age Latin was the most popular. The language's alphabet originally came from the Greek one.

Greek was spoken by the well-educated elite. Most of the literature studied by Romans was in Greek. Latin in this area was mostly used by the Roman administrators and soldiers. Eventually, Greek replaced Latin as both the official written and spoken language of the eastern empire. The western empire used Latin. Later Latin was to spread in various dialects to Western Europe as a distinct Romance language hence giving birth to Portuguese, Romania, French, Italian and Spanish.

Literature

Roman literature, like, its religion, was greatly inspired by the Greeks'. The earliest were historical epics which told the early history of Rome e.g. Augustus sponsored the historian, Livy, to document the history of Rome from its founding to the rule of Augustus. He did this in 142 Roman style books. Generally, Latin literature took many forms.

The expansion of the empire culminated to expansion in the type of literally works.

Writers began to produce poetry, comedy, history and tragedy. Some of these works have survived in today e.g. "Histories" of Tacitus, Julius Ceasers' "Gallic wars" and Livy's "History of Rome".

During the reign of Augustus, the literature of the time is generally referred to as works of the Golden Epic.

Most literature of the "Golden Age" were vigorous, affirmative and uplifting. It mainly served political and propaganda ends. Whereas that of the silver age was characteristically less calm and balanced. Its effects, are said, to have derived more often from self-conscious artifice. Most were intended to entertain than instruct or uplift the mood of the reader.

Visual art

Roman art was greatly influenced by Etruscans – especially in portrayal of political issues. Greek art also influenced Roman art from the 3rd BCE. It surpassed the influence the Etruscans had exerted on the Romans. Many Roman homes were decorated with landscapes by Greek artists.

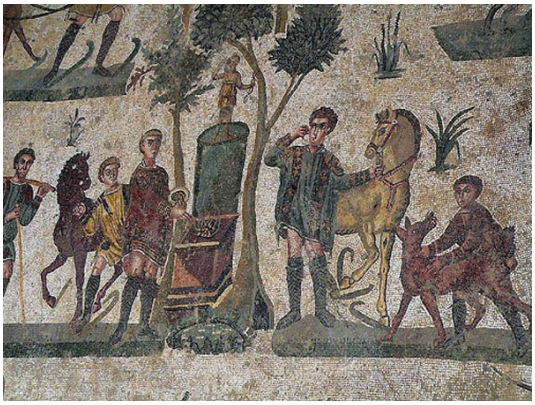


Fig 7.13 A piece of ancient Roman art

With time the Romans came up with their own styles. Some remarkable ones were: "Incrustation" in which the interior walls of houses were painted to resemble coloured marble. A second style involved painting interiors as open landscapes, with highly detailed scenes of plants, animals and buildings.

The Romans learned the art of sculpture from the Greeks. From the knowledge, they were able to create realistic portraits in stone. Much of the Roman art was practical in purpose. It was intended for public education.

The Roman artists were especially good in creating mosaics. These were pictures or designs made by setting small pieces of stone, glass, or tile onto a surface. Most villas, the country houses of the wealthy, had at least one coloured mosaic. Romans also made good works of painting. Most of the wealthy people had bright, large murals, called frescoes, painted directly on their walls.

Music

The society in Rome recognised and appreciated the vital role played by music in life. In the entire empire. They graced both private and public events with music. There was music during nightly dining and in military parades and maneuvers.

Romans used a variety of musical instruments in their songs. Some of the main ones included; tuba, cornu, aulos, askanles, flute, panpipes, lyre, lute, cithara, timpani, drums, hydraulis and the sistrum.

Economic organisation

In Imperial Rome, agriculture was the main economic activity. All else depended on the industry. About 90% of the population engaged in farming. Most people survived on produce from their farms. Additional food stuffs (when needed) and luxury items for the rich were obtained through trade.

From the time of Augustus reign, a silver coin called a denarius, was used as a medium of exchange. Existence of a common currency made commercial transactions throughout the empire. The coins often carried the likeness of the emperor or depicted a Roman achievement. A standard system of coinage developed in 269 BCE.

Transportation when carrying out trade was made easy by the existence of the Mediterranean Sea. Ships from the east travelled along the sea under the protection of the Roman's navy. Trade made cities on the eastern Coast of the Mediterranean to expand and become rich. Examples of these cities were: Corinth, Ephesus and Antioch.

A part from water transport, the empire had a good network of roads. Roads linked various places in the empire. The roads were originally built by the Roman army for military purposes. The most important were the silk roads, named for the overland routes on which silk from China reached the Romans. Other luxury goods also passed through the same routes. There were numerous trade goods which changed hands in the empire.

Religion

The earliest Romans worshipped powerful spirits or divine forces, called *Mumina*. These spirits were thought to reside in everything around them. Closely related to these spirits were the *Lares*, for each family.

Interactions with the Greeks and Etruscans, made the Romans begin to associate the spirits with human like forms and individual personalities. The spirits now got Roman names and were honoured through rituals. People expected the gods and goddesses to give them favour and ward off misfortunes from their midst.

In the empire, the state and religion were linked. The deities were symbols of the state. Individuals were expected to honour them in private rituals and in their homes. Priests also conducted public worship ceremonies in temples.

Polytheism or belief in more than one god, thrived in the Roman Empire. Among the most important gods and goddesses were Jupiter (father of the gods), Juno (Jupiter's wife who supposedly watched over women), Minerva (goddess a wisdom and of the arts and crafts) and Vesta (goddess of home). Emperor worship also came with the creation of the institution. It became part and parcel of the state religion of Rome. Priests were appointed to work for the governor.

Their religion depended on knowledge and the correct practice of prayer, ritual and sacrifice. They also never placed great emphasis on rewards and punishments after death. But unlike the Greeks, the Romans revered their ancestors, their "household gods" included deceased members of a lineage who were worshipped in order to ensure a family's continued prosperity. Each home had a household shrine at which prayers and libations were offered to the family deity.

The Romans looked on their gods to bestow upon their households, city and empire, with the blessings of prosperity, victory and flexibility.

There was religious toleration in the Roman Empire. This witnessed varied religious traditions. People were expected to honour Roman gods and acknowledge the divine spirit of the empire and upon meeting these conditions, they had freedom to observe their other religious practices as they pleased.

Sports

In the ancient city of Rome, there was a place called the *campus*. Here, Roman soldiers conducted drills. Later the campus became Rome's track and field playground. Other urban centres in the empire copied the campus in their centres and military settlements.

The youth in the urban centres, assembled in the campus to play, exercise and perform inappropriate acts. These acts included: jumping, wrestling,

boxing and racing, riding, throwing and swimming. In the rural areas, people also participated in fishing and hunting. Women were prohibited from partaking of these activities.

There were several ball games which could be found in Ancient Rome. These included: dice (*Tesse-rae or tali*) Roman Chess (*Latrunculi*) Roman Checkers (*Calculi*), tic-tac-toe (*Terni Lapilli*) and *Ludus duodeeim Scriptorum* and *Tabula*.

Philosophy

Roman philosophy heavily borrowed from its Greek predecessor. Two major philosophical schools – Cynism and stoicism – derived from Greek religion and philosophy became prominent in the Roman Empire in the 1st and 2nd Century AD. These two philosophies were fairly merged in the early years of the Roman Empire.

The two philosophies expressed negative views on civilisation, something which was reflected in their adherants way of life. Cynicism upheld that civilisation was corrupt and people needed to break away from it and its trappings while stoicism, on the other hand, taught that one must surrender all earthly things and assist others.

Apart from two phislosophical schools mentioned above, there was also Epicureanism. The most renowned of its Roman exponents was Lucretius (98-35B C). He expresses the view that everything is a product of mechanical evolution, including human beings and their habits and beliefs. He nonetheless admitted the existence of the gods but saw them as living in eternal peace, neither creating nor governing the universe.

Lucretius and Cicero led the other Roman philosophers in advancing Greek thought in the Roman Empire. Their teachings resonated well with the upper classes. Cicero wrote in a rich and elegant Latin prose style that has never been surpassed. His prose became a standard for composition and has been up to today.

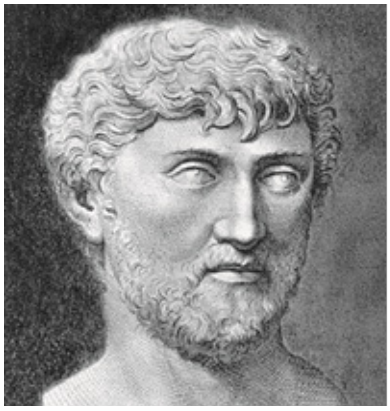


Fig 7.14 (a) Carving of Lucretius

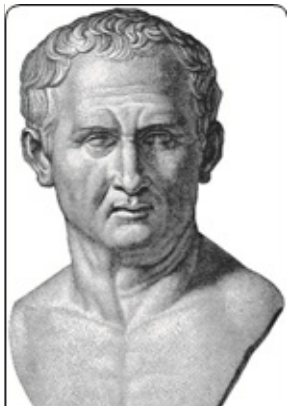


Fig 7.14 (b) A carving of Cicero

Militarisation

The Roman society was highly militarised. Citizenship for provincials could be obtained after 25 years of military service. The army doubled as an army corps of engineers. They built roads and other forms of infrastructure such as aqueducts.

Rome fought mercilessly with its neighbours. It had most of its male population pass through military service. This made it a highly militarized state. Even leaders had to have passed through the military to be accepted to lead. Political career of an individual could only commence after ten years of service in the military.

The Roman Civilisation spread to all the lands they controlled. This happened through trade and conquest. Its location along the Mediterranean region enabled people to pursue their commercial interests while their military nature, allowed them to register victories in their enemies' camps. Once they had brought an area to their fold, the Roman administrators helped to spread their civilisation in the areas.

1.3. Contributions of the Greek and Roman civilisations

Learning Activity 1.3

Highlighting Rwanda, discuss in groups of five how we have benefited from early civilisation of Rome. Come up with at least ten ways.

The saying "all roads lead to Rome" attests to the fact of Rome's contribution to modern society. They made countless contributions to us in virtually all the fields. Today, we use some of the inventions and innovations. The main ones include:

Christianity

Rome allowed Christianity to spread and flourish in her empire. Ideas about the faith spread easily inspite of persecution from some rulers and even citizens. Today, Christianity is one of the major world religions. We owe it partly to some Roman emperors. The same can be said on monotheism e.g. Emperor Constantine made Christianity legal thus elevating it above other religions. This gave it an upper hand. Rome thus helped spread Christianity to other parts of the world.

Government

Representative democracy was reflected in the Roman republican system. Senators represented groups of people thus bringing an element of democracy. The people's representation injected some checks and balances in the governance process. Power was distributed and not concentrated in one office.

This form of government has been emulated by governments in the world today. In a way too, the Roman division of their republic into three branches: the Consuls (who served as judges and army leaders) the Senators (who acted as political advisers) and the Assembly (made up of army members whose role was to approve or reject laws) mirrors the separation of powers found in democratic governments today.

Like modern democracies, the Romans through their "Twelve Tablets" had something akin to a written constitution. The rules, like today, applied to all citizens alike. They also referred to property, marriage, family, crime, theft and inheritance.

Architecture

Architecture is one field in which the Romans made great strides in. Their knowledge and skills have been acquired in the modern world.

Their architectural styles were evident in use of improved arches and columns of the Greeks; the rounded domes, sculptures, frescos and mosaics. They also used concrete, mortar and cement. This enabled them to develop some structures which have withstood the test of time such as the pantheon and the colosseum.



Fig 7.15 The Roman colosseum

In their architectural work, we are able to witness symbols of their power and creativity in mixing materials and creating masterpieces using new building techniques for visual effect and structure enforcement.

Roman engineering skills were also evident in the construction of aqueducts. These structures were made across rivers, and included large networks of underground channels which supplied water to cities and valleys. Later, through the aqueducts, households benefited from indoor plumbing, an efficient sewer system. Central floor heating or hot baths were also spread by the Romans even though they were not inventors.

Today all the innovations of Romans have made our life easy. Buildings, bridges and harbours and pipeline transport for water are in use in virtually every part of the world. The Roman architectural styles have also been copied in many parts of the world e.g. the US capital building, the Lincoln memorial and most state capitals in the USA.

Entertainment

Our idea for mass entertainment came from the Romans. People were entertained in the forum and in the colosseum, Rome's amphitheatre which had a capacity of accommodating 60,000 persons. Games were played, sports were held, musical and theatrical performances, public executions and gladiatorial combat performed. The colesseum's floors also hosted mock naval battles for public watch. Today mass entertainment is a feature of modern humanity.

Roads

Roman roads have greatly influenced our modern road construction. Some of these roads are still in use today e.g. *via Appia*, an old road that connects Rome to Brindisi in southwest Italy. Their highways were straight, plane and resistant to damage. Like today's highways, these roads use the most direct route to connect cities. In fact, several of the modern roads connecting what were Roman cities have followed routes that were chosen by the Romans.

Calendar

The Julian calendar (named after its inventor, Galus Julius "Ceasar") gave a lot to the modern calendar. (Which was reformed by Pope Gregory 1600 years later). The calendar is still being used the way it was in many Greek Orthodox churches.

Our modern calendar has retained the names of the months as they were in the Julian calendar. All the months' names are derived from Latin e.g. January (from "Janus", god of the beginning of times) February (from "Februa" a Roman festival), March (from "Mars" the god of war), April (from "aspire" meaning "open", referring to the blossoming of plants in spring), May (from "maia," goddess of fertility), June (from "Juno", goddess of women and marriage, hence the expression "June bride"), July (from Julius Ceasar himself), August (from emperor Augustus), September (7th" as March was the First month at the time), and, October (8th), November (9th) and December (10th month). The use of calendar has remained in today's society.

Meal system

Ancient Romans invented the three-course meal that is popular in the world today. Their meal was made up of starter, main dish and dessert. This tradition was prevalent in the empire.

Law

The modern world has also borrowed a lot from the Roman law. The Justinian Dynasty opened the eyes of the world to the need for legal reform. This had followed the Twelve Tables. But the ascendancy of the

Justinian dynasty saw steps being made towards reforming the Roman law. Beginning AD 528, a panel of experts was assembled by the emperor to reform the law. They came up with the codex, an updated collection of the laws. Later, the Digest and the institutes were completed. All these saw the bringing to an end of the legal reforms in AD 534. Together, these writings were called the "Corpus Juris Civilis" the body of civil law". They have greatly influenced law, first in the western world and secondly, by extension to the whole world.

Literature, philosophy and history

Poetry and use of satire in verse in literature were popular in the Ancient Roman Empire. Use of history to achieve nationalistic and patriotic ends was a major feature among Roman historian's works' Like today, historians equally criticized aspects of governance or regimes they felt took away the peoples' liberty. The Romans respected philosophy's contribution to society. They were guided by Greek philosophical schools. The Romans spread ideas of these philosophies to the areas they controlled.

Today, the world owes a lot in these three fields to the Romans. Even some of the books they wrote in literature, philosophy and history have been interpreted in other languages and are still being used today.

Art

Art was another area where the Romans have left an indelible mark. Uses of realism, idealism and revealing of an individual's character in a piece of art have their origin in Ancient Rome. Today, art is dominated with these qualities. We can also not forget the idea of beautifying homes with works of art in the modern society. This was also popularized by the Romans. Uses of frescoes and mosaic have also their roots in ancient Rome.

Science and mathematics

This is an area where the world today also owes something from the Romans. Although the Romans generally left scientific research to the Greeks, these were their citizens hence their contributions are treated as Rome's. In Egypt, the Romans left the Hellenistic scientists to exchange their ideas freely. This made scientists like the astronome – mathematician Ptolemy, to come up with his theory that the earth was the centre of the

universe, a mistaken idea that was accepted in the western world for nearly 1,500 years.

The Roman doctor Galen made advances in the medical field. He insisted on experiments to prove a conclusion. This medic, compiled a medical encyclopaedia which summarised what was known in the field of medicine at the time. This book remained a standard text in the medical profession for more than 1,000 years. The Romans are also remembered for their numerals numbers like: I, II, III, and IV, X, XL ... which are in use in education.

In addition, the Romans, popularised the use of science. They applied geography to make maps, and medical knowledge to help doctors improve public health

Currency and trade

Throughout their reign, the Romans maintained a stable currency and a prosperous international trade. Stability of currency and promotion of international trade, are today still vital economic issues.

Application Activity 1.3

Discuss at least ten contributions of Greek and Roman civilisations to the world.

End of Unit Assessment 1

1. Name any five gods of the Greeks and Romans and state what they were associated with.
2. What achievements is the Greek philosopher Pythagoras credited with?
3. Which language did the earliest inhabitants of Rome use?
4. Compare the achievements made in Greek and Roman civilisations.
5. Discuss at least ten contributions of Greek and Roman civilisations to the world.

UNIT 2

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE MEDIEVAL AND MODERN TIMES

Key Unit Competence: The learner should be able to examine the political, economic and intellectual progresses in the medieval and modern times.



Introductory Activity 2.1

Using textbooks and other historical materials;

1. Find out information about the religious life in the medieval and modern times.
2. Research with regard to Christianity and Islam.

Introduction

The medieval times was the period around AD 300 to AD 1500. During the medieval period, major developments were undertaken in different parts of the world. These developments covered all the areas of life.

Major developments were further to be witnessed in the modern times. The period begun from 1500 AD to date. Like in the earlier ages, modern humanity has equally made great strides in virtually all fields of life.

The Middle Ages saw two major world religions adopting their towering position over their competing counterparts. These are Christianity and Islam. The church rose in Europe in a period of the Medieval Age known as the High Middle Ages. Islam was to follow hot on its heels. The two religions attracted many followers in different parts of the world. The same has been witnessed in the modern times.

2.1. Religious life of the Christians and the Muslims in the medieval and modern times.

Learning Activity 2.1

Using the Internet and textbooks;

1. Research on the origin, spread and effects of Christianity and Islam in Europe and the rest of the world.
2. Summarise your points and write them down in a notebook
3. Share them in a class discussion.

Origin of Christianity

Christianity was founded by Jesus Christ of Nazareth. Jesus was a Jew who was born in Bethlehem. Upon attaining 30 years of age, he began his public life which involved preaching about the way God wanted human beings to act towards one another. He made many followers who believed in his teachings and actions.

He was the Son of God but born through Mary and Joseph. Jesus was born at about 4 BC at almost the same time Rome took over the Jewish Kingdom. He was thus both a Jew and a Roman subject. He was born during the reign of Emperor Augustus. Information on him is found in the four Gospel books in the Bible, which are; Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.

According to the gospels, Jesus grew up in the village of Nazareth in northern Palestine. It is said that each year he went with his parents, Joseph and Mary, to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover. This is a Jewish ceremony which commemorated the Israelites' exodus from slavery in Egypt. During the visits, Jesus displayed an amazing knowledge of religious matters which impressed Jewish scholars of the time. Jesus began to attract large crowds through his teachings, especially when word went round that he performed miracles of healing. This made his followers to equate him with the legendary Messiah or anointed King sent by God to lead the Jewish people to freedom. They even said that before conception, an angel called Gabriel told Jesus' mother that she would give birth to the Messiah. "He will be great," said the Angel, "and will be

called the Son of the Most High God." Mary's pregnancy was believed to have been supernatural. She did not conceive with Joseph because she was a virgin.

Paul of Tarsus, a Jew and a Roman citizen did much to spread Christianity in the Roman Empire. He travelled extensively in Eastern Mediterranean spreading the faith. The letters he wrote constitute the earliest Christian writings. His interpretation of Christ's teachings, which divorced it from following the Jewish traditions, enabled it to spread widely in the non Jewish communities. He argued that Christ had brought the one detailed in the Hebrew Bible.

Christianity was further buoyed by Emperor Constantine's conversion to the faith. The emperor made efforts to see the faith embedded in the Roman Empire e.g. through the Edict of Milan, all forms of religious worship were legalized in the empire. Constantine reached the decision with his co-ruler, Licinius. The Edict made the faith be granted imperial recognition in the Roman world. Many Roman emperors took to Christianity after the end of Constantine's' reign. The faith thus received official support, and spread in most parts of the empire – Europe included.

Spread of Christianity in Europe and the rest of the world

The support Christianity get from the Roman emperors greatly contributed to its spread in areas under Roman Ruler. Most of these lands were in Europe and to some extent Asia and parts of Africa. Christianity with the political backing from the Roman rulers grew rapidly with time. It was the religion of choice of people in various parts of the world.

When Christ died, the Church was thrown into a moderate inactivity. But the news of the resurrected Christ and then the Pentecost event, transformed disciples into bold evangelists. The disciples gave the church the solid foundation upon which later, apostles like Paul were to spread it beyond the Jewish lands. The church penetrated deeply into Europe, Asia and Africa, only those land masses and Islands which could not be reached easily by sailing ships could not be reached by Christian missionaries.

The history of Christianity can be divided into three periods – expansion, persecution and consolidation.

Expansion (30 - 65 AD)

This period witnessed spread of Christianity from Jerusalem to other parts of the world starting with Rome. They took a threefold approach at this time: ***Kerygma*** (proclamation of gospel message), did ***ache*** (further teaching and explanation of Christianity to new converts who had accepted the ***Kerygma***) and finally, the worship and liturgical activity of the early communities gathered together specially to celebrate the supper of the Lord.

Persecution (AD 65 -90)

The first period of expansion ended in 65 AD. By 70 AD persecution of Christians commenced. Life for Jews and Christians alike become unbearable in the Roman Empire. Inspite of this, Christians were buoyed by the belief in Christ. They soldiered on.

A host of Roman emperors led in Persecution of Christians. It began with Emperor Nero (54 -68 AD) then came Decius (250 -251 AD), Galerius (who was in charge of the Eastern part of the Roman Empire during the reign of Emperor Diocletian (284- 305 AD). There were equally those emperors who supported Christianity. The most notable one was Constantine (312 -337 AD). Others were Valerian (251-260 AD) Diocletian (284 -305 AD) and lastly Theodosius I. The emperors who supported Christianity greatly contributed to its spread in the Roman Empire which strode Europe and some parts of Asia and Africa.

During the period of persecution, the Christians were outlawed and hunted down like criminals. Many were killed due to their faith. Many Christians were undeterred by the persecutions and they remained steadfast in their spread of the faith. They produced written gospel literature during this time.

The presence of eye witnesses and the excellent clear memories memories of those times were sufficient enough. The recording of the teachings of Christ was partly necessitated by the disappearance of the eyewitnesses due to persecution of Christians thus making them disappear at an alarming rate. Peter and Paul, who were some of the disciples of Jesus Christ, were killed in Rome for their faith and another disciple by the name of James was killed in Jerusalem.

Apart from the killing, Christianity was also under the threat from new ideas and heresies. All this made recording of the story and teachings of Christ very important. It would provide a fixed, written definitive account, which would be available for the increasing number of converts. The Gospel of Mark opened the floor to others. Mark was the disciple and interpreter of Peter. He thus recorded Peter's preaching. Luke was also to do the same for Paul.

The Gospel of Luke and Mathew were written towards the end of A.D 96. Mathew had a Jewish audience in mind while Mark, had a Roman one. Luke on the other hand had a Gentile world in mind. He sought to put straight on Christianity amidst the hostility, false accusations and misunderstanding which Christians aroused.

Consolidation (AD 90 onwards)

The early Church survived the first persecutions and now settled down to the long centuries of consolidation and development. During this period, the church was growing rapidly.

By the mid-second century, it had reached the north coast of Africa at least as far as Carthage. This was a time for deeper reflection on the meaning of the Gospel as is recorded in John's Gospel. It was also time for concern about matters of order and discipline for correcting irregularities, both of belief and of conduct in the church.

After the fall of Jerusalem, the Jewish Rabbis (scholars and teachers of law) established a school for intensive study of the Torah or Jewish religious laws and doctrines at Jamnia about ten miles south of Joppa. At this time Christians were excluded from the Jewish Synagogues. In addition, there was no fixed Hebrew Canon or list of Old Testament books, already in Palestine there was popular acceptance of 22 or 24 books. The early Christians who spoke Greek used the Greek translation of the Bible (the Septuagint) which included the Deuteronomical Books (the Apocrypha). The New Testament document began gradually to be collected together and to be accepted as part of scripture with the OldTestament

Christians soon spread and reached far flung areas. Acts 2:9 observes that it was soon in the lands of Parthians and Medes and Elamites and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya belonging to Cyrene

and visitors from Rome, both Jews and Prosilyyes, Cretans and Arabians. These were people of diverse cultures but Christianity gained ground in spite of the cultural differences.

In the non-Jewish areas the early Christians did not impose Jewish traditions on the new converts. The Christian message was thus quite distinct from its cultural envelope. Christianity was established from roots in the Roman Empire before it spread to other areas.The empire was vast and quite expansive. It stretched from Spain in the west to Armenia in the East, from Britain in the North to Egypt in the South.

Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian Empire around 4th Century BC, saw Christianity reach new lands. Pax Romana (Peace brought by Romans) gained a foothold in virtually all the areas where the Roman rule was experienced. They also brought law and order, which enabled harmony and prosperity to be a regular feature in the areas.

Jesus Christ's command to his followers to "Go into the world and preach a Gospel to every creature" has greatly informed the spread of Christianity. The command has been accomplished through missionary work from the medieval to modern era.

Missionary activity became fully established in Asia in the 13th and the 14th centuries. John of Montecorvino (1247 -1328) was among the earliest missionaries to spread Christianity in India and China. He belonged to the order of Franciscans hence strictly followed the teachings of St Francis of Assisi. John took time to spread the faith in the Madras region of India.

Later he travelled to Beijing in China. Through the efforts of Missionaries, the Catholic Church was already establishing a foothold in Japan by the 1500s. The Jesuits (members of a Catholic group called the Society of Jesus) were a powerful force in the Missionary work in Asia and New World.

In the New World, Spain and Portugal led in missionary activity. Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries had a strong preserve in Latin America. They evangelized to the Maya, Aztecs Inca and other Native American groups.

Like it was later to happen in Africa and in most of Latin America, the flag followed the cross. Christianity was thus intertwined with Imperialism.

Through this, the whole of the American continent witnessed the spread of the faith.

Europe saw the emergence of Monasteries. These greatly helped in the spread of Christianity in the continent. Monks and nuns (the latter lived in converts) were actively involved in spreading the faith in Europe. Priests also joined them. The three groups were responsible for the development of the Church after the fall of the Roman Empire. A few examples of personalities who contributed to this area: St. Patrick who set out to convert people in Ireland; Pope Gregory I who in 597 AD decided to send Christianity to England.

The English King's Conversion to Christianity made the subjects to follow suit over the next century, most of England became Christian. Conversion of England owed more to Irish monks. In Eastern Europe, in the 700s and 800s, Roman Catholic monks competed with orthodox missionaries to convert the Slavic. Through the initiation of Kings and rulers, Christianity was spread by missionaries to Bohemia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Russia and Prussia. This made the Celtic Germanic and Slavic people.

Netherland and Germany saw St Boniface spread the faith in the areas. The people embraced the message of both hope and fear that the Christians brought. This with time made most parts of Europe to adopt the faith.

The church divided in 451 AD into oriental Orthodoxy and Chalcedonian Christianity. The latter further divided into the Roman Catholic Church division in 1054. Later, in the 1500s the protestant Reformation created new Christian communities that saw further division of the Catholic Church into different denominations. The spread of Christianity was greatly facilitated by the explorations which took place from the Renaissance onwards. Crusades which were waged by Europeans enabled the faith to spread to several non-Christian lands, mostly those with Muslims in Europe and beyond.

Origin, Spread and effects of Islam in Europe and the rest of the World

Islam sprang up in Palestine alongside Christianity and Judaism. The three religions are interlinked and all worship one God, though with different names. In historical terms, Islam is the youngest of the three. The word

Islam means submission to Allah (Arabic word for God). The followers of Islam are known as Muslims (ones who submit).

The birth of Muhammad

Muhammad was born in Mecca around AD. 570. In his youth, he worked as a shepherd among the Bedouin Arabs. Later, he led caravans across the desert and became a successful merchant at the age of 25. He married Khadija, a wealthy widow who ran a prosperous caravan business.

Muhammad received a series of spiritual revelations from God. These were to form the religious basis of Islam. He met with opposition to the new faith but managed to place it upon firm foundations. The prophet was very religious.

He often went to a cave outside Mecca to quietly contemplate spiritual matters. At about the age of 40, he had a spiritual vision. While meditating in the cave, an angel spoke to him. Angel Gabriel was communicating with him. This happened from time to time and Muhammad discussed it with his wife Khadija and close friends. These people accepted the seriousness and truthfulness of the revelations. They were later written and are today what are contained in the Quran, the Muslim holy book.

Muhammad started to convey the content of some of his revelations to a wider public around AD 613. Some people found the message appealing, particularly that a single god was the source of all power and goodness in the world. The message was especially attractive to the poor and those who were not in power. It was attractive because it transcended tribal groupings hence a challenge to the tribal leaders.

Spread of Islam

Islam spread rapidly in Europe, Middle East, other parts of Asia and Africa.

Muhammad and his followers spread the faith by conquest and persuasion. The prophet organised his community in Medina into the *Umma* which means the community of the faithful. He led daily prayers and saw to the economic welfare of the community. Of particular interest in his focus was provision of relief for orphans, widows and the poor.

It was at Medina that the tenets of the faith were more fully articulated. The community organised raids on merchant caravans on their way to Mecca.

After the sojourn in Medina, the prophet and his followers returned to Mecca in 630 CE. They attacked and conquered the city. As a result, they forced its inhabitants to embrace Islam. All the pagan shrines were destroyed and replaced with mosques, except for the Ka'ba. The Ka'ba was retained as a symbol of greatness of Mecca and a place for yearly pilgrimage for Muslims. They denied the Ka'ba housed a deity as the pagans had believed. By 632, Arabia fell into the hands of the Muslim. Prophet Muhammad died in the same year.

After the death of Prophet Muhammad, Abu Bakr, the first caliph, took the mantle of leadership. He was not a prophet but the head of state and chief judge, religious leader, and military commander. Bakr led fierce battles on the groups which renounced Islam after the death of the prophet. This made the faith to spread rapidly into even new lands. His armies conquered the Byzantium and Sassanid empires, both of which had been weakened by fighting one another.

Upon Abu Bakr's death, a new caliph took over. This one and two others followed in the mould of Abu Bakr. They expanded the territory under Islamic control as they made one success after the other in their quest for expansion. The period of the first four caliphs lasted from 632-661 CE. In 636 CE Arab armies conquered Syria, took Jerusalem in 638 CE and by 646 CE had overrun most of Egypt. Iraq fell from the Sassanid Empire in 651 thus officially bringing to a close the 400-year-old Sassanid Empire.

During the summer of 622 several hundred of Muhammad's followers fled from Mecca to Yatrib. The year 622, called *Anno Hegira (=hijra ="immigration")* or *"The year of the Flight"*, became the first year of the Muslim calendar. Yatrib became *Medina al Munawara, "the City of the Prophet"*. From Medina, Muslims launched attacks on Meccan caravan and defeated the Meccans in battle. Finally, in 630, Muhammad returned in triumph to Mecca; where he destroyed the idols in the Kaaba and dedicated the black stone to Allah.

In 632 AD, after 10 years, Muhammad fell ill and died. He had been followed by the leader called Khalifa or Caliph, Successor. The first Khalifa was Abu Bakar, Muhammad's father – in- law. The Khalifa ruled from Medina. The Mecca in Saudi Arabia became the holy city of Islam.

The Islamic forces were not contended with the gains they had made upto 651. In 711 CE, they took the Hindu kingdom of Sind. Between 711 and 718 CE, Islamic forces moved into Iberia (Spain). They conquered the Peninsular and had their eyes focused on Gaul (France). All the conquered territories were ruled with efficiency and flexibility from a central location. Converts were numerous and came from diverse backgrounds. To get revenue, the Islamic rulers imposed a head tax on nonMuslims. The tax was called the "Jizya". Jews and Christians were tolerated in the Islamic empire but were taxed.

Later divisions over leadership rocked the Islamic community. The main one came in the acceptance of the caliphs. A group recognized all caliphs regardless of their descent from prophet Muhammad while the other refused to accept (recognize) the caliphs without blood relations to prophet Muhammad. The former became known as Sunni Muslims while the latter were Shi'a. The Sunni were the majority. These internal divisions weakened the Muslims that by early 11th Century, they were vulnerable to Turkish peoples' attacks from central Asia. The Turks brought to an end the Islamic Abbasid dynasty. They embraced Islam but took control of some of the lands which previously had fallen into the hands of the Muslims.

Factors that led to the rapid spread of Islam

There were various factors that contributed to the rapid spread of Islam. The main ones were:

Prophet Muhammad's military expeditions: The prophet was a good military organiser. He led his army from Medina to many successful excursions in Mecca and other areas, for example at Badr in 624 AD, the battle of Uhad in 625 AD and Ditch in 627AD. These victories made Muhammad to gain prestige and trust of many in the region. Many tribes entered into agreement with him. Such groups had no alternative but to accept Islam. Other than Mecca, the Arab armies easily conquered the Middle East and imposed their religion on these areas.

Signing of treaty between Muhammad and Mecca AD in 628: He signed a treaty with the Meccans which brought the status of his community at par with Mecca. This was further helped by his taking control of Mecca by AD 630, with little resistance from its inhabitants.

Role of merchants: Muslim merchants spread their religion during their commercial activities in other areas. Islam thus easily spread along the busy trade routes of western Arabia.

The Hajj ceremonies: Every Muslim, as we have already learnt, was expected to make a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime. This ceremony brought Muslims from various places together. It bound them and made them to put all efforts at spreading the faith.

Establishment of a federation of Arab tribes: Muhammad managed to create a federation of Arab tribes before he died. This federation strengthened the tribe and enabled them to defeat the Eastern Roman Empire and later the Persian Empire. With time, it controlled the lands between Libya and Persia. The federation transformed itself into the Arab empire which was instrumental in spreading the faith to the whole region.

Organisation of the Arab empire: The empire was structured in such a way that it had a successor who took over from Prophet Muhammad. This person was known as Caliph. The individual was the Caliph of the prophet of Allah, Muhammad. During the prophet's lifetime, people close to him and ready to protect him (known as companions) were the ones who upon his death, held the office of the Caliph. The first was Sayyidina Abu Bakr who was regularly asked by the prophet to lead the prayers in the Grand Mosque whenever he was unable to do so.

He thus assumed leadership upon the prophet's death. Caliphs were behind the successful defences and offensive raids to those perceived to be enemies of Islam after the death of Prophet Muhammad. For example, Caliph Abu Bakr was said to have sent expeditions against rebellious tribes where the tribes were warned before hand to abandon the rebellious and embrace Islam and only those who refused were attacked.

He assigned the task of attacking the enemies of Islam to able military commanders who managed to bring Islam to Persia, Syria, Yemen and

Iraq. By the time he died in AD 634, he had tried to bring the whole of the Arabian Peninsula to Islam's fold. This fete was later achieved by his successor, Sayyidina Umar. These leaders ran a bureaucratic system with well-defined offices. There were officers managing all vital sectors including treasury, military and administration.

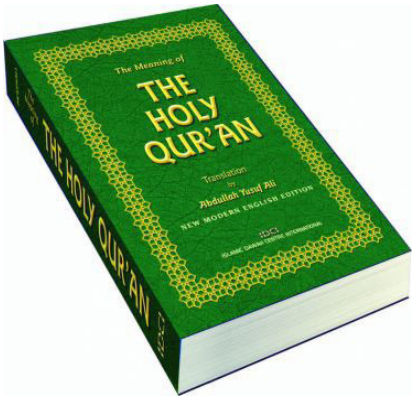
Decline of the Eastern Roman and Persian empires: The fall of the Byzantine (Eastern Roman Empire) and Persian Empire created a power vacuum which was easily filled by Islam.

The Islam caliphs used bases from these empires to spread further into territories that were formerly under their control. Through this, they controlled Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan, France, Spain and Pakistan among others. In each of these areas, serious efforts were made to convert the inhabitants to Islam by all means. The two empires were said to have registered weak resistance because their armies were exhausted by the time the Arab army faced them. Many inhabitants of these empires welcomed the Arabs as liberators from the harsh Byzantine or Persian rule.

Use of a mixture of force and diplomacy to win converts: Muslims used jihads and diplomacy to spread the faith. Minorities in the conquered territories readily embraced Islam. Force which involved using jihads was employed on large un-cooperative groups. The Muslim traders used diplomacy to spread Islam. The merchants spread Islam to West and East Africa, Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines. There were numerous instances where people from these areas were impressed by the apparent complexity and excellence of the Islamic culture thereby getting attracted to the religion.

Intermarriages between Muslims and non-Muslims: Muslims easily married non-Muslims. The latter were required to accept the Islamic faith. Those who married Muslims were nonetheless not required to abandon their customs instantly. The converts were allowed a slow Islamisation that took several generations to develop to universal Islamic standards. Intermarriages thus helped to spread the Islamic faith.

Teachings of the Quran: The teachings of the Quran also contributed to the rapid spread of Islam. Arabs were passionate in their new faith. This was strengthened by the teachings of the Quran which held that wars fought for God were just. A warrior killed in a jihad or holy war, was promised immediate entry into paradise.



Quran is the Muslims' holy book

With this belief, Muslims rushed fearlessly into battle hence crushing the enemy forces in battle. Islam thus closely knit its followers together regardless of inter-tribal or other inherent differences among the members. Added to the simple and direct message, it had no religious hierarchy or class of priests. In principle, it vouched for equality of all believers regardless of sex, race, class or wealth. This was appealing to many people.

The nature of the Arabian Peninsula: The arid Arabian Peninsula was densely populated in the AD 600s. Arab armies were full of warriors eager to move into less populated lands. As new converts accepted Islam, their numbers swelled making them register easy victories against their enemies.

Good military tactics and equipment: Comparatively, Arab armies were bold and used efficient fighting methods. They were also well-equipped.

The Bedouin camel and horse cavalry mounted aggressive and mobile offensives which overwhelmed many armies in the region. There were, however, some areas where Islam was met with resistance. It was unable to establish a strong foothold in India, while in Europe, it withered after some time.

Application Activity 2.1

Go to library and look for history books on European history and find out how Christianity and Islam rose and spread in the World

2.2 Changes brought by Christianity and Islam

Learning Activity 2.2

Using the Internet and textbooks;

1. Research on the changes brought by Christianity and Islam in Europe and the rest of the world
2. Summarize your points and write them down in a notebook
3. Share them in a class discussion.

Effects of Christianity in Europe and the rest of the world

Christianity gained a foothold in Europe and later the rest of the world. Originally a Jewish based faith; it was embraced by many non-Jews in Europe, Asia and later other lands. Its effects in Europe include the following:

Emergence of monotheism

Previously communities were polytheists. It was Christianity which brought the belief in one supreme God. It preached against the existence of many gods and goddesses. The Christian God was all-powerful and was believed to have been the creator of everything in the universe and beyond. The God also controlled the world and its inhabitants.

Belief in salvation

Christianity brought individualism in humanity's relationship with God. An individual was required to receive salvation in order to enter the heavenly kingdom. This was to be seen in ones' behaviour both to God and secondly, to fellow human beings. Good behaviour thus became a practice in society.

Promotion of justice in society

The pillar of Christ's teachings was justice. All Christians were expected to be just in all their dealings. As a result, Christians developed a just society where the interests of all were respected.

Promotion of equality in society

Christians did not tolerate discrimination. Discrimination of women slaves, non-Jews and later racism, was not encouraged. People were treated as equals in spite of their differences.

Promotion of social services

Christians strongly believed in serving others. From an early time, Christian monks and nuns traversed different parts of the world spreading spiritual, physiological and mental food. They spearheaded provision of medical, educational and other social services in lands where they spread their faith. In Africa and many parts of Asia, it was the missionaries who opened up services. In both the Middle Ages and later, education became a path for upward mobility and employment. This was first done by Cathedral schools which later developed into universities e.g. University of Paris.

Development of infrastructure

Christianity played a big role in infrastructural development. Roads and buildings were constructed in different parts of the world courtesy of the missionaries. Christians travelled to remote areas which were lacking infrastructure. They helped stimulate the making of such areas accessible. Christianity's working closely with government from the Roman era into the later years made infrastructural development possible. Christians also pioneered the development of new architectural designs. Some of these were especially noticeable in the church development. For example Gothic architecture in France. This style is noted for vertical height, flying arches and supporting buttresses. There were many Gothic Cathedrals in different parts of Europe.

Promotion of Western culture

Originally, Christianity was Jewish in cultural orientation. This however changed when most of Europe embraced the faith. The western world gave Christianity some aspects of its culture. These came to be part and parcel of the faith. Today, most of these cultural practices have been adopted by Christians in different parts of the world. Christianity equally evolved its unique culture, e.g., it came up with the Eucharist – these involved converts taking the blessed bread and wine. It was a symbol of God's sacrifice for unity with his people.

Encouragement of trade and urbanisation

During the crusades, Christians evolved commercial relations with the Muslim states they waged the war against. Mostly, the crusades stimulated the demand for luxury goods. Population of towns increased thus leading to rapid urbanization.

Adoption of new ideas

The interaction between the Christians and Muslim groups during the crusades enabled Muslim ideas to find their way in Europe. In an equal measure, western ideas found their way in the areas traversed by the Christian traders, e.g., New translations of texts by Aristotle, texts on astronomy, numerals and paper, made their way across the trade routes.

Apart from the positive consequences, Christianity also visited negative consequences to Europe and the rest of the world. The following were the main ones:

Loss of lives and destruction of property

Christians organized crusades against the non-adherents to the faith. This involved waging wars which brought untold suffering, loss of lives and destruction of property to the victims. The crusades took place in the 11th and 12th centuries. They were holy wars sponsored by the Pope to recover holy land from the Muslims. These crusades grew partially out of long conflicts between Muslims and Christians in Spain. The crusaders believed they would receive spiritual merit and earn a place in paradise.

Discrimination in society

Even though Christianity taught on equality of persons, the Christians discriminated the non-Christians in variously ways. Many non-Christians were excluded from certain privileges. This in itself was discriminative hence encouraging inequality in the society.

Rise in religious fundamentalism

Christianity bred a feeling of fundamentalism in its membership. This partly explained the crusades waged against the non-believers. Christians looked down upon other religions and even went to great lengths to try

to wipe them out. This was against the spirit of mutual co-existence that had seen it develop and spread in the Roman Empire.

Souring relations between Christians and Muslims

There was a bitter struggle between the Christians and Muslims. This has survived to date. Persecution of Muslims by the Christians increased. The Christians also came up with literature which dehumanized Islamic faith. In addition, Christianity equally struggled with Judaism. This spoiled the Christian-Jewish relations considerably. Many Christians viewed Jews as inhuman "others" and every crusade witnessed violence meted out on the Jews.

Religious life of Christians in medieval and modern times

Christians in the medieval and modern times have been greatly influenced by the teachings of the founder of the religion, Jesus Christ. In between, other cultural influences have equally impacted on Christianity.

Early Christians shared a common faith in the teachings of Christ. They also had a common way of worship. Gradually the communities organised a structured church.

Jesus of Nazareth was a historical person unlike mythic heroes who were said to have founded the other religions e.g., the Egyptian Osiris or the Greek Cybele. Later, Jesus' followers called him "Christos" or Messiah.

Around, 26 C.E, Christ was introduced to the teachings of John the Baptist. The same year, Pontius Pilate was appointed governor of Judaea. The following years saw Christ get many followers who believed he was the son of God and the long awaited Messiah, as he claimed to be. He followed the Jewish traditions and law where it did not conflict with his conscience. On the law, he differed with the traditional rabbis by following the spirit than the letter of the Jewish law. This was further compounded by Jesus' insistence that although he was a messiah, his, was a heavenly kingdom rather than the earthly one expected by most Jews.

Jesus' message revolved around faith in God, hope in his mercy to secure salvation and love of one's fellow human beings.

The Gospels (Good News) of Mathew, Mark, Luke and John, the four evangelists, were the original foundations of Christianity. These books were written and collected in the late first century C.E along with the letters of Paul which had been written to the communities he had founded in the eastern Mediterranean. Paul's letters incorporated Greek philosophy – ideas of Plato, Stoics and other Greek thinkers – something which made them be popular with the educated Romans. These joined to the poor, humble and oppressed persons who had found Christianity's teaching appealing.

By the second century, a written New Testament had appeared that was accepted by all Christians. This largely superseded the Old Testament which had formed the core of the Jewish religious practices. Apart from the gospels, and the other books in the New Testament the writings of Bishops, such as Augustine of Hippo (North Africa) and Ambrose of Milan, formed the secondary foundation of the Christian faith. The gospels, of course were the primary one. For example, Augustine's "confessions" and "The city of God" have been the most important repositories of Christian teaching after the Gospels.

By the early fifth century, Christianity was quite influential in the declining Roman Empire. It provided the land with a new system of morality and ethics that challenged the previously widely held view in the empire. After Theodosius's reign (378-395), the Imperial government became a Christian entity. The faith thus controlled the earthly kingdom as it equally laid claim to the heavenly one. This brought a blending between the Christian and pagan world views. Roman influences were thus to find their way into Christianity.

Generally, the Early Christian church had the following hallmarks:

Patterns of life and worship

For one to be a Christian, he or she had to renounce evil in the rite of baptism. This is what is referred to by Christians today as 'being born again'. Early Christians, like today, believed that by undergoing baptism, their sins were forgiven by the grace of God. All Christians viewed themselves as equal, and addressed one another as 'brother' or 'sister'. Christians gathered each Sunday for a ceremony of giving thanks to God.

Those who had undergone through baptism ate bread and drank wine in a sacred meal called the Eucharist. This was done in memory of Jesus, whose last supper was described in the gospels. Such practices made many educated Romans, who still could not bring themselves to adopt the new faith, to regard it as a mixture of superstition and cannibalism (the host, or Eucharist).

Role of women

Christianity taught equality of the sexes. This made many women to find it attractive.

The church teemed with women who had been attracted by its teaching of that in it. According to Christianity teachings, all people whether male or female are equal in the eyes of God.

As a consequent, women served in the church as teachers and administrators. Later they were barred from carrying out any official role in the church. Within its first two centuries, the church restricted membership in the clergy to men. This did not discourage women from helping in the expansion of the church.

Structure of the church

Each Christian community had its own priests who in turn were under the authority of a bishop who controlled a diocese. At this early time, only men were allowed to become members of the Christian clergy. Out of the many bishops, with time, those of the big cities (such as Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Constantinople), gained greater authority. This made them to get the honorary title of patriarch. They exercised authority over other bishops in their area even though all the bishops traced spiritual authority from the apostles, and ultimately to Jesus himself.

Belief system

Christians believed that Jesus was the Messiah they had been promised by prophets in the Old Testament. They also believed that upon crucifixion, the "son of God" as they called him, resurrected. This strengthened their belief in life after death. Christianity was thus seen as a ticket to eternal life.

Many people wanted this life. People could get salvation or be saved from sin and allowed to enter heaven where they would join God in everlasting life.

There was a strong faith in Jesus among the early Christians. This made them to begin to understand God in a new way. Like other Jews, Christians believed in the God of Israel and studied the Hebrew Bible. Unlike the Jews, Christians believed that God existed in three persons: Father, son and Holy Spirit. This is what today is known in the Church as the Holy Trinity.

Further, Christians, unlike the other religions with the exception of Judaism, believed in the existence of one God. This was in sharp contrast to what was in practice in Rome, where an emperor was considered to be god and therefore could be worshipped. Christians, like Jews, could not accept this.

Christians also refused to serve in the army or hold public office. This was to the annoyance of the Roman authorities. Added to the Christians' criticisms of Roman festivals and games, the Romans saw them as traitors who should be punished. Their call of each other as "brother" and "sister" was interpreted as a sign of sexual pervasion. This is what opened the floodgates to their persecution from 64 A.D by the Roman government during the reign of Emperor Nero. Christianity was banned and many of its followers were killed.

Undeterred, many Christians accepted to die due to their faith. People who give themselves to be persecuted or die for their faith are called martyrs. The martyrs swelled in numbers day in, day out. As if this was not enough, in Rome, the authorities forced them to bury their dead in catacombs (underground burial places). The faith still spread in spite of all these hardships.

As a result, after A D 250, many Romans grew tired of war and feared the end of their empire. They began to admire the faith and courage of Christians. Interestingly, many Christians equally began to accept the empire. It was in this background that Emperor Constantine accepted Christianity in A. D 312.

Use of icons by Christians

The division of the Roman Empire into East and West also affected the Christian community. Each side saw the development of the church differently. The empire in the east was known as the Byzantine. In 700s AD, a major dispute divided the church. This was brought by the use of icons. The icons in dispute were pictures or images of Jesus, Mary (mother of Jesus), and the saints, or Christian holy people. Many in the eastern empire honoured icons. These were used in covering the walls of churches. A few important icons were even believed to work miracles.

To some people in the Christian community in the east, icons were a form of idol worship. They needed to be expunged from the church as Christianity had no room for such worship.

There was thus two opposing camps. To the supporters of icons, they were symbols of God's presence in their daily life. They also argued that the icons helped explain Christianity to the people. To the other side, they were a form of idol worship – something unacceptable in Christianity.





(a) Icon of archangel Gabriel ***(b) Icon of virgin Mary***

The issue of icons in the church sucked in even the Roman authorities. Emperor Leo III was against the use of icons in the church. He banned them in A D 726. Many people in his eastern empire, church leaders and even the pope and patriarch of Constantinople did not approve of the development. It affected the relationship between the churches in Rome

and Constantinople. Use of icons in the church only became acceptable throughout the Christian community over the next 100 years after A.D 726.

Emergence of monasteries and convents

Monasteries emerged in the eastern Roman Empire in AD 300s. Men called monks stayed together in religious communities called monasteries. Some of these developed near cities while others sprung in isolated places.

Monks led a spiritual life detached from the temptations of the world. Many also tried to do good deeds and be examples of Christian living. Women soon followed the example of monks and formed communities of their own called convents. Women who lived in convents are known as nuns. Some even built churches and hospitals as they spread the faith in different parts. Monks and nuns were a feature of Christianity in both the western and eastern empires. Those living in the monasteries and converts gave up their belongings, lived simply and spent their time in prayer and work. They also began to play important roles in the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox life. Many ran hospitals, and schools and even helped the poor. Other than these responsibilities, one of their important duties was to serve as missionaries. This led them into helping to spread the faith.

Changes brought by Christianity

Christianity visited many changes in peoples' lives from the medieval period to the present. Some fundamental ones include:

- Belief in one God.
- Belief in the Trinity – God the father, the son and the Holy Spirit.
- Loving God and your neighbor (i.e. others) the way one loves the self.
- Belief in salvation and eternal life to those who accept the faith.
- Forgiveness to ones' enemies.
- Observation of justice in an individual's life.

- Following a morally upright life and ending wickedness.
- Belief in life after death.
- Belief in punishment for those who fail to repent and death for sinners.
- Leading a humble life i.e. humility.
- Equality of humanity.

Promotion of social justice by providing a combination of spiritual food, education and medicine to people.

Effects of Islam in Europe and the rest of the world

Islam like Christianity had both positive and negative consequences in Europe and the rest of the world. Some of these consequences were identical while others were unique to Islam. The main ones were as follows:



A Muslim woman wearing a veil

In Arabia women had rights not enjoyed in all the other lands. They could legally inherit property, divorce husbands, and engage in business ventures.

The prophet outlawed female infanticide which was common prior to entrenchment of the faith in Arabia and the conquered lands. Dowries went to women not men. Women were also seen as equal before Allah and recognized as having own needs and rights. This was in spite of the fact that men were allowed to marry upto four wives and that when Islam moved in to the Byzantine and Sassanid empires, they adopted the veiling of women- a practice still practiced among Muslims today.

Division of Muslims

At first Islam had uniform adherents. But due to interpretation of the faith vis-à-vis leadership, divisions occurred. This led to the emergence of the Sunni and Shi'a. Each has interpreted the teachings of the prophet differently.

Formation of dynastic rule

Islam was responsible for the emergence of various dynasities in areas controlled by the religion. Both the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasities came and emerged as strong dynasties after the death of Prophet Muhammad. The two dynasties brought centralization of authority in areas where they exercised control.

Urbanisation

Muslims equally contributed to emergence of urban centres in areas under their control. Populations increased at the same time with business opportunities. This directly led to emergence of urban centres. Old centres were also expanded e.g. Bagdad during the Abbasid dynasty was a symbol of authority, wealth and power. The Abbasid rulers in the city, adopted traditional, ancient style of Persian court with a high degree of luxury.

Belief in monotheism

Muslims believed in only one God – Allah and his prophet was (is) Muhamad. People reached Allah through prayers. Islam also brought to an end paganism in areas it controlled.

Loss of life and destruction of property

This issued from the Jihads. It involved waging a physical struggle against nonbelievers who threatened Islam. The wars led to massive loss of lives and destruction of property.

Change in dietary habits

Islam brought some dietary regulations on its adherants. Acceptable foods were (and are) called 'Halal' while forbidden ones are called "Haraam". Muslims have since stuck to these dietary regulations.

Religious life of Muslims in medieval and modern times

The teachings of Islam

Islam is based on two basic truths in what is called the Islamic creed. The creed of Islam is a simple statement in two parts.

The first part is "*La ilaha ilalah wa muhammadur rasuk al-lah,*" meaning there is no God but Allah the almighty.

The second part of the creed is that Muhammad is the messenger of God. Muslims accept these two basic statements in the heart, that there really is one God, supreme and unique, and that the revelation given through Prophet Muhammad by Allah is genuine, final and complete, and supercedes all revelations that came before it.

The teachings of Islam are based on the revelations Prophet Muhammad received from God. They were first memorised by the prophet before they were written in the Quran. Muslims believe that the original books from where these revelations were got are in heaven with God. To Muslims, God will not reveal anything else beyond the Quran. They regard Muhammad as the medium through which God's revelations reach humanity. Muslims believe that the Quran is the direct word of God. It contains 114 chapters, or *suras*. The chapters are divided into verses called *Ayat*. Adherents of Islam have five principal duties which they are obliged to fulfill as part of the faith. These are usually termed the five pillars. They constitute the main teachings of the Quran.

The five pillars are discussed below:

Profession of faith (*Shahada*): All Muslims are expected to utter the following statement: "*There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of the God*." This statement is to be uttered by new converts and is also the principal means by which an individual asserts his or her adherence to Islam. It stresses that for Muslims, there is only one God and the belief in one God (monotheism) is central to the Islamic faith.

Giving of alms (*Zakat*): *Zakat* is regarded as a requirement in Islam. It does not stop Muslims from giving money or goods to charity at any time. The alms usually consist of giving two and a half percent of one's income, and perhaps other assets to charity or deserving causes. There are however, variations in the income and goods which form its basis, how it should be donated and how it should be collected. Communities may differ on who is required to give the alms. The *zakat* collected is often used not only to support those in financial need, but also to help with passing the message of Islam onto others.

Ritual prayer: It requires that Muslims – who may pray to God at any time of the day – to pray five times a day, using certain words while facing Mecca. The prayers are also accompanied by certain formsof kneeling and bowing (prostrations).



Fig 8.5 Muslims praying in a mosque

This form of prayer is known as *Salat* and should be preceded by ritual washing to create a sense of spiritual cleanliness prior to prayers in what is known as *wudu*. Where there is no mosque, a clean and peaceful place is used and a prayer mat is placed on the ground as a symbol of spiritual cleanliness.

The ritual prayers take place on five occasions during the day: at daybreak, midday, the middle of the afternoon, at sunset and during the evening. The main prayer time of the week is at noon on Fridays. These prayers are said by the Imam, who also gives a sermon based on a few verses from the Quran.

Fasting during the holy month of Ramadhan: Ramadhan is usually marked in the ninth month of the Islamic calendar. The fast is observed from sunrise to sunset for a total of 30 days. All Muslim adults are prohibited from taking food or drink during the day. This occasion is a period which Muslims demonstrate great discipline, both in a physical sense and in a spiritual sense. They also contemplate God and the religious life. At sunset each day during Ramadhan, Muslims eat a light meal to break the fast.

Later in the evening, there is a much more substantial meal taken together with family members. People visit the mosque in the evening for prayers and to take part in the special events marked during the holy month. After a night's sleep, people wake up early to take a light meal which they will survive on up to evening. Towards the end of Ramadhan there are special celebrations. One important celebration is celebration symbolises the first night during which Prophet Muhammad received revelation from God. The conclusion of the fast of Ramadhan is usually

graced by great celebration, when family members gather and offer each other presents. This festival is known as *Eid-Ul-Fitr*.

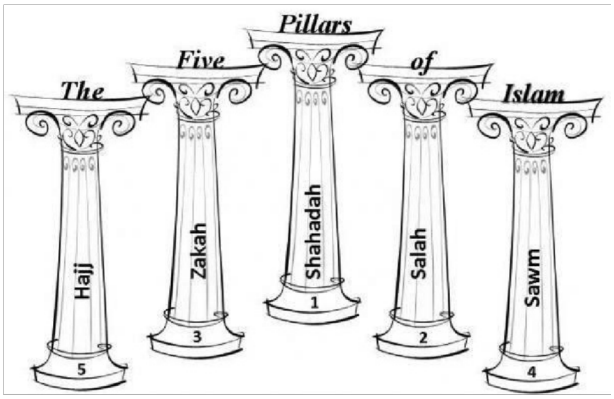
Making of pilgrimage to Mecca: This is also known as *hajj*. A Muslim is expected, where possible, to make the pilgrimage at least once during one's life time. The event is held every year at approximately the same time. This date is usually between certain specific days on the 12th month of the Islamic calendar. Prophet Muhammad made a *hajj* in AD 632. Most of the tradition and celebratory features of the *hajj* are based on this visit.

During the pilgrimage, people visit Mecca, the neighbouring towns and sites of religious significance in the history of Islam. There is a particular dress code for men and women. The first place to be visited is the Kaaba (a large cube-shaped building covered in black cloth at the time of the *Hajj*). In one corner of it, there is a black stone which was said to have been given to Ibrahim (Abraham) by Angel Jibril (Gabriel). The Kaaba is situated in the grand mosque in Mecca. Pilgrims walk around it seven times, moving in an anti-clockwise direction.

All Muslims are expected to "fight" to further the faith and to defend it against any acts that might seek to undermine Islam. Jihad may at times involve a physical struggle.

Changes brought by Islam

As a religion, Islam greatly influenced the lives of its adherents. Upon embracing the faith, one was expected to lead a life that agreed with the teachings of the faith. Some of the changes which came included:



Five pillars of Islam

Belief in Allah as the only God

Muslims did away with belief in paganism which was characterized by many gods. There was now a strong belief in one supreme God - Allah and Mohammed his prophet.

Change in dressing

There was a change in dressing for both men and women. Men wore robes while women were expected to wear veils covering their heads. They were also to be in long dresses which covered the whole of their body except for the feet.

Dietary habits

As we have observed elsewhere, Muslims were forbidden from eating some types of food. Their dietary habits were regulated strictly by the faith e.g. fasting during the month of Ramadhan was observed strictly. Muslims are also prohibited from taking pork, grasshoppers etc.

Prayers

To obey the five pillars, Muslims now prayed five times a day facing Mecca. Facing Mecca was (is) a sign of respect for the holy city. The adherants strictly followed this rule.

Provision of charity

Muslims were charitable. This was done as it was one of the five pillars. Alms were given to help the needy members of the society. By giving the alms, one also showed that he or she understood that material wealth were (are) a gift from God. It was thus a way of showing gratitude to the almighty.

Jihad

Jihads became a regular feature of the Muslim faith. This was an obligation undertaken by a Muslim(s) to combat vice and evil, struggle against ignorance and disbelief of the faith, and the last one which has appeared as its main one, a war against unbelievers who are a threat to the faith. Due to the last obligation, the world in the medieval and even modern times has been exposed to violence.

Education

Muslim scholars emerged with the advent of Islam. These people spearheaded learning in various parts of the world. Madrassa classes are today a regular feature of Islamic faith in the world.

Promotion of Arabic

Islam was (is) associated with the Arabic language. It has helped in the spread of the language in different parts of the world. Today, Arabic is one of the dominant languages spoken in the world.

Culture

Islamic naming, initiation and marriage practices have been adopted by people in various parts of the world. The faith has also influenced architectural works in virtually the whole world. This has been seen in the type of houses and mosques that have been built. Islamic law (*sharia*) has equally been adopted by Muslims in different parts of the world.



A mosque

Pilgrimage

Muslims who are able and in good health have always made pilgrimage to Mecca during the Hajj. This has seen people on a yearly basis visit the Holy city to circumambulate the Ka'ba. The visits have brought a sense of unity and fraternity of Muslims from across the world.

Generally, Islam like Christianity has greatly influenced the life of humanity. The two religions are today, the major world religions. They have followers in virtually all the continents. The two religions emerged in Palestine and agree in some areas in their teachings. They have also been influenced heavily by Judaism.

Divide yourselves into two groups. Let one group discuss and evaluate the influence of Islamic life in medieval and modern times; and the other group do the same for Christianity. Note the changes that have resulted from these two religions in both medieval and modern times. After your group discussions, have a class discussion and debate your findings.

Application Activity 2.2

Using internet and textbooks, discuss on different kinds of persecution undergone by Christians at the beginning of their religion

2.3. Causes and effects of the early explorations and Impact of Age of enlightenment

Learning Activity 2.3

From the different documents at your accessibility, discuss the causes and effects of the early explorations and impact of Age of enlightenment on the World at large.

Causes and effects of early explorations

To explore refers to searching for the purpose of, or obtaining information or resources. Europe led the rest of the world in early explorations. Various countries made voyages of exploration to distant lands away from Europe. Europeans sailed and explored the rest of the world. They were mainly searching for material wealth. Explorers came mainly from Portugal, Spain, Netherlands, Britain, and later, France.

A map showing early exploration routes

Early exploration is also known as the age of discovery. This was a time characterised by the explosive overseas expansion of European civilisation. The European nationstates of Western Europe, led by Portugal, embarked on a series of explorations and colonisation whose impact was felt in virtually every part of the world. This development represents the first and earliest manifestation of globalisation.

The explorations were made possible by advances in science which had been occasioned by discoveries during the renaissance period. The main advances in science and technology were:

- Widespread dissemination of newly rediscovered geographical knowledge about the earth; especially the realisation that it was round and not flat.

- Much improved and detailed maps, sea charts and star charts used for navigation.
- The application of an improved compass for establishing direction.
- Effective use of the astrolabe used in determining latitude.
- The development of the ship's rudder and geared steering system.
- Construction of larger and sleeker ships for speed and safety such as the three masted caravel and larger galleon.
- Improvements in cannon fabrication and use aboard ships; used for offensive and defensive purposes.
- Basic education and marine training instituted for ship's officers and sailors.

Causes for early explorations

The early explorations were caused by many factors. The main ones were:

Commerce

There existed a lucrative commerce between European states and the regions of Asia. Europeans had a high appetite for goods from the Asian countries. However, the trade was dominated by traders and merchants from Asia, the Near East and Italians. These people grew rich and powerful by selling a variety of goods to Europe. Spices were the most valued goods at the time.

The European powers wanted to equally benefit from this trade from the 15th Century. Spain and Portugal wanted to break the monopoly enjoyed by the Asiatic states and the Italian traders. To achieve this, they financed voyages to try and find sea route to the Far East and therefore, to completely bypass the overland route through the Middle East to Asia. Apart from the goods from Asia, cloves from the coastal regions of East Africa, pepper, curry, nutmeg, ginger, cinnamon and other spices added new and very popular elements to the food consumed by the Europeans who could afford such luxury items.

Curiosity to understand the nations and civilisations of Asia

Europeans are said to have become increasingly curious and interested about the nations and civilizations of the orient. They wanted to get

more information about the regions especially in India and China. Many Europeans were eager to get information about the "strange" and unknown worlds beyond the boundaries of Europe. The thirst and quest for knowledge about people, civilizations, continents and other dimensions, greatly encouraged the spirit of overseas travel and exploration.

Desire for colonies

Monarchs in Europe desired to get colonies in other parts of the world so as to shore up trade and wealth. They were also aware of the capacity of the colonies to provide their states with prestige. This made the rulers to go out of their way to support the voyages of exploration. Rulers took great risks to channel capital investment and manpower necessary to make the missions successful.

Spreading Christianity

Although not a major factor, the Europeans also expected to spread Christianity to other parts of the world. Many Portuguese and Spaniard traders remotely intended to convert those they came into contact with during their commercial excursion.

National prestige and power

Exploration was also influenced by power politics. European states were led by desire for prestige and power. This made the search of God, Gold and Glory be intertwined in the countries' quest for knowledge and wealth.

Major explorers

Prince Henry, the Navigator

He was the son of the King Juan I of Portugal. In 1419, he began to subsidize sailors, mapmakers, astronomers, shipbuilders and instruments – makers who were interested in discovering new Lands.

By those discoveries and exploration, Prince Henry hoped to find more gold in Africa, and new route to the Far East. He saw this as a way to extend Portuguese trade and power. It would also increase European knowledge in science and geography and spread Christianity. Prince

Henry sent parties of explores (Portuguese, Spanish, Jewish and Italians) down African's west coast. They discovered the Gold Coast and Cape Verde, as well as the Azores, Madeira and Canary Islands. They used the islands as supply stations for further explorations.

Bartholomew Dias

A Portuguese captain in 1487 readied ships for a long, hard voyage. *King John II* of Portugal appointed him, on 10 October 1487, to head an expedition to sail around the southern tip of Africa in the hope of finding a trade route to India. Dias was also charged with searching for the lands ruled by *Prester John*, who was a fabled Christian priest and ruler. He was also sent to challenge the Muslims who were in control of trading in Asia. Dias touched a several points on the African coast before strong wind blew him away from the coast southwards.

After the storm ended, Dias went to reach Africa's east coast, without knowing that he had been blown around the tip of the continent. On his return home, he knowingly sailed around the southern tip of Africa which he called ***Cabo das Tormontos*** *(Portuguese for "Cape of Storms")* because of the area's dangerous sea conditions.

The king of Portugal Juan II later renamed it ***Cabo da Esperança*** *(Portuguese for Cape of Good Hope)* because now the Portuguese knew they could reach Far East by sailing around Africa.

Vasco da Gama

In 1497, he led a convoy or a group of four ships down the Tagus River from Lisbon, in Portugal. Da Gama had orders from the King Manuel I *"to proclaim the Christian faith" and "to wrest kingdoms and new States from the hands of the barbarians"*.

He rounded Africa's Cape of Good Hope on November 22nd 1497 and continued on to India. After many stops in Africa, (on Island of Mozambique and Malindi in Kenya) and problems with Muslim traders who did not want interference in their profitable trade routes; Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut in India on May 20, 1498.

At first, d agama and his trading group were well-received but this did not last for long. Da Gama left India on August 29, 1498 and took his goods with him, together with some Indian hostages. He arrived in Lisbon in September 1499. He was treated as a hero and was rewarded by the King Manuel I.

King Manuel I of Portugal sent da Gama on another expedition to India (1502 – 1503). On this voyage Vasco killed hundreds of Muslims in order to demonstrate his power. After King Manuel's death, King Juan II sent Vasco da Gama to India as a Portuguese viceroy (the king's representative) in India. Vasco da Gama died of an illness in India on December 24, 1524.

Diego Cão

He had made two voyages sailing along the west coast of Africa in the 1400s. He is well-known in Angola, because of him the country was Portuguese colony. He was the first European known to sight and enter the Congo River and to explore the West African coast between Saint Catherine and Cape Cross almost from the Equator to Walvis Bay.

When King Juan II of Portugal revived the work of Henry the Navigator, he sent out Cão to open up the African coast still further beyond the Equator. He discovered the mouth and estuary of Congo River.

Christopher Columbus

He was a skilled navigator from Genoa in Italy. He believed he could reach India by sailing westward, because like most educated people of his time, he believed that the world was round not flat.

In 1492, Christopher Columbus had got a support from the *Queen Isabella of Spain* for his enterprise of the Indies. He set sail from Palos de la Frontera, Spain in August 1492, with three small ships: the Niña, the Pinta and the Santa Maria, with around 100 men or sailors.

In the morning of the 3rd day, Columbus landed at Guanahani, the island renamed San Salvador (Portuguese for" Holy Savior") by Columbus in the Bahamas. He thought he reached the Indies, so called the people living on the island Indians. For this reason Native Americans are still called Indians

Columbus spent several months traveling around the waters of the Bahamas, Cuba and Hispaniola an island which today consists of Haiti and the Dominican Republic. In Cuba, he found Indians smoking cigars. Thus Europeans had their first contact with tobacco. He had also discovered the Puerto Rico in 1493, Jamaica in 1494, and Trinidad 1498.

In 1504 after traveling the coast of Central America to Panama, he returned home on November 7. He died at Valladolid, in Spain on May 20, 1506. But until he died, Christopher Columbus was convinced he had found the way to Indies in Asia. He never realized that he had discovered the New World.

Ferdinand Magellan

He is a Portuguese explorer and sea captain who offered to find Spain a western route to the Indies. In 1519 Magellan set sail from Spain, he commanded a fleet of five ships and a crew of 270 men. In October, he was at the tip of South America and reached the Great South Sea. Magellan renamed it ***Mar Pacifico, Portuguese for Pacific Ocean***.

In the next day, Magellan and sailors reached the Marianas without any food and water. After resting and eating, they set northwest course for the Philippine islands. There, he converted the king and many others to Christianity. Ferdinand Magellan was killed during an expedition at Zebu in Philippine on September 6, 1522 while he was trying to force the chief and people to be converted to Christianity.

The one remaining ship continued on into Indian Ocean and round Africa. It finally arrived in Seville, Spain in 1522 with 18 men and a load of spices. It was their great accomplishment. They had proved that the Earth is around, not flat. The voyage opened the Pacific Ocean to European ships. More important, it proved beyond a doubt that the lands Columbus had discovered were not Asia, but a New World.

Amerigo Vespucci

Americus Vespucius, in Latin, was an Italian explorer and cartographer. He had participated in several voyages (at least four voyages) that explored the East coast of South America from 1499 to 1502. He had discovered the mouth of the Amazon River, Trinidad and the Orinoco River during his second voyage.

In 1507 when Martin Waldseemüller, a German geographer and cartographer who translated Vespucci's narrative, was the first to use ***America*** an adaptation of the explorer's given name of ***Americus*** as a name for the Southern continent. The name gradually came into use to refer to the two continents after it appeared on a world map published by ***Gerardus Mercator*** in 1569.

Effects of early explorations

The early explorations had long lasting effect on the history of the world. These were both positive and negative. The main ones included:

Expansion of empire

All the European powers which participated in the explorations built themselves large empires. Portugal acquired Brazil in the New World and had numerous territories in Africa and Asia. Portugal controlled most of the African Atlantic and Indian seaboards, India and other parts of Asia.

Spain took most of the territories in the New World. She had settlements in the West Indies, Mexico, Central America, Florida, the south west areas of what later became the USA and California. Her riches in these areas made her the envy of rival powers.

The Dutch equally had colonies in the west. She took colonies in the trading factory in Brazil, northeast coast of South America (Suriname), some parts of North America, such as the colony of New Netherlands (which was centred on New Amsterdam – New York), and the adjacent lands of New Jersey, the Hudson River valley up to the site of Albany, Long Island to the east of New York city and southward to Delaware. These settlements later fell to England through Anglo- Dutch wars.

England although a late entrant in the early exploration, managed to acquire some colonies. She first took ten, later 13 colonies along the Atlantic Coast. England captured the New Netherlands' settlements from the Dutch thus creating the colonies of New York, including Long Island, New Jersey and Delaware. She managed to found colonies in the whole stretch from Massachusetts to Georgia along the Atlantic Coast.

France could also not be left out in the early exploration. She established colonies to the north of the English ones in Canada along the St. Lawrence River and at Louisburg on the Atlantic coast. The cities of Quebec and Montreal were founded at the time. Her explorers established trading posts along the Great Lakes and the Mid-west areas of the Mississippi, Ohio and other tributary rivers, St. Louis and the port of New Orleans.

Spread of war in the colonies

As the quest for colonies intensified in the new lands and areas outside Europe, colonial rivalries and economic competitions forced the major European powers into many conflicts. More often than not, these led to wars between the 16th to the 18th centuries due to overseas hostilities. Each power built its army and navy to safeguard or expand its colonial acquisition. England, for instance, fought bitter wars with Holland, France and Spain. Her Royal Navy was built on the traditions made by its famous seafaring captains like John Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake, Martin Frobisher, Captain Cook and others. By 1763, England, now called Great Britain, had emerged as the world's first modern super power.

Introduction of new products in Europe

Expanded global trade brought many new products into European markets, commerce expanded as the quantity and type of imports increased. Some of the new food products were: maize, tobacco, chocolate, tea, quinine, tomatoes, peppers, indigo, rice and the king of them all, sugar.

There were also products that the Europeans could not get enough of. Examples were: Chinese porcelain, silk and Indian cotton or calico cloth. These items were in addition to what had become known as "the spice trade" of the East Indies. These goods, coming in large numbers, improved the standard of living in Europe.

Slave trade

Although slaves were considered goods, it is vital to treat it independent of the new products. At first a few slaves were captured by the explorers, but later armies and navies got involved. This saw large Africans being

captured and sold as slaves to go and supply labour in the New World. The New world's appetite seemed insatiable in the demands for slave labour in sugar, rice, indigo, tobacco and cotton plantations now dotting various parts of the continents.

The demands for European markets and the lust for profits superceded any ethical or moral considerations when it came to slavery. Even the so called Christians turned a blind eye to the practice. It didn't prick their conscience at all from the 15th Century when the Atlantic slave trade begun in earnest. Africans were exposed to the horrors of the "middle passage"–the pain and suffering slaves underwent as they crossed the Atlantic Ocean. This only stopped in the 19th Century. Slavery had grave consequences on the victim population.

Cultural exchange

Exploration led to cultural exchange. People exchanged ideas, products, languages, and many other aspects of culture between Europe and the other civilizations. This is what has been referred to as the 'Columbian Exchange". Subsequent world history remains essentially the story of the results of the Columbian Exchange. Today, this is what underlies globalization. During the early exploration, both the European and the new communities were not spared the vagaries of cultural exchange. Each borrowed from one another.

Mineral exploitation

The new world and areas outside Europe which were of interest to the explorers, had large deposits of minerals. When the European countries realized this, they embarked on a serious exercise of mineral exploitation in the New World. This was done by slave labour while in other areas, the indigenous communities were engaged forcefully.

As a result, large quantities of minerals were shipped to Europe. Such minerals include: gold, silver, tin, copper and diamond. Gold and silver were minted into coins and used as currency.

Invention of the concept of insurance

Governments and merchants tried to reduce and control their risks and losses due to overseas ventures by contributing a restricted amount to

help in case of loss due to inflation or theft or accident. The amount paid into the fund was termed the insurance premium. This was the genesis of the insurance industry as we have it today. Investors thus received compensation from loss due to piracy, war, fire, storm, etc.

The most famous of these insurance companies has survived to today. This is Lloyd's of London, founded in the 17th Century.

Shift of economic power base

Commercial activities and trade networks shifted from the Mediterranean Sea and its bordering countries to the Atlantic Coastal nation – states. The Ottoman Empire, the Italian city states and the countries of North Africa entered a period of economic decline in economic and therefore, political in significance. Trade fell sharply across the Sahara Desert, Mediterranean Sea, Black Sea and even in the Baltic Sea. This made all these areas to witness both economic and political decline.

This was in sharp contrast to developments in the Atlantic Coast. Here, there was an increase in power, wealth and importance. Infact, new nation-states emerged. These were mostly based upon powerful absolute monarchies – a feature which was to be dominant in western civilisation from the 16th to the 18th centuries.

Increased population

Early explorations also occasioned widespread demographic and social changes. There was increased migration while due to education, abundance of food and security, peoples' standard of living greatly increased. All these factors contributed to increased population. Job opportunities equally expanded the middle class. People moved to secure employment.

With time, distinctions between classes – middle class, nobility and lower class, and even slaves became blurred. This was to be with time, lead to an end to distinctions of population along classes. All races found home in the New World. Some in favoured status while others, like Africans, as slaves. Nonetheless, all contributed to the rise in population.

Development of mercantilism

The governments of European states developed a doctrine of economics called mercantilism. This was geared towards obtaining wealth from the new lands. The benefits would be felt by the ordinary citizens and rulers. This doctrine was pursued by virtually all the European powers. It was based on certain interrelated elements. They were:

- Nations must adopt economic policies that attract the most amounts of gold and silver.
- A nation should arrange its trading matters so that it exports more than it imports.
- A nation could increase its exports most advantageously if it subsidized and supported domestic manufacturing.
- Tarrif levying on imported goods.
- To obtain as many colonies as practically possible.
- Limit or forbid the rise of colonial industries and the production of manufactured goods in the colonies.
- Prohibit colonies to trade with any other rival power except the mother country and ensure that any raw material from the colony is supplied by vessels from the mother country.
- Require the colonies to pay taxes to the mother country.

Colonies lived to satisfy the economic needs of the mother country. Mercantilism preceded the emergence of capitalism by about 200 years but it bore all the hallmarks of the latter. A free market economy was encouraged with strict government control. Business persons paid large fees to the government to enable it control monopolies over a particular product in even an entire sub-continent. Trade was thus undertaken by joint-stock companies.

Emergence of the banking industry

The early explorations directly led to the accumulation of capital which necessitated the development of the banking industry. Banks sprung up to support business enterprises. They provided the services that were required to accommodate the increased supplies of gold and silver to

the nation-states. Lending money to reliable customers in return for interest charges and bank services commenced. Banks also gave loans to governments to run their services, examples of outstanding banks were The Medici family of Florence in Italy and the German family of the Fuggers. These were family-ran banks. They were very successful.

To reduce the challenges of the use of gold and silver, banks adopted innovative systems of exchange. This included the use of new ideas as bills of exchange (used in international trade) and adoption of bank notes (a kind of paper money printed by the primary bank involved in the transaction). Later banks also came up with cheque system. Cheques were mainly used in national, regional and local business transactions. Their use then, has not changed much as we have them today.

Emergence of the factory system

Production moved from the guild system to factories. Large manufacturing industries were shifted to factories. Here products were produced in large quantities to satisfy the demands of the nation- states. These factories were the precursors of the factory system of the industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries. Apart from the factory system, the guild system was also bypassed by the use of the cottage industry. This involved people producing the goods in the comfort of their homes. The raw materials were brought by the rich business persons to the homes of the workers from where the latter made them into various products in exchange for payment for his or her labour**.**

Discovery of bio-diversity

Early exploration led to the discovery of various animals and plants. New animal and plant species were now studied thus contributing to the field of scientific knowledge.

Spread of Christianity

The explorers were partly driven with the motive of spreading Christianity. This was true of the Portuguese in East and Central African Coast. However, the Portuguese made little mark in as far as the spread of Christianity was concerned. They were more driven by the trade motive. Nonetheless,

there were some areas away from the Portuguese dominated coastal regions of East and Central Africa where Christianity made a foothold. It became a dominant religion in the new worlds and in Goa, India.

Impact of the age of Enlightenment

This period is also known as the age of reason, the Enlightenment took place between 1720 and 1790. The Enlightment was a period in European history in the mid-18th Century when scholars believed in the use of reason and in the scientific method. It was started by Voltaire and other intellectuals, who believed that in a society, ruled by reason, injustice would not be present.

The scholars applied the methods of new science which had been developed during the scientific revolution to study human behaviour and provide solutions to political and economic problems facing them. The age of Enlightenment was more of a state of mind than an actual movement.

In general, the Enlightenment was founded on the principles of naturalism, rationalism, progress and humanitarianism. Naturalism was a belief in science and natural law. Rationalism held that reason could determine the principles of natural law and people should live according to the progress.

Humanitarianism, on the other hand, was based on the belief in the rights of the individual and the possibility for the perfection of society. To them, society could become perfect if people always used reason because they could gain a greater knowledge of the natural law. From these principles thus, came serious efforts to promote peace and to reform government, society and education.

Contributions of some Philosophers

Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679)

He was an English philosopher who advocated that "people are driven by selfishness and greed. To avoid the chaos in the society, they give up their freedom to government that will ensure order. Such a government must be strong and able to suppress rebellion as a *Leviathan* (1651) or a monster".

The philosophy of Hobbes marked a departure in English philosophy from the religious emphasis of Scholasticism. His ideas represented a reaction against the decentralizing ideas of the Reformation (1517-1648), which, Hobbes contended, brought anarchy.

Regarded as an important early influence on the philosophical doctrine of utilitarianism, Hobbes also contributed to modern psychology and laid the foundations of modern sociology by applying mechanistic principles in an attempt to explain human motivation and social organization.

René Descartes (1596 – 1650)

He was a French philosopher who in 1632 published his Discourse of method. This work was an early defense of scientific reasoning. Descartes stepped that reason and scientific inquiry alone could reveal the truth about physical beings. The truth about the world of the mind could be found in faith.

Descartes' views became the foundation of the challenge to traditional beliefs that reach its peak during the 18th century.

John Locke (1632 – 1704)

He was also an English philosopher. In 1690 he published his work on the human condition titled Essay Concerning Human understanding. Lock believed that knowledge and learning developed from man's experience. Man acquired his evil thoughts and superstitions from experience in society. Therefore in order to improve man's behavior it was necessary to improve society.

One of his major aims was to limit the powers of government and increase the individual's rights. In his famous work, Two treaties of Government published in 1690, John Lock stated that the natural rights of man are life, liberty and property. He attacked the theory of divine right of kings and the nature of the state as conceived by English philosopher and political theorist Thomas Hobbes.

He further argued that government is a social contract among people to protect these rights. When a government did not allow these basic rights, it broke the contract. The people could then establish another government.

Locke's ideas influenced authors of United States' declaration of independence and French revolutionaries in the 1790s later, people extended his ideas to include equality for women and others.

Montesquieu (1689 – 1755)

The French Charles – Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brede et de Montesquieu, was a French social commentator and political thinker.

His most famous and influential work The Spirit of the Laws was written and published in 1748. He argued that different kinds of government (monarchies, republics and despotisms) are suited to different areas and not every country should have the same form of government.

He also stated that government works best when there is a *"separation of powers"* between executive, legislative and judicial branches in order to prevent any one group form gaining too much power.

Another more exotic idea of Montesquieu hinted at in the *Persian Letters* published in 1721, is the *"meteorological climate theory"*. According to him, the climate may substantially influence the nature of man and his society.

He goes so far as to assert that certain climates are superior to others, the temperature climate of France being ideal. His view is that people living in very warm countries are "too – hot tempered ", while those in northern countries are "icy" extremely cold.

Voltaire (1694 – 1778)

The most famous French philosopher ***François Marie Arouet,*** who later called himself ***Voltaire*** was a historian and writer who majorly attacked the Catholic Church; its corruption, heavy and unfair taxation and religious intolerance.

In his famous book ***Candide,*** he attacked on the self – satisfied idea that "that is best of all possible Worlds". He also advocated for people's liberty. However he failed to suggest any type of government to replace the one in existence. He was one saying "I would rather be ruled by the Lion than by hundreds rats" because he was neither liberal nor democratic.

Rousseau (1712 – 1778)

He wrote many essays among them one written in 1762 called *"Social Contract."* In this work, he argued that the best form of government is a democracy. He believed that individuals formed the State. This State assures the equality of all men before the law and protects their natural rights.

According to Rousseau, by joining together into civil society through the social contract and abandoning their claims of natural right, individuals can both preserve themselves and remain free. This is because submission to the authority of *the general will* of the people as a whole guarantees individuals against being subordinated to the wills of others and also ensures that they obey themselves because they are, collectively, the authors of the law.

He suggests dividing a large State into a number of small direct democracies and the binding of these into a freedom. Although Rousseau argues that sovereignty (or the power to make the laws) should be in the hands of the people, he also makes a sharp distinction between the sovereign and the government.

The government is composed of magistrates, charged with implementing and enforcing the general will. The "sovereign" is the rule of law, ideally decided on by direct democracy in an assembly. Rousseau was opposed to the idea that the people should exercise sovereignty via a representative assembly. He wanted a direct democracy, where all men actually decide issues not a representative democracy like that of Britain where other people are elected to decide for them.

Denis Diderot (1713 – 1784)

Denis Diderot was a French philosopher, art critic, and writer. He was a prominent person during the Enlightenment and is best known for serving as co-founder and chief editor of and contributor to the ***Encyclopédie.***

In 1734 Diderot decided to become a writer and his most contribution was when he decided to put all the new learning and ideas of the Enlightenment into an Encyclopedia, known in French as *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*.

Aided by the most celebrated writers of the day, including Voltaire and Montesquieu, the skeptical, rationalist Diderot used the *Encyclopedia* as a powerful propaganda weapon against Ecclesiastical authority and the superstition, conservatism, and semi feudal social forms of the time. Consequently, Diderot and his associates became the objects of clerical and royal antagonism. In 1759 the *Royal Council* in France formally suppressed the first ten volumes (published from 1751 onward) and forbade further publication. Nevertheless, Diderot continued work on the remaining volumes and had them secretly printed. The 17 volumes of text were completed in 1765, with plates and supplements added until 1780.

Impact of the age of enlightenment to the modern world

We have already discussed at length the contributions of selected personalities during the age of reason to the modern world. Below is a summary of the contributions of Enlightenment to the modern world.

1. Emergence of modern European feminism.
2. Promotion of individual rights.
3. Separation between the Church and the State.
4. Promotion of democracy in the governance process.
5. Promotion of the capitalist ideology (Adam Smith and Marquis de Mirabeau). It encouraged individual ownership of wealth.
6. Separation of power of the three arms of government for efficiency in the governance process.
7. Provision of equal educational opportunities for both boys and girls.
8. Creation of an enabling environment for the child (learner).
9. Role of education in liberation.
10. Broadening of historiography (writing of history) so as to cover political, social and cultural aspects of humanity's life. They advocated for total history.
11. Promotion of aesthetics – This was marked by treatises and debates over abstract questions such as the nature of taste, beauty, the sublime, imagination and creativity, and by speculation on the relations between the arts.

Morality – The problem of moral values was central to the Enlightenment period. Revelation and traditional Christian doctrine were rejected. The demand for happiness and pleasure set the standards for morality. The Enlightenment period marked a turning point in human development. It made people to be rational. It had both moral and intellectual significance to humanity. This period was revolutionary. It destroyed myths by which people lived and proposed new myths of its own; many of which were later to be challenged in the second half of the 20th Century.

Application Activity 2.3

Show how the age of enlightenment has impacted the modern world in different manners.

End of Unit Assessment 2

1. Who is Muhammad in Islam?
2. State at least five factors that led to the spread of the Islam.
3. Describe the life of Muslims in medieval and modern times.
4. How did the age of enlightenment impact to the modern world?

UNIT 3

ORIGIN, RISE, ORGANIZATION AND DECLINE OF THE EMPIRES IN WEST AND SOUTH AFRICA

Key unit competence: The learner should be able to describe the origin, rise, organization and decline of the various empires in West and South Africa.



Introductory Activity 3.1

Visit the library and research on the factors that led to the rise of the kingdom of old Ghana and those that led to its downfall. Later hold a class discussion to debate your findings.

3.1. Origin and the rise of empires of West Africa and South Africa



Learning Activity 3.1

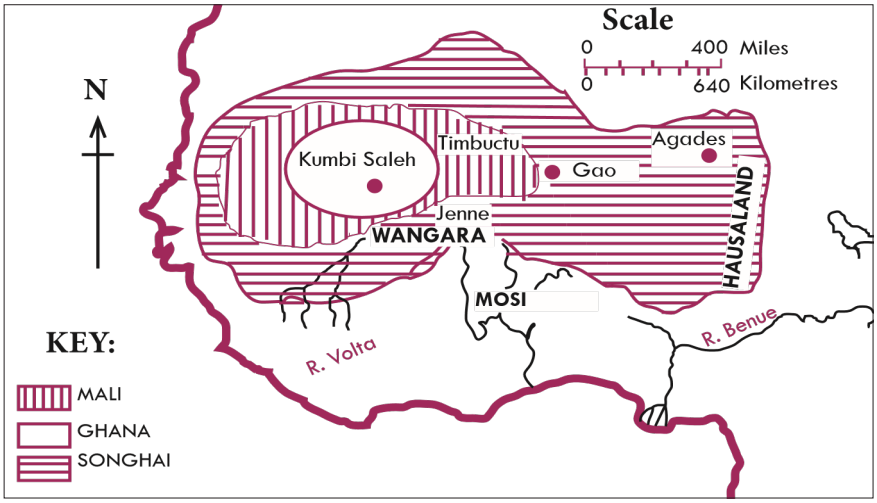
Visit the library and research on the factors that led to the rise of the kingdoms of West and South Africa and those that led to its downfall. Later hold a class discussion to debate your findings

Introduction

The grassland region south of the Sahara and north of the forest zone was known to the Arabs as Bilad as-Sudan or the land of the blacks. It witnessed in medieval times the emergence of four notable empires – Ghana, Mali, Songhai and Kanem – Bornu – in the west and central parts of it.

3.1.1. Origin and rise of Ghana Empire

Ghana was the first kingdom to emerge as an empire in the Western Sudan. Apart from metropolitan Ghana, the empire included several important provincial territories.



The Ghana, Mali and Songhai Empires in West Africa

Chief among these was Awkar, a name by which Ghana was, for some time, better known in the Islamic world. At its height, the territories governed or influenced by Old Ghana covered a considerable area in the source-region of the rivers Niger and Senegal.

Origins

The Mande-speaking Soninke people founded Old Ghana. The exact date of its foundation is not known, but was probably between 500 and 700 AD. It grew out of the Trans-Saharan trade. The original name of the kingdom was Wagadu. A sacred king who was the highest authority in the state ruled Ghana. He was known as the 'Ghana'. Later, the name Ghana also came to refer to the kingdom.

Old Ghana lay between River Senegal in the west and River Niger in the east. The Sahara Desert formed the northern boundary, while to the south were the forests in which lay the rich mining areas of Wangara.

The rise of Old Ghana is jusfied by the following factors:

Control of trade routes: The Empire occupied the savannah land between the rich gold-fields of Wangara and the most important of the trans-Sahara trade routes. In this middle-man position, the ruler of Ghana could control and tax both the trading goods taken from North Africa to the Western Sudan (e.g. salt and horses) and those taken from the Western Sudan to North Africa (e.g. gold, ivory, kola). From this trade came wealth

and with this wealth the rulers of Ghana were able to establish and maintain a reasonably efficient administration and army.

The use of iron: The Soninke were apparently the first group of people in that part of the Western Sudan to discover the use of iron. The ability to make weapons of iron was important and assisted in Ghana's military strength and growth.

Use of horses: Soninke are considered the first people to secure a sufficiently large number of horses from North Africa to build up a powerful cavalry.

Effective administration: The Soninke built up a fairly effective large-scale government, which enabled them to rule a large area and to maintain law and order.

Unity in the empire: The fact that the rulers of Ghana were considered semidivine must also have helped the rise of the empire by maintaining unity and limiting the incidence of rebellion.

Weak neighboring states: Ghana was surrounded by the weak States so that it was easy for Ghana to capture them using its strong army well-equipped by with iron weapons.

Presence of a strong army: because the army of Ghana was well-equipped with spears, arrows and swords which made it superior than the army of the neighboring states which helped Ghana to defeat and capture those areas.

Able leaders: Ghana was able to rise and grow because it had able leaders like Tunka Manine and Basi who possessed great authority, respect, friendship and good organization of their people into wars of expansion leading to expansion of Ghana.

Absence of succession disputes: Ghana rose and grew due to absence of succession disputes. The Soninke practiced matrilineal succession system of inheritance to the throne. This system was well established and gave chance to Ghana to expand.

Good geographical location: The kingdom was located on the Savanna belt that was suitable for settlement and agriculture. This enabled to provide food to the expanding population and army. The surplus was exchanged with guns which made the army very strong.

Natural protection: The Empire had a natural protection it enjoyed from the Sahara Desert to the north and the thick forests to the south favored its rise and growth.

3.1.2. Origin and rise of Mali Empire

From the ruins of the Old Ghana Empire, there arose the Mandingo Empire of Mali. Two important personalities dominated the history of this empire, Sundiata (1230-55) and Mansa Musa (1312-37). Under Sundiata, Mali became the dominant trading empire of the Western Sudan. It therefore took the place of Ghana and although there are differences, it imitated the previous empire very closely. One essential difference is that everything that Mali did was on a grander scale; there was more trade, a larger army and a larger empire.

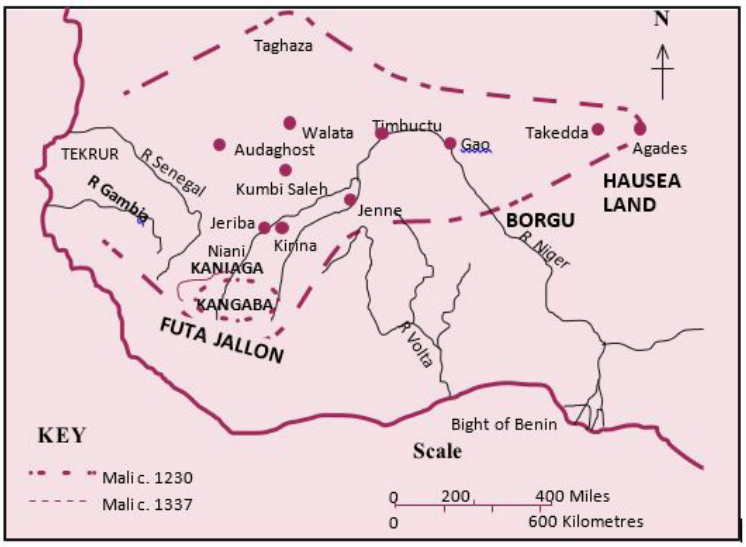
Origins

Mali was not given the name by which it is known until after Sundiata started to build the empire. Its original name was Kangaba. The people of Kangaba were the Mandinka, or in other words, the southern Mande.

Thus, Mali developed from the coming together of a number of Mandinka chieftaincies to form the small state of Kangaba. However, the neighbouring Old Ghana ruler Sumanguru Kante viewed this up-and-coming state with grave concern; and in about 1224 he descended on Kangaba and conquered it, killing, according to some traditions, all but one of its ruler's twelve sons. Sundiata, the survivor, went into exile.

Kangaba was left in a desperate situation, but eventually Sundiata returned from exile and became the king. He was sent help by many of Sumanguru's enemies, such as the king of Bobo who sent 1,500 archers to help Kangaba. Thus, Sundiata was able to assemble a large army to face his foe at a place called Kirina. His greatest obstacle to victory was the fear that Sumanguru inspired in the Mandinka. They believed incredible

stories about Sumanguru; for example, that he possessed eight heads. It was very important for Sundiata to lead the way in battle and to demonstrate that the Susu king was human and indeed mortal, which he did. The Susu were defeated and Sundiata went on to capture the old kingdom of Ghana.



Between 1235 and his death in 1255, Sundiata created the empire of Mali. Mali is a name that was given to the empire by Arab travellers and its meaning is the 'place where the king lives'. The title which the Mali people gave to their king was *mansa*; so by 1235 the once crippled–Sundiata was Mansa Sundiata of Mali.

By 1337, Mali Empire controlled an area in West Africa that included most of what are now Gambia, Guinea, Senegal, Mali and parts of present-day Burkina Faso, Mauritania, and Niger.

The rise and expansion of Mali Empire

A number of factors led to the rise and expansion of Mali:

- ***Strategic geographical position*** – Mali's position, away from the southern movement of the Sahara Desert, and near the centre of the savannah lands, gave it a good geographical advantage. Thus, with good farming land, Mali could be sure of adequate food, a large population and a powerful army. There was less danger in Mali that war would cause a collapse of agriculture as it had done

in Ghana. Another advantage of Mali's geographical positioning was that empire was less vulnerable to attacks from desert tribes such as Sanhaja and the Tuaregs.

- ***Unity in Islam*** – The Empire was not a target of the jihads because Mali, unlike Ghana, had long been a Muslim state. Not all the people of Mali, including Sundiata, were strict Muslims, but most kings seem to have been. This fact was beneficial to Mali's trade and the smooth running of its government.
- ***Expansion of trade*** – Sundiata extended the empire's trading activities – resulting in the expansion of the empire – in a number of ways:

In order to attract the trans-Saharan trade to the heart of his empire, he moved the capital from Jeriba to a new town, called Niani, which later became known as Mali. He realised that northern traders had abandoned Awdaghost as the main trading centre, and were now concentrating their activities in the direction of Timbuktu and Gao. By concentrating trade in positions on the Niger, he could be sure of keeping in contact with Gao.

When he extended his empire, he concentrated on areas that would be especially useful to Mali's trade. He gained control of the gold-producing areas of Wangara. It meant that traders from Gao and Timbuktu would have to trade with Mali for gold and that there would be no need to offset their profits by paying agents for it.

Another area of expansion of trade included the copper-producing area of Takedda and Taghaza from where the salt came.

- ***Military conquests and annexations*** – Sundiata extended the Mali Empire through a series of conquests and annexations. Following the defeat of Sumanguru, Sundiata annexed the kingdom of Kaniaga and all her vassal states, including Ghana which he conquered in 1240. After the final defeat of Ghana, Sundiata stayed at his headquarters. He left to his generals the job of further expansion wars. His generals conquered the gold-producing regions of Bambuk and Wangara. The gold in these territories attracted trade, and thus the wealth of the new empire increased. Another important gain was the control of Taghaza, with its rich salt mines.

- ***Good administration***. Sundiata organized an effective administrative system. He united many petty states, including the newly-annexed ones under one centralised system of administration. He himself took control of the metropolitan administration. He established a standing army under able leaders. He appointed several of these war leaders as governors in the provinces. These military governors exercised effective control over potentially rebellious subjects.
- ***The contributions of Mansa Musa.*** He made contributions in the expansion of Mali in a number of ways:

Devotion to Islam: He was very concerned with spreading the education of Islam and it is under him that Timbuktu started to grow as a great cultural centre. The most famous event of his reign was the great hajj (or pilgrimage) he made to Mecca in 1324. It is clear that he was a cultured man who had great regard for Arab styles of architecture.

Expansion of trade: He was a shrewd king who dispensed his generosity in directions that he considered most profitable. His lavish presents in Cairo were rewarded by a great expansion of trade with the sultan of Egypt.

Expansion of boundaries: Musa made conquests and annexations and greatly expanded the boundaries of Mali. Walata was annexed, and then attention was turned toward the main trading centres of Songhai, Gao, Timbuktu and Djenne (Jenne). These centres had always been the most profitable in the Western Sudan. Musa sent his military leader, Sagaman DSir, to conquer these towns, and it was accomplished by the time Musa returned from Mecca in 1325. The wealth of Mali was therefore substantially increased in the reign of Mansa Musa.

- **The downfall of Ghana:** Ghana declined because of the internal and external attacks which helped Sundiata to capture Ghana.
- **The presence of able leaders:** such as Sundiata Keita and Mansa Kanka Musa who created a strong army that was used to attack and capture neighboring States and to defend empire.
- **The unity of the Mandinga people:** they were united by their land and their religion and were armed against their common enemies.

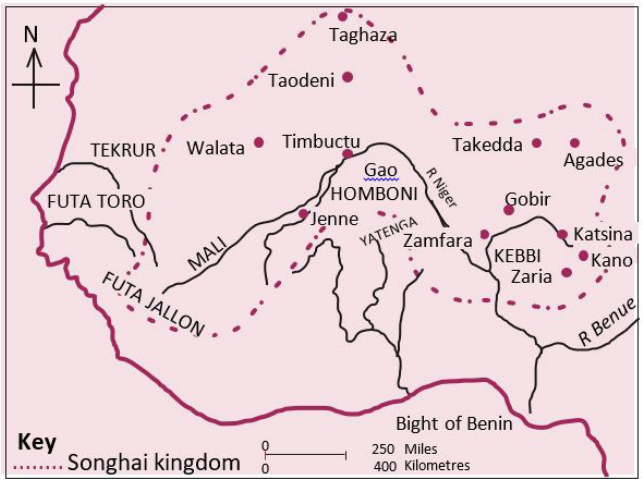
- **The small size:** Mali started as a small State of Kangaba and this made easy for control and administration, then facilitated its expansion.
- **The presence of strong army:** The Empire had a strong army which was composed of former professional hunters and it was commanded by able generals. It was instrumental in expansion and maintenance of Mali Empire.
- **The rise of Sundiata Keita:** The blessed rise of Sundiata Keita provided the brain to liberate his people from the tyranny when he attacked and defeated Sumanguru Kante in 1235 in the battle of Kirina. He took over the throne and found the Empire of Mali.

3.1.3. Songhai Empire

As Mali's power waned, Songhai asserted its independence and rose to power in the area as the third and perhaps the greatest of the Sudanese states of West Africa. Songhai had been an important trade centre within Mali's empire, just as Mali had once been ruled by Ghana.

Origin

What became the nucleus of Songhai began with the coming together of two mutually unfriendly groups of oborigines: the Sorko, who were mostly fishermen, and made their living on the river Niger; and the Gabibi, who were agriculturalists, and lived in different parts of the countryside.



Songhai Empire of 11th Century

Depending mainly on fishing, the lives of the Sorko were dominated by the river. By the 7th Century, they had organised themselves into a fairly strong kingdom, with Kukia as their capital. With time, the Sorko dominated the Gabibi. The two people's merged into one kingdom, which the Arabic records refer to as Al-Kawkaw.

About the beginning of the 8th Century, the Berber Lemta tribe from the north of Gao, under their leader Za Alieamen, conquered the kingdom. Thus began a long line of Za rulers in Al-Kawkaw. Al-Kawkaw grew into a prosperous and powerful kingdom through fishing, cattle-rearing and trade. The growing prosperity attracted Muslim merchants from the north. In about 1010 the ruler, Za Kossoi, was converted to Islam. We have seen that Sundiata moved the capital of Kaniaga from Jeriba to Niani (Mali) to be nearer the centre of trade. The leaders of Al-Kawkaw transferred their capital from Kukia to Gao for the same reasons. Al-Kawkaw grew in importance alongside both the Ghana and Mali empires. But as the two empires developed, more and more of the Sudanese trade shifted westwards, and Al-Kawkaw declined gradually in importance. Indeed, she lost her independence for a time to Mali.

Factors that led to the growth of Songhai

A number of factors led to the growth of Songhai:

Trade

Songhai's rich and fertile land and other resources attracted traders. Three principal trade routes converged at the capital, Gao.

Influences of Islam

Trans-Saharan trade brought into the kingdom Muslim influences which helped the development of the kingdom. These influences became more pronounced from the beginning of the 11th Century, following the conversion of the king, Za Kossoi, to Islam. Furthermore, as happened elsewhere, the Muslims became advisers in the royal court, and influenced not only the administration, but also the social, economic, and political life of the kingdom.

Gao's resistance to Mali domination

In the 14th Century, the kingdom of Gao came under the control of Mali in the reign of Mansa Musa. In due course, Gao threw off Mali's domination, in a rebellion initiated by the two Gaoan princes, Ali Kolen and Sulayman Nar, whom Mansa Musa had taken away to Mali as hostages. These princes escaped and Sulayman Nar drove out the army of Mali stationed at Gao.

However, some time elapsed before Gao, now developing into an empire, was able to gain its independence from Mali completely.

Weakness of neighbouring countries

Weakness in the neighbouring countries helped Sunni Ali's work of expanding and consolidating his empire. However, much of his success was due to his own personal courage and ruthlessness.

Enough military strength

In order to quell internal opposition and to launch wars of expansion, Sunni Ali established a very well-organised army. He also started a navy and organized a strong fleet, headed by a navy officer, the *Hi-koy*. With the help of the fleet, he was able to command control of the Niger River. With these formidable armed forces he was able to clear his kingdom of all opponents to his rule. His military might enabled him to conquer neighbouring countries such as: Timbuktu, Jenne, Yetanga and Hausaland.

The wealth derived from these newly-annexed vassal states contributed greatly to the prosperity of Songhai Empire.

Efficient administration

Sunni Ali established a very efficient administration. He had so expanded the frontiers of Songhai that the empire contained many different peoples and territories. To keep this large empire together, Sunni Ali set up very efficient administrative machinery. He divided his empire into provinces. He made able war leaders governors of strategic regions. For example, in the province of Hombori in the south, a mountainous territory which gave him much trouble, he placed a veteran leader, called *Tondifari* to keep the rebellious people in submission and to maintain an effective check on any incursions from outside the frontiers of the empire. In the relatively peaceful provinces, Sunni Ali allowed the native rulers a good deal of local autonomy, as long as they were answerable to him, and showed their loyalty to the imperial authority through the regular payment of tributes. His policy towards conquered peoples therefore varied according to conditions prevailing in each individual territory. In localities where the Muslims did not oppose him, he treated them fairly.

Able leadership: Gao had good respected leaders who were accommodative to their subjects and foreigners, they were even obeyed by the rulers of other kingdoms. They united the people and formed good governments and army; all in all, they promoted order and peace which gave rise to trade prosperity hence its rise and growth.

Favorable political condition: The Tuaregs who captured the northern part of Mali were oppressive and exploitative. For this reason the people of Timbuktu invited Sunni Ali to rescue them. This created a favorable political atmosphere for the rise of Songhai Empire.

Decline of Mali and Ghana: The decline and collapse of Ghana and Mali provided a free opportunity for Songhai to break off and consolidate its power, which it used to rise and grow as the most powerful empire in Western Sudan.

Good geographical position: The Empire was located in a fertile basin of the Niger and Senegal which attracted the inhabitants to settle and practice agriculture in the growing of crops, rearing of animals to sustain their living and to fish in the rivers of Niger and Senegal.

Unity among Songhai: The united spirit of its people who acted as one with nationalistic feeling to liberate themselves from the domination of Ghana and Mali provided a base for the rise and growth of Songhai. This unity is also based on the oneness in Islam religion.

Absence of succession rivalries: In Songhai, there were no succession disputes between the sons of the King; this helped to avoid conflicts that would have created political instabilities in Songhai.

Small size: Songhai started as a small State and it was easy to control a small area, thus avoiding instabilities that would destabilize the rise of the Empire.

Role of Ali Kolon and Sulayman: Their successful escape was a lucky moment for the rise of Songhai. The princes organized the people and used military power to assert their independence from Mali.

He was a founder and liberator: He founded the greatest Empire of Songhai when he liberated his people from the tyranny of the Tuaregs and the Berbers, raids and transformed the small State of Gao into a large, powerful and a peaceful Empire of Songhai.

He expanded the Empire: He expanded the empire through his conquests of the neighbors. In 1468 he conquered Timbuktu, 1472 he captured Jenne, Haussa state of Kebbi, remaining parts of Mali etc and added them to make a large Empire of Songhai.

He built a strong army: He consolidated himself in Gao and improved the army by establishing cavalry, infantry and naval fleets which he used for a vigorous conquest policy, defending the empire and maintaining law and order that brought peace and stability.

He promoted good governance and administration: He also established a good and efficient system of governance by dividing his conquered into provinces. He appointed new governors and areas where there was submission he left them with their rulers. Special governors were appointed to the state, resisted his rule and commanders in chief who were loyal to him.

He eliminated enemies of the empire: In his duty to build his empire, he used excessive hostility on his enemies but generous to those who submitted to his authority. It' said that he hated and killed the Fulani and the Moslems clerics and scholars of Timbuktu because they resisted his administration.

He promoted trade: Sunni Ali promoted trade and commerce by capturing the commercial centers like Timbuktu, controlling the trade routes, encouraging his Tpeople to participate in the T.S.T with foreign countries and by creating the stability and security in his empire.

He promoted agriculture: He encouraged his people to get engaged in agriculture and fishing activities in order to meet food and commercial requirements in the selling of the surplus.

The work of Askia Muhammad (1493-1528)

When Sunni Ali died in 1492, he was succeeded by his son, Abu Bakr (also known as Sunni Baru). He reigned for only a little over a year. A succession dispute then arose, which resulted in fierce rivalry between Ali's son and one of Sunni Ali's war generals, who had served as Ali's chief minister. The general's name was Muhammad Ture, also known as Muhammad Ture Ibn Abi Bakr. Muhammad Ture emerged victorious from a war against Abu Bakr, defeating his rival at a place called Angoo. Entering Gao in triumph, Muhammad Ture was proclaimed king of Songhai. He assumed the title *Askia*, meaning 'he can't be (king)', an expression with which the sisters of his rival, in utter disgust at learning of the victory of Muhammad Ture, had greeted his triumphant entry into Gao. That started the new 'Askia' dynasty which replaced the Sunni line. Askia reigned from 1493 to 1528, when he was deposed by his eldest son, Musa. Askia Muhammad took measures to improve the social and economic life of the empire.

Askia Muhammad's achievements for his Empire

Askia Muhammad's political astuteness and administrative genius helped to make him one of the great rulers of Songhai. Under him the empire reached its greatest extent stretching from Walata in the west to Kano in the east. It included a number of important trading centres in the Sahara.

Territorial expansion: Askia followed the example of Sunni Ali and made further territorial gains through conquests and treaties. He renewed Songhai's attack on the Mossi but, like his predecessor, Sunni Ali, he failed to conquer these strong southern neighbours. After a long campaign, he then conquered what was left of the Mali Empire. His next move was against the Hausa states of Gobir, Kano, Katsina and Zamfara, all of which he annexed. At the height of Askia's reign the Songhai Empire stretched from the Atlantic to Lake Chad.

***Administration*:** Askia set about consolidating the territorial gains made by his predecessor, Sunni Ali, by an elaborate administrative system. He extended this administrative system to the new lands he added to the empire. He redivided the empire into four regions, and at the head of each he placed a vice-roy or governor. The regions were Kurmina Masina, Bambara; Dendi Bala, to and Bangu

Each region was headed by a governor, called fari, farma or koy. Local rulers still had authority but they were responsible to the regional governors. In metropolitan Songhai itself, the king held direct control of the machinery of government. He appointed a council of ministers who assisted him in ruling not only the metropolitan area but the entire empire. Among the most important ministerial officers were:

- *Katisi-farma*, responsible for finance
- *Asari-mundia*, responsible for justice
- *Balama*, responsible for defence
- *Hi-koy*, responsible for the navy
- *Korey-farma*, responsible for foreign affairs
- *Sao-farma*, the minister in charge of forestry
- *Hari-farma*, in charge of rivers, lakes and fisheries
- *Kari-farma*, the chief priest of the indigenous religion of Songhai
- *Barey-koy*, who was in charge of the imperial court arrangements.

Military organisation: Askia Muhammad also organised the army effectively. The soldiers kept Tuareg bandits out of the empire and maintained a peaceful atmosphere in which commerce could flourish.

In the realm of social development, he encouraged learning, built up Timbuktu as a hub of civilisation, and patronised Islam.

Religion – Like Mansa Musa, Askia Muhammad was a devout Muslim. He used Islam as a unifying force and adopted Islamic principles as guidelines for the conduct of his people. Askia appointed judges in each important town of the empire. These judges followed the Koranic law and the *Sharia*. As a devout Muslim, Askia Muhammad made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1497. Though not as fabulous as Mansa Musa's, Askia's pilgrimage had important effects on the development of his empire. He bought a hostel at Cairo for Sudanese pilgrims going to and returning from Mecca. In recognition of his strict adherence to and promotion of Islam, Askia was awarded the title of 'Caliph of the Blacks'.

Like Mansa Musa, Askia returned from the pilgrimage with a number of celebrated Islamic scholars. These served the empire as educators, administrators, advisers and judges. As more Muslims were attracted to Songhai, relations with the Muslim world improved. This meant an increase in trade. These Muslim immigrants also had a far-reaching influence on the political, social and cultural life of the empire.

Also, inspired by North African Islamic theologians like Al-Maghili, he abolished the practice of sand-divining and the belief in talisman. He also made laws against the ill-use of pregnant slave women; and further, he legislated against nudity among adults.

Education – Askia Muhammad encouraged the spread of education. It was recorded, for example, that during Askia's reign, and there were as many as 150 Koranic schools in Timbuktu alone. The standard of learning at centres such as the Sankore Mosque in Timbuktu, in Jenne and in Gao reached a very advanced level. Scholars from all over the Islamic world came to these centres for further studies. These institutions of higher learning produced many celebrated scholars. The growth of literacy had a great influence on the social, cultural and political life of the empire; it also helped to promote the trade in books.

Askia Muhammad reformed and put the economy of Songhai on a firm basis. He encouraged regional specialisation according to the natural distribution of the Empire's economic resources. Thus some areas specialised in the cultivation of food crops, some in fishing, others in the production of building materials, in smith work and in the mining of gold, salt and copper.

He regularised the system of weights and measures and made salt, in addition to cowries, the imperial currency. His reforms increased the yield of state revenue from slave-worked in royal estates, regular contributions from the provinces, tributes from vassal states and proceeds from state-controlled commerce, particularly the transSaharan trade. The prosperity helped, among other things, in the establishment of a standing professional army vital for the strength and stability of Songhai.

Following are his contributions to Songhai economy.

Weights and measures: Askia established a unified system of weights and measures throughout the empire, allowing, where necessary, a degree of local variation. . He legislated against cheating in trade, and appointed inspectors to control weights and measures and prices.

Sources of imperial revenue*:* The imperial treasury derived its revenue from farming and industry, court fines and from a variety of taxes. The income from these sources and the huge sums of money gained from commerce helped the kings to maintain an effective administration, to build up a strong army and navy, and to develop flourishing cities like Gao, Timbuctu and Jenne.

Farming: Much wealth was derived from farming and fishing. Throughout the empire, the government established vast estates which were worked by slaves. Each estate was under a *fanfa*, or estate manager. The revenue from these state farms went into the imperial treasury.

Crafts: Teams of slaves were also organised for the production of boats, spears and arrows. Some of these products went to equip the imperial army and navy. Some were sold to replenish the imperial treasury.

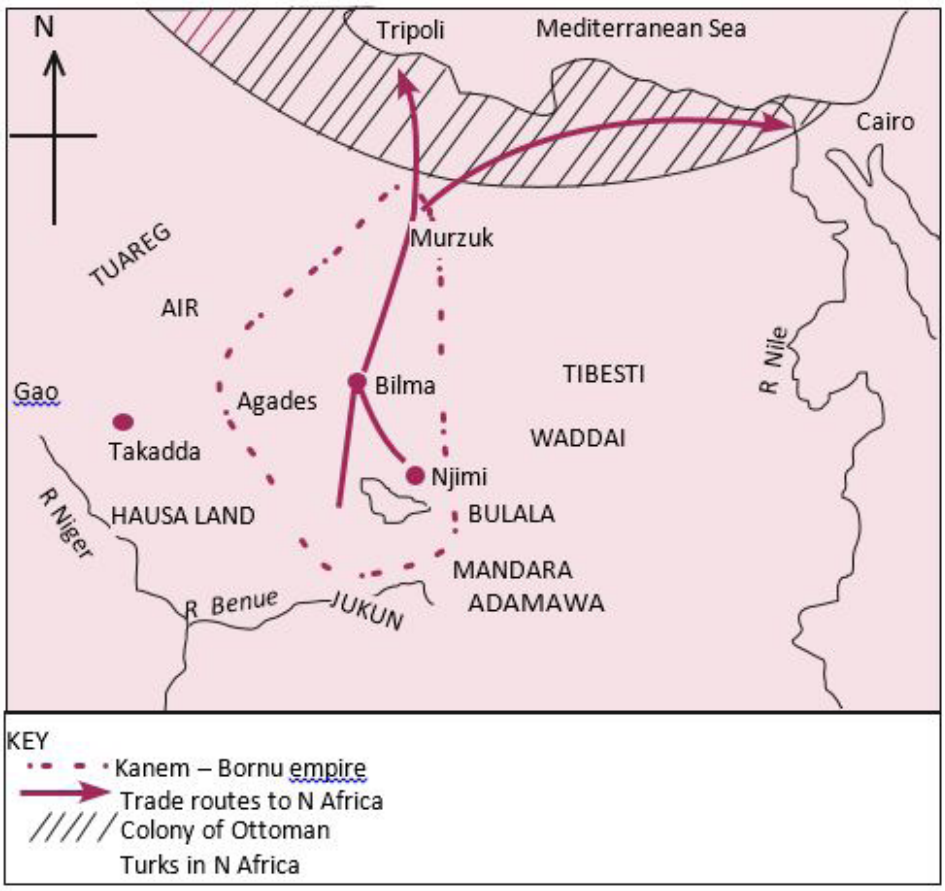
Tributes: Other sources of imperial revenue were tributes collected from vassal states.

Taxes: Taxes were collected from farmers by the regional governors and were sent regularly to the capital.

Tolls and duties: In addition, much revenue was collected in form of tolls and customs duties.

Court fines: These were another source of imperial revenue.

3.1.4. Origin and the rise of Kanem-Bornu Empire



Kanem-Bornu Empire

Introduction

The Kanem-Bornu Empire existed in modern Chad and Nigeria. It was known to the Arabian geographers as the Kanem Empire from the 9th Century AD onward. It lasted as the independent kingdom of Bornu until 1900. To the east of Lake Chad there emerged a kingdom comprising several states. This developed over a period of time, into the great Kanuri Empire. The beginnings of the empire coincided with the rise of Mali and Al-Kawkaw or Songhai, and the period of Ghana's greatness.

This empire was first established in the north east of Lake Chad among the Kanuri nomads with their Njimi in Kanem. It established itself and grew strong up to about 1390s when it declined.

However, due to many unbearable attacks from the So and the Bulala, succession disputes etc. in Kanem, Mai Umar B. Idris evacuated Kanem and moved southwards with his people to Bornu by 1390s.

In 1472 Mai Ali Gajji came to power and re-established the state south west of Lake Chad and built its new capital on the south bank of river Komadugu Yobe. He called it Birni Ngazargamu hence "Kanem-Bornu" empire because it transferred from a troubled area of Kanem to a safer area of Bornu.

Origins

The origins of the Kanuri Empire are very unclear. Much of what we know about it is purely legendary. According to the so-called Kisra legend, Kanem was founded by a prince called Kisra and his followers who migrated to the east of Lake Chad from eastern Africa. It is believed that the westward movement of Kisra and his people took place as a consequence of the destruction of the city of Meroe (in the presentday republic of the Sudan) by the people of Axum (in Ethiopia) in about AD 350. Archaeologists have unearthed several historical remains in Kanem, which seem to point to the influence of Meroe.

Some of the early peoples of the Kanem area were the So, who were the original inhabitants of the area; the Zaghawa – a nomadic people who were believed to have emigrated from eastern Africa in early times, and to have settled to the east of the lake in about 8th Century AD; the Kanuri or Kanembi; and the Bulala.

The major factor that influenced the later history of the state of Kanem was the early penetration of Islam. North African traders; Berbers and Arabs, brought the new religion. Towards 1068, Hummay, a member of the Sefawa establishment, who was already a Muslim, discarded the last Duguwa King, Selma, from power and thus established the new dynasty of the Sefawa. Islam offered the Sefawa rulers the advantage of new ideas from Arabia and the Mediterranean world, as well as literacy in administration. But many people resisted the new religion favouring traditional beliefs and practices. When Hummay had assumed power on the basis of his strong Islamic following, for example, it is believed that the Kanembu began some kind of internal opposition.

When the ruling dynasty changed, the royal establishment abandoned its capital of Manan and settled in the new capital Njimi further south of Kanem. By the 13th Century, Kanem's rule expanded. At the same time, the Kanembu people drew closer to the new rulers and increased the growing population in the new capital of Njimi. Even though the Kanembu became the main power-base of the Sefawa, Kanem's rulers continued to travel frequently throughout the kingdom and especially towards Bornu, west of Lake Chad. Herders and farmers alike recognized the government's power and acknowledged their allegiance by paying tribute.

The power and growth of Kanem-Bornu, unlike that of most other Sudanese states, fluctuated over the years, but the state never really completely broke down. One reason for this was the remarkable extent of the Sefawa dynasty whose rulers were able to sustain the state through crises of disintegration. Their profiles below show how this happened:

Achievements of some Mai to the expansion of Kanem-Bornu

Bornu was peaceful and safer: The external attacks from the troublesome So and Bulala in the north east of Lake Chad were insufferable consequently they found Bornu safer and more peaceful where they settled.

Trade: The decline of trade activities in Kanem due to frequent and fierce attacks from the Bulala and the So led the Kanuri to swift and settle in the southwestern side where they hoped to get a peaceful trading atmosphere.

Good geographical location: The western side of Lake Chad (Bornu) was a terminal centre of trade routes from North Africa for this reason they settled in trade activities.

Wealth in minerals: The Bornu region was endowed with abundant Natron (potash) and copper, which was resourceful in empire building.

Natural protection from enemies: It was able to rise due to natural protection to the north by river Komadugu Yobe, to the east by Lake Chad and swamps which made it difficult for external enemies to attack it.

Able rulers: There were able leaders like Umar B. idris and Ali Gajji who managed to unite the Kanuri, organized and moved them to the new area and provided protection for them at dangerous times deserve praise for the rise.

Efficient governance and administration: The good government and administration from the Mai dynasty provided efficient control that gave rise to the growth of Kanem – Bornu Empire.

Strong army: Kanem – Bornu settled down and formed a strong army of brave fighters determined to defend their identity and for expansion in area given the past experience in Kanem;

Conquest policy: The expansionist policy of the rulers led to the growth of Kanem – Bornu. By this policy, Mai Katankambi recaptured the old capital of Njimi in kanem;

Islamic unity: Islamic faith was the state religion, which became a uniting factor among the Kanuri who worked together in the solidarity of Moslem brotherhood

The First Kanem-Bornu, the Mai contributing to its expansion and decline

The First Kanem – Bornu Empire

This was founded by Saif who established the Saif dynasty of Mais which ruled from 800 AD to 1846. The capital of the Empire was Njimi. Because of contact with North Africa, King Jilmi converted to Islam in 1090 and encouraged his people to join Islam.

The most powerful kings under the First kanem – Bornu Empire were:

Mai Umme Jilmi: who was the first king to be converted into Islam and encouraged his people to join Islam.

Mai Dunama I: He was one who had made a pilgrimage to Mecca and later created a good relationship with Saudi Arabia. He is also remembered as one who had began the process of expanding the kingdom into an Empire.

Mai Dunama II Dalabani

He continued the policy of territorial expansion began by his father. With a cavalry of 30 000 men he extended the empire to Fezzan in the north, to Adamawa in the south and in the west to Bornu and Kano and the east to Wadai.

During his reign Kanem – Bornu attained great heights of power and influence in the south and North Africa.

He maintained an embassy in Tunis thus establishing diplomatic relations. He also bought a hostel in Cairo for the pilgrims and resident students from Kanem – Bornu.

He established a state Council of 12 advisors. They exercised considerable control and management over the State policy.

He divided the empire into 4 provinces each under a provincial governor. The most important of these governors was known as Yerima who was in control of the Yeri province in the North. Others were Mastrema at the east and Galadima at the west.

He established a strong army under a commander in chief of general known as Kaigama who was also the governor in the south.

He had also established a judicial system and there was the High Court controlled by the Chief of justice called Kanendi Molnin.

The Second Kanem – Bornu Empire

This was founded by Mai Umar Ibn Idriss in Bornu at western of Lake Chad. The Second Kanem – Bornu was an Empire of the Kanuri people escaped from Kanem at the east as a result of constant attacks from the So and Bulala. Its capital-city was established at Ngazargamu.

The Second Kanem

Bornu Empire was founded by Mai Umar Ibn Idriss in Bornu at western of Lake Chad. The Second Kanem – Bornu was an Empire of the Kanuri people escaped from Kanem at the east as a result of constant attacks from the So and Bulala. Its capitalcity was established at Ngazargamu.

The Second Kanem – Bornu Empire was ruled by able and competent leaders but the most important were Mai Ali Gajji and Idris Alooma.

Mai Ali Gajji

He is one who restored power and stability of the Seif dynasty and crushed the internal opposition and stopped the civil wars. He had made the following achievements:

He reformed the government by reducing excessive powers of the governors whose struggle for power had caused the troubles of the state.

He used Islam as a unifying factor and ensured observation of Islamic practices such as reading the Koran and marrying only four wives.

He created a strong royal army for the State able to defend the Empire and ensure order and law. By this army, he maintained internal peace and defeated external enemies like the Bulala in the west, the Hausa in the north and the Kwararafa in the South.

He extended the Empire to the land of Bulala, Tibesti and Baku. Under his reign, the empire became so important to appear on the contemporary map of Africa; making Bornu to be known by the outside world.

He also tried to improve the economy of state by encouraging the Trans Sahara Trade and as a result the State got horses for transportation.

Mai Idris Aluma (1571-1603)

Kanem-Bornu peaked during the reign of the outstanding statesman Mai Idris Aluma (1571-1603). Idris Aluma's reign was well-documented by his chief Imam, Ahmed Ibn Fartua Aluma (also spelled Alooma). He is remembered for his military skills, administrative reforms, and Islamic piety. His main adversaries were the Hausa to the west, the Tuareg and Toubou to the north, and the Bulala to the east. Mai Aluma's reign can be remembered for a number of innovations and achievements:

Military innovations – His innovations included the employment of fixed military camps (with walls); permanent sieges and 'scorched earth' tactics, where soldiers burned everything in their path; armoured horses

and riders; and the use of Berber camelry, Kotoko boatmen, and iron-helmeted musketeers trained by Turkish military advisers.

Good diplomatic relations – His active diplomacy featured relations with Tripoli, Egypt, and the Ottoman Empire, which sent a 200-member ambassadorial party across the desert to Aluma's court at Ngazargamu. Aluma also signed what was probably the first written treaty or cease-fire in Chadian history.

Legal and administrative reforms – Aluma introduced a number of legal and administrative reforms based on his religious beliefs and Islamic law (*sharia*).

Islamisation – Idris Aluma was a great patron of Islam and used his great power to boost the process of Islamisation within his sphere of influence. Previously only the clerical families and the ruling class had adopted Islam; but in Idris Aluma's time all the notables, and many others, according to Ibn Fartua, became Muslims. He began the process of substituting the *Sharia* for customary law in certain spheres. He sponsored the construction of numerous mosques and made a pilgrimage to Mecca, where he arranged for the establishment of a hostel to be used by pilgrims from his empire.

Political alliances – As with other dynamic politicians, Aluma's reformist goals led him to seek loyal and competent advisers and allies. He frequently relied on slaves who had been educated in noble homes. Aluma regularly sought advice from a council composed of heads of the most important clans. He commanded the loyalty and support of the Kanuri who came to identify themselves with the Bornu Empire, and he went a long way towards the political unification of the various groups within it. He used a combination of Islam, dynastic marriages and a careful definition of Bornu's sphere of influence, to achieve this. He required major political figures to live at the court. He reinforced political alliances through marriages.

Economic organisation – Kanem-Bornu under Aluma was strong and wealthy. Government revenue came from tributes, sale of slaves, and duties on participation in trans-Saharan trade. The Chadian region did not have gold. Still, it was central to one of the most convenient trans-

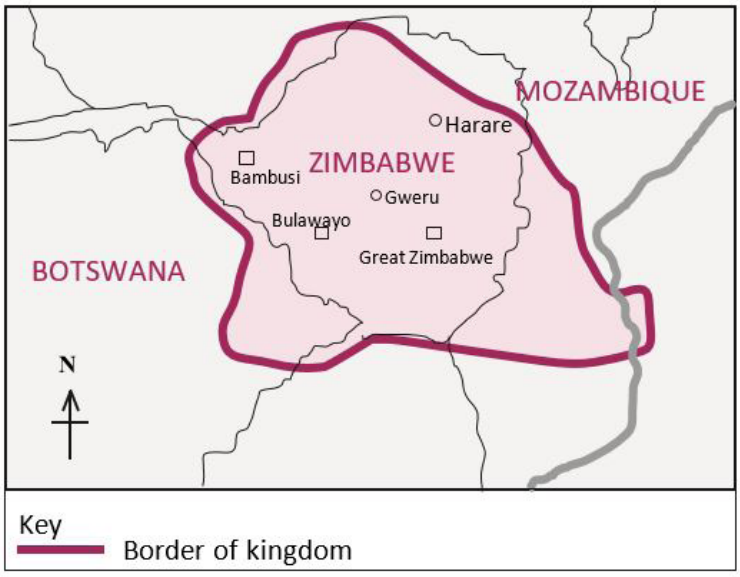
Saharan trade routes. Between Lake Chad and Fezzan lay a sequence of well-spaced wells and oases. From Fezzan there were easy connections to North Africa and the Mediterranean Sea. Many products were sent north, including natron (sodium carbonate), cotton, kola nuts, ivory, ostrich feathers, perfume, wax and hides. But the most important of all were slaves. Imports included salt, horses, silks, glass, muskets, and copper.

Mai Idris Aluma's contribution to the rise of the second Kanem-Bornu Empire is comparable to that of Mansa Musa of Mali and Askia Muhammad Ture for Songhai. He died in 1603 when returning from an expedition. When expanded the empire to its widest extent; Islamised all aspects of life in the empire; he had made his empire widely known and respected throughout the Muslim world in Africa, Asia and Turkey; he left the empire at the peak of its power and prosperity. His reign coincided with the decline of the Songhai Empire. His fame did not end with his death, but persisted down to the 19th Century.

3.1.5. Origin and the rise of Mwenemutapa Kingdom

The Mwenemutapa Kingdom, also spelled Monomotapa, was a Shona-speaking kingdom of the Karanga people (1450-1629). The kingdom stretched between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers of Southern Africa in the modern states of Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

The name Mutapa means 'the conquered lands'. The mwene (Bantu term for "lord," specifically a conquering king) was the title giving rise to the state being referred to as Mwene mutapa. This phrase has been preserved in documents as *Munhu mu tapa, Manhumutapa,* and the Portuguese, *Monomotapa*.



Expansion the Mwenemutapa Kingdom of Zimbabwe

Origin

The Karanga are a subgroup of the Shona. The other subgroups include the Rozwi, Zezuru, Korekore and Manyika. They migrated in AD 1000 and settled in an area north of River Limpopo and south of the Zambezi River. They founded the Great Zimbabwe.

Chief Chuka was the founding ruler of the Great Zimbambwe kingdom. Between 1420 and 1450. It was by Nyatsimba Mutota who expanded the chiefdom. He expanded it to the north to control to the long-distance trade. The kingdom was later abandoned in 1450 because it had exhausted its salt and trade.

The Mutapa state is often linked to the impressive stone ruins that dot Zimbabwe. Two ruins are situated at the centre of the present-day Zimbabwe. One group crowns a rocky outcrop, and could be reffered to as a hill-fort. The other, in the valley beneath, consists of a vast elliptical enclosure, massively walled in stone, with other stone walls inside and in particular a solid conical tower. The time of building is uncertain; it was probably as early as the 11th Century or as late as the 14th Century.

After abandoning the original kingdom, the Shona then established Mwenemutapa Kingdom, as Mutota conquered other lands in the north.

The Mwenemutapa Kingdom got its name from the Barwe and Manyika communities who were describing the king's action of extreme force to expand his territory. It was located in Mazoe valley. Mwenemutapa became the royal title and eventually the name of the kingdom which was ruled by Mutapa. It was known for its gold. Mwenemutapa kingdom later collapsed in 1480. The Shona then established yet another kingdom called Rozwi in the 18th Century. It was established on the Zambezi plateau. It was established by Dombo and it was also known for its gold.



Mutapa ruins in Zimbabwe

The ruins of Great Zimbabwe, near Masvingo in modern Zimbabwe, were built by Shona-speaking people between the 11th and 14th centuries. The Great Enclosure, shown here, contains a series of walled areas and, seen on the left among the trees, a solid conical structure, the function of which is not known. The main walls of the enclosure are as high as 10m (32 ft) and as thick as 5m (17 ft).

Factors that led to the rise and expansion of Mwenemutapa Kingdom

Mutota's successor, Mwenemutapa Matope, extended this new kingdom into an empire encompassing most of the lands between Tavara and the Indian Ocean. The Mwenemutapa became very wealthy by exploiting copper from Chidzurgwe and ivory from the middle Zambezi. This expansion weakened the Torwa kingdom, the southern Shona state from which Mutota and his dynasty originated.

Matope's armies overran the kingdom of the Manyika as well as the coastal kingdoms of Kiteve and Madanda. By the time the Portuguese arrived on the coast of Mozambique, the Mutapa Kingdom was the premier Shona state in the region. He raised a strong army which conquered the Dande area that included Tonga and Tavara. A number of factors led to the expansion of the Mwenemutapa Kingdom:

Able rulers – The rulers of the kingdom had good leadership skills and were held in great awe by their subjects. They enjoyed immense powers and prestige in the kingdom. They also exerted firm control over the commercial activities of the kingdom.

Strategic position for commercial activities – The kingdom had a rich hinterland for resources which were in great demand at the East African Coast. It attracted large numbers of Swahili and Arab traders, and was thus a key player in the long-distance trade.

Strong economic base – The kingdom had rich cultivable land, grazing areas and large timber resources. Besides, it had huge deposits of gold, iron ore and copper.

A vibrant craft industry – A good craft industry was developed, which specialized in making items from gold, copper, iron ore, weaving of cloth from local cotton and pottery. Thus it was possible to trade with the kingdom's neighbours



Towers of the Great. Zimbabwe

A common religion – The Shona people were bound by a common religion called the *Mwari cult* or *Mlimo*. The religion involved ritual consultation of spirits of royal ancestors. Shrines were maintained within the capital by spirit mediums. The spirits also served as oral historians recording the names and deeds of past kings. The ancestral spirits relayed the people's requests to God. The Shona religion was a major unifying factor for the society.

Rise in population – The rise in population and the ever-increasing demands of the people, led to the expansion of the kingdom. The rulers decided that a military conquest to create room for expansion was the solution.

3.1.6. The origin and rise of Zulu Empire

The Zulu were originally a major Nguni clan (*isibonga* in Nguni) in what is today Northern KwaZulu-Natal. In the Nguni language *iZulu* or *iliZulu* means heaven or sky. The iZulu clan was founded about 1709 by Zulu kaNtombela. At that time, the area was occupied by many large Nguni communities. Among them were the Mthethwa, under whose chief Dingiswayo the founder of the Zulu state Shaka, began his career.

Dingiswayo and the origins

The Mthethwa were a Nguni community, located very near the coast in what is now Zululand. On the death of his father Dingiswayo, deposed his brother who had succeeded his father and came to the chieftaincy of the Mthethwa community during the 1790s. Dingiswayo rapidly embarked on the steps towards achieving his ambition of territorial expansion by employing new techniques.

Abolishing the traditional initiation ceremonies – the circumcision rituals of the Mthethwa – he enrolled the young men of the community into age-regiments instead of age-grades. The regiments provided Dingiswayo with a standing army. This innovation gave him advantage over his neighbours. His authority expanded over them. The system, encouraged greater community coherence and military efficiency. The standing army was instrumental in enabling easy defeat and subjugation of his neighbours, and recruitment of their men into his army.

Shaka's rise to power

Shaka was the son of Senzangakona, chief of the Zulu clan, and Nandi. Nandi's quarrelsome and violent character caused her to be sent back to live with her people. She took with her the young Shaka, who thus became an illegitimate boy, not recognised by Zulu clan elders. Shaka spent an unhappy childhood as he grew up unwanted and humiliated by his playmates, who teased, mocked and harassed him. This unhappy background was responsible for Shaka developing arrogance and indifference to human suffering. He was determined to be recognised and displayed extraordinary qualities for achieving early recognition – intelligence, courage, physical strength and ruthless ambition. He was conscious of his chiefly descent and set firm targets to assume the leadership of his father's people at some stage.

In about 1809, Shaka joined Dingiswayo's regiments. Dingiswayo's army represented Shaka's only hope of personal success. He threw his mind and body into the new life. Very rapidly, he distinguished himself by courage and tactical skill, and became commander of one of the regiments. In 1816, his father Senzangakona died and was succeeded by his son Sigujana. However, with Dingiswayo's support, Shaka deposed Sigujana and took over as chief of the Zulu.

Dingiswayo was killed by Zwide of the Ndwandwe. This event created opportunity for the emergence of Shaka on a wider arena. He quickly incorporated the Mthethwa into the Zulu chiefdom, making it more powerful and a challenge to the Ndwandwe. Soon the Ndwandwe too fell victim to Shaka's expansionist ambitions and were expelled together with their leader Zwide. Other generals such as Zwangendaba and Soshangane followed suit and fled from Zululand.

Shaka's establishment of the Zulu Empire

Shaka's military genius enabled him to ascend to power. It also came in handy in his creation of a powerful Zulu nation. Once he achieved political power in his community, he began a further revolution in military, political and administrative organisation to build and expand the the Zulu nation as follows:

i. Military organisation and control

Shaka improved on the military reforms of Dingiswayo by introducing further changes in the regiment. The standing army was divided into age-regiments in each district. Each age-regiment had to live in special camps under their commanders appointed by Shaka himself, usually from commoner families or clans with no royal ambitions.

The regiments were now armed with short stabbing spears, which made them immensely dangerous at close quarters, especially against men armed with traditional throwing spear (*assegai* in Zulu parlance*)* which could only be used once. Military training became much more rigorous. The traditional heavy wooden sandals were discarded, since they impeded quick movement even though they made travel more comfortable.

The regiments were trained to use the new enveloping tactics, the *cow-horn* formation, whereby wings (or horns) of the Zulu army surrounded the enemy while the main body of the army attacked them from the front. The rearguard of 'the horns of the cow' formation was a large reserve regiment always ready to come to its aid when the going became too difficult.

The regiments also became the units of social life as well as military service. Men lived in the regimental headquarters until when Shaka permitted them to marry and retire from active service. They were obliged to marry women from the equivalent female regiment. Since military service was drawn out for many years and men retired only in their forties, the regiments were a focus of social and political life in the way the old lineage-groups had been before the military revolution.

ii. Administrative and political organisation and control

In 1818, the Mthethwa lost their king Dingiswayo at the hands of Zwide. Just as Dingiswayo had imposed Shaka on the Zulu, Shaka now imposed one of his followers on the Mthethwa, and consolidated his authority throughout Dingiswayo's sphere of influence. The following year, he led Dingiswayo's old armies in a successful and devastating war against Zwide, and so extended his power over all the Nguni in what is now Zululand, and his influence over a vast area from Swaziland in the north

to the Transkei in the south, and from the Drakensberg Mountains to the sea. Many of the changes Shaka introduced had already been attempted on a small scale in the pure Zulu community. They had a different effect when applied on a large scale in the whole Zulu state. For instance:

The regiments had been organised before but now they served a nation-building purpose as well as a military one. Recruits from all over the new state were mixed together in each regiment, where they built up a loyalty to the regiment and to Shaka as king and tended to forget their separate individual origins. By living and fighting together, they grew to understand and trust each other. Promotion could only be achieved through the military organisation. Ambitious young men devoted their efforts to serving Shaka as commander-in-chief.

Shaka adopted more of the military form of government as an absolute ruler. He assumed executive, legislative and judicial powers and functions and therefore made all decisions. He was the commander-in-chief, high priest, and the supreme justice. All appeals from the lower courts were heard by him and his ruling was final. He ignored the old traditional councils of chiefs and leading elders and relied more on his *indunas* for advice, which he was not obliged to accept.

Since most of the able-bodied men at any given time were to be found in these regiments, local chiefs were unable to build up any dangerous organisation against the state. The success of the regiments made members to develop pride in the regiment and the state which it served, prior political identity.

Mthethwa and Ndwandwe young men took common pride in belonging to the most powerful state. Therefore, a political and social unity replaced the political fragments of the earlier era. The Zulu dialect of Nguni became standard throughout the country. The traditions of the Zulu dynasty became the traditions of all the citizens. People thought of themselves as Ama-Zulu instead of the remnants of the earlier political units.



Shaka Zulu

Chiefs of conquered and incorporated people lost their powers, and their authority was restricted to routine issues. Normally, he replaced them with his own subjects. The conquered people were absorbed into the Zulu nation. They had to adopt the Zulu language as the nation's official language as well as the Zulu traditions and culture. The Zulu culture was centred on Shaka's family and this became the basis for unity in the nation.

Shaka was careful that his local chiefs (some of whom had ruled before the conquest) remained absolutely loyal, by bringing them frequently to his own court. He dismissed and executed potential and real enemies of the new state system. Loyal subjects won prestige and wealth through service to the king; those suspected of disloyalty ran the risk of being executed. Chiefs were further controlled by the fact of having to spend much of their time at the royal court and in any case Shaka's female relatives were often posted to provincial centres.

iii. Economic organisation and control

Each barracks of a regiment was also the location of one of the royal herds. Cattle and captives from the raids were distributed by the king himself.

External trade was strictly controlled by the king.

The problem of feeding so large a standing army made it necessary to establish state control over food production. Though each soldier had a home to go to on retirement, he spent most of his active life entirely dependent economically upon the ability of the state for food supplies.

The homesteads were no longer the focus of economic activity and interest.

Religious beliefs were also transformed into instruments of nation-building. Shaka, making himself ritual as well as political and military head of the system, devoted his attention to rooting out sectional religious beliefs and exterminating sectional religious officials. The famous 'smelling-out of witches' exercise emphasized the fact that the king was supreme even over the religious institutions. That supremacy was symbolized when the annual first-fruits ceremony became a national event; which also symbolized the new economic centralisation.

iv. Wars of expansion

Shaka also established the Zulu nation through wars of expansion. He started by defeating several powerful neighbours. After the Ndwandwe had defeated the Mthethwa and killed Dingiswayo in about 1817, the Zulu remained as the Ndwandwe's only rivalling power. But Shaka rapidly attacked and defeated the Ndwandwe, forcing the community to scatter and flee to the north.

Shaka invaded Natal five times, after which he completely destroyed and occupied the area. Shaka expanded his empire to the east near the coast, to the west bordering Basutoland and to the north against the Swazi. This period of expansion was known as the Mfecane. It occurred between 1820 and 1834. It was characterised by prolonged destructive warfare. The Pondo, Xhosa and Thembu were subdued. In 1824, Shaka established friendly relations with the English traders in Durban and Natal. In surrendering part of Natal to a trader called Farewell and receiving guns in return, Shaka was enabled to fight and break up the Ndwandwe in 1826.

He introduced a standing army which was divided up into age-regiments in each district. Each age-regiment had to live and stay in special camps under their Indunas or commanders appointed by Shaka himself usually from commoner families and clans.

He abolished circumcision for the youth because when one would still be nursing the wound he could never effectively defend his territory.

He assembled the youth of the same age and secluded them to various training camps.

He abolished putting on of sandals for all servicemen (soldiers), as they would hinder easy mobility.

He introduced the short stabbing spears where they would fight the enemy at close quarters to avoid losing their spears to their enemies.

He introduced long shields that would cover the warriors from the enemy; they would use the cow horn method and eventually surround enemy.

He introduced discipline in his troops by forcing them to march long distances on bare feet. Women and men were placed under this discipline. They were not allowed to marry except with his permission.

The conquered younger men were immediately absorbed into Shaka's regiments and given equal status with Zulu warriors and mixed freely with their agemates from all over Zululand. He also started the night surprise attacks and enforced total discipline among his men.

On 10th October, 1827, Shaka's mother Nandi died. Shaka wept publicly and his behaviour was taken as a general signal for universal mourning. Chiefs led their people in competitive wailing. Shaka ordered immediate butchering of a number of men and cattle. The massacres then became general throughout the country. Nandi was buried three days later accompanied by ten beautiful girls, their limbs having been broken while they were still alive. A hundred and twenty men were posted as guards over Nandi's tomb for twelve months.

- The conditions for mourning were then laid down by Shaka. There was to be no crop cultivation for one year. No milk was to be drunk; instead it had to be poured out onto the ground. Sexual intercourse was not permitted, and all women found pregnant in that period were to be killed with their husbands. All those communities which had failed to attend Nandi's funeral were to be destroyed. The killings went on for two months, and then Shaka summoned the Zulu nation to his capital to help him in proper official mourning. Cows-in-milk were slaughtered 'so that even calves might know what it was to lose a mother'. Shaka had gone insane.

- Famine. The year 1828 opened with widespread famine as a result of Shaka's ban on cultivation. Then Shaka made a fatal decision: that even the remotest communities had to know about his sorrow. He set his army on the longest expedition of his career. His object was to crush the Pondo of the north-eastern Cape. After crossing the Umzimvubu, Shaka had second thoughts about the consequences of this campaign.
- Invasion of neighbouring communities. He stopped for a while at HF Fynn's trading station. Fynn warned Shaka not to invade Pondoland which the British government considered to be under its protection. Shaka agreed, but to convince his men that the expedition was not in vain he divided them into two groups. One group was sent to punish the Bacha, a Nguni community who lived at the foot of the Drakensberg; the other advanced against the Cape Nguni but under strict instructions to avoid any war against the white men or the communities on the white man's border.
- Shameful defeat. Shaka's army returned to Zululand and was immediately dispatched on yet another long campaign to seek and destroy Soshangane around Delagoa Bay in Mozambique. Shaka did not live to see his army return in shameful defeat. His brothers Dingane and Mhlangana, in conspiracy with his chief *induna* MBhopa murdered him on 24th September, 1828. Yet their claims were not untrue, their motives not wholly selfish. He had ignored the traditional chiefs; his military campaigns led to depopulation of Zululand and Natal. Lives had been wantonly lost in the insanity he had regarded as mourning. Their own turn in being killed might not be a far-fetched idea; his preoccupation with war led to neglect and decline in agriculture and starvation in Zululand.

Dingane's nation-building, 1828-1840

The concentration of political, military and economic power round the central monarch instead of the local territorial rulers reduced the possibility of territorial rulers breaking away from the kingdom. It did not remove altogether the danger of disunity. Dissatisfaction could be expressed by the transfer of loyalty from the king to another of the royal family. This happened in 1828, when Shaka was assassinated, partly because the

army wanted a rest from constant campaigning and partly the nation was tired of Shaka's despotism. It happened again in 1839-40 when most of the army deserted Shaka's successor, his younger brother Dingane, for another brother, Mpande.

Dingane won the loyalty and support of the army and the Zulu people by promising them peace. He relaxed the severe military discipline left by Shaka. He freed warriors from regiments and allowed them to marry earlier than had been the case before. He also ended military expeditions which left the army idle without adventure. Many Zulu then escaped to work in Natal farms and some attempted to break away. This prompted Dingane to re-impose severe military discipline and to keep the army busy. He therefore sent regiments to raid the Pondo, Ndebele and Ngwane in which the Zulu regiments captured cattle. But the campaigns were unsuccessful and the army was demoralized. The Qwabe rebelled and escaped to the south and the army could not stop them. Many fled as refugees to Natal.

In foreign relations, Dingane tried to establish friendly relations with the whites in Natal. He acquired firearms from traders at Port Natal. However, their welcome of the Zulu refugees made Dingane cautious in the way he related to the Natal whites. In contrast to fairly neutral relations with the British, Dingane's relation with the Boer trekkers was hostile. Dingane had been tricked into signing a charter surrendering Natal land to the Boers and felt bitter. The Boers under their new leader defeated Dingane's army at the Battle of Blood River on 16 December 1836. An agreement with Boers ended the war, and Dingane agreed to evacuate Natal for Boer occupation.

Dingane was generally disliked for his arbitrary rule, his dislike of war, his preference for feasting and dancing and the company of women, and for his failure to cope with the invasion of the Trekboers into Natal. Mpande became king when, at the climax of the first Zulu civil war that pitted him against his brother. He defeated Dingane at the Battle of Magongo on 29 January 1840. Dingane managed to escape from his former subjects, but was killed by the Swazi with whom he sought refuge to.

Mpande's nation-building, 1840-1872

Mpande ruled the surviving Zulu nation with Boer support from 1840-72. The reign of Mpande showed that the strength of the Zulu nation relied no less on the person and personality of the king than on the nature of the nation's institutions.

Mponde was a peaceful man who hated war. He led a bloodless cattle raid against the Swazi. Mpande gave the Zulu a breathing space from war, and as a result, the population steadily increased. He never supported fighting the whites arguing that it would only result in certain destruction of the Zulu state.

In 1843, the British annexed Natal from the Boers, but Mpande's policy of peaceful co-existence never changed. The young men in the Zulu state were greatly disillusioned by the humiliating policy adopted by their leader. In consequence, they formed two factions around Mpande's two sons, Mbulazi and Cetchwayo. A war of succession started when the king was alive. Cetchwayo representing the more militant faction annihilated Mbulazi's army of 7,000 and his followers, 23,000 defenceless women and children, were slain. Cetchwayo became heir apparent.

Cetchwayo's nation-building, 1872-1879

Cetchwayo re-organised the army of Ndondakusuka effectively. At his accession the Zulu regiments were at a peak of efficiency. They were able to inflict on Britain a humiliating defeat at the Battle of Isandhlwana a few years later.

Cetchwayo did not favour war for its own sake. He wanted to carry out the traditional practice 'washing of the spear' of the army under a new king on the blood of an enemy. This was not for the sake of tradition but out of practical necessity. Whilst he was heir apparent, the expectations of the regiments had been aroused. These expectations had to be fulfilled. Cetchwayo tried to do this with campaigns against the Swazi and the Thonga. He studiously ignored the movement of Boers into the northern areas of his country in order to avoid a conflict that might bring the destruction of his state. At the same time he prepared for the possibility of war by tightening up conscription into the army, and obtaining firearms through Lourenco Marques.

Cetchwayo also tried to maintain peace with the British. He had two coronations: a 'traditional' Zulu one followed by an extraordinary British ceremony where he was crowned by the Natal Secretary for Native Affairs, Theophilus Shepstone. He had invited Shepstone for the purpose. Cetchwayo merely wanted to cement ZuluBritish friendship, but Shepstone took advantage of the occasion laws. The laws were designed to reduce the number of judicial and political executions in Zululand. Cetchwayo maintained his friendship with the British until 1877, and the British supported him in his boundary disputes with the Transvaal.

Britain's annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 destroyed the basis of Cetchwayo's foreign policy. It was no longer possible to maintain an anti-Boer alliance with the British as the Boer republic no longer existed. The Boers who had taken so much pain running away from British control and they resented this annexation. Sir Bartle Frere, the British High Commissioner at the Cape was concerned that Boer resentment must not be allowed to spill overboard.

The Zulu wanted back the Blood River Territory, which Mpande had allegedly ceded to the Transvaal in 1861. Cetchwayo decided this had not been genuine cession, and now sent his men to settle the disputed territory.

By 1877, there had been further loss of Zululand to the Transvaal by the expansion of the Blood River boundaries into Zululand. Theophilus Shepstone supported the Transvaal claim.

At first a Zulu-Boer War seemed more likely than an Anglo-Zulu War. Sekhukhune's successful resistance in the Transvaal encouraged Cetchwayo, the Zulu king, to mobilize his army on the Transvaal border. The custom of 'washing the spears in the blood of the enemy had not been carried out for Cetchwayo who had become king in 1873. The Zulu wanted war with the Transvaal in order to 'wash their spears', resolve the land dispute, obtain revenge for the Zulu defeat at the Battle of Blood River in 1838, and replace the Zulu cattle lost in the drought of 1877. Yet Cetchwayo was not prepared to fight the Boers unless they started the war. He did not want war with Britain with whom he was so keen to maintain peaceful relations.

However, on 22nd January, 1897, Sir Bartle Frere ordered the invasion of Zululand. At the battle of Isandhlwana the Zulu 'impis' under their commander-in-chief Tshingwayo wiped out 905 of 960 British soldiers, and nearly 500 of those assisting the invaders, among them colonists and African recruits. The Zulu completed their humiliation of the British at Isandhlwana by capturing all the stores and ammunition. The Zulu army inflicted the most severe defeat a European army was to suffer in Africa until the Ethiopian victory over the Italians at Adowa in 1896.

In spite of, Isandhlwana the Zulu lost the war. The tables were soon turned against them. The British hastily sent reinforcements to their battered comrades in the field. Three hundred and fifty Zulu were killed while 17 were lost on the British side at Rorke's Drift. When the British renewed their invasion with Gatling guns and artillery, they stopped a Zulu frontal attack at Kambula, a battle which left 18 Britons and 2,000 Zulu dead. Finally, at Ulundi on July 4, the British troops



Sir Theophilus Shepstone

destroyed the last Zulu frontal assault, after Cetchwayo soldiers had disobeyed his orders to retreat into the forest and adopt guerrilla warfare. The soldiers retired to their kraals in defeat.

Application Activity 3.1

Describe the origin, rise and career of leaders of ancient kingdoms in West and South Africa.

3.2. Organisation of West African Empires and Southern African Kingdoms

Learning Activity 3.2

With reference to Rwanda Kingdom discuss, study the organisation of West and South African Empires, then describe the political and economic organisation of Ghana Empire.

3.2.1. Organisation of Ghana Empire

Political organisation of the Ghana Empire

i. At the head of the empire was the king, operating from the headquarters at Kumbi Saleh.

ii. The king was assisted by able administrators. These men served also as secretaries.

iii. In the capital city there was a governor, besides the emperor. He was in charge of the civic administration of metropolitan Ghana.

iv. In the conquered or vassal states, two types of provincial government seem to have operated: In some provinces the administration was entrusted to governors appointed directly by the emperor. These were places where either hostile subjects were constantly plotting to rebel or there was no centralized native provincial ruler. In other places, the local rulers were allowed a great measure of independence. All that was required of these provincial native rulers was loyalty to metropolitan Ghana, and regular payment of tax to the emperor.

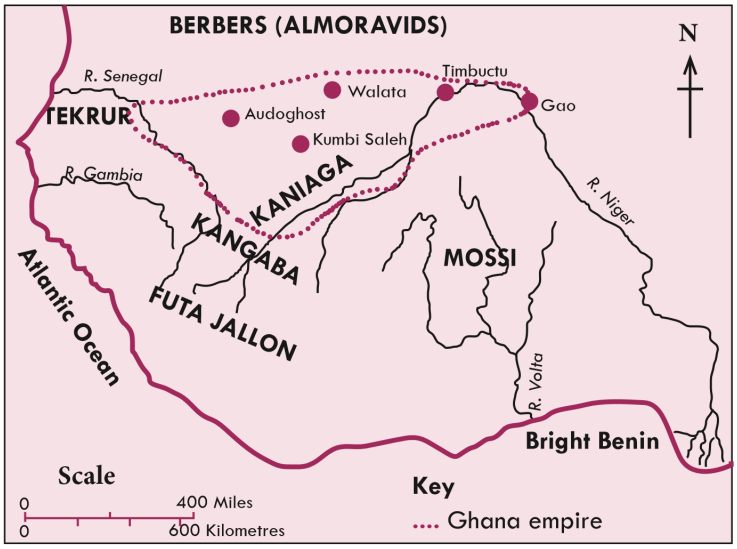


Fig 3.2 Ghana Empire during 700 –1000 A.D

Ghana Empire during 700 – 1000AD

v. Vassal kings sent up their sons to the emperor's palace. This practice was maintained for two reasons. Firstly, as long as the sons of the vassal kings were at the emperor's palace or court, it was not wise for their fathers to rebel against the imperial authority. Secondly, these pages learnt a great deal of the arts of government from the imperial court. The experience thus gained stood them in good stead when later they returned home to assume the reins of government in their own land, in succession to their fathers.

vi. The supreme judicial power in the empire was vested in the emperor, assisted by a hierarchy of subordinate officials.

vii. The king did not maintain a standing army. Men were recruited or called up when the king needed them for a campaign or to defend the empire from external attack.

Economic Organisation

Old Ghana was a wealthy empire. The following were its sources of economic prosperity:

i. The gold mines were a source of revenue. The king held a monopoly of all the gold mines in the empire. This policy helped to maintain the high value of this precious metal. It also accounted for the great wealth which the kings enjoyed.

ii. Ghana's middleman position helped her to benefit immensely from the trans-Saharan trade.

iii. Taxation on trade goods gave the emperor good revenue. The import and export taxes yielded much revenue for the king's treasury.

iv. The people of Ghana used their skills in iron-working in good farming and adequate production of food.

v. The people were successful fishermen. They fished from the many rivers crisscrossing the empire.

vi. Agriculture was also a major source of economic prosperity.

Social Organisation

i. The king of Ghana made use of Muslims in his government, but his people still followed the traditional religion.

ii. The king of Old Ghana was regarded as semi-divine. As the chief priest, the king conducted special ceremonies and rituals, and was the link between the living and the gods.

iii. The people believed in life after death. This was seen in the burial rites that were performed when the king died. After his death, the king's body was placed in a special building on a bed decorated with fine cloths. His clothes, weapons and other personal belongings were placed near him. When all this had been done, some of the closest servants entered the tomb, which was then sealed.

iv. The people threw earth over the tomb until a small burial mound had been created.

v. The people of Old Ghana lived in thatched houses that were built of wood.

vi. The king wore special robes and ornaments during official ceremonies.

vii. People approached the king on their knees as a sign of respect.

3.2.2. Organisation of the Mali Empire

Political organisation of the Mali Empire

The Mali Empire covered a larger area for a longer period of time than any other West African state ever did. This in part can be explained by its political organisation:

***Decentralisation of administration*:** The farther the territory was from Niani, the more decentralized the *mansa's* power became. Nevertheless, the *mansa* managed to keep tax money and nominal control over all the area without agitating his subjects into revolt. The Empire reached the limit of its expansion in the reign of Mansa Musa.

***Skilful leaders*:** Sundiata was an able ruler. Mansa Musa even surpassed him. This great ruler of Mali, who possessed considerable administrative skill, did much to organize Mali's machinery of government. At the close of Mansa Musa's reign, in 1337, the empire of Mali extended far beyond the frontiers of the empire of Ghana which it had replaced. This vast empire comprised many kingdoms inhabited by many different peoples. To govern a vast empire of this kind, successive rulers established institutions designed to promote effective government.

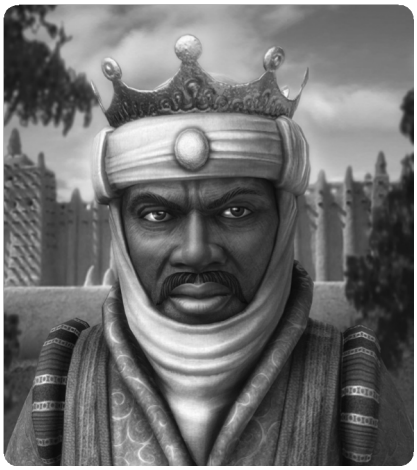


Fig 3.4 Mansa Musa

***Administration*:** Mali was divided up into two main administrative units; the metropolitan area which comprised the state of Mali itself and a collection of provincial states annexed through conquest. Assisted by able ministers and counsellors, all renowned Muslims, and by faithful members

of the kings' own extended family, the king exercised personal control over the administration of his own Mandingo people in the metropolitan territory. Sundiata divided the empire into a number of provinces. Mansa Musa re-organised the provinces in the south into fourteen administrative units. The government of these provinces was entrusted to able governors. The machinery of political administration then ran as follows:

In the southern provinces where the subjects were relatively submissive, the local rulers served as governors. They were allowed a great measure of provincial autonomy, as long as they maintained their loyalty and paid tributes to the emperor regularly.

To the north where both the vassal states and the neighbouring Tuareg were troublesome, the practice was to send military governors to be in charge of the provincial and local administration, and to keep the people under control.

Another area which constantly resisted the emperor's rule was Gao, in the east. To reduce these rebellious people to submission not only were strong military men sent out to govern the province, but also a specially trained battalion was stationed there.

At stated times, the provincial governors reported at Niani, the capital, not only to submit the accounts of taxes collected for the imperial treasury, but also to give a report of their administration in general. Occasionally, too, officers of the imperial court were sent out to the provincial capitals to inspect and report to the emperor on conditions in the provinces.

In general terms, provinces picked their own governors via their own custom (election, inheritance, etc.). Regardless of their title in the province, they were recognized as *dyamani-tigui* (province master) by the mansa. *Dyamani-tiguis* had to be approved by the mansa and were subject to his oversight. If the mansa didn't believe the *dyamani-tigui* was capable or trustworthy, a *farba* might be installed to oversee the province or administer it outright.

At the local level (village, town, city), *kun-tiguis* elected a *dougou-tigui* (village-master) from a bloodline descended from that locality's semimythical founder. The county level administrators called *kafo-tigui* (countymaster) were appointed by the governor of the province from within his own circle.

Motivation of officials: To encourage faithful and effective local administration, provincial officials were all well paid, not only in gold, but often in kind with horses and leases of land. In addition, Mansa Musa instituted special honours to reward outstanding leaders.

Administration of justice: The administration of justice was keenly promoted by the kings of Mali, notably Mansa Musa. The king made sure that no-one received preferential treatment in the law courts, whether the case involved a governor against an ordinary citizen, or a native against an alien. It was recorded, for example, that Mansa Musa once tried and punished severely a provincial governor who had wronged an ordinary peasant. Referring to the administration of justice as it prevailed throughout the empire of Mali in his days.

Loyalty and respect for authority: Loyalty and respect for authority were other characteristics of the people of Mali, which resulted from good administration.

Economic Organization

The Mali Empire flourished because of trade. It contained three immense gold mines within its borders. The empire taxed gold or salt that entered its borders. By the beginning of the 14th Century, Mali was the source of almost half the Old World's gold exported from mines in Bambuk, Boure and Galam.

There was no standard currency throughout the realm, but several forms were prominent by region. The Sahelian and Saharan towns of the Mali Empire were organised as both staging posts in the long-distance caravan trade, and trading centers for the various West African products. At Taghaza, for example, salt was exchanged; copper was traded at Takedda. Ibn Battuta observed the employment of slave labour in both towns. During most of his journey, Ibn Battuta travelled with a retinue

that included slaves, most of whom carried goods for trade but would also be traded as slaves.

On the return journey from Takedda to Morocco, his caravan transported 600 female slaves, suggesting that slavery was a substantial part of the commercial activity of the empire.

Role of minerals

The role of minerals in Mali's economic activity included the following:

Gold: Gold nuggets were the exclusive property of the *mansa*, and were illegal to trade within his borders. All gold was immediately handed over to the imperial treasury in return for an equal value of gold dust. Gold dust had been weighed and bagged for use at least since the reign of the Ghana Empire. Mali borrowed the practice to stem inflation of the substance, since it was so prominent in the region. The most common measure for gold within the realm was the ambiguous *mithqal* (4.5 grams of gold). This term was used interchangeably with *dinar*, though it is unclear if coined currency was used in the empire. Gold dust was used all over the empire, but was not valued equally in all regions.

Salt: The next great unit of exchange in the Mali Empire was salt. Salt was as almost if not equally valuable to gold in Sub-Saharan Africa. It was cut into pieces and spent on goods with close to equal buying power throughout the empire. While it was as good as gold in the north, it was even better in the south. The people of the south needed salt for their diet, but it was extremely rare. The northern region on the other hand had no shortage of salt. Every year merchants entered Mali via Walata (Oualata) with camel loads of salt to sell in Niani. According to Ibn Battuta who visited Mali in the mid-14th Century, one camel load of salt sold at Walata for 8-10 mithqals of gold, but in Mali proper it realised 20-30 ducats and sometimes even 40.

Copper. Copper, traded in bars, was mined from Takedda in the north and traded in the south for gold. Contemporary sources claim 60 copper bars traded for 100 dinars of gold.

Social organisation

Social organisation of Mali covered a number of areas:

Islamisation of state – Mansa Musa's major achievement was that he made Mali a much more **devoutly** Muslim country. In Mali he instituted compulsory readings of the *Koran*. As a Muslim, he promoted the careers of fellow Muslims. Many mosques were built and Friday prayers were always observed at the king's court. Yet many of his subjects continued to worship in the traditional way and Musa showed no objection. This was particularly true of people who were not related to Musa's Mandinka clan, such as the gold-diggers of Wangara. For in spite of his own piety, he had no wish to divide his domain with religious disputes.

Education – Mansa Musa encouraged the establishment of Islamic schools. These increased the prestige of both Mali and Songhai. He attracted many learned and skilled men, like **As-Sahili**, from the Muslim world to these centres of learning. He encouraged the practice of sending promising scholars from his empire to Islamic seats of learning abroad to pursue advanced studies. These scholars returned to Mali, to form the nucleus of a group of learned teachers and professors in the schools and colleges in the empire.

Architecture – Returning from the pilgrimage, Mansa Musa brought with him a group of renowned Muslim architects and scholars. Chief among these men was As-Sahili the celebrated architect and poet. As-Sahili is believed to have been the first to introduce in Mali the use of burnt bricks for building houses. Among his great constructional works were the famous burnt brick mosques in Gao and Timbuktu as well as the burnt brick palace at Timbuktu. Through the influence of As-Sahili the knowledge of the use of burnt bricks for building houses spread throughout the empire.

As-Sahili also introduced to Mali flat-roof architecture. In this and other ways a new age of architecture was born in the Western Sudan. Within Mali, the imperial rulers ordered mosques constructed and palaces converted into mosques. Architects and builders increased the size of the mosques to accommodate a larger Muslim population and underscore the importance of Islam. The cities of Gao, Djenne (Jenne) and Timbuktu

boasted large mosques. In Djenne stands a great mosque. Constructed of blocks made from a mixture of rice husks, earth and water that was allowed to ferment. It is an impressive structure, four stories high, with three minarets almost 60 feet high. The spires are topped with ostrich eggs symbolic of good fortune and fertility.

Mansa Musa's pilgrimage to Mecca – In the years 1324-5, Mansa Musa went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, passing through Muslim centres such as Walata, Tuat and Cairo. The splendor and generosity which attended the pilgrimage won the admiration of the people in every territory through which he passed. The important effects of his pilgrimage to Mecca may be summarised as follows:

- Mansa Musa's own faith and zeal increased remarkably.
- He set about purifying the religion in his empire and, as noted earlier, insisted on the strictest observance of the faith and practice of Islam.
- He promoted Islamic learning.
- Mansa Musa's example and his devout insistence on the faithful observance of the rules of Islam must have increased his prestige greatly among the Muslims of Western Sudan.



Fig 3.5 Mosque in Jenne

After his exile, Sundiata Keita returned to Kangaba; killed Sumanguru Kante and established a bigger Empire in West Africa. He still remembered in the history of Mali due to the following achievements:

He liberated the Mandinga from tyranny: Sundiata liberated the Mandinga from tyrannical and oppressive rule of a Susu king who overtaxed and deprived people of their beautiful women, gold and food when he defeated him in 1235 Kirina Battle.

He founded Mali: Sundiata was the founder of the Mali Empire when united the Mandingo Empire and the Susu kingdom after the defeat of Sumanguru under his central administration as a king.

He built a strong army: He founded a very standing army with him as the overall commander in chief. His army was able to defeat Sumanguru Kante, conquer neighbor and defend the empire against enemies.

He expanded Mali: Sundiata expanded Mali Empire by conquering the neighbors. In the north he captured Ghana in 1240, the gold rich regions of Bure, Walata, Bambuku, Bundu and Wangara to the south, in the west upper Senegal and the upper Niger to the east.

He established a good administration: Sundiata had established an effective system of administration by dividing the empire into provinces each under an appointed military general for easy administration hence establishing order and peace.

He founded Niani capital: Sundiata is praised for having founded a new capital for Mali at Niani which was strategical located in the commercial zone during the Trans Saharan Trade. This had remained an important urban centre up to date.

He promoted trade: He strengthened Mali's economy by promoting trade in gold, salt, copper etc, controlling trade routes and conquered the mines of Wangala and Bambuku.

He promoted agriculture: which helped in the production of different goods that supplied the population with food and the surplus was exchanged in T.S.T. He had introduced also cotton growing into Mali.

He attracted foreign traders: Sundiata attracted many foreigners to come and trade with Mali especial from the Moslem world, which led to the development of towns such as Timbuktu, Gao, and Jenne etc which were major commercial centers.

He promoted Islam: Sundiata Keita encouraged and promoted Islam and depended on Moslems in the administration of the empire.

Sundiata Keita was not only a conqueror but also a courageous statesman who laid a strong foundation of Mali for the next rulers. He was died in 1255 probably of drowning in the in river Sankarani near Niani or he was assassinated during a public demonstration. He was succeeded by his grandson Mansa Musa.

Mansa Kankan Musa is remembered in the history of Mali because of the following contributions to the Empire of Mali:

He expanded Mali: Mansa Musa extended the boundaries of Mali much further than his predecessors had done especially northeastwards like Walata and Timbuktu.

He strengthened good governance: He built a more effective system of government than his predecessors by maintaining the model left behind by Sundiata. He divided the empire into 14 provinces ruled by governors called Emirs, Berber provinces ruled by Sheiks and commercial towns by Farbas all under Mansa Musa and were well paid.

He promoted justice: He promoted impartiality in the department of justice based on the Sharia. He appointed judges to administer justice and him as a chief judge who went inviting and dealing with any complaints and appeals against oppression by the governors and other officials.

He established a strong standing army: His army comprised 100,000 men, 10,000 of these were horsemen. With this army he tightened his grip on the central government and in the provinces. He ensured peace, law and order and also the effective collection of taxes.

He protected foreign merchants: He credited to have created order and peace among the troublesome Berbers of south-western Sahara who

were hostile to the foreign traders by the use of the army hence making trade routes secure for merchants.

He built commercial centers: He developed and maintained commercial centers. The most popular being Niani the capital, Timbuktu and Gao with good houses, busy markets and active population.

He purified and strengthened Islam: He promoted Islamic faith as the state religion by purifying and spreading Islam as a source of unity and order. He built more mosques, enforced the five pillars of Islam and the Friday (Juma) prayers was strictly observed.

He made a Pilgrimage to Mecca: Mansa Kankan Musa in the history of Islam in Africa made the most popular pilgrimage to Mecca, which lasted from 1324 to 1325. It was the most distinguished with huge amounts of gold, slaves and charity through Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The name Mansa Musa and Mali became well known in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and in the some parts of Europe.

He introduced a new style of building: From his pilgrimage, Mansa is remembered for importing a new style of building characterized by burnt bricks, square shape and flat tops from Arabia. Many mosques and palaces were built in Arab pattern by Arab commissioner As Ahili.

He promoted Islamic education: Mansa Kankan Musa promoted Islamic education in Mali, many Moslem schools were built and Moslem scholars arrived in Mali and encouraged the exchange of scholarship with Moslem states especially to Morocco.

3.2.4. Organisation of the Kanem Bornu empire

The empire lasted for over a thousand years. During this long period, institutions of government underwent changes. However, the following may be regarded as an outline of how the vast empire was organized, when at the peak of its power.

Social and political organisation

At the head of the central government was the king (Mai). He was regarded as sacred and was more or less worshipped. For this reason, he

did not show himself in public, except on two annual festivals. Otherwise he remained always hidden behind a curtain, even when receiving guests. Next in importance was the queen mother, *Magira*. Some of these Magira became so powerful that they had great influence over and sometimes vetoed the decisions of the *Mai*. Another influential person was the first or 'eldest' wife of the king Gumsu.

The *Mai* in effect ruled indirectly through a hierarchy of officials, including the Supreme Council of State. Each of the twelve councillors exercised authority over a feudal-like territory, sometimes in addition to other administrative assignments in the capital. The most important Councillors were the *Yerima,* First War Lord and Warden of the South, the Warden of the North, the Warden of the East and keeper of the *Mai's* household and the (*Galadima)* Warden of the West. In time these titles became honorific, as circumstances changed and their holders settled down to a life of cultured leisure in the capital. They appointed officers called *Chimagana* to administer their fiefs.

The change of dynasty, from Seifawa to Shehu, in the 19th Century also saw the shifting of effective political power from these old dignitaries to a new class of administrators called '*Kokenawa'*.

Other important officials of Kanem-Bornu included the *Mainin Kanendi* (Chie Judge), who was the second most important citizen after the Mai. He and twelve other judges formed the High Court which dispensed justice; a Registrar (Talba) kept records of its proceedings. There were also courts in the main towns from which appeals could be put before the High Court. Eventually, as Islamic practices took root in Kanem-Bornu, Muslim Qadis and local judges (*Malamai*) joined the judiciary.

Royal personages like the Queen Mother the *Mai's* official elder sister (*Magara*), and his consort or official wife (*Gumsu*), enjoyed certain privileges and took part in the administration. In particular, the Queen Mother wielded considerable political influence, if not direct power. For instance, one Mai, Biri Ibn Dunama (1151-74), was said to have been imprisoned by the *Magira* of his time. Another Queen Mother, Aicha, successfully fought and won the throne for her son, Idris Aluma, who was to become the greatest *Mai* of Kanem-Bornu.

Economic organisation

Kanem-Bornu got its revenue from poll tax (*binemram*) which was levied through each fief-holder and the *sadaa*, a special harvest tithe. The proceeds went direct to the royal coffers. Tribute was collected from vassal states, and officials of royal origin were generally entrusted with this.

Trade was the greatest source of income, despite the absence of large and important commercial centres as in the Western Sudan. Grain from the empire was exchanged for salt at Bilma, and natron or potash from the Lake Chad region was sent to Kano from where it was distributed over wide areas of the Sudan.

Kanuri middlemen handled the copper trade between Darfur and Nupe. Kola from the forest belt came through Kano and was exported, along with slaves from the southern part of the empire, to Tunis, Tripoli and Cairo. Cowries and rolls of cloth were the standard currency.

3.2.5. Political organisation of the Shona

The king's power over his subjects was absolute. He could determine whether they should live or die.

The hierarchy – The highest political unit was the kingship as the head of state and government. The high-priestly notion of kingship went with a well-defined and most elaborate arrangement of the court and chiefly hierarchy. At the court there was:

- Chancellor of the kingdom
- Court chamberlain- manager of the king's house.
- Head drummer
- Military commander
- Keeper of fetishes
- Head door keeper
- Chief cook
- Nine provincial wives of the king.
- Concubines and waiting-women

Outside the court, there were the vassal kings and governors of the provinces, as well as a large noble class. There were expected to send their children to be educated as pages and warriors at the Mwenemutapa's court.

i. *Council of chiefs* – There was a council made up of selected chiefs who advised the ruler. The council brought together the chiefs of Guruuswa, Kiteve, Mbire, Barue and Manyika. The chiefs maintained law and order, collected taxes and supplied warriors to the king. They were also responsible for the fertility of land, were custodians of tribal property, and prisoners of war. They also organised communal labour.

ii. *Unity of political and religious life* – The political and religious life was inseparable in the Shona society. Kings were semi-divine and were the highest representatives of god on earth. Priests played a vital role in maintaining peace and stability. They travelled widely and kept the monarch informed of what took place in the kingdom.

iii. *The royal fire* – The royal fire was a key institution and burnt so long as the king lived. All the great chiefs and other vassals had fires lit from the royal fire. Once a year, after the great new moon ceremonies in May, these fires had to be rekindled from the central one. Messengers were sent all over the country with brands from the king's fire. To accept rekindling symbolised a renewal of allegiance to the king.

iv. *Sacred animal* – The king's spirit was supposed to take up residence in a lion. For this reason, a lion was regarded as a sacred animal which might not be killed except at a hunt where the king was present. The king was therefore regarded as the lion.

v. *A standing army* – The rulers also had a standing army. Its main function was to defend and expand the kingdom. Each provincial ruler was expected to recruit soldiers. High standards of discipline were observed. Before participation in any duties, the recruits went through rigorous training.

Economic organisation of the Shona

The main features of the Shona economic system were:

i. *Crop farming* – The climate in Mashonaland was good. It encouraged cultivation of a variety of crops. Labour was organized along gender lines. Men cleared the land while women planted and took care of the crops. The main crops were millet, sorghum, maize, cassava, bananas, yams, sweet potatoes, beans and pumpkins. Granaries were built across the kingdom to store the farm produce.

ii. *Livestock keeping* – The Shona kept cattle, goats, sheep and poultry. Grazing was intermittently done in the uplands and lowlands.

iii. *Trade* – Took place at the local, regional and international levels. The Shona participated in the long distance trade with the Swahili and Arabs from the East African Coast. Pockets of Portuguese merchants from the coast also engaged in commercial activities. Thus the Empire engaged in importing goods as well as in exporting them. Imports included such luxury goods as silk, cloth, guns and ammunition, daggers, knives, ceramics and glassware. A cloth known as *machira* woven from local cotton was draped over the ruler's throne as a symbol of his kingship. The main exports were slaves, gold and ivory. The mode of exchange was barter. The rulers exerted a lot of influence on commercial activities.

iv. *Hunting and gathering* –The men hunted elephants for ivory and other animals for food to supplement their diet. Women gathered fruits, vegetables and berries.

v. *Fishing* – The Shona supplemented their food supply with fish. The activity was carried out in rivers and lakes found in the empire.

vi. *Craft industry* – The industry concentrated on iron working, gold smithing, cloth making from wild cotton and fibres, and carving. They also engaged in leather working and weaving. A variety of items were made from the industry. They also made grinding-stones which they used to pound grain into flour.

Social organisation of the Shona

The Shona had an elaborate social organisation:

i. *Divine kingship* – The king was not a monarch in the Western sense. He was a divine king or priest-king. His subjects approached him crawling on their stomachs. At formal audiences, he sat concealed behind a curtain. The common people could only hear the king's voice but never see him. Among the courtiers, the king's slightest action was imitated by all. If he had a cough, they all coughed. If he sprained his ankle, they all limped. It was considered necessary for the well-being of the whole state that the king should be fit and without any physical problem. At the onset of old age, or if he developed any serious infirmity, he was supposed to take poison and make way for a successor. The religious observance of the Mwenemutapa was a kind of spiritualism, practice especially at new moon. On such occasions, the reigning monarch communed with his ancestors, who were supposed to take possession of the bodies of ecstatic mediums.

ii. *Belief in one supreme being* – The Shona-speaking peoples believed in one god, Mwari, who was believed to have been the creator of the Earth. Priests generally came from the Rozwi clan, which had the additional practice of ancestor worship. The ancestors were consulted at the appearance of a new moon. The priests led in sacrifices and enjoyed powers to protect people from, diseases, made rain and gave victory in war. The rulers were considered semi-divine hence represented god on earth. The priests claimed that they could only get in touch with Mwari through the spirits of ancestors.

There were two kinds of spirit: Family spirits, called *vadzimu vemisha*, and clan spirits, called *mhondoro*. Both *vadzimu* and *mhondoro* expressed themselves through a medium, *svikiro*, who was a departed member of the family or clan. The mediums were elders who were believed to possess the spirits of the dead emperors and chiefs. Shona elders were therefore treated with respect, so that they would be friendly when they became spirits. The *mhondoro* had various uses. The royal *mhondoro* was used

to keep the royal house in power, and to decide the rights of inheritance and the ownership of cattle. *Mhondoro* protected the clan against bad government by the chief. During the period of Mwenemutapa, there were senior mediums that emerged in different regions. These were *Dzivaguru* (Eastern), *Nehanda* (Central) and *Chaminuka* (Western) Mashonaland. There was also a kind of national spirit called *Chaminuka*, who settled disputes between clans and protected them against bad government by the king. The senior mediums had an overbearing influence on the society.

iii. *System of priesthood* – Priests led worship in the shrines dotting Mashonaland. They acted as several organs of the creator. For instance, some acted as the 'eye' and welcomed members seeking advice and offerings. Others were the 'ears' who delivered the requests of the people to god. Others were the 'mouth' who kept and interpreted god's commands to the people.

iv. *Clan organisation* – The Shona were organized along clan lines which followed strict totenism. These clans were named after animals such as monkey, leopard, hyena and lion. It was a taboo to eat the meat of an animal by members bearing the name of the particular animal. Each clan had its own traditions and lived in the same area. Several families constituted a clan. A family was headed by the father who often was a polygamist. The homesteads were surrounded by reeds or grass and palisades.

v. *Age-groups and age-sets* – Age groups were formed by those born at the same period. The members therefore underwent initiation at the same time. They regarded each other as brothers and were patrilineal.

vi. *Specialists* – The Shona had specialists in various fields like medicinemen (*nganga* who were useful in supplying herbal medicines used to cure various ailments. There were also diviners, seers, witch doctors and sorcerers. The last two were feared because they could harm members of the society.

vii. *Dwellings* – The houses were built of stones.

viii. *Division of labour* – Social responsibilities were shared along gender lines. For example, construction of houses was done by both men and women. Men built the wooden framework, while women thatched the roofs.

ix. *Family life* – Polygamy was practised and children were highly valued. Bride price was paid in form of cattle.

Application Activity 3.2.

Describe the social organization of Monomotapa Kingdom.

3.3. Decline of the West Empires and Southern African kingdoms

Learning Activity 3.3

Search on internet and visit your school library, read different documents written about Empires of West and Southern Africa and then identify the factors for the decline of Monomotapa and Kanem-Bornou Kingdoms.

3.3.1. Decline of Old Ghana

By the end of the 11th Century, Old Ghana had begun to decline. A number of reasons caused this:

i. Generally speaking, the inherent structural weaknesses common to most Sudanese states caused the decline. In this case it was particularly due to the disruptive activities of the Almoravids, who, either because of a genuine desire to purify and spread Islam, or because of the prospects of booty, descended on and sacked Ghana in AD 1076.

ii. The Almoravid attacks had opened the way for internal revolts and incursions from hostile neighbours which Ghana could not control.

iii. Ghana's great wealth, which had been an asset in its heyday, was now a disadvantage as its envious neighbours began to make increasingly menacing attempts to seize it

iv. Towards the end of the 12 Century, the Soninke dynasty, established by Kaya Magan about 770 AD, was overthrown by a soldier called Diara Kante who was succeeded in turn by Sumanguru Kante (1200-35). From the small vassal state of Kaniaga, Sumanguru Kante took advantage of his suzerain's weakness and conquered Ghana in 1203. The resultant confusion and insecurity caused the merchants and scholars in the capital of Old Ghana to move out and settle in Walata. Sundiata, the only surviving son of the ruler of the state of Kangaba who had been sacked by Sumanguru in 1224, captured and killed Sumanguru at the Battle of Kirina in AD 1235.

v. The rise of strong neighbouring state of Mali were a threat that caused the collapse of the Ghana Empire.

vi. Decline of trans-saharan trade in Ghana due to the exhaustion of trade goods weakened the economy of Ghana leading to its downfall.

vii. The large size of Ghana Empire made it difficult for administration, therefore weakening the kingdom until it declined.

viii. Internal weakness: This contributed to its decline since it had become too large to be effectively administrated. This situation worsened when the methods of communication were not effective as result of long distance from the centre of administration.

ix. Disunity among the people of Ghana: The Empire had many tribes like Soninke, the Serere, the Berbers, the Susu and the Tuculor; after capturing neighbors States. This created divisions among people and the king failed to unite them which resulted in the decline of the Empire.

x. Religious division: The spread of Islam into the kingdom led the division of people into Moslems and Non Moslems who rivaled each other contributing to the collapse of the empire by 1240.

xi. Death of able leaders: After the death of able leaders like Tunka Maneni, there came weak and incapable leaders who could not manage controlling a bigger empire that had been created by strong leaders. They could not foresee among others, the dangers of Islam and provincial states as enemies of the independence of the empire.

xii. Decline of the strength of the army: The continuous wars with the vassal states, poor payment, reduced motivation, poor command had been the causes of the weakness of army of Ghana so that it could no longer effectively defend the Empire.

xiii. Decline of agriculture: This decline was due to insecurity and continuous wars which led to the famine and starvation since the fertile lands were neglected and disserted. The population and army of Ghana had no food and could not defend their empire.

xiv. Growth of the spirit of nationalism among the captured States: The captured states which were under Ghana's control by force took advantage of the weakness of the Ghana Empire and struggled for their independence. And when some broke away, Ghana was not able to defend its big territory.

3.3.2. The decline of Mali Empire

Mali's greatness and renown continued up to the end of Mansa Sulayman's reign. It was then that the empire began to decline. By the end of the 15th Century it had lost much of its power to Songhai. The disintegration of the empire of Mali took place because of internal and external reasons:

Internal causes

Internal causes of Mali's decline included the following:

Weak and incompetent leaders: The death of Sulayman began a period of forty years of constant civil war and changes of kingship. There were immediately two men ready to rule over Mali; Sulayman's son Kamba and the grandson of Mansa Musa, Mari Jata II. The army was split in civil war and the royal clan was divided. Temporary peace was restored when Mari Jata became king. A greedy despot, he hardly reflected the greatness of his grandfather. The attempts made by Mansa Musa II (1374-87) to revive the strength of the army, trade and government failed. Constant internal dissension resulted in the assassination of Mansa Maghan II (1387-9), after a short reign.

Rebellion by vassal states: At the height of its glory, the Mali Empire was very extensive, comprising many provinces which were inhabited by different ethnic groups. Each of these was waiting for signs that

the central authority was weakening; for them to seize an opportunity to become independent of imperial control. Some of these attempts were successful. The first to do this was Gao (Songhai). On his way from pilgrimage, Mansa Musa had stopped at his vassal city of Gao and taken with him to Mali two princes of Gao, Ali Kolen and Sulayman Nar, as hostages to ensure the continued loyalty of the people to his authority. Not long afterwards, the two princes escaped from Mali and went back home to Gao. They organised a successful rebellion, and drove out the military forces stationed there by Mansa Musa. The people of Tekrur in the west followed the example of Gao.

Big size of the Empire: at the peak of power, Mali Empire had been over-expanded at the wild area so that it was difficult for the weak leaders to effectively control such huge empire.

Internal disputes: because of incompetence and rivalries among leaders, Mali never witnessed the political stability. In fact after the death of Sulaiman, a civil war broke out between the two rival contestants to the throne. It is on record that between 1360 and 1400AD, Mali had more than 6 kings, this weakened the Empire.

Weakness of the army: due to poor leadership, incompetence, constant wars and lack of motivation Mali army was terribly weakened. For this reason, it was unable to stop the vassal states from regaining their independence. In 1375 for example, Goa revolted and became independent and the army of Mali was unable to stop this rebellion.

Decline of agriculture: due to constant wars with both internal and external origins, agricultural activities declined in Mali and people were affected with famine. The army was not properly supplied with food and there was no surplus to exchange with guns in Trans Saharan Trade (TST), which led to the decline of Mali Empire.

Decline of trade: Mali's economy by the second half of the 14th century declined due to instability in desert and she lost the control of trade routes and gold producing districts, commercial towns leading to the decline of Mali.

Decline of Islam: Except for Mansa Musa's regime when Islamic faith was enforceable to serve its purpose of unifying the people, after him Islam lost its principles especially in politics. Immorality set in, diplomatic relations with Moslem countries declined due to civil wars; which left Mali Empire in a sick bay.

Lack of unity: Mali had diverse cultures and religions which contributed to its downfall. The leaders of Mali failed to unite the Moslems with non-Moslems and vassal states with different ethnic groups. This greatly influenced the decline of Mali.

External causes

The empire suffered a number of attacks by her jealous neighbours:

Attack from Mossi: In the reign of the great Mansa Musa, in 1333, the Mossi in the south had attacked Timbuktu. They were Later repulsed. About 1400 they made another destructive attack on the empire.

Tuareg attack: Mali's northern neighbours, the Tuareg, under their able leader Aki lag Malwal, took Walata and Timbuktu in 1433-4.

Songhai attack: In 1468, Sunni Ali of Songhai started raids on Mali. By the end of the 15th Century, Mali had been completely annexed by Songhai.

3.3.3 Decline of Songhai Empire

When Askia Muhammad was 85 years old, and had become blind and infirm with age, one of his sons, Musa, is said to have taken advantage of this to dethrone him. Thereafter, the history of Songhai was one of decline, for, with the exception of Askia Daud who ruled Songhai from 1549 to 1582, the successors of Askia the Great could not cope with the problems which contributed to the decline and final collapse of the empire at the close of the 16th Century. The fall of the empire was brought about by factors which were both internal and external.

Internal factors

***Incompetent rulers*:** The strength of Songhai was weakened by ineffective and often incompetent rulers. In addition, the empire suffered

from a series of dynastic intrigues and short and unsuccessful reigns. For example, when Askia the Great was aged 85, he was deposed by his eldest son, Musa. He was later sent away from the capital by his nephew, Askia Bankuri (also known as Askia Muhammad II or Bengan Korei), to exile in kankaka island in the Niger. The ill treatment of Askia the Great caused dissention and rivalry which weakened the unity of the empire.

***Short reigns*:** Short reigns failed to create stability in the empire. Between 1528 and 1549, a relatively short period of 21 years, as many as four rulers occupied the Songhai throne, each one deposing his predecessor: Askia Musa (1528-33), Askia Bankuri (1533-37), Askia Ismail (1537-39), and Askia Ishak 1(1539-49). These short reigns were in contrast to the long reigns of Sunni Ali and Askia Muhammad the Great, and by 1549 when Daud's long reign began, the stability of the empire had been seriously impaired.

Frequent succession disputes: Although Songhai's prestige was restored somewhat under the next ruler Askia Daud, who had a very long reign from 1549 to 1582, he could not heal all the wounds which had been inflicted on the empire during the previous 21 years. Moreover, after his death, succession disputes hampered much of his work. The three Askias who followed, like those who came before him, were weak rulers and were, in addition, immoral. They had naturally short reigns: Askia Muhammad III (1582-6), Askia Muhammad Bani (1586-8), and Askia Ishak II (1588-91). In Ishak II's reign Songhai fell under Morocco. These weak kings contributed to the final fall of the empire.

Rebellions in the empire's border territories: Songhai was united and strong enough to withstand external pressures. Many vassal states had become independent and hostile. They were only ready to help the invading Morocco forces. The Mossi to the south-west, the Hausa to the east, and the Tuareg to the north were a constant threat to the security of the empire. Besides, the heterogeneous nature of the vast empire, meant that the empire could be kept together only by the most able ruler. When the rulers were incompetent, and their claims to the throne were disputed, the empire was liable to disintegrate. This was the internal state of affairs when Moroccan forces marched down on Songhai.

Internal conflicts: the Empire had been characterized by internal disorders created by succession disputes. After the death of Askia Muhammad, struggle for power between his sons Askia Muhammad Bani and Sadiq with official weakened Songhai Empire.

Weakness of the army: This was mainly a result of numerous civil wars that took place after the reign of Askia Muhammad the great and probably the political incompetence of the new leaders. So, the army was so weak so that they could no longer defend and protect the Empire.

Decline of Trans Saharan Trade*:* due to political instabilities in Songhai and insecurity in desert, the T.S.T declined which means that guns, gifts and revenue were no longer got and the army that was used to defend the Empire became weak.

Disunity in Songhai: The Songhai Empire declined probably because of disunity among the people e.g. non-Moslems and Moslems, the Sunni dynasty and Askia dynasty; that paved way for the weakness and fall of Songhai.

Neglect of agriculture: By political instabilities, agriculture was neglected which led to famine, the army and population were not supplied with food and the army was incapable defending Empire.

E***xpensive nature of Songhai:*** At the greatest peak of power, Songhai had widely expanded and it became difficult to control and to administrate it effectively especially after the death of able and strong leaders.

External factors

Morocco and other northern African countries had for centuries been envious of the wealth of the empire of Songhai. They always wanted to take it. Gold was one reason. Another was that the Moroccans did not want the Sudanese advancing into the desert as they had steadily been doing. Morocco especially resented the control of the Taghaza salt mines by the Songhai and long before the invasion of 1591 the two countries had been fighting over this region.

Attacks of the Fulani and Tuaregs: These were constant attacks from the war-like people who eventually attacked Songhai, taking away the salt mine of Taghaza which weakened the economy of Songhai.

Reasons for the defeat of Songhai

The reasons for the defeat of Songhai included the following:

- A major cause was the internal weakness of Songhai combined with the willing assistance given to Morocco by several vassal states who wanted to assert their freedom from the authority of Songhai.
- The Moroccans commanded an army of well-drilled and determined men, intent on gaining the rich possessions of Songhai.
- The Moroccans had the advantage of using superior weapons which included arquebuses (obsolete matchlock firearms) and muskets. The Askia's forces included, somewhat unusually, 1,000 cows, which were placed between the two armies, and it was hoped that they would block the Moroccan bullets. But, like the Songhai soldiers, the cattle were terrified by the sound of the guns and turned to trample to death many of the Songhai soldiers. The weapons of Songhai were primitive, being bows and arrows, spears, swords and clubs.
- The capture of Gao and Timbuktu did not end the war completely. Having deposed Ishak II, the Songhai installed Askia Kagho as their ruler; he directed his men to resort to guerrilla warfare. They put up a considerable fight until, unfortunately for Songhai, Kagho was treacherously killed by the Moroccans who had invited him for peace talks. Kagho was succeeded by his brother, Askia Nuh, who continued the resistance until 1595, when Songhai was finally it defeated, and became a province of Morocco.

Results of the defeat of Songhai

The Moroccan conquest of the empire of Songhai had several consequences on the history which included the following:

Loss of independence

- Songhai lost her independence and became a province of Morocco. Songhai as a great empire lost her identity and her well-organised central administration. The results of this situation were as follows:

- The different states which had been united as members of the great empire of Songhai asserted their independence. But they did not have adequate resources to exist as separate units; instead they started fighting each other.
- The Sultan of Morocco sent out governors called *pashas* to take charge of the Sudanese provinces that were under the control of Morocco.
- The *pashas* sent out to the Western Sudan were mostly greedy and corrupt and unfit for the task assigned to them. Indeed, the administration of these provincial *pashas* was characterized by constant intrigues and struggles for power. This explains why, for example, within a short period of five years, from 1616 to 1621, the Western Sudanese administration passed through the hands of as many as twenty-one *pashas*.
- While the superstructure of the imperial system collapsed, the diverse groups which made up the Songhai Empire regained their independence and survived as small but virile states until the 19th Century – before the jihads and Partition. These groups included Tekrur, Kaarta, Segu, Masina, Dendi, Kebbi, Gobir, Kano Zaria and Katsina.

Economic consequences

*T*he trans-Saharan trade and the internal economy decline for the following reasons:

- By a coincidence, Europeans had started trading on the Guinea coast about a century before the fall of Songhai. This, combined with the disturbed situation in the Western Sudan, meant that the centre of the West African trade shifted from the north to the western and southern coasts of West Africa. The gold and ivory which now ceased to go north went southwards instead to boost the prosperity and importance of some of the forest and coastal states, particularly Asante and Fante, turning Songhai's economic loss into these states' gain.
- The condition of the Western Sudan was made worse by the crippling taxation and levies imposed by the pashas.

- The Moroccans had been very disappointed by what they had gained from conquering the Songhai Empire. Although Al-Mansur obtained a great deal of gold, and earned the title *El-Dhahabi*, meaning the 'Golden Ruler', what Morocco actually gained as a result of the conquest was far less than they had expected.

Loss of glory

The capture of the Sudanese cities, accompanied by the destruction of men and property had other consequences:

Cities like Gao, Timbuktu and Jenne declined as centres of trade and as seats of learning.

With the death and capture of many scholars, the influence of Islam in the Western Sudan declined rapidly. In its place, pagan religions were revived. It was not until the beginning of the 19th Century that Islamic revivalist movements were launched by the Fulani in the Western Sudan

On the other hand, the eastward shift of the trans-Saharan trade and the movement of scholars from the Western Sudan in the same direction, as a consequence of the Moroccan invasion, increased the prosperity and renown of some of the Hausa states and that of Kanem-Bornu.

3.3.4. Decline of the First Kanem – Bornu

The First Kanem – Bornu began its process of decline after the death of Mai Dunama II Dalabani in the middle of the 13th century. That decline was due to the following reasons:

Presence of weak leaders: The successors of Dalabani II were weak to control a big empire and maintaining law and order.

Dynastic conflicts over the succession to the post of governors: the system of giving the post of provincial governors to members of royal family had inherent weakness. The governors got chance of organizing rebellions against the Mais. This weakened central athaurity making it incapable of resisting external enemies.

Islamization: The kings of the First Kanem – Bornu pressed their people to be converted to Islam which created political instability within empire.

Attacks from the So: Kanem Bornu was attacked by its neighbors from the east known as So tribe. As the results of these attacks, Kanem Bornu lost its five kings in succession which weakened empire leading to its collapse.

Attacks from the Bulala: The final blow to the existence of kanem Bornu was the Bulala attacks that completely conquered the area. The Mai was forced to move his empire to the west of Lake Chad where he founded the Second Kanem Bornu in 14th Century.

Decline of the Second Kanem-Bornu Empire

The administrative reforms and military brilliance of Aluma sustained the empire until the mid-1600s, when its power began to fade. By the late 1700s, Bornu rule extended only westward, into the land of the Hausa. Around that time, Fulani people, invading from the west were able to make major inroads into Bornu. By the early 19th Century, Kanem-Bornu was clearly an empire in decline. In 1808, Fulani warriors conquered Ngazargamu.

Usman dan Fodio led the Fulani thrust and proclaimed a jihad (holy war) on the irreligious Muslims of the area. His campaign eventually affected KanemBornu and inspired a trend toward Islamic doctrines. But Muhammad al-Amin al-Kanemi contested the Fulani advance. Kanem was a Muslim scholar and nonSefawa warlord who had put together an alliance of Shuwa Arabs, Kanembu, and other semi-nomadic peoples. He eventually built a capital at Kukawa (in present-day Nigeria). Sefawa *mais* remained titular monarchs until 1846. In that year, the last *mai*, in league with Wadai (Ouadai) tribesmen, precipitated a civil war. It was at that point that Kanem's son, Umar, became king, thus ending one of the longest dynastic reigns in the regional history.

Although the dynasty ended, the kingdom of Kanem-Bornu survived. Umar, who eschewed the title *mai* for the simpler designation, *shehu,* (from the Arabic "shaykh") could not match his father's energy. He gradually allowed the kingdom to be ruled by advisers (*wazirs*). Bornu began to decline, as a result of administrative disorganisation and attacks by the militant Wadai Empire to the east. The decline continued under Umar's sons. In 1893 Rabih Fadlallah, leading an invading army from eastern Sudan, conquered Bornu. He was defeated by French soldiers in 1900.

Finally, the factors for the decline of the Second Kanem-Bornu

The Kanem – Bornu Empire had lasted and stabilized for a long period, but by 17th and 18th centuries it had serious external problems which weakened the internal organization. These problems multiplied by the 19th century and brought about the fall of Kanem – Bornu as described below:

Incompetent and inexperienced leaders: After the death of the Mai Idris Alooma, the second Kanuri Empire started declining. The empire fell into the hands of incompetent, inexperienced, weak and no courageous rulers like Mai Ahmadu and Mai Ali. This weakened empire.

Weakness of the army: Because of constant wars and the famine, the army of Kanem –Bornu grew weak. Many soldiers were lost in clashes with external enemies and food shortages could not sustain fighting men.

Provincial states' independence: Still due to constant wars the provincial states also rebelled and broke off from Bornu Empire e.g. in 1791, the Mandra asserted their independence which reduced the power and the size of Bornu in terms of tributes and manpower.

Disunity: Cultural disunity in the 19th century had reached maximum levels. Each tribe assimilated to the Kanuri culture by conquest and occupation rose up for sovereignty thus tribal rivalry weakened the empire e.g. the Bulala and the So rose up.

Large size: The Empire had become so large that the rulers of the time could not administer it effectively, which paved way for the vassal states to break off.

Famine: As a result of constant attacks on Bornu Empire, famine broke out which lasted for seven years. Bornu became poor and militarily prone to conquest by powerful states like Air.

Loss of contact with Arab world: The Empire of Kanem – Bornu had lost close contact with Arab World and the Turks who could have aided Bornu in terms of military support probably led to the decline of Bornu.

Decline of Islam: Probably the unity provided by Islam by the 19th century had declined. This decline was shown when the people were disunited on tribal basis and rivaled each other.

Frequent external attacks: These were the attacks from all directions to Kanem – Bornu such of the Tuaregs, of the Fulani, of the Kwararafa and of the Air. The most dangerous was of the Fulani headed by Uthman Dan Fodio in 1808 from which Mai Ahmed fled from his capital city hearing the coming of the Jihadists. This completed the end of the only surviving empire in Western Sudan.

Societies fled Bornu: Because of continuous wars and, probably from the Tuaregs, Kwararafa and Fulani, many people fled Kanem – Bornu Empire to safer neighboring states. This contributed to the decline of the empire in terms of agricultural production and military manpower for defense.

3.3.5. The decline of the Mwenemutapa Kingdom

The following factors led to the decline of Mwenemutapa Kingdom:

i. *Exhaustion of natural resources* – The natural resources like salt and timber that had sustained the kingdom's economic life got exhausted. There was also over-cultivation of land which reduced its fertility.

ii. *Vastness of the empire* – A succession of weak rulers contributed to the kingdom's decline. Matope was succeeded by his son Nyahuma (1480-90) but the empire was already too big for one man to govern properly. There was a big problem of communication. Nyahuma was younger and less experienced than Changa and Togwa, the great chiefs of the south. To make matters worse, he depended on them for revenue, as they controlled the gold-producing areas. The Swahili may have influenced Changa to set up a separate kingdom, in which they would be able to control the long-distance trade.

iii. *Secession by southern chiefs* – In 1490 Changa and Togwa rebelled. They declared themselves independent, and then attacked Nyahuma. Nyahuma and most of his family were killed. Changa became king, taking the title *Changamire*. His reign, however was brief. In 1494 he was killed by Nyahuma's son Chikuyo. Chikuyo ruled from 1494 to 1530, but by now the empire was split in two. Chikuyo controlled a thousand kilometers of the south bank of the Zambezi to the south, however, Changa's son Changamire II, built a strong empire known as Urozwi.

iv. *Portuguese Control* – In 1629 the Mwenemutapa attempted to throw out the Portuguese. He failed and was overthrown, leading to the Portuguese installation of Mavura Mhande Felipe on the throne. The kingdom signed treaties making it a Portuguese vassal and ceding gold mines. The kingdom remained independent only by name Portugal increased control over much of southeast Africa with the beginnings of a colonial system.

v. *Rebellions by tributaries* – The kingdom faced rebellions by the tributaries such as Kiteve, Madanda and Manyika, which ceased paying tribute. At the same time, a new kingdom under a Rozwi dynasty near Barwe was on the rise. All of this was hastened by Portugal retaining a presence on the coast and in the capital. In 1663, the praezeros deposed Mwenemutapa Siti Kazurukamusapa and put their own nominee, Kamharapasu Mukombwe on the throne.

vi. *Rise of Butwa Kingdom as a new regional power* – The rise of the Butwa Kingdom under a Rozwi dynasty contributed to the decline of Mwenemutapa Kingdom. The origin of the Rozwi is obscure. There is some evidence that they were an offshoot of the Karanga people – perhaps led by a dissident member of the Mwenemutapa family. By the 17th Century, a dynasty of Rozwi pastoralists under the leadership of a *Changamire* called Dombo began transforming the Butwa kingdom into a new regional power. In 1684 his forces encountered and decisively defeated those of Mwenemutapa Kamharapasu Mukombwe. In 1695, Changamire Dombo overran Manyika and took his army east and destroyed the Portuguese fair-town of Masikwesi. This allowed him complete control of all gold-producing territory from Butwa to Manyika, replacing Mwenemutapa as the premier Shona Kingdom in the region.

vii. *Rivalry and return of the Rozwi* – In 1712, another coveter of the Mwenemutapa throne invited the Rozwi back to put him on the throne and kick out the Portuguese. This they did and the kingdom again came under the control of the Rozwi Empire. The new Mwenemutapa Samatambira Nyamhandu I became a Rozwi vassal, while the outgoing king was forced to retreat to Chidama in what is now Mozambique.

viii. The Rozwi quickly lost interest in Mwenemutapa, as they sought to consolidate their position in the south. The kingdom regained its independence around 1720. By this time however, the kingdom had lost nearly the entire Zimbabwe plateau to the Rozwi Empire. In 1723, Nyamhandi moved his capital into the valley near Tete, under Mwenemutapa Nyatsusu.

ix. *Civil war and final collapse* – The Mwenemutapa died in 1759, sparking yet another civil war for the throne. This one was more destructive than its predecessors. Mwenemutapa never recovered. The 'winners' ended up governing an even more reduced land from Chidima. They used the title *Mambo a Chidima* and ruled independently of Portugal until 1917 when Mambo Chioko, the last king of the dynasty, was killed in battle against the Portuguese.

3.3.6. Destruction of the Zulu nation

The Battle of Ulundi marked the beginning of the end of the Zulu empire. The British were out to destroy the Zulu kingdom. Cetchwayo was deposed, exiled and imprisoned in Cape Town, and was not allowed to return until 1883. Zululand was broken up into thirteen small chiefdoms, each under a British nominee. A British Resident loosely supervised the affairs of the dismembered Zululand.

Anarchy and civil war spread through the length and breadth of Zululand. Two factions emerged, one of pro-Cetchwayo royalists, and another of the new petty kings appointed by the British. The British found themselves unable to cope with the mess, and Cetchwayo was restored in 1883 in the hope he would use his old magic over his people and restore order. It was also hoped that he might be used as a bridge by the British administration in Zululand, a hope for some form of indirect rule as it was feared direct involvement might be too expensive.

However, the emergence of a strong anti-Cetchwayo faction between 1879 and 1883 made sure the King's authority was circumscribed within the centre of his old kingdom. The south of the kingdom was reserved for the clans and the chiefs highly opposed to Cetchwayo's restoration. In the north, the existence of an independent kingdom, Mandhlakazi, was recognized by the confirmation of Sibobu, Cetchwayo's rival, as its ruler.

Supporters of the two went to war against each other, and Cetchwayo's forces were routed and the ex-king forced to flee to the southern reserve where he died in 1884.

Dinizulu, 1884-1913

Dinizulu was only 15 years old when his father Cetchwayo, went into exile. He became the king of the Zulu nation from 20 May 1884 until his death in 1913. Zululand had been broken up into 13 smaller territories after the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. Dinizulu, administered one of them.

However, they left one of Cetchwayo's sons, Usibepu (Zibhebhu), alone with his lands intact. On July 22 1883, Usibepu attacked Cetchwayo's new kraal in Ulundi, wounding the king and causing him to flee. This caused anarchy and civil war to spread throughout Zululand.



King Dinizulu Cetchwayo

To contest the succession, Dinizulu first appealed to the British, but had no response. He then offered rewards of land to Boer mercenaries to lure them to join his army. In 1884, a group of Boer farmers from the districts of Utrecht and Vryheid undertook to restore order, in return. Led by General Louis Botha, they formed Dinizulu's Volunteers and after several clashes with Usibepu. They defeated him at the Battle of Ghost Mountain (also known as the Battle of Tshaneni) on 5 June 1884. Usibepu and his forces were killed to the last man.

The mercenaries then claimed payment and Dinizulu found himself confronted with demands he could not meet. Eight hundred mercenaries claimed to have fought for him and all claimed large farms. They claimed about half of Zululand, including St Lucia Bay, an outlet to the sea. Britain intervened and the mercenaries were given a grant of land in the northern part of Zululand. Five hundred mercenaries each received a farm of 16 km^2. Another 300 men who had arrived late received smaller grants, known as 'half farms'. On 5 August 1884, these mercenaries declared a republic, with the town of Vryheid as its capital, which lasted for only four years.

After considerable dispute a Natal arbitration court recognised the New Republic, reduced in size, however, and deprived of its claims to St Lucia. The following year it was absorbed into the Transvaal. Six years from these events, in a strange version of belated 'justice', Dinizulu was exiled to the island of St. Helena - the same as Napoleon - for seven years for leading a Zulu army against the British from 1883 to 1884.

The Bambatha uprising, 1906

In 1906, the so-called Bambatha rebellion broke out. It was an uprising by a section of the Zulu of Natal led by their chief called Bambatha of the Zondi people. The uprising occurred for six main reasons:

Loss of land – The Zulu were frustrated by the loss of their land to white settlers. After the small Zulu states were annexed to Natal in 1884, they lost more land to the Boers between 1902 and 1904. Two thirds of their land was made open to white settlement. The Zulu were pushed into reserves where they were overcrowded. Furthermore, there was an increase in rent for Zulu tenant farmers on white-owned land. Land available for rent eventually shrank in size.

Colonisation and loss of independence – The Zulu were aggrieved by the loss of their independence since their colonization by the British in 1879 after the Battle of Isandhlwana. The Zulu kingdom had ceased to exist in 1879 and had been broken up into 13 smaller kingdoms, which had also been incorporated into the Cape Colony. In particular, they could no longer bear the harshness and unfairness of British laws as applied in Natal.

Introduction of poll tax – Bambatha and his Zulu followers were against the introduction in 1905 of the very unpopular and unfair poll tax of £1 per head. They did not want to pay taxes meant to sustain an unpopular foreign authority. Besides, all the races had to pay the same amount of tax per head yet the Europeans were earning at least twenty times more than the Africans.

Loss of traditional authority – Traditional Zulu chiefs had lost their authority. They became even more hostile due to growing power of British-appointed district magistrates while the chiefs' authority diminished. Those who tried to protest were arrested. For instance, the then Zulu king Dinizulu, returned from detention in exile demoted to a headman after his attempted rising had been crushed. Bambatha himself had been dismissed and deported by the British government after he became troublesome to the British.

Overreaction to pre-Bambatha – There were smaller, local risings in 1906 as a protest to poll tax. The whites felt alarmed and insecure, and the Natal government overreacted by declaring martial law and having twelve Zulu leaders of the risings executed. The government also confiscated large numbers of cattle from the Zulu, burnt many Zulu homes and carried out mass flogging of villagers. This worsened African attitudes and increased discontent against white rule.

Ethiopian movement – There developed among the Zulu a religious movement called **Ethiopianism**. It preached the departure of the white man and advocated the slaughter of pigs and chickens as a sign that the white man should leave immediately.

Harsh labour laws – Many young men had to work in urban areas and on white farms on extremely poor pay. They lived a life of poverty, insecurity and fear and developed hatred and defiance for their white employers.

Bambatha, a former Zulu chief whom the British had deposed reappeared and started a rebellion. When the government ordered him to appear with his men and pay poll tax, he defiantly refused to co-operate, and instead mobilized his people across the Tugela River where he clashed with the police. He had a strong appeal to the Zulu national feeling. Some

chiefs supported him in a well-coordinated uprising. However, the police eventually trapped and killed him and his followers, together with other Zulu leaders in the Mome Gorge on 10 June 1906.

After the rebellion had been put down, Dinizulu was accused of giving orders to Bambatha to start the rebellion and was put on trial for treason. Although he steadfastly protested his innocence, he was found guilty and sentenced to four years imprisonment in March, 1908.



General Louis Botha first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa

Two years later an old friend of his, General Louis Botha, became Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.

Botha ordered that Dinizulu be released and transported to the farm *Uitkyk* in the Transvaal, where he died in 1913. He was succeeded by his son Solomon. But the fact of the matter was that with the defeat of the Bambatha uprising, the Zulu empire had completely collapsed.

It was a surprise to find that by the end of the 19th century, the Zulu Kingdom disintegrated and declined. Among the factors that could explain this decline include the following:

Constant wars of Shaka: The masses and mainly the servicemen resented that the Shaka's endless military campaigns could never end. These wars brought a lot of suffering and exhaustion from his army men, the food production, trade and social functions were disrupted. The main Indunas gave up the fight.

Dictatorship of Shaka: Because those who could not accommodate his autocracy decided to move away; thus leading to disintegration of the Zulu kingdom. Te situation was worsening when he imposed the national moaning due to the death of his mother, Nandi every month. He regularly killed the elderly, injured soldiers, sick people and the defeated soldiers.

Assassination of Shaka: He was assassinated on 24th December 1828 by his half brother Dingane and Mhalangane who denied the kingdom of its genius military leader. He was replaced by weak leaders who could not compete with the White.

Coming of the Whites in South Africa: this because the Whites wanted the land of the Zulu for agriculture and mineral exploitation. Then there were wars between the Zulu and the Whites such as Boers and the British.

Colonization of South Africa: because the British had the intention of colonizing the whole of South Africa and there was no way how the Zulu land could have survived this colonization.

Death of Cetwayo: He was a good foresighted leader who tried to revive the military strength of Zulu. But after his death, he was replaced by his 10 years old son Dinizulu who opened way to the coming of more Whites in Zulu kingdom.

Mfecane or the time of troubles in Zulu land: This was the trouble period created by the harsh rule of Shaka that caused the depopulation within Zulu kingdom, and when the Kololo, Giza, Ndebele and Ngoni vacated the region the Zulu kingdom became vulnerable to be defeated by enemies.

Policy of Mpande: This had been helped by the Whites to come to power and once on the power he started a policy of peaceful coexistence with the Whites which encouraged the coming of more Whites in Zulu land, hence its collapse.

Discovery of diamonds in 1867 in Kimberly: This created more trouble to the existence of Zulu kingdom. The British became determined to take over the interior which they thought was all mineral rich.

Introduction of poll tax of one pound per person: This was the fiscal policy introduced by the British government which forced the Zulu under the minor Indunas to organize the Bambata rebellion (1906 – 1907) in which the Zulu were defeated and the land was divided into 13 districts and put under the British colonial rule.

Application Activity 3.3

At the close of the 16th Century, Songhai Empire was declining due to internal factors. Discuss the contribution of the factors such as incompetent rulers and frequent succession disputes to that decline.

End of Unit Assessment 3

1. List and explain the factors that helped in the growth of the kingdom of Ghana.
2. Give an account of the factors that led to the decline of the empire of old Ghana. List at least five factors.
3. (a) Why did Mansa Musa generously reward his officers?

   (b) How did Mansa Musa contribute to the social and economic development of the Mali Empire?
4. (a) Explain the ways in which Askia Mohammed contributed to the growth of Islam in the Kingdom of Songhai.

   (b) What were the results of the conquest of the Songhai Kingdom?
5. Discuss the religious and educational developments Songhai Empire under the leadership of Askia the Great.

UNIT 4 MAJOR EUROPEAN EVENTS BETWEEN 1789 AND 1835

Key Unit Competence: By the end of this unit, you should be able to evaluate the major events that took place in Europe between 1789 and 1835; their causes, course and effect.



Introductory Activity 4.1

From 1789 up to 1835 most European countries were experiencing the series of revolutions, make research to evaluate such major events that took place in Europe between 1789 and 1835; their causes, course and effect. Summarize your work on written documents.

Introduction

The years between 1789 and 1835 marked a milestone in the history of the world. It witnessed Great Revolutions and world wars. These events were turning points in the history of human political, social and economic development. First came the French Revolution in 1789. It was followed by the rise of the Great Napoleon Bonaparte, the man who believed that, 'impossible only existed in the dictionary of fools'. Napoleon brought a semblance of peace and order in Europe for some time. However, things changed and Europe found itself in the middle of revolutions again in 1830. These revolutions were preceded by the entry of Prince Metternich of Austria. Metternich led other statesmen such as Alexander of Russia, Lord Castlebreagh of England, Talleyrand of France and the king of Prussia into coming up with a system of congresses between 1815-1825.

The congresses catapulted the Austrio-Hungarian Empire to prominence in European diplomacy. This was through the work of Prince Metternich; the Austrian chancellor. It marked the end of the Great Napoleon's reign in France and by extension France's domineering influence in Europe.

4.1. Conditions in Europe and France in particular before 1789

Learning Activity 4.1

Visit the library to research from resources such as textbooks and the Internet for:

1. Information about conditions in Europe and France in particular before 1789.
2. Examine the roles played by women leaders (queens) in this period.

Conditions in Europe and France in particular, before 1789, were quite appalling. European society was divided down the middle in various ways. The rulers and a few in the upper class enjoyed plenty and led an opulent life. They cared little or not at all over the miserable conditions and hopelessness that characterized the middle and lower levels of the society.

The picture of Europe in most states, was identical. However, western European states were more advanced than their counterparts in Eastern Europe. In the latter, Russia and the Ottoman empires were the extremes. The two empires were backward than all the others.

Sweden

This was the most important power in the north. By the 1780s, she had exhausted herself and had become satiated with conquests. Sweden had by this time, given up her continental ambitions. She only clung to Finland and some territory in Germany. The country had a strong monarchy. It had managed to control the parliament and nobility. Here, peasants were free and were not bound to the land on which they worked.

Swedish power had been humbled by Russia which although backward, enjoyed a military strength (due to her population) which was unmatched by many powers on the eve of the French Revolution. This was an asset at the time. The states of Europe faced one another as armed and distrustful rivals. They recognised no rule of conduct except their own advantage. All entered into transitory alliances on the prompings of fear or gain. In

all situations, the powers ganged against and brought down the single power amongst them, whom they thought was the most powerful. So from the 16th Century, any state that seemed to exercise or claim supremacy in Europe, with time saw the others gang against it. This was the situation Spain, France and Great Britain fell into in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries respectively. The end of the 18th Century had nothing of international action or aspiration thus to talk of for the European powers.

Denmark

This was the second strongest power in the north. It had a large navy and controlled Norway. Like many European powers at the time, her monarchy was autocratic.

Many of her peasants were serfs (were forced to stay on the land of the master).

Russia

Russia controlled the East. It was a vast empire whose territories went beyond Europe. She had risen as one of the strongest empires in the continent. Through Tsar Peter the Great (1696-1725) she had expanded and even won an outlet to the Baltic sea and built a new capital, St. Petersburg, at the head of the Gulf of Finland.



Catherine the Great

Peter had also for a time, carried Russia's frontiers to the Black sea and even had offered to her the "civilizing agency of maritime intercourse". The Tsar had also encouraged aspects of the western culture in his empire, especially language and science among the aristocracy. Czarina Catherine (1762-1796) continued Tsar Peter the Great's work. The Czarina was a German at birth. She expanded the empire and encouraged aspects of western civilization in her empire. Czarina Catherine was a product of "the Enlightenment" and this is what informed the reforms she tried to introduce to the Russian society. However, Russia still remained a complete autocracy.

The Tsar enjoyed absolute power; the Nobles enjoyed privileges denied other groups while the peasants remained serfs as they had been in the previous centuries. In fact, Catherine the Great, extended Serfdom to many areas where it hadn't existed. She gave the nobles large grants of crown lands and estates in newly acquired territories.

Catherine, like her Predecessor, was equally an empire builder. She extended her empire southwards to the Black Sea and into the Crimea by silencing the remaining Tartar people and their supporters, the Ottoman Turks. Catherine further, by joint action with Prussia and Austria, took part of Poland. She took the lion's share of the spoils.

The Ottoman Empire (Turkey)

It was a Muslim power, was in the south. She was Russia's neighbor. The empire had reached the climax of its power in the 17th Century. She controlled many European communities in her vast empire. Most of these were the Christian groups in south east Europe such as the Serbs, Wallachians, Bulgars, Greeks and others. The Turks only occupied these lands and did not establish a firm rule over the communities. They only collected taxes or quelled resistance whenever it occurred. Apart from the European groups, the Ottoman rulers also controlled Asia Minor, the Levant and North Africa. People under Turkish rule were allowed independence except for tax payment. By the late 18th Century, the Turkish Empire was ripe for division. Russia and Austria's appetite to get the spoils reigned supreme.

The Kingdom of Hungary

It was found to the south east of the Ottoman Empire under the rule of the House of Hapsburg whose capital was in Vienna, Austria. The kingdom brought together Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Croatia and Belgium. All these territories were ruled by the head of the House of Hapsburg. The official by custom, was also elected the emperor of what was officially called "The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation". This was a loose grouping of more than 300 states which in the 18th Century covered modern Germany and more areas. Although the emperor had a lot of stake in German inhabited territories, most of the territories in the empire were not German. It brought together many nationalities with

diverse religions. Her reasons became known as the Austrian Empire in 1804 and as Austria-Hungary in 1867. Austria-Hungary was the main rival of France before 1789. They fought many wars and experienced many realms towards one another.

These many nationalities in the Austrian empire were products of inheritance, diplomatic marriages, conquest (war) and even by purchase. This presented a big challenge to governance. Centralization of power which was in vogue in Europe at the time was untenable here. Resistance after resistance was the norm in this large territory. If it was not religious, it was ethnic, where it was not ethnic it was over governance.

The people could even not agree on a common language. Like in other parts of Europe, the AustriaHungarian emperor was autocratic. The outbreak of the French revolution coincided with the reign of Joseph II (1765-90). He was an "enlightened despot". Joseph tried to introduce some reforms in his empire but finally had to withdraw most of the reforms. He is described to have died in 1790 "bitterly conscious of his failures". An interesting empire was the so called the Holy Roman

Empire of which the ruler of Austria as we have already noted, was traditionally elected head.

It brought together all Germanic states. The empire exercised very little authority. Power rested with the various German states of which the most outstanding was Prussia. Others were Bavaria, Saxony and Hanover. Prussia had a strong army and enjoyed a long military tradition. Through the efforts of Emperor Fredrick II The Great, an enlightened despot, the state grew at the expense of Austria and Poland. Even though Prussia lacked any geographical advantages, the state emerged as a powerful one, through force and diplomacy. Under Fredrick, Prussia prospered but unfortunately the monarch never carried or extended the benefits to the majority of the population.



Joseph II

Poland

Poland was another power in Europe. Unfortunately, she provided a record of political and military decline. So in the 18th Century, she provided a constitution that legalized anarchy. The country allowed any nobleman the power to veto in legislation. This was a social system that maintained the worst abuses of the feudal system in the middle ages. The system condemned its peasant population to the worst serfdom. There was great moral degradation. She had a weak army which made it vulnerable for prey by her neighbours. Both Austria, Russia and Prussia got territories from her. The country on the eve of the French Revolution was under King Stanislas Poniatowski.

Italian Peninsula

No single authority ruled the whole of Italy. There were many kingdoms, duchies and Republics in the peninsula. By the late 18th Century Naples and Sicily were the most important states. Others were Rome and Bologna–the states of the church. The two were noted mainly for poverty, backwardness and malaria. In the north of Italy was Piedmont, arising power among the Italian states. Piedmont's territory also included Sardinia which gave its name- Kingdom of Sardinia – to the kingdom. It was ruled by the House of Savoy. There were many other states in the Italian Peninsula but as Metternich was later to remark, Italy was a geographical expression – there was no single state going by that name and bringing all the Italian territories under one ruler. Like in other European states, in these states, "Cities of great prosperity and artistic magnificence existed side by side with areas of appalling poverty". It was thus a time bomb just like in the other areas.

Spain

Although her power had declined, Spain was still a vital power in Europe. She was under the Hapsburg Monarchs, the house which equally was in power in France. They had taken on Spain and ruled upto the 17th Century before the new Bourbon Kings had taken charge in the 18th Century. The country had vast lands in Central America from California and Texas downwards, most of South America with the exception of Brazil and several of the West Indian Islands, besides other outposts in the Philippines. The

Spanish society, although united by religion and to some extent national unity had problems from sections of her population. The Catalonians, Aragonese and Basques were against the supremacy of Castile. Like other European states, part of her population lived in opulence while the majority were mired by abject poverty.

Portugal

This was Spain's neighbour. She had survived a period of Spanish annexation and regained her independence in 1640. Portugal was still a colonial empire, but like Spain, she had however lost some of her territories to the Dutch. Portugal despite being a colonial empire was one of the poorest and most backward states in Europe. In spite of her poverty, she spend colossal amounts of finance building churches. She was able to maintain her colonial possessions because of British naval assistance. Portugal forged an alliance with Great Britain based on commerce and politics. She mostly sold wine (at lower taxation) as she received woolen products from Britain.

Netherlands

To the north-east of France was the Netherlands. This territory had been sharply divided since the 17th Century. Some parts were under Austrian rule (these were following Catholicism), then there was the united provinces (Holland) which were independent (they practised Protestantism). Holland later were British allies. They were successful agriculturalists and business people. They managed to maintain a colonial empire due to their naval might. The Dutch engaged themselves in many colonial wars which weakened them drastically. She had also been rocked by internal strife over Holland's attempts to dominate the other Dutch provinces.

Switzerland

It was a large country bringing together people from diverse nationalities. They all formed the Swiss Confederation. It had secured her independence from the Hapsburgs in the 15th Century.

Great Britain

Out of all the European powers, none led all the others in as many fields as Great Britain. Although France's neighbor across the water, she gave the former more trouble than her land neighbours. Britain was extremely strong. She was united under one king and parliament. Her citizens were comparatively freer than in all the other European states. The country was governed through the rule of law, led in commerce and was a front runner in the industrial revolution. Britain thus enjoyed many advantages which lacked in the other powers.

Colonial wars among European nations

France

France pursued a monarchical system of government. She was one of the dominant powers in Europe. She had enjoyed this status for long. This made her the envy of many powers. Her greatest rival was Great Britain. As a country, she found herself in great difficulties as shown below:

The Enlightenment period

The age of reason had opened the people's eyes. In France, where most of the philosophers were found, Enlightenment ideas made people to question the inequalities of the old regime which still operated on the basis of divine rights of kings. The biased treatment by the government of sections of the population did not go down well with the majority of the citizens. To them, the favoured position of the clergy and nobility went against reason. Therefore, there were calls for fair treatment of all classes throughout France.

There were increased wars among European countries to acquire colonies in different parts of Europe and the Americas. Weak European nations wanted to acquire colonies so as to conquer them hence increase their power and prestige. Interestingly, on the eve of the French Revolution, Europe was very varied. Western Europe was generally more advanced than Eastern Europe. In the north, Sweden was the most important power. It controlled Finland and some territories in Germany. Denmark in the North was equally powerful. It controlled Norway and had a large navy. In Eastern Europe, Russia and the Ottoman Empires were the most

backward. Russia nursed feelings of territorial expansion in the Baltic Sea and Asia. It had, prior to the revolution, allied with Prussia and Austria to divide Poland among themselves. This was done under a Russian ruler, who was a true product of the Enlightenment, Empress Catherine II, The Great.

The Turkish (Ottoman) Empire held power over the Christian people of south-east Europe (the Serbs, Wallachians, Bulgars, Greeks and others). It also controlled Asia Minor and North Africa. Russia wanted lands in this empire. In south east Europe, there was the kingdom of Hungary. It controlled modern-day republics of Czecholslavia (Moravia and Bohemia), Galicia (today part of Poland) Croatia and some territories in Northern Italy. It also controlled Belgium.

All these territories were controlled by the head of the Hapsburg family in what was known as 'The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation'. This was a loose grouping of more than 300 states covering modern Germany and some areas beyond. Most of these territories, although controlled by Germany, were not made up of Germans. Like Russia, it was ruled, by a 'disciple of the Enlightenment' known as Joseph II when the French Revolution occurred. Another powerful empire was Prussia. Like other empires, it had interests of colonial acquisition. It was interested in territories controlled by Austria and Poland.

By the time of the French Revolution, Prussia had been under the rule of Fredrick II. He died just before the revolution. The powerful European powers even wanted territories in Italy, which at this time was still a combination of kingdoms. Spain was another great power. It had many colonies in the Newlands. Britain wanted these colonies, too. Spain thus formed an alliance with France to keep away British advances. It, however, fought with Britain from time to time. Portugal was another European power. It still had a large colonial empire although it had lost most of her colonies to the Dutch. Portugal formed an alliance with Britain to safeguard her territorial interests. Generally, the period towards the French Revolution came at a time when colonial wars among the European states were being experienced. It was characterised by war and rivalry.

Political problems in France

France faced numerous problems by the time revolution took place. These problems can be traced back to the 17th and early 18th Centuries and some even much earlier. The ancient regime had a chaotic legal system. For example, in 1789, there still existed 360 different feudal codes of law in different parts of the country (there were numerous feudal courts in a town). The government tried to regulate affairs in over 40,000 townships but things were very slow as they were controlled from a central authority – Paris. Nearly all powers in national matters were in the hands of the king and his personal advisers. The kings were absolute monarchs. They cared less about the welfare of the people. The king's word was law and the state was like his personal property. France was thus under an undemocratic and repressive regime that cared less about the welfare of the bulk of its population. People detested the government but they could do nothing about it. It was just a matter of time before they rose up in arms against the regime.

Deterioration in economic conditions

It is estimated that peasants at the time of the revolution were 23 million out of a population of 25 million. Most of the peasants were poor and heavily taxed. They were thus very discontented and depressed. Most of them lived in the rural areas. There were direct taxes on land and households (poll). These were collected by government officials. There were also a myriad of indirect taxes. The way these taxes were collected was ruthless and inhuman. Many peasants, unable to pay, were severely punished.

Things were not different for the *bourgeoisie*. Although they mainly lived in towns, they were equally weighed down by the heavy taxes. Besides having political grievances, the middle class had several economic grievances other than heavy taxation. The finances of the government during the reign of the King Louis XVI were deteriorating. This was of the cost of France's support to Americans in their war of independence (1775–1783).

There was extravagance and luxury of the court at Versailles which housed the royal family and bad financial management made the

government expenditure to exceed its income. To address the issue, the government resorted to domestic borrowing. It took loans from the nobility, the *bourgeoisie* and the church. The *bourgeoisie* were unsure whether they could get back their money because the government had been bankrupt long before 1789. The middle class was further angered by the government's policy to exempt the nobility and the church from taxation

In the clergy class, the parish priest was just like the peasant. He was poor and not entitled to those privileges enjoyed by the higher clergy such as bishops. In the army, the same fate befell the ordinary soldier. In a nutshell, before the outbreak of the revolution, the French society had serious economic problems which made the life of a majority of the population difficult. There was also a general economic decline from the 1770s. Later, in 1780 there were bad harvests which made food prices to rise.

Social problems in France

Many social problems faced the French society before the revolution. Segregation in virtually all the fields – government, army and the church was the most annoying. There was also abject poverty among the peasant, priests, ordinary soldiers and some sections of the middle class. Life to these groups of people was very difficult yet the authorities did little to address their problems. Poverty brought great hunger, especially in the urban areas. The division of people according to classes was another major social issue.

Those who were not favoured felt unwanted. Many were therefore; ready to join opposition against the government whenever such an opportunity presented itself.

In spite of these challenges, France, for more than a century, since the early days of Louis XIV, had remained the undisputed leader of European civilization. It gave Europe its ideas, fashions, language and even its codes of polite behaviour. The country enjoyed stability of leadership unmatched by any European power; she had a line of kings which with its branches had continued for 800 years. The country possessed a wealth and a culture far beyond all the other European powers.

Application Activity 4.1

Summarize the political and economic situation in France before 1789.

4.2. The causes, course and consequences of the French Revolution

Learning Activity 4.2

Go to the library, collect books and read them and search on internet Information about causes of the 1789 French Revolution. Make a summary of your work so that you share with your classmates in classroom.

This was one of the greatest revolution witnessed in the history of humanity. It had in virtually ramification in all sectors of life. Its causes were as varied as its consequences.

Its aims were crystallized after it had brought change in the society. This was brought out in the triple watchword of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity"

Causes of the French Revolution

The French revolution had both long and short-term causes. Its origins are said to have stretched back into the 17th and 18th Centuries. The outstanding causes were as follows:

***The existing government*:** It had very poor practices. The government ran systems that were so chaotic in virtually all areas. It closed its doors to political reform, which was taking place in other parts of Europe, especially Britain. The king enjoyed absolute power and cared less about what took place among the population. Common citizens had no say or share in the government. The peasants were underprivileged while the educated were unhappy with their exclusion from official position at the head of the army, the navy and the diplomatic service.

***The influence of the philosophers*:** The ideas of the philosophers of the Enlightenment period had great influence over the middle class and other people of the French society. Ideas of key outstanding personalities such as Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu and Rousseau had a strong impact on the people. According to the people, it was time such great ideas were put in practice. This was part of the causes of the French revolution.

***Influence of the American Revolution*:** America provided a practical example of how a revolution could be organised and its benefits. The French rulers had supported the Americans against their masters, the British. She did this to revenge her loss of colonies in Canada and India to the British during the seven-year war (1756–1763). When Americans won, the French rulers were really happy about the victory. Little did they know that it could influence a revolution in France. French soldiers who participated in the war were influenced by oppressive democratic ideas. They reflected on why the Americans rose up in arms against the British.

It dawned on them that the conditions back in France were worse and equally oppressive. Americans rose against heavy taxation, yet the French were also heavily taxed by the government.

***Bankruptcy of the French government*:** The French government, as we have already observed, had been bankrupt for many years before the revolution. This was caused by the luxurious lifestyle of the kings and members of the royal family. Exemption of the nobility, higher clergy and the church from taxation led to loss of Canada and India to Britain. French involvement in the American War of Independence also contributed to its bankruptcy. All these forced the government to live on debts, which were a costly affair altogether. The bankrupt government could not provide essential services to its citizens. The bankruptcy made successive government ministers for finance to advise on taxing the exempted groups. This was first never supported by the king (due to opposition from the groups concerned) but the worsening economic conditions, made the king to accept the idea in May 1789.To enforce the recommendation, a meeting of the estates-general was to be summoned. It was this meeting



that began a revolution. The third class had to be handled well for things to move according to plan. This meant removing some of the burden of taxation from their shoulders and putting it onto those of the first and second classes. This was not to be.

Character of King Louis XVI: Louis XVI was weak and indecisive. His personality contributed to the revolution. Louis was inconsistent in his actions. At every stage in the revolution he encouraged reform and then drew back. This was dangerous and things were made worse because he was influenced by his wife, Marie Antoinette.

Influence of Marie Antoinette

Being an Austrian, she was viewed with contempt because it was the French alliance with Austria which made France to fight in the seven-year war, which led to the loss of Canada and India. Marie had partly contributed to the people's hatred of her. She was ignorant of the need for reform, and was unsympathetic to her people's situation at the time. The queen is said to have misadvised the king into making unpopular decisions.

She was also busy wasting taxpayer's money on luxurious parties, giving a lot of gifts, employing about 500 servants and buying four pairs of shoes per week; leading to the financial crisis and that led to the French Revolution.

Inflation: There was high inflation which led to increase in the price of various goods.

However, the rise in prices did not have a corresponding increase in salaries. The result was widespread poverty among the peasants.

***Bad weather of 1788*:** Climate equally contributed to the revolution. There was bad weather in 1788 which ruined the harvest. This eventually raised the prices of maize, bread and other foodstuff, bringing about widespread starvation. There also followed a severe winter in early 1789, which besides the unbearable cold conditions, froze all rivers and ports in the country.

Social class struggle

The French society was divided into three social classes; the clergy, the nobles and Middle class with the peasants.

The clergy and nobles were enjoying a lot of privileges like to own large land, to dominate the key government posts, to be exempted from taxes, forced labor and from military conscription, not to be imprisoned, to be promoted in the army, to be entitled to education, to be judged by the special courts, to revive the tributes from the peasants, to have the rights to get pensions, to enjoy all forms of freedom, to have the slaves, to have the right to stay in the king's palace and the right to have the army and move with weapons in public.

The peasants and the Middle class were 23 million out of 25 million, but were denied to all sorts of freedom, subjected to forced labor, to unfair taxation system, they were imprisoned without trial, were denied to be promoted in the army and to high education.

The Middle Class, the Bourgeoisie was composed of teachers, lawyers, doctors, scientists and industrialists and they had the problem related to the despite their education, they were excluded from top posts in the government and in the army. They had also money to the government and were not sure of recovering that money. By 1789, they had read and interpreted the work of Philosophers to the peasants which forced them to fight against the Ancient regime.

Unfair land ownership

The land was unfairly distributed among the nobles and the clergy at the expense of the majority peasants. Peasants survived as tenants on their landlord's estates who exploited them, reason why they demanded for reforms in the revolution of 1789.

Unfair taxation system

By 1789, the taxation system of France was unfair where the poor peasants were forced to pay a lot of taxes like salt tax, church tax, property tax, road tax, tithe and customs duty; while the rich nobles and the clergy were exempted from taxation. The peasants being tired of this unfair taxation system rose up in the French Revolution;

Dismissal of the financial reformers

This was the dismissal of capable financial controllers Turgot and Necker which worsened financial crisis in France. They had just suggested reforms of taxing the wealth of the nobles and the clergy, but the Queen advised the King to expel them; this led to the revolution.

Influence of England

England nearly provided example to the French society by 1750. She had modernized and had the best Parliament, a good Constitution and she had an independent judiciary as well as religious practices. In addition to a better political environment, England became a reference to political Philosophers who based their arguments on Britain at least the Frenchmen desired life of England and wanted to put it in practice by the 1789 French revolution.

Calling for Estates General Meeting of May 5th, 1789

All in all, the above factors created a fertile environment to the revolution and it needed on an incident to spark off a great revolution. So King Louis XVI decided to call a meeting for all three classes Sunday of May 5th 1789 in order to resolve the economic crisis the country was in. There were 1 224 delegates who attended, that is 308 for clergy, 295 for nobles and 621 for the third class. Jacques Necker advised the King that the third class members should double because they represented the majority, that's why the third class members were 621.

The trouble came when they failed to agree on the voting procedures where the king wanted the voting to be on class basis and their opinion was for one man one vote. The King being very weak, he failed to control the situation and from there the third class members declared themselves the National Assembly, which marked the beginning of the French Revolution.

The result was even greater distress. Coupled with a treaty France had signed with Britain in 1786, which allowed cheap British manufactured goods into France in return for corresponding concessions on French wine, there was much suffering in the society. Unemployment increased and people moved to towns, hoping to get better conditions. These people

brought into being the characteristic Paris mob of the revolution – idle, desperate, ready to cheer on the most extreme measures and destined to sway the fortunes of events on several vital occasions.

All these factors jointly contributed to the breakout of the revolution in 1789. The process began with the king's, summoning of the Estates-General meeting on 5 May 1789.

Course of the French Revolution

The major developments of the French Revolution are discussed below.

Summoning of the Estates-General meeting by the king

This meeting which brought together representatives of all the three estates was called due to bankruptcy that faced the country. Bread riots were spreading in the country. Nobles, who were fearful of taxes, were denouncing royal tyranny. These conditions forced King Louis XVI to summon the Estates-General to meet in Versailles.



Queen Marie Antoinette

All the representatives of the Three Estates prepared their grievances in readiness for the meeting. Many grievances revolved around the deteriorating economic conditions facing the country and the need for reforms such as fair taxes, freedom of the press and regular meetings of the Estates-General.

There were also local issues which were specific to trades such as shoe makers, peasants and servant girls among others. Generally, the grievances narrowed down to serious issues of class resentment. The Third Estate mainly targeted the First and Second estates. They listed the issue of abolition of all feudal rights and dues among their many grievances. The first point of disagreement among the delegates was on whether to meet jointly or separately in their respective classes. The meeting as individual estates would be against the favour of the Third Estate as the clergy and nobility would outnumber it. Meeting jointly was against the

clergy and nobility as Louis XVI had allowed double representation for the Third Estate. Louis XVI ruled that until such time as the estate should propose agreed schemes for joint session, they would hold meetings separately. This was not welcomed by the Third Estate. Led by Comte de Mirabeau (a rebellious noble who stood and was elected to represent the Third Estate), the Third Estate rejected the policy of separatism. Instead, it voted to call itself the 'National Assembly' and invited the other estates to join the body.

Some of the parish priests had already crossed over to the Third Estate and now the majority of the clergy voted in favour of the Third Estates' declaration. Two or three days later, the king ordered the hall where the National Assembly was meeting to be closed for alterations. The Third Estate took the worst possible misinterpretation of the King's action.

Immediately they moved to an adjacent tennis court and solemnly swore never to disperse until a constitution was firmly established. This already was an act of defiance to the monarchy. The Third Estate voted on 17 June 1789 and created the National Assembly. All this was the work of a clergy, Abbe Sieyes, who was sympathetic to the Third Estates' cause. The vote was the first deliberate act of the revolution.

Significances of the event

It marked the beginning of the French Revolution. This was after the Third Estates had declared itself the National Assembly. At this point in time, the French revolutionaries got a firm ground to begin to challenge the position and powers of the Ancient regime.

It showed weakness of the King Louis XVI. It should be noted that, he failed to control the three Estates after disagreements that had risen over the sitting arrangement and voting procedure. More weaknesses were shown by Louis XVI when he ordered the nobles and the clergy to join the National assembly which was established by the members of the Third class.

It showed unity of the Third class members. In fact it was on May 5th 1789, when King Louis XVI exposed his weakness. On this day, the Third Estate members exhibited their unity during the time they were taking

the Tennis Court Oath on June 20, 1789. On the other hand, the members of the lesser nobility and lower clergy showed their disunity to the public when they decided to join the National Assembly.

It started the beginning of Parliamentary democracy because for about 175 years, the Estates General Meeting had never sat, and it just resurrected on 5th May 1789.

The French Parliament which had passed about 175 years without functioning was resurrected. In fact, it was from May 5, 1789 that the National Assembly could regularly meet and discuss different issues that affected France.

It led a foundation stone for the members of the Third Estate to start demanding their rights. It was not due to the Estates Meeting, the members of the Third class would not have got a chance of forwarding their grievances.

Tennis Court Oath

Upon moving to the Tennis Court after the meeting hall had been ordered closed by the king, the delegates of the Third Estate who were mostly lawyers, members of the middle class and writers took an oath. This is what came to be known as the Tennis Court Oath. In the oath, they swore 'never to separate and meet whenever the circumstances might require until they had established a sound and just constitution'. Soon, they were joined by a majority of the clergy and some nobles and on 27 June 1789, the three Estates amalgamated officially through the king's command. But the gathering of troops around Paris sent mixed signals.

Then the people thought the king planned to dissolve the Assembly. Suspicion and rumour continued to poison the atmosphere. In the countryside, violent crimes took an upward trend. The government, gripped by fear, could not maintain law and order. As a measure of self-defence, the Parisian electors at the end of June set up a committee in the hotel known as the National Guard. The media was also ready with revolutionary pamphlets and journals while speakers with good oratory skills fired up the people with their oratory eloquence which was based on reform related issues.

On 1 July 1789, on the advice of the queen, the king fired his reform-minded minister, Necker, from his post of controller, in his court. This action angered the Paris people. The people sought weapons to defend themselves, against the army which was in the Paris suburbs. They raided gunsmith's shops and surrounded the Hotel de Ville, making loud noises. In the hotel, the committee of electors found themselves in a state of uncertainty. They hastily voted for the creation of a citizen's militia. It was also forced to hand its stock of weapons to the people.

The Royal session of 23rd June 1789

The Royal session wall was called on 23rd June 1789 and at this time the King had realized the possibility of trouble and was very sad, because the Third class refused to follow his orders. In his speech, he announced a number of reforms, but made one mistake of ordering the Third class to separate with other classes. He also declared that it was illegal for the Third class to call itself the National Assembly. After the King left the Hall with the First and the Second classes' delegates, the Third class' members seated and when the King ordered through his messenger that they should leave the Hall, Mirabeau, the leader of National Assembly replied: *"Go and tell your Master that we are here by the will of the people, and we shall not leave until the point of bayonets."*

Storming of the Bastille, 4 July 1789

On 14 July 1789, the people moved to the great military hospital at *Les Invalids*, from where they seized 30,000 guns. From *Les Invalids*, they planned to move to the great fortress prison of Paris (the Bastille). The prison was known to have a huge stock of weapons.

About 800 people moved to the Bastille. Their intention was to seize the weapons which were stored in the prison so as to use them against the army. They also wanted to prevent the army from using the weapons against them. The mob was very unruly. This scared the prison commander who asked the guards to open fire on them. Finally, the furious mob stormed the prison, killed five guards and the institution's commander and released a handful of the prisoners. They, however, found no weapons.

This storming of Bastille became a symbol of the French Revolution. Supporters of the revolution saw it as a step toward freedom. With the storming of Bastille, the rebels were now in full control of Paris. The committee at Hotel de Ville became a regular town government (commune). It was headed by a major Marquis de Lafayatte, who had learnt liberal ideas from the American Revolution, and had been elected vice-president of the National Assembly. He was now made the commander of the National Guard. They now checked law and order in Paris. The king's support for the changes so far was necessary. He had no alternative. Consequently, he reinstated Necker, withdrew his troops from the Paris suburbs and came to Paris, escorted by fifty members of the Assembly on 17 July 1789.

Significance of the events

July 14, 1789 became a memorable liberation day in France. This was the day on which Bastilles Prison was stormed by the revolutionaries. Besides, up to now the 14th July every year is a National day in France and is a public holiday.

After the fall of Bastilles Prison, the Royalist Flag which was white was removed and replaced by the tricolour flag of Blue, White and Red. This signified that the Ancient regime had begun to experience its downfall and the French revolution was swiftly taking control over the French political situation.

The Royal Guards were replaced by the National Guards after the fall of Bastilles Prison under the command of General Marquis de Lafayette. These troops had the duty of safeguarding the French revolution and all its successes.

It forced many unsatisfied nobles and clergy into exile in Austria, Russia and England and these were later called *Emigrés*.

Prisoners were released and most of them were detained under the infamous law of "Lettre-de cachet". Immediately after being released, they began killing nobles and the clergy.

The revolutionaries formed a new government based at Paris. King Louis was simply left in control of Versailles alone. It marked the collapse of dictatorship and other forms of torture in the French society.

The Session of the 4th August 1789

The abolition of feudalism came on the 4th August 1789 when the Assembly met at Versailles with the king. The Assembly enacted a decree of abolition of feudalism, peasant's land-lord relationship. Thus feudal dues and feudal course were abolished. The inequality of all classes on taxation was inaugurated or introduced. But the king refused to sign a document denouncing feudalism.

Significance

Feudal coasts where peasants who had misunderstanding with their land-lord were judged from were abolished.

The notorious titles and all laws that oppressed the peasants were abolished;

Lettres-de-Cashet was all abolished. The meeting marked the destruction of the old order of the Ancient regime.

Declaration of the rights of man and citizen

On 27 August 1789, the National Assembly adopted a set of revolutionary ideas called 'A' declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen'. This document had various articles.

The first article declared that 'men are born and remain free and equal in rights'.

The second article stated 'the aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural rights of man'. These rights included liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.

Other articles of the document touched on equal justice, freedom of speech and freedom of religion. As a whole, the document echoed the influence of American ideas and teachings of Rousseau on its drafters, who were the deputies to the National Assembly. It, however, excluded women from politics. A part from the rights of man and of the citizen, the National Assembly debated and passed other crucial motions. Most of these motions affected the government and society. They included:

- a limited monarchy
- division of the country into departments
- abolition of the provinces which had existed since the Middle Ages
- establishment of a state controlled-church (the church lost both its political independence and lands to the government).

The peasants did not support the changes in the Catholic Church. There was thus a wedge between them and the bourgeoisie. From this time on, the peasants often opposed further revolutionary changes. On his part, the king reluctantly approved the constitution and the declaration of the rights of man. He was, however, slow to accept the reforms. The people of Paris grew suspicious as more troops arrived; nobles continued to enjoy banquets as the poor people starved. Anger again led to action.

March of women in Versailles, 5 October 1789

The King's lukewarm acceptance of the reforms and the deteriorating economic conditions angered many people in Paris. Famine and unemployment reached record highs. The king made matters worse by calling a regiment to Versailles where they met with their counterparts, the Royal Bodyguard. The two regiments greeted each other with a banquet at which the tri-coloured hat was insulted. Extremists in the National Assembly and in the Paris commune were angered by this act and led the people into protest. The protest involved staging a march to Versailles to press the peoples' grievances. They settled on the women to make the march. Women were chosen because the effect would be greater and their hunger cries shriller.

However, a number of men also joined the march. As they moved, thousands of citizens also joined the march. Among the marchers were members of the National Guard under Lafayette. The guards were to control the crowd from engaging in any ugly incidents. They were also to bring the king to Paris from Versailles.

They reached Versailles and made audience with the king. The latter promised special food supplies for Paris, accepted the decrees (laws) which had been passed on August 4 and the declaration of the Rights of man and citizen. When Lafayette appeared, the king due to harassment

by the mob also agreed that the National Guard, instead of the Flanders regiment, should be entrusted with the defense of Versailles. But the mob had not finished with the king. When Lafayette was asleep, they stormed the palace and demanded that the king accompany them back to Paris. The king agreed to move to the royal palace of the Tuileries in Paris on 6 October 1789. The king was now virtually a prisoner of the mob. The assembly also moved to Paris. Like the king, it also fell under the control of the mob. Its activities were public and even non-members addressed the deputies (assembly members).

Significance of the event

This event signified that everybody in France was concerned about the 1789 French Revolution. Before, women had played an active role, but this round they became part of it.

King Louis XVI was compelled to accept and sign the declaration of the rights of man and citizens.

The National Assembly was transferred from Versailles to Paris. Versailles which had been the strong hold of the Bourbon Monarchy lost its importance in favor of Paris that was the bleeding ground and centre of the 1789 French Revolution.

King Louis XVI was forced to promise special food relief to the masses. At the same time, he also accepted to reduce the price of bread.

It was a great humiliation to the royal family as they were moved from Versailles to Paris following day, 6th October 1789.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy

The Assembly went on in its determination to change the position of the Church in France. The Pius VI in Rome was not to have any power in Church affairs in France. All Bishops and Priests became servants of the State and salaries of the High clergy were reduced while those of lower clergy were increased.

Significance of the events

It ends the privileges of the Church in France and all church estates were nationalized and put to auction to secure funds.

Politically, the head of the Church had no power over the Church in France.

The clergy members who refused the above were either killed or forced into exile.

The King's flight to Varennes of 22nd June 1791

As the revolutionary changes increased and became so violent, the king got afraid and decided to escape from the country to save himself and his family by fleeing to Austria in order to join other Emigrés. Unfortunately, the king and his wife were identified to Varennes few miles to the French – Austria border and on Lafayette's order, brought back to Paris. It was a worst experience for the royal family; they were abused, mocked and spat by the mob through each opening.

Significance of the events

The flight gave to the new favor of republicanism because King Louis XVI was looked at as a traitor.

Many people felt that it was no longer necessary to trust the king with all the powers of the State.

The revolution was led by the extremists like the Jacobins who led to the Reign of Terror.

Other European countries like Austria, Britain and Prussia became scared by event in France and began preparing for the war against the French Revolution.

The new Constitution of September 1791

The new constitution was completed by the National Assembly in September 1791. According to it, the Assembly was to consist of 745 members and they adopted a system of indirect voting where all men over 25 years paid a tax equivalent to a three days' work pay and became

active citizens. France was divided into eighty-three Departments. These were subdivided into Districts or "Arrondissements" were later divided into "Cantons" and Communes. This Constitution made France a Constitutional monarchy, with a monarchy with power limited by written law.

Still people could not agree over the aims of the Revolution. Once again, they began to fight over control of the government. In 1792 they abolished the monarchy and National Convention declared France a republic in which every male adult citizen had the right to vote and hold office. The republic motto was liberty, equality and fraternity. They following year, on 21 January 1793, the King Louis XVI was executed by guillotine after being tried for treason by the National Convention and found guilty.

Reign of terror: 1792 - 1794

In 1793 a new constitution was written. But it was never used. A special revolutionary tribunal, or committee, led by Maximilien de Robespierre took over control of the government. This tribunal began to execute nobles and anyone else suspected of being against the Revolution.

The wave of killing came to be known as the "Reign of Terror". Because of it, many people began to oppose Robespierre. In 1794, the leaders who hoped to restore order to the government had Robespierre executed.

Causes of the reign of Terror

The death of Mirabeau in April 1791:

It is said that if Mirabeau had lived beyond 1791, he would have cooled the violent tempers of the extreme revolutionaries. His death carried the last rags of the ancient regime because he was replaced by extremists like Robespierre who planned the Reign of Terror.

The resistance of Nobles and Clergy to surrender their privileges:

The Nobles and Clergy who refused to surrender their privileges after the March of women were intimidated by the revolutionaries, hence the Reign of Terror.

The threats of Emigrés led to the Reign of Terror:

The Emigrés abroad were busy organizing a counter revolution and they had internal collaborators in France, and the Reign of Terror was organized to eliminate these internal collaborators.

The role of the Paris mob:

Economic hardships (problems) in villages forced people to move from villages to towns, and this led to the formation of the Paris mob which was a group of desperate people who were used by Robespierre in the reign of Terror.

The role of political parties:

There were different political parties which were struggling to eliminate their rival parties and they resorted to the politics of killing their rival party leaders like the killing of Danton.

The foreign invasion:

The European countries organized coalition against France, and they invaded and defeated the French troops, and the revolutionary government in France passed the law of suspect, which was extravagantly applied, and whoever was quilt of lack of interest in the revolution was killed in the Reign of Terror.

The worship of reason of Herbert:

By 1793, Herbert and his followers began to worship of reason which led to religious terror where the clergy that protested against the worship of reason and civil Constitution of the clergy were either imprisoned or killed.

The weakness of King Louis XVI

The king had refused to sign the reforms proposed by the revolutionaries, refused to sign declaration of rights of man, decree of 4th August and expelled Necker. These acts led to the violence during the storming of the Bastilles and March of women.

The King's association with Emigrés:

The King's attempt to escape cost all the sympathy that people had to him and this was worsened when they found papers showing the association with Emigrés, indicating that he was a traitor, which led to his execution on Sunday, January 21st 1793 and his wife on October 16th 1793;

The economic crisis:

The economic terror was used to eliminate the businessmen who were hoarding commodities creating economic crisis.

The Reign of Terror made Robespierre very unpopular and Frenchmen decided to kill him on 28th July 1794, where he was imprisoned and later escaped but he was re-arrested and was killed as criminal. This marked the end of the Reign of Terror and a new government was voted and the third Constitution was written. The new government was called the Directory Government and was headed by Five Directors, ruled in France from 1795 to 1799.

Effects of the Reign of Terror

It led to the massive loss of lives where above 17 000 people were killed.

There was destruction of property like building and communication lines.

There was general economic decline which came as result of unstable political atmosphere which led to unemployment, starvation, inflation etc. It created the fear of being killed by the Paris mob that forced many nobles and clergy to go to exile.

It caused the downfall of the political parties after the death of Robespierre and led to the formation of the Directory Government in 1795.

It led to the collapse of the bourbon monarchy which gave chance to France to become a Republic. It restored order in France by helping to fight the first coalition that was organized against France.

It made dictators of the European countries to be more conservative in order to safeguard themselves from the terrorist acts of the France. For instance, Pits, the Prime Minister of Britain expelled the characters that were suspected and passed out the law of treason.

It paved way for the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte because it led to the scarcity of army officers giving chance to Napoleon to be quickly promoted.

It brought war between France and her neighboring countries like Russia, Austria, Russia and England because of they were scared of massive loss of lives and mistreatment of King Louis XVI which would teach a lesson to their people.

Directory Government: 1795 – 1799

This was a conservative middle class oriented Government that ruled France from 1795 to 1799. Administration was in the hands of five (5) Directors, each Director rules for one year. The Directors were assisted by a Council of 500 who were persons of age above 30 years and a Council of 250 parsons over 45 years. These Councils were responsible for marking and amending the Constitution.

Problems faced by the Directory Government in France

The Directory Government that took over the power in France after Reign of Terror had inherited many problems as the following:

There was a problem of irreligiousness where the French people showed no respect for the Catholic religion.

There was a confusion situation where people refused to do their activities because of terrorism.

There was a problem of the hostile Catholic Church that had not yet forgiven the State because of the civil Constitution of the clergy.

There was a problem of hostile neighboring countries which formed a coalition against France.

It inherited a situation where the Emigrés abroad were planning a counter-revolution;

There was a problem of the members of the ancient regime who resurfaced after the Reign of Terror.

There was a problem of poor characterized by poor agricultural production, stagnant commercial activities and poor communication network.

There was a problem of financial crisis that had characterized France since the time of King Louis XVI.

There was a problem of inflation, which was persistent, increase in the price at general level.

The Directory Government found there a weak, inexperienced and disorganized army.

Achievements of the Directory Government

Although the problems faced, the Directory Government had succeeded to achieve by the following facts:

- It upheld the principle of Parliamentary democracy by creating councils of people which were responsible for marking and amending the Constitution.
- It increased the French military capacity by re-organizing and re-equipping the French army to a very high level of military efficiency with men of rare talents like Napoleon Bonaparte.
- It managed to defeat the coalition of Britain, Holland, Prussia and Austria that had been formed against France.
- It brought to an end the Reign of Terror as it banned the Jacobins Party, the masterminded the Reign of Terror.
- It restored Constitutional rule by safeguarding people's freedoms and rights throughout the 5 years that it was in power.
- It expanded the boundaries of France after the Italian campaign of 1796 – 1797 when the French troops defeated Austria in Italy and took some Italian States.
- It destroyed internal opposition as in 1795 when it crushed the Royalist violent demonstrators and the plot organized by François Babeuf.
- It kept alive the spirit of the French Revolution and succeeded in spreading the revolutionary ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity beyond the French borders like in Italy and Germany.

- It started various reforms like centralized system of administration, codification of the French laws and education reforms which were completed by Napoleon Bonaparte.
- It preserved the French Republic established by Directory Government in 1793.

Weaknesses and failures of the Directory Government

By 1799, the Directory Government started to show the signs of its weakness in spite of its success and it gave chance to Napoleon Bonaparte to take over the power as explained below:

- It went against democratic rights by making tax qualification as criteria for one to vote, which denied poor peasants the right to vote.
- It lacked confidence in itself as it over-relied on Napoleon in suppressing internal revolts which increasing Napoleon's popularity thus made it possible for him to stage a coup d'état in 1799.
- It was characterized by corruption and embezzlement of public funds; it overprinted the currency leading to the ***inflation***, unemployment and famine.
- It failed to reconcile the Catholic Church and the State because the Government encouraged the worship of reason and changed the calendar to contain the names of revolutionary events and leaders than of Saints and Jesus Christ.
- It failed to coordinate its Directors and the Legislative Councils reason why some joined Napoleon and they overthrew the Government.
- It failed to defeat the Britain troops during Egyptian Campaign due to the failure of its foreign policy.
- It failed to improve the agricultural and industrial production levels which remained poor being disappointed during the Directory regime.
- It became unpopular due to the return of the Emigrés from the exile and the release of the political prisoners.

- It failed to stamp out all the elements of socialism in France planted by a political club known as "The society of Pantheon" or "The society of equals" started by Francois Babeuf.
- It paved way to Napoleon Bonaparte to rise to power in 1799 who later became the dictator in France with his ambition to become the European Emperor.

Consequences of the French Revolution

The French revolution had far- reaching consequences to the French society, Europe and to the rest of the world. Some of these included:

Loss of lives

Many lives were lost in the confusion that characterized the revolution. At first it targeted the privileged sections of the society. Mobs killed those they felt had in one way or another been responsible for their suffering during the ancient regime. With time, the introduction of the guillotine, saw many perceived to be against the revolution being killed.



Fig 9.7 A drawing of a French guillotine

The guillotine even consumed some of the revolutionaries as rivalry and suspicion hit their camp. Aside from France, counter revolutionaries in other parts of Europe joined the war. From 1792, Europe was thus enmeshed in war for a generation. Many lives were lost.

Overthrow of the ancient regime

The reign of Louis XVI came to an abrupt end. This marked true end of the reign of the Bourbon family which had ruled France for over 800 years. The revolutionaries experimented with one form of governance after the other until the Great Napoleon Bonarparte usurped the reigns of power thus establishing his rule.

Spread of revolutionary ideas

Revolutionary ideas spread to other parts of Europe. Everywhere in Europe, people talked of and wanted equality, liberty and fraternity the three things that crystallized in the course of the revolution as its aims. Generally, there was a clamour for democratic ideals. The revolution heralded a period of political liberalism hitherto witnessed in European mainland.

Promotion of human rights

The declaration of the Rights of man at the infancy stages of the revolution may be looked at as a way of promoting human rights. This is definitely a precursor to human rights as they exist today. As we have observed, the rights asserted the equality of human beings and right of people to rule. In an equal measure, it also brought out the fundamental freedoms: freedom of speech (expression) and choice individual ownership of property, religious rights to minorities etc. They also vouched for fair trial (justice) and acceptable taxation system. All these are issues that dominate the issue of human rights today. The same can be said on the rule of law. However, the society failed to address the issue of women rights as it gave men rights prominence.

Lawlessness in the society

From 1789 to the time Napoleon Bonarparte came to power on 9 November 1799, there was a state of disorder and discontent in France. There was lawlessness and anarchy in the rural and urban areas alike. Citizens were not subject to any known law as once the Ancient regime had been overthrown, there lacked a centralized system of power. The situation was aggravated by the poor financial situation the country found itself in.

Delinking of the church from state

There was a strong link between the church and state. As we have already observed, the two institutions were marred with massive divisions within their ranks. Class system was a common feature in both. The French revolution led to a clear line between the two institutions. The church was now left handling spiritual matters as the state dealt with political, economic and other social issues. The church had its massive estates of

land taken over by the government in 1796. Prior to this development, on July 1790, the civil constitution of the clergy which made all clergy servants of the state was promulgated. This development was to later lead to separation of the two institutions as the revolution came to an end. However the state had now reduced the power of the pope in the church in France. It now exerted a lot of power over the institution in France.

Rise in nationalism

The French Revolution and the war the country waged against other powers, instilled in the French people a strong sense of nationalism. They developed a strong sense of identity. This was in sharp contrast to the pre-revolutionary years when people closely identified with their local authorities. The government partly contributed to this new development by rallying citizens to the defence of their country against its enemies. There was a strong sense of nationalism. People attended civic festivals which celebrated the nation and the revolution. A variety of dances, and songs on themes of the revolution and French identity became popular. A song "*La Marseillaise*" which urges the "children of the father land" to match against the "bloody barrier of tyranny" was so popular that it became the French national Anthem. Its second verse and chorus goes ...

La Marseillaise

Sacred love of the fatherland
Guide and support our vengeful arms
Liberty, beloved liberty,
Fight with your defenders
Under our flags, so that victory
Will rush to your Mandy strains,
That your dying enemies
Should see your triumph and glory
To arms, citizens!
Form up your battalions.
Let us march, let us March!
That their impure blood
Should water our fields.

In sum, the revolution encouraged the growth of nationalism in both liberal and authoritarian forms.

Promotion of social reforms

The revolutionaries pushed for social reforms and religious toleration. State schools were set up to replace religious ones. Systems were also put in place to help the poor, old soldiers and war widows. A major slave revolt in St. Dominique (Haiti) also made the government to abolish slavery in its Carribean Colonies. The first in Haiti and the second in France so that property could now be inherited among all immediate heirs equally and not only the oldest son as it used to be the tradition and practice.

Attempts were also made to de-Christianize France. The government created a secular (non-religious calendar with 1793 as the first year of the new era of freedom) many religious festivals were also banned and in its place came secular celebrations. The social reforms introduced by the revolution outlived it.

Emergence of new artistic styles

A new grand classical style that echoed the grandeur of Ancient Rome emerged. Among its notable proponents was Louis David. This artist immortalized on canvas such stirring events as the Tennis Court Oath, and later, the coronation of Napoleon Bonaparte. He contributed heavily to the way future generations understood the French Revolution.



Application Activity 4.2

Briefly, explain the course and effects of the 1789 French Revolution

4.3. Rise and fall of Napoleon Bonaparte

Learning Activity 4.3

Search for a documentary film and / or documents about the life of Napoleon Bonaparte in France and analyse the factors which supported him to rise to power in France. Summarize your findings in your notebook.

Napoleon Bonaparte was born on August 15, 1769, in Ajaccio, Corsica, and was given the name Napoleon (in French his name became Napoleon Bonaparte). He was the second of eight children of ***Carlo*** (Charles) ***Buonaparte*** and ***Letizia Ramolino Buonaparte***, both of the Corsican-Italian gentry. No Bonaparte had ever been a professional soldier.

Through his father's influence, Napoleon was educated at the expense of King Louis XVI, at Brienne and the École Militaire, in Paris. Napoleon graduated in 1785, at the age of 16, and joined the artillery as a second lieutenant.

However, Napoleon's family background made life difficult for him at school, where he was isolated and lacked good relationship with children from rich family background. He had a miserable life but he did well in mathematics and military science. When he was given permission to go home in 1791, he overstayed and on return to Paris he found out that he had been dismissed. But due to poor of artillery officers, Napoleon was called back in the army and became a Lieutenant Colonel.

In 1795, Napoleon Bonaparte saved the Directory Government from Royalists' uprising and he was promoted to Brigadier General and married with Josephine de Beauharnais, a daughter of Barras who was the first Director of the Directory Government.

By 1797, the Directory Government sent him to Egyptian campaign and thought that he could die there. But while he was there he learnt about the collapse of Directory Government. He returned to Paris where he was welcomed with open hands and organized a coup d'état, known as *"The Coup d'état of Brumaire"* against the Directory Government with

assistance of Abbey Sieyes, Roger Duccus and Barras. He became the leader of France on November 9th, 1799 as the First *Consul* and opened the new *regime of Consulate i*n France. In 1800, through a referendum he was granted a 10 years term of office, but later in 1804 he confirmed himself the life Emperor of France.

Factors for the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte

There were various factors which lay behind Napoleons meteoric rise to power in France. Below are the main ones.

His military genius

From a very young age, Napoleon developed interest in military education. When his father enrolled him at the military school outside Paris, he devoted himself to mastering military tactics. These were to be an asset in his professional career. He kept on winning victories in battles hence wining the admiration of people in both the military and civilian population a like e.g. in 1793, he routed British forces from the French port of Toulon while in 1798 he made unsuccessful attempt to conquer Egypt (he kept the outcome away from the French ordinary public). He also registered victories against the Austrians success in the military excursions and this fueled his ambition. In politics, he was very calculating and measured. Most of the time, he joined the winning side. No wonder, he has joined the ranks of military geniuses in history.

Weaknesses of the Directory

The French government ruled in the period 1795-1799, just after the occurrence of the French Revolution was known as the Directory. It had many weaknesses that crippled it from creating stability. First, its leaders were rich speculators and war profiteers who rose to prominence during the first two stages of the revolution. The leaders were also torn between pleasing the radical and conservative divide in the French society. Things were made worse by their opulent lifestyles, which flew in the face of the more democratic legacies of the revolution. Lastly was that they fought against any moves to abolish private property and parliamentary style government. The Directory even went to the extreme by annulling election results where people had voted for monarchists in March 1797.

The body was also accused of corruption. It only remained in power through the help of the army. Citizens had lost confidence in it.

Poor economic conditions

Prices of wheat and other foodstuffs skyrocketed day in and day out. French citizens found themselves in severe economic conditions. The poor political climate made the situation worse. People yearned for a leader who could bring the situation to an end. Such a leader lacked from the group in the Directory. It was just an issue of when and not if he could come from outside. The leader came in Bonaparte.



Abbe Sieyes

Napoleon's personality

Napoleon was a man of strong personality. He was the answer to the prayers of the Directory and many a French citizen alike. Being a strong and popular leader endeared him to his countrymen. He is quoted saying that "impossible only existed in the dictionary of fools". This demonstrated his strong belief in his ability to accomplish a task he set to achieve. It was such a personality that most French people had yearned for. Bonaparte even got the support of Abbe Sieyes, the great supporter of the revolution. Sieyes had in endorsing him thus said "confidence from below, authority from above".

Napoleon's support for the revolution

Napoleon presented himself as the son of the revolution. He borrowed freely from many different regimes. This made Bonaparte to fashion himself as the heirs to Charlemagne (Roman Empire). Many Frenchmen were thus attracted by Bonaparte's political tactics. These were clear at a very early period, e.g. in 1793, he wrote a letter to his brother in support of the Jacobins and republican rule but gave a veneer of his thought about the course of the revolution.

Military support

Closely related to Napoleon's military genius was the support he got from the army. He commanded respect which made him to be overwhelmingly be supported by the officers under his command. Napoleon led from the front and mixed freely with the rank and file of the military.

His calculating nature made him to strike at the Directory at the aporture time. He had realized that the Directory only survived from the support of the army. It was for this reason that on 9 November 1799, Napoleon ordered his troops to occupy one chamber of the national legislature and drive out its elected members. The second chamber, terrified by this development, decided to vote to end the Directory. After it had accomplished its intention, it decided to turn over power to three officials known as consuls. Bonaparte was one of the three. Soon he assumed dictatorial powers as the first consul of the French Republic.

Attacks from French enemy powers

Nationalism was boosted by the persistent attack from France's neighbours. Austria, Russia Prussia and Britain each attacked France at one time or another during the revolution. These attacks made the French to look inwards. They saw themselves as being under attack from the neighbouring states hence needed a leader who could flex the country's muscles in the enemy territory. Bonaparte was such a person, a general who led his troops to battle, one who had demonstrated his ability against the foreign powers.

The people, in a referendum held in 1800, showed overwhelming support for a strong leadership. This was clearly shown in the type of the constitution which they voted for. It was this constitution which made Napoleon the first consul, the stepping stone upon which he towered above the other two consuls. Towards his rise to the summit of power, he organized another referendum in 1802 which made him consul for life and in another two years, he decided to make himself emperor.

Factors that helped Napoleon Bonaparte to consolidate his power in France from 1799 up to 1814

Napoleon I came to power in France through the 1799 Brumaire coup d'état and ruled up to 1814. In order to consolidate his power in France, he adopted the following policies:

- He declared himself the first Consul on February, 1800 with considerable powers of appointment of officials in the army, civil service and local government.
- He abolished the old constitution in 1799 and introduced a new one that favored his interests.
- He over centralized powers in his hands and by this policy he dismissed his two colleagues Abbey Sieyes and Ducus Roger who seemed strong.
- He introduced domestic reforms like in education, agriculture and public works among others which won him popularity among the Frenchmen.
- He used his relatives to govern different parts of the empire such as Louis Bonaparte in Holland, Jérôme Bonaparte in Spain and Joseph Bonaparte in Naples among others.
- He allowed the political exiles back to France and in so doing he reduced on the external revolts.
- He built a very strong and powerful army with the major purpose to fight and protected France and her people.
- He put a strict censorship on press whereby he reduced the number of newspapers published in France which kept Public opinion under his control and the masses ignorant.
- He used diplomacy in defeating wars like diplomatic League of Armed Neutrality with Sweden, Denmark, Prussia and Russia which pleased the French who in return supported his regime.
- He kept his army occupied with wars without getting bored which minimized the chances of military insurgences that would have undermined his powers.

- He restricted the teaching of liberal subjects like history, philosophy, literature and political science which he considered as threat to his political career.
- His successful foreign victories like the defeat of the second coalition of Austria, Britain, Prussia and Russia in 1800, won Napoleon great respect especially from the glory seekers who later supported his foreign policies.
- He tolerated the former enemies of French Revolution and avoided revenge against them which reduced the strength of opposition especially from the Royalists.

Napoleon realized that he could only succeed if he commanded with the support of the pope. To achieve this goal, Napoleon Bonaparte made an agreement, a Concordat, with the pope Pius, in 1801. Through this agreement, Catholicism was recognized as the religion of a majority of the French people. In return, the pope agreed not to ask for the return of the church lands which has been seized by the state. This agreement brought the reconciliation between the state and the church; which increased the Napoleon's popularity in France.

Reconciliation with the Catholic Church

The French society was largely Catholic. Napoleon realized that he could only succeed if he commanded the support of the pope. The church had been a great enemy of the revolution and thus had to be brought to support the revolution. To achieve this, Bonaparte made an agreement with the pope in 1801. The agreement recognized Catholicism as the religion of a majority of the French people. In return, the pope agreed not to ask for the return of the church lands which had been seized by the state. The agreement brought the state and church into a friendly deal. This achievement also brought the beneficiaries of the church lands into supporting Bonaparte's leadership. With the support of the church, Bonaparte's path to greatness was assured.

Many factors conspired to bring Napoleon to power in France. Some of these were occasioned by Napoleon himself while others were a product of forces external to him. Anyhow, the factors all worked to make Napoleon attain power in the French republic. As a young man (he was only 30), he

was expected to steer the French nation to greater heights. This was the great expectations the French people had on their new emperor. True to their expectations, he was to make France a great power in Europe.

Napoleon (I) Bonaparte's performance

As already hinted, Napoleon was up to the task he had been bestored with by his fellow country persons. He made great strides in both domestic and foreign fronts within almost the sixteen years he was at the helm of the French leadership.

Some of his outstanding achievements and achieved as follows:

***Military success*:** Leading the French army to military success against the foreign armies: He led the French army in battles against the foreign troops. He:

- drove British forces out of the French port of Toulon
- won several victories against Austrians
- captured most of northern Italy
- Forced the Hapsburg emperor to sue for peace.
- led an expedition to Egypt in 1798 in the hope of disrupting British trade with India
- Led troops against feudal and peasant revolts on behalf of the revolutionaries.

***Establishment of the Consulate in 1799*:** His military success encouraged him to assume political responsibilities in 1799. He overthrew the weak directory and set up a three-man governing board known as The Consul. This body was now to lead the revolution. Napoleon was its leader. He took up the title of First Consul. The Consulate drew a new constitution.

In 1802, Napoleon made himself Consul for life. Two years later, he transformed himself to Emperor. He invited the pope to preside over his coronation ceremony. During the ceremony, he took over the crown from the pope's hands and placed it on his head to signify that he owed the throne to no one but himself.

***Effected economic reforms*:** Napoleon developed economic reforms to address the deteriorating economic conditions that faced France. He controlled prices, encouraged industrialisation, established the first bank of France in 1801 and built roads and canals to improve transportation. He even sold France's vast Louisiana land territory across the Atlantic to the American government in 1803. This action doubled the size of the USA and ushered in an age of American expansion.

***Strengthening of the central government*:** Under Napoleon, power was consolidated in an effort to strengthen the central government in which he was the supreme power. Through these measures, 'order, security and efficiency' replaced 'liberty, equality and fraternity' as the slogan of the new regime.

***Establishment of schools to train military officials*:** The revolution was characterised by ill-trained military personnel. This affected the operations of the army. Napoleon addressed the problem by setting up a system of public schools under strict government control. The military was trained in these schools. Members of the public also benefitted from good education.

***Restoration of relations with the church*:** He backed off from some of the revolutions' social reforms, especially those that pricked the church. He made peace with the Catholic Church in the Concordant of 1801. This law kept the church under state control but recognised religious freedom for Catholics. It was welcomed by Catholics but opposed by revolutionaries. Other religions were also recognised.

***Appeasing all classes in the society*:** Napoleon took measures to appease all sections of the society. He encouraged Emigres to return so long as they took an oath of loyalty. Emigres were members of the nobility who had fled the country during the revolution. Peasant's right to land ownership was also made. He also made jobs open to all talent. These people were the new nobility. He created them through the legion of honour which he founded in 1802.

***Development of a new law code (the Napoleonic code)*:** He wrote the French laws leading to the civil code of 1804. The code embodied

Enlightenment principles such as the equality of all citizens before the law, religious toleration and advancement based on merit. It touched on rights and duties, marriage, divorce, parentage, inheritance and property, and a statement of the general legal principles concerning them. However, the code was weak in certain respects. For example, it did away with the gains women had made as citizens of the country. Male heads of household were given complete authority over their wives and children. Another weakness of the code was its valuing order and authority over individual rights. The code was adopted in other countries in Europe and South America.

***Spread of the revolution to other parts of Europe*:** By 1810, his empire had expanded greatly in Europe. As the empire grew, it took the ideas of the revolution to the new territories. The areas he conquered included the Netherlands, Belgium and parts of Italy and Germany. All these became part of the grand French empire. He also abolished the Holy Roman Empire and created a 38-member confederation of the Rhine under French protection. It later led to the formation of Germany. Napoleon also cut Prussian territory by half. This turned part of old Poland into the grand Dutch of Warsaw.

***Forceful diplomacy*:** Napoleon had another tactic. He used forceful diplomacy to install his relatives to power in various European countries. For example, after removing the Spanish king; he placed his own brother Joseph Bonaparte, on the throne.He also forced alliances on European powers from Madrid to Moscow.At various times, the rulers of Austria, Prussia and Russia reluctantly signed treaties with Napoleon. He came up with the Continental System which brought the whole of mainland Europe into an alliance headed by France. He tried to use the alliance to bring Britain to its knees but did not succeed. The French army spread the ideas of the revolution and helped to install code Napoleon in the areas.

***Boosting the spirit of nationalism*:** The successes made by Napoleon enhanced the spirit of nationalism in France. Great victory parades filled the streets of Paris with cheering crowds. French citizens were proud of their king's successes. They celebrated the glory and success of their country.

However, although his activities were supported by French citizens, he talked of building a family of kings. He had the ripple effect on other nationalities. He was also accused of nepotism. His activities sparked nationalist feeling across Europe. They resented the continental system and the French culture forced on them. There were revolts everywhere against French control. The army kept on fighting one rebellion after another until when the French force tried to invade Russia in 1812.



Fig 9.10 Napoleonic Europe, 1810

Many soldiers died in the Russian winter due to harsh climatic conditions, inadequate food and inadequate military supplies. This was the beginning of the downfall of Napoleon. In a new alliance, Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia came together against France. In 1813, they defeated Napoleon in the battle at Leipzig.

Factors that led to the downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte

The Continental system

It was an economic war used by Napoleon to defeat Britain after realizing that his military power cannot fight with the British Naval supremacy. Because of this continental system, he lost support from the Middle class who had put him in power and when they withdrew their support, Napoleon was defeated.

The Moscow Campaign of 1812

It was a programmed war to attack Russia to teach Tsar Alexander I a lesson for pulling out the Continental System. Napoleon mobilized his troops and on 24th June 1812 he crossed River Niemen. The Russians withdrew and used the *"Scorch Earth Policy"* in which they destroyed by fire everything that would be used by the advocating French soldiers.

Napoleon expected victory within 30 days, but it became a prolonged war where Napoleon lost many soldiers (around 300 000) due to guerilla Russian attacks and severe winter.

After the defeat from the Moscow Campaign, Napoleon's armies were too weak so that they could not defeat the 4th coalition against France.

The failure to defeat Britain

Napoleon failed to defeat Britain in 1789 during Egyptian Campaign and later in 1805 which gave confidence, strength and courage to small countries that had before feared Napoleon and lined with Britain to form the 4th coalition to defeat Napoleon.

The strength of the 4th coalition

Although Napoleon succeeded in defeating the earlier coalitions directed against France, it should be noted that the strength of the 4th coalition formed (by Austria, Prussia, Russia and Britain) against France in 1813 was too strong to defeat Napoleon in 1814.

The Napoleon's extreme ambition

Napoleon was never satisfied with his conquests and wished to control the whole of Europe which mad him to be involved in endless and risky wars that he could not manage but ended by his defeat. Napoleon used to say: *"I have known the limits of my legs, I have known the limits of my eyes, I have never known the limits of my work"*.

The growth of nationalism among the captured states

Napoleon had brought many nationalities under his control like Prussians, Italians, Spanish and Holland but due to his oppressive rule and over-

taxation; the States demanded for their independence from where they got courage to form the 4th coalition that defeated Napoleon.

The dictatorial administration of Napoleon

He centralized all powers in his hands and killed democracy. His administration was not to be criticized, he set up a secret police and he restored Lettre-de Cachet by which there was imprisonment without trial. All of these made him unpopular leading to his downfall.

Nepotism

Napoleon practiced nepotism which made him unpopular among the people. He mostly favored his relatives, brothers and brothers-in-law in key appointments, in administration, army and in French Captured Provinces;

The vast nature of his empire

Napoleon built a very large empire through his conquests but he failed to effectively control it. A result was a massive opposition against him which left him isolated in 1813 and led to his downfall.

The imprisonment of the Pope Pius in 1808

The Pope was not agreed with Napoleon on Continental System, and then he decided to imprison Pope Pius. This reduced Napoleon's popularity among the Catholics in France and whole World. When he was attacked in 1814 by the 4th coalition, the whole catholic Community in Europe did not support him.

In 1814 Napoleon was forced to give up his throne and he was sent to live out of his on the small island of Elba off the coast of Italy. But he managed to escape with his group together invaded France. For a short, about 100 days, Napoleon again regained as Emperor.

The allies finally defeated him in 1815 at the ***battle of the Battle of Waterloo*** in modern Belgium. They gave the French throne to Louis XVIII and they sent Napoleon to the ***Saint Helena*** off the coast of Africa, where he died on May 5th, 1821.

Application Activity 4.3

Assess the factors which led to downfall of Napoleaon Bonaparte by 1815 after being defeated at the battle of Waterloo.

4.4. Terms, forms, reasons for the convention, achievements and the failures of the Congress system

Learning Activity 4.4

Make a research on the Congress system and then provide and explain the achievements of Congress system in Europe.

The Congress System (1814-1830)

This was a period in Europe in which diplomacy was dominated or regulated by meetings (congresses) of the powers at the time. The period was also referred to as the 'Concert of Europe'. It saw the European powers come up with a genuine effort to produce a unified policy on issues that confronted them at the time.

The congress system was conceived and popularized by the Quadruple and Quintupple Alliances which brought the main powers together. The latter had been brought during the second treaty of Paris and it witnessed Russia, Britain, Austria and Prussia agreeing to meet in future congresses to discuss problems as occasion arose besides agreeing to ally if necessary in defence of the post war settlement. This saw the formation of the Alliance in 1815. It was the main alliance. Others were the Quintuple and the Holy Alliances. The Quintuple alliance originated from the French entry to join the "Big" four powers at the congress of on an equal.

In sum, the congresses held were: Congress of Aix-Chapelle (1818), Congress of Troppau (1820), Congress of Laibach (1821), Verona (1822) and London (1827). All these congresses were convened to help settle an issue on European diplomacy.

Reasons for the convention

The "Concert of Europe" was held due to several reasons. The main ones included:

1. Prevention of aggression by France

France preoccupied the minds of the conveners of the congress. This was right from the first congress held in Vienna in 1814 to most of the latter congresses. Kingdoms were formed as others were strengthened to help check France's power e.g Belgium and Holland were united into the kingdom of the Netherlands to check France on the north-eastern frontier. Holland was the dominant side in the kingdom. It was hoped, it would check the revolutionary pro-French movement in Belgium. Another example was the restoration to power of the king of piedmont in northern Italy. Piedmont had the valuable part and formerly the Free Republic of Genoa. Prussia take over of the Rhine provinces was also informed by the need to check France's aggression. A strong ring of states was thus created around France.

2. Division of disputed territories

Another issue of concern to the Great powers was how to divide among themselves, in an acceptable way, the disputed territories. There were two main contentious territories Poland and Saxony. Russia, during the congress expressed her desire to get the whole of Poland. This was not acceptable to Prussia (which wanted to retain some polish territories or to be given the whole of the kingdom of Saxony as compensation for the loss of the polish territories to Russia).

The two states' demand caused a major division among the Great powers. This enabled France, through Talleyrand to intervene. She was able to form an alliance with Britain and Austria to fight Prussia and Russia if they went to war. Talleyrand was thus able to bring France into the centre of European diplomacy by showing that any attempts at balancing power here, had to include France.

It was by learning the differences of the Great powers that Napoleon made his come back to France. Nonetheless, the powers soon saw the need

of abandoning their differences and forging a common front against Napoleon. This was done successfully.

After confronting Napoleon, the Polish and Saxony's problems were settled peacefully. Most of the Grand Dutch of Warsaw, was given to Russia. Prussia benefitted by retaining Danzig and Posen (the areas had 2,000,000 polish inhabitants). She also got two-fifths of the kingdom of Saxony, western Pomerania (an important Baltic territory taken from Sweden) and a considerable territory along the Rhine valley. Austria got Lombardy and Venetia in northern Italy (these were compensation for her loss of Netherlands and territory along the Adriantic coast). Sweden lost Finland to Russia but was given Norway which had belonged to Denmark but was now taken from it because of her continued alliance with Napoleon. Britain mainly benefitted in the colonial field. She took final possession of Cape Colony, Ceylon, some islands in the West Indies and got valuable naval bases of Heligoland in the North Sea, Malta in the Mediterranean and a protectorate over the Ionian Islands. The latter gave her command of the entrance to the Adriatic Sea. Britain was now strongly placed as a major world power as she led in colonial acquisitions.

Need of balance of power

Another quest at creating a balance of power in Europe was made through the formation of a German Confederation. This brought 39 German states together. Peacock thus observes over the principle of balance of power that was an old feature of European diplomacy thus:

Thus, through the working of the principle of the Balance of Power, all the four Great powers emerged from the congress of Vienna stronger than before, without any one being able to exert complete dominance.

This principle in a way was thought to help prevent an outbreak of war.

Re-introduction of legitimacy in Europe

This was to be undertaken through the principle of legitimacy. The principle implied bringing back to power the monarchs who had been in power prior to 1789 in various states back to the throne. This principle saw the coming back of monarchs to lead territories in Europe. As a

result, Ferdinand VII came back to Italy while Ferdinand I went to Naples. Other rulers who got back their former thrones were the rulers of Parma, Modena and Tuscany – all who were related to the monarchy in Austria. It was also in pursuance of this principle that Louis XVIII got back France.

The principle was seen as a safeguard against the doctrines of the French Revolution. Monarchs were known to be unable to encourage the revolutionary movements in any guise, regardless of the wishes of their subjects.

Promotion of brotherhood

The spirit of fraternity reigned behind the concert of Europe. Both the Quadruple Alliance and the Holy Alliance were intended to help preserve peace and create an atmosphere of brotherhood.

Compensation

Partly, the congress system was meant to compensate the powers which did a lot to remove Napoleon from power. Prussia, Russia and Austria largely benefited from this. Britain as we have seen also did through getting of new colonies. Sweden and other European states also got territories due to their contribution to the demise of Napoleonic rule. France, Denmark and Saxony on the other hand, were punished for the sins of Napoleonic rule.

These were generally some of the reasons for the conventions held in Europe between 1814-1825. The systems, however, went upto 1830 when Europe was engrossed in a new wave of revolutions.

Forms of conventions

Different European powers held a series of conventions between 1814 and 1830. Mostly, the conventions were called to try and deal with issues which threatened European peace, in one way or the other. Some of these congresses were:

The congress of Vienna (1814-15)

This congress was the pioneer of the congresses. It was called to make or approve detailed arrangements for sharing the spoils of victory and

to create stability in Europe. It brought together seven allies and France. Decisions were however made by the Four Great powers whose delegates met regularly in Metternich's house to discuss the range of congress business. The smaller powers were confined to more restricted matters and their own particular problems. France, through the efforts of her diplomat Talleyrand, was towards the end of the congress able to bring herself to the fold of the Great powers. She was later to become a fifth power. However, the coming back of Napoleon to France made the issue of punishing her to be undertaken. Nonetheless, she enjoyed her new status of being brought back to the ranks of the Great powers in 1818.

The congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818)

This congress was majorly called to deal with the issue of France. The four powers met and agreed to withdraw the army of occupation they had stationed in France. It was in this congress that a new alliance – the Quintuple Alliance – was formed. France now joined the other Four Great powers. She was consequently invited to cooperate in future congresses. The Great powers had managed to prevent France's enmity from being long-lasting. They, however, took precautions. Secretly they renewed their Quadruple Alliance to operate against France if need be. They confidently informed the leading French diplomat about this. The Great powers also repeated their determination to uphold their close union and to maintain peace by enforcing respect for treaties.

The congress was the most important meeting under the terms of the Quadruple Alliance. It was attended by Francis I (Austria), Fredrick William III (Prussia), Castlereagh (Britain) and Richelieu who represented France. Metternich also attended.

The congress was on the negative side, rocked by divisions and mistrust among the European powers. Austria was wary of Russian expansions and thus wanted Russia to keep within the system of Quadruple Alliance and not be allowed to persue own policies. Britain rejected proposals made by Prussia for the stationing of a permanent army in Belgium to nip revolutions in Europe. Another division came based on how to deal with the slave trade. Britain's proposal for the formation of a naval fleet with a right to check vessels for slaves was rejected on the grounds that it would

interfere with the commerce of other states. The powers opposed the creation of the fleet because it would give the British navy, an advantage over the others.

The Congress of Troppau (1820)

This congress was held in October, 1820 in Silesia, Austria. It was called to tackle the issue of democratic revolutions in Spain, Naples, Piedmont and Portugal. Each of these areas saw the people demand the restoration of the 1812 constitution. The people were rising against despotism. Even in Germany, anti-Metternich and Princes demonstrations by students occurred. Political assassinations also occurred e.g. in 1891 Kotzebue, a journalist and dramatist and a spy to Alexander I was assassinated. Further afield, Portuguese and Spanish colonies in the new world also rebelled from the shackles of colonialism and set up independent governments. In Polish-controlled Russia, nationalist sentiments were equally on the rise. Alexander I with these pressures was convinced to abandon his flirtations with liberal principles.

It was against this background that the congress was called. In attendance were Prussia, Russia and Austria with full powers to act. Britain and France sent observers. Meternich was against the revolutions and suggested that the allies only accept revolutions from above–this was that only changes brought or approved by monarchs or an upper class would suffice. A protocol – the Troppau Protocol was thus signed on October, 1820, by Russia, Prussia and Austria.

The three powers had thus hit the last nail on the coffin of revolutions. France supported the protocol with some reservations. Castlereagh indicated his opposition to the whole scheme and clearly made her stand known. Britain would never support it. Although Britain did not break away from the Quintuple Alliance, what was clear, was that cracks had already started in it. It was just a matter of time before it ended.

In spite of lack of British support, the powers went ahead with their schemes. The congress continued at Laibach in 1821. It had two direct results–Austrian intervention in Naples and Piedmont to restore the monarchies, and the beginning of cracks on meeting was on European Congress system. As the trouble broke in Greece. This presented a big

dilemma to Alexander. The Greek issue and that of Spanish colonies were to be tackled in the next congress.

Congress of Verona, 1822

Before the congress was held, Britain got a new chief diplomat, Canning. He replaced Castlereagh who had taken his life due to a mental challenge that he had suffered. The new British foreign secretary was not a supporter of the congress system. He was for its dissolution by all means and held more liberal views like his predecesso, Canning.

On the Greek issue, Russia had strong feelings in support of the nationalist revolt. Metternich was against the rebellion. He saw it in a similar light to the earlier problems in Naples and Spain. To him, Sultan Mahmud of Turkey's empire had to be protected like any other, as failure to do that would endanger the cause of monarchy. Before Castlereagh's death, he had met with Metternich in Hanover towards the end of 1821, settled their differences and agreed to summon one more congress. Which they hoped to keep off Russia from lending support to the Greeks.

Before the congress was held, events in Spain took a worse turn. This made the congress to be occupied with Spain's issue than Greece. France wanted to invade Spain and sought the support of the Alliance. Canning rejected any idea of invading Spain. The news was relayed by the British representative at the talks, Wellington, on 30 October 1822.

Canning's policy of "every nation for itself and God for us all" ran counter to the philosophy of the monarchial powers which were for restoration or maintenance of the status quo as agreed during the congress of Vienna. Britain now clearly supported the idea of nationality and the independence of small nations. This ran counter to the feelings of the Great powers.

Events in Greece, which was part of the Sultan of Turkey's empire were to bring the end of the congress system. Greeks revolted in 1821 forcing the Sultan to seek for help from his powerful Vassal, Mehmet Ali of Egypt in 1824. Ali sent his son Ibrahim Pasha to help crush the Greek revolt. He exercised his assignment with gusto and brutality of unprecedented levels. Russia could not wait and see the Greeks being killed and

brutalized by the Muslims. She had to come to the aid of fellow Orthodox Christians. A new development – the death of Alexander I and his being succeeded by his brother Nicholas I in 1825 portended well for the Greek cause. He resolved to provide assistance to the Greeks at all costs and by extension help accelerate the dissolution of the Turkish Empire to achieve his country's selfish interests. Canning knew this and readily supported Russia. Britain feared that Russia would go it alone. She thus wanted to equally benefit from the peace settlement which would follow. Britain supported Russia's invasion in Greece so as to act as its check mate. The Greek problem was to be solved in the treaty of London. It could not be dealt with during the congress of Verona – due to the urgency of the Spanish issue.

Treaty of London, 1827

This treaty brought together Russia, Britain, France, Austria and Prussia. Deliberations were held on the Greek issue but unfortunately the Great powers did not reach a consensus. In the treaty signed in London, Britain, France and Russia agreed to secure independence in all but name for Greece. This was to the chagrin of Prussia and Austria. They protested bitterly. The two powers were against the provisions of the treaty of London for two reasons:

i) They never wanted the Balkans to be divided and

ii) Their distaste for rebellion in Europe was still high

Undeterred, Britain, France and Russia went ahead and intervened in Greece. Their fleets destroyed the Turkish and Egyptian navy almost accidentally at Navarino Bay in Greece. This was not what they had agreed on in the treaty. They had agreed that Greece be granted self-government under Turkish overlordship. The powers had also agreed to enforce a truce while details of the new arrangement were being settled.

It was the latter provision which saw a fleet of the three powers under Admiral Codrington dispatched to cut off supplies to Ibrahim from Egypt. This was necessitated by the Sultan's refusal to obey the terms of the London treaty. He was buoyed in the action by the lack of a common position by the Great powers. Codrington's instructions were to enforce

an armistice, preferably through peaceful means. Things however, took a different turn when as the fleet was staging a demonstration, some Turkish and Egyptian fleets refused to clear the way. The two sides exchanged fire which eventually led to a general battle. The event was regretted by the new British Prime Minister Wellington who had replaced Canning in 1828. The latter had died soon after the treaty of London.

Greece won the war due to support she got from the three European powers. By the beginning of 1828, a provisional Greek government under Count Capodistrias, a Greek who had been one of Tsar Alexander's leading ministers took charge. But it was not until after the Russo-Turkish war between1828-29 and the subsequent treaty of Adrianople of 1829, that Greece became completely an independent kingdom in 1832.

Achievements of the congress system

Having survived for fifteen years, the congress had a mixed bag. It had successes and failures in equal measure. Some of its achievements were:

- Bringing peace in Europe during the period it was in existence. No major European power fought with each other nor any major internal conflict was witnessed in any major power for a period of fourty years.
- Defeat of the Great Napoleon and restoration of monarchy in France. They also reached an agreement on how to treat Napoleon on St. Helena.
- Creation of stability in most European states at the time.
- Promotion of a modicum of international cooperation among the Great powers for forty years. It was thus a first experiment at international organization.
- Granting of independence to Spanish and Portuguese' colonies in the New World.
- Conclusion of an agreement among the Great powers on the protection of Jews in Europe.
- Reaching an agreement on Swedish debts to Denmark. This was done on the guidance of the system.

- A settlement was reached on the old matter of the British claim to a channel salute.
- Encouraging the idea of nationality and the independence of small states, especially those of European communities under Turkish rule like Greece.
- Entrenchment of use of agreement to settle international affairs in European diplomacy. This was to lead to many important and fruitful conferences during the 19th Century. The congress system thus heralded a period of mutual confidence among the European leaders. This was aptly seen in the idea of personal conference the rulers pursued.

Failures of the congress system

The congress system, like all other attempts at international cooperation met with several failures. Some of these included:

Differences of opinion among its key personalities

Big differences in opinion among the key personalities rose from time to time during the congresses. Although these involved different issues, they were all the same, dangerous to the collectivity that is a boon to international diplomacy. From time to time, Castlereagh and later Canning found themselves at opposing sides with representatives of the other European powers especially Tsar Alexander and later Tsar Nicholas I of Russia, Metternich and the King of Prussia.

The European powers thus disagreed on how to approach various issues that kept on cropping up that needed their united attention. Things were made worse by the personality differences of the key personalities in the congress system e.g Canning harboured liberal sympathies yet all the others were despots who wanted the status quo maintained by all means.

Failure to support nationalism

Nationalistic feelings as shown during the French Revolution and Napoleonic period, were high in Europe. This meant that for stability to be maintained, countries hit by this "bug" had to be allowed to chart their course. This was, however, not in the mind of the Great powers with the

exception of Britain. They thought they could suppress the nationalistic feelings and maintain the status quo. This was an uphill task. They were proved wrong. Nationalism, which got the support of Liberal Britain, coupled with the other powers vested interests, contributed in breaking up of the congress system. The congress system would have been in a better place if it gave credence to nationalism and liberalism.

Dictatorship of the Great Powers

Russia, France, Prussia, Austria and Britain at one time or another either individually or collectively dominated the congress system. This completely ignored the smaller powers. Consequently, they felt left out and did not actively play their role in the affairs of the congress system.

Suspicions among the Great powers

Although the Great powers displayed unity, there were deep seated suspicions among them. All the other three powers were wary of Russian intentions in the Balkans while at the initial stages of the congress system, the other powers were pre-occupied with the issue of containing France. The whole issue of the Spanish colonies was also partly driven by suspicion between Britain on the one hand and Spain and her allies on the other.

Competing interests of the great powers

The European powers had a genuine interest to produce a uniform policy but this was hampered by their diverse interests. Each power put her individual interest above that of the organization. This was to prove fatal to the congress system. Britain, for example, pursued its policy of isolation, she never wanted to be entangled in issues of continental Europe yet whenever her interests were threatened, she rushed to protect them. Russia greatly wanted to expand in the Balkans, something which was loathed by all the other Great Powers. Prussia also viewed Austria as a competitor in Germanic leadership. Each power thus had an individual interest she wanted to safeguard at the expense of the continental cause for unity.

Failure of the congress system to capture European public opinion

Unlike the League of Nations and even the United Nations later, the congress system failed to capture the sympathy of European public opinion. This was occasioned by its inability to represent the interests of the small powers in Europe and its pursuance, through its architects like Metternich and Tsar Alexander, of a despotic mission. The league's constant urging intervention to quell popular revolts did not endear it to the masses.

Collapse of the Congress System by 1830

The Congress system declined by 1830 due to the following reasons:

Death of some founding members left the congress system the parental care. For instance; its founding members passed away: Castlereagh (in 1822), Tsar Alexander I (1825), Louis XVIII (September 16, 1824) who were replaced by new noncompromising men like George Canning of Britain, Nicholas of Russia and Charles X of France.

The weak foundation on which the Congress System was based partly conditioned its downfall. The Congress System was set to put in practice the Vienna settlement. Unfortunately, under the principle of legitimacy made by the Vienna peacemakers, worst legitimate rulers were restored like Charles X in France, Ferdinand I in Naples.

The Congress System was the first international organization and lacked enough experience and examples to refer to. As a result, the congressmen made many mistakes which failed their work; leading to its collapse.

Britain isolationist policy contributed to collapse of the Congress System. Britain pursued a non-interventionist policy. For instance, Britain rejected Tsar Alexander I's suggestion of creating a joint force which was to be used in suppressing the sea pirates in the Mediterranean Sea.

The admission of the chaotic France to the Congress System in 1818 after she had paid the war indemnity of 2.5 billion Francs. However, the congress powers remained suspicious of the French aggression and instead kept France isolated secretly. As result, the congress powers remained disunited and uncooperative.

The absence of a joint force and law enforcing body or organ contributed to the downfall of the Vienna Congress. In fact, it lacked a joint army and court of justice which would have dealt with members who went against the principles of the system.

The influence of the Metternich System led to the downfall of the Vienna Congress. In fact, the system was hated by some statesmen in Europe like Lord Steward Castlereagh from Britain.

Lack of clear principles and protocol was a big weakness which partly conditioned the collapse of the Congress System by 1830.

Discrimination of the European smaller and weaker states by the major powers led to the decline of the Congress System.

The existence of divergent or conflicting interests among the congress member-states was also one of among the reasons for its downfall. Each had its interest that she wanted to defend and such selfish interest made the European powers to disagree on many issues and this brought suspicion, mistrust and hostility that destroyed the congress spirit.

All these factors conspired to bring to an end the congress system. Britain, through its leaders – Castlereagh and later Canning, greatly contributed to the end of the system. Nonetheless, Britain was for liberalism while the other powers still pursued a tyrannical path. The two systems could not in any way pursue a common objective.

4.5. Austrian Empire (1814-1833) and Prince Metternich



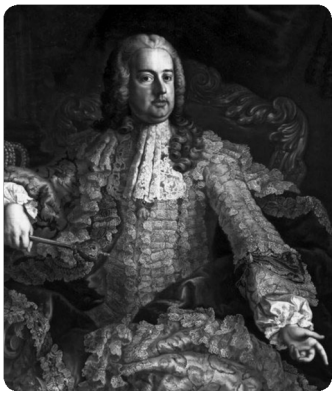
Learning Activity 4.5

By your own research through internet and reading different textbooks about rise and fall of Austrian Empire and Prince Von Metternich, study the main factors for the rise of Prince Metternich in Austrian Empire. Present your findings in form of an essay.

Austria was a Germanic state under the Habsburt dynasty from 1687 when Emperor Leopold I managed to rout Turkey thus bringing Hungary to her fold. This saw the creation of the Austria-Hungary, a mighty empire

in Europe. For many years, Austria acted as the defender of Germany against the French, and on the east the defender of Europe against the Turks. The Habsburg rulers made the empire to be a centre of Europe in many areas. They were devoted to music and attracted many musicians to Vienna, encouraged all the decorative arts and architecture thus making the city be a centre of a rich culture, blending East and West. The city was renowned for its music and light hearted charm.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire was under the Habsburg rulers. The French Revolution and Napoleonic years found the empire under Francis I (1792-1835). Metternich replaced Johann Von Stadion in 1809 as the empire's minister of foreign affairs, in 1809. The leadership of the duo was to witness the growing power of the empire in European diplomacy. This was the time that the Austro-Hungarian Empire came to be one of the Great powers in Europe. Although at first napoleon's ally, Francis I was to later switch camp and join the other European powers to occasion Napoleon's downfall in 1814. The monarch was to play host to the sovereigns of Europe in the congress of Vienna between September 1814 to June 1815. Under the presidency of Metternich, the congress as we have already observed, accomplished a great deal. This was to propel the country and Metternich, to prominence in Europe. Emperor Francis I was succeeded by Ferdinand I (1835-1848).



Emperor Francis I

The Austrian Empire as recognised by the treaty of Vienna in 1815 included: Austrian proper (made mainly of Germanic population), Bohemia and Moravia (inhabited chiefly by Czechs, Slovaks, and Germans), Hungary (mainly Magyar, with many minorities, notably Serb and Croat), Galicia (mostly Ruthenians and poles, acquired during the partitions of Poland), Transylvania (Romans of Latin origin), Illyria and Dalmatia (Serbs and Croats), and Lombardy and Venetia (Italians).

Although the name of the empire was Austro-Hungarian, the latter people (Magyars) were not privileged. Austria dominated the political life of the empire.

This empire was led autocratically by the king and prince Metternich. It was characterized with inefficiency and poor economic base. The king on matters internal, ruled single handedly. On the other hand, Metternich had a wide berth on foreign affairs. Aside from autocracy and poor economic base, the empire was based on the class system. Within the nobility itself, there were divisions. The upper nobility enjoyed privileges than the lesser nobility. This was a source of friction between the two groups. The middle class and the serfs equally disliked the discriminations which characterized the political life of the kingdom. Things for the middle class (Bourgeosie) was made worse by the inefficiency in economic and financial matters which kept the industry and trade of the empire backwards that of other European states. As if these poor situations were not enough, the empire slapped strict censorship to keep the people from liberal ideas. It also exercised strict religious intolerance. Catholicism was favoured. Yet other denominations such as the Greek Orthodoxy were pursued by sections in the empire e.g., by the Croats.

Factors for the rise of the Austrian Empire

The Austrian Empire rose in Europe due to several factors. The main ones were:

Defeat of the Great Napoleon

Austria played a vital role in the defeat of Napoleon in 1814. This was to propel her as one of the major powers in European diplomacy. She used the opportunity to exert a great influence over the affairs in post Napoleonic period in Europe.



Klemens von Metternich

Rise of Metternich in the Austrian Government

Metternich's appointment as the foreign minister of the Austrian empire largely contributed to the rise of the empire. He held this position for more than a generation. In this time, he made several vital decisions e.g. he was the one who in 1809, successfully maneuvered Austria away from her temporary alliance with Napoleon and brought her in with the allies. It was also his skill in 1814 which inspired the

manifesto of the Allies, Invading France, to the effect that their quarrel was with Napoleon, not the French people. Metternich was ashrewd and very measured individual.

It was this that was to make Napoleon to later remark of him thus "I know Metternich, only he could have thought of that!" Napoleon observed this due to the Allies ability to paint the war between France and them, as an issue again Napoleon and not the French people. Metternich's ability to accomplish tasks was not in doubt. This is clearly demonstrated in how his spirit was so active in the congress of Vienna and its aftermath. His diplomacy greatly led to what was known as the Final Act or summary of the arrangements. This Final Act of 121 articles, took twenty-six secretaries all day to write out a single copy/ we should not forget that it was also Metternich and Castlereagh who inspired the congress movement – the movement to establish the concert of Europe.

The congress system

The concert of Europe too greatly contributed to the rise of the Austrian Empire. It made her take a major seat in European diplomacy. The congress also legitimized dictatorship seen in its lending support to monarchism and the subjugation of the smaller nationalities. These two, were the pillars upon which the empire survived on.

Existence of remarkable rulers

Austria was ruled by the royal house of the Habsburg from the 15th Century. This made her a dynastic state which extended, through marriage, hegemony to Spain, the Netherland and Italy. The Habsburgs became a pivotal power in European affairs for long. Francis I, like other rulers of Austria earlier, put in place measures that were instrumental in maintaining stability and expanding the empire. This was clearly noticeable during the concert of Europe. In the congress, Austria for example in the Vienna congress, regained many of its old territories, including Salzburg and most of Galicia. The rulers made Austria a centre of music thus making many great musicians from Europe to round it with spleandour and magnificence. Architecture and all the decorative arts flourished under the Habsburgs. The rulers used both force, and diplomacy to extend the empire e.g., in the treaty of Karlowitz (1699) she acquired all of Hungary except the Banat of Temesvar.

Central position in Europe

Most of the empire was located in central Europe. This made it to have an advantage over other European states. For many years this made her be the defender of Germany against the French in the west. On the other hand, looking east, it was the defender of Europe against the Turks. Eventually Austria, drove back the Turks from east Central Europe. This expansion added many other ethnicities such as the Slavic groups, Italians and to her large Germanic population Magyars.

The central position and the leadership lending support to the arts, made Vienna, the empire's capital, to become the centre of a rich culture, blending East and West. The city was renowned for its music and light-hearted charm.

Support from other Germanic states

Upto 1870, Austria was the dominant defender of German interests. She enjoyed for long the support of other states in the German confederation. Prussia was the only Germanic state which rivalred her in the position. But even her, whenever Austria was in conflict with non-Germanic powers, she came to her assistance e.g. in 1683, when a Turkish force which was supporting Hungarians, threatened to take Vienna, Austria got the support of the Germans and polish armies thus defeating the Turks.

These factors were to lead to the rise of the Austrian empire upto the 19th Century when it began to decline. On its part, as Austria was declining, Prussia was gaining hegemony over the rest of Germany. Other factors equally conspired against the empire.

Factors for the fall of the Austrian Empire

Several factors were responsible for the fall of the Austrian empire in the 19th Century. The main ones included:

Rise of nationalism and liberalism

The Austrian empire as we have already observed, was made up of different nationalities. The rulers did not entertain any nationalistic feelings rising in the subjugated groups. But as we saw with the Napoleonic wars, nationalistic feelings could not be hidden under the carpet for long.

From the 1820s, various groups began to agitate for independence. The Germans also were now for unity. They saw this in Prussian leadership. The high tide of nationalism among the Germans, Italians, Magyars and the Slavish groups were to majorly contribute to the fall of the empire. Apart from the empire having thirteen nationalities, it was also being pulled down by many religions that were held by its citizens. Liberal ideas also reigned supreme among the Austrian's themselves and the nationalities under their control.

Class differences in the society

The society was divided into three classes. Those classes which felt unrepresented were always yearning for the day they would also enjoy the privilege, witnessed in the nobility. The latter was equally divided between the upper and lesser nobility.

There were thus divisions among the population. This weakened the empire. It made liberalism to rise while at the same time, the Austrians could not forge the course of the empire in unity. This was partly the reason which made Hungary, the junior partner in the empire to want to cede. She managed to achieve this through the leadership of Louis Kossuth who led the Hungarian Liberalism. Kossuth represented not only Magyar nationalism, but was also the voice of the downtrodden in the Magyar community, especially the middle class and peasants.

Rise of the revolutionary tide in Europe

Attempts by the Austrian empire to restrict the spread of liberalism in the citizenry did not succeed. University students and professors managed to get liberal literature and ideas from other states in Europe. This made them found liberal movements in their campuses. When they heard of the news of revolutionary tide in other European countries, especially in 1848, they equally organized themselves and rebelled against autocracy.

Later, the students were joined by workers who were under socialist influence. They demonstrated in the suburbs against their employers. The violence and anarchy that rocked Vienna made the emperor and his family alongside his principal political supporters to leave Vienna for Innsbruck in May 1848. Later events were to take a negative turn for the monarchy.

Rise of Prussia

The rise of Prussia as the protector of Germanic interests was partly to lead to the decline of the Austrian Empire. Prussia, in the 18th Century gained hegemony over the rest of Germany. She was thus a threat to Austria which equally had a substantial Germanic population. Later (1866) she was to defeat Austria and majorly contribute to her decline. Prussia after the Austro-Prussian war (known also as the Seven Weeks' War) took the Germanic territories and also gave Italy the Italian territories that had formed the Austrian empire.

Weakness of Emperor Ferdinand I

After the death of Francis I the throne was taken over by his son Ferdinand I (1835-1848). The new monarch was weak and indecisive. Besides, he was an epileptic with an impaired mind. This made it necessary for the key political figures to try cushion the limitations of the monarch. Consequently, a state conference was established. It brought together Arch-duke Louis, Prince Metternich, and Count Kolowrat to manage the affairs of government. Unfortunately, personality differences could not allow the trio to be effective. Metternich and Kolowrat did not see eye to eye. They were great rivals, and partly out of fear of each other, made no effective decisions at the hour of need, most of the time, the king, ignored Metternich's advice while Metternich on his part, was embroiled in personality wars with Kolowrat.

Under Ferdinand thus, Austria fared poorly. The church became powerful and controlled the curriculum in schools. The schools were to be turned into institutions, producing God-fearing, obedient subjects. The Monarch also legalized bodies which had been banned e.g., the Jesuits was allowed back to operate in 1824 yet they had been banned in 1783.

Emperor Ferdinand was forced to abdicate on 2 December 1848, he was succeeded by his nephew Francis Joseph, then a youth of 18 years. Joseph ruled Austria from 1848-1916. Metternich, the bad boy of autocracy and monarchy, had been forced to resign on 13 March 1848. He fled to England. The empire started to decline slowly.

Poor financial state

Unlike other empires, the Austrian one was less endowed with a good economic base. It constantly experienced financial problems. Her involvement in numerous wars and suppression of internal revolts further complicated the situation. These proved to be a serious drain on her economy e.g., the war with Italy in 1859 which she lost, did not only see her being routed but also forced her to release Lombardy. It also forced her to acquiesce in the unification of Italy. Although she retained Venetia, she was no longer the dominant power in the Peninsula. The defeat equally exposed her to chronic financial troubles forcing her to chronic financial troubles forcing her to even succumb to demands for constitutional reforms. Later, the unification of Germany in 1870 was further to bring her more financial and political troubles. Infact even when Napoleon as an envoy to France negotiated for the lifting of the 1,500,000 soldiers limit that France had placed on the Austrian army the empire couldn't because of finance.

Back to the 1840s period, Italians were proving to be a thorn in the flesh of the Austrian empire in March 1848, they drove Austrians from Venice and Milan. The empire appeared now to be a sharp decline. Some of the nationalities in the empire such as the Czechs were rebelling in Prague, the capital of Bohemia. The Magyars of Hungary equally pressurized to obtain their independence while the Germans, were eager to join their brethren in forming a United Germanic state under Prussia. All these forces were to lead to the fall of the empire.

Rise and fall of Prince Klemens von Metternich (1773-1859)

Early life

Prince Klemens Wenzel Von Metternich was born on 15 May 1773. His father, Franz Georg Karl Graf Von Metternich-Winneburg was a diplomat. The parents were keen on their son's education. His mother was called Countess Beatrix Kagenegg. They took him to some of the best learning institutions. Upon finishing his elementary education, he joined the universities of Strasbourg and Mainz for his higher education.

After higher education, he took a keen interest in politics. He was to play an active role during the coronation of Francis II in 1792 and that of his predecessor, Leopold II, in 1790. These brought him to political limelight. He went for a brief trip to England and when he returned, he was named the Austrian Ambassador to the Netherlands. Later he was to serve in the same position in the kingdom of Saxony, Prussia and France.

Metternich was a family man. His first wife was Eleonore Von Kaunitz (1792), Antoinette Leykam (1827) and later countess Melanie Zichy-Ferraris (1831). However, although Metternich married each of these women after the death of the one before them, he was not a strict family man. He had numerous affairs with other women.

Metternich was also a diplomat. He served in various positions as Foreign minister (1809) and Chancellor (1821 until his fall in 1848).

Metternich was a conservative who was keen on maintaining the balance of power in Europe. He was for monarchy but was wary of Russian expansion in central Europe. He disliked liberalism at home and abroad. He worked tirelessly to prevent the outbreak of the Austrian empire. The prince ruthlessly crushed nationalist revolts in the empire. At home, he had a strong network of spies and executed strict censorship.

Factors for Metternich's rise to power

There were several factors which he led to Metternich's rise to power. Some of the main ones included:

His personality

Metternich was friendly and calculating. He made very many friends in Austria and outside the empire. His diplomatic skills greatly contributed to this. For example, upon assuming office, he used his diplomatic skills to negotiate for a defense with France that included the marriage of Napoleon to the Austrian archduchess Marie Louise. But when the tide was against Napoleon, he quickly allied with the forces against the French ruler and joined the war of the sixth coalition which brought the latter to his knees.

The prince was also very courageous. This was evident he had openly argued with the great Napoleon at the latter's 39th birthday celebrations in August 1808 over the increasingly obvious preparations for war on both sides. Napoleon was to later deny him attendance at the congress of Erfurt.

The fall of the Great Napoleon

The fall of the Great Napoleon catapulted Metternich to political limelight. He became a key statesman in the congress of Vienna. Metternich overshadowed his emperor and literally led Austria in the negotiations. He managed to win for his empire a lot of concessions.

His dislike for liberalism endeared him to the monarchs of Europe at the time.

Most of the rulers were against any repeat of what had happened in France from 1789-1815. They got in Metternich, an individual who could go out of his way to prevent any liberalism in his country and beyond.

His closeness to Emperor Francis I

Metternich's closeness to Emperor Francis I, was another factor which made him to rise to prominence. The emperor trusted his diplomatic and political abilities hence left him most of the time to lead the empires' diplomatic onslaught. This made Metternich to develop a good relationship not only with the European rulers, but also the key diplomats. He was respected in his diplomatic interactions and easily won the other powers to the side of Austria.

Resignation of Stadion as the foreign minister

When Austria lost to France in 1809 led to the resignation of Stadion, the foreign minister. The emperor quickly replaced Stadion with Metternich. As a foreign minister, Metternich had an advantage over his rivals.

Factors that helped Metternich to consolidate his power in Europe: 1814 - 1848

In order to maintain his power in Europe, Von Metternich used a combination of force and diplomacy as seen below:

- Metternich posted foreign officers to govern different places, i.e. the Poles to Austria, Italians to Germany, Croatians to Slovenia and Austrians to Hungary; which checked on the spread of nationalistic movements.
- He passed the Carlsbad decree through which all students' associations in secondary schools and universities were forbidden in the German states.
- He used a very sensitive espionage effectively in public places like hotels, schools, universities and Cinema Halls.
- He acquired for Austria an important post president of the German parliament who used his powers to determine everything that was to be discussed.
- All the academicians in various education institutions were forced to take an oath of allegiance to the Metternich system in Austrian Empire.
- He changed the curriculum and eliminated the teaching of liberal subjects like History, Psychology, Literature and Philosophy.
- He won alliance of all the European legitimate rulers against the growing forces of nationalism in Europe.
- He used the Catholic Church as one of his best allies which won him support from the priests, bishops and the rest of the Catholics in Europe.
- He overtaxed the masses in Austrian Empire which made the poor and unable to organize successful revolts from 1814 up to 1848.
- He also used divide and rule policy mainly in German and Italian states, i.e. Austria had direct control over Venetia and Lombardy. Austria had also influence in Tuscany, Parma, Romagna and Modena.

Besides, Metternich used his oratory gift to confuse, convince and finally challenge all the European legitimates rulers.

Through the Congress System, he managed to put all the major European powers and monarchs in one *"Thinking Cup"*.

Metternich declared all the public parliamentary debates illegal and unconstitutional which kept the masses ignorant about their rights and the weaknesses of him.

Significance of Metternich in European political affairs from 1815 to 1848

Metternich registered great triumph from 1815 to 1848 in Europe. Upon this therefore, this period has been referred to as *"The Metternich Era"* and *"Metternich as the coachman of Europe"*, as he controlled political, social and economic affairs. He had scored both achievements and failures as following:

Achievements

Defeating Napoleon Bonaparte

After forming the fourth coalition against Napoleon, Metternich played a great role in the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte who had become a monster to European peace.

Preserving the Austrian empire from collapsing

He succeeded in presenting the heterogeneous empire of Austria from failing apart from 1815 to 1848 by using some radical policies like dictatorship, spy network, censorship, imprisonment, and secret police and over taxation among others.

Restoring legitimate rulers

He influenced other European leaders towards the restoration of legitimate rulers in Europe.

The formation of the Congress System

Metternich was the one who started the idea of the congress system which settled various hot issues peacefully among European powers.

Checking the future French aggression

Through his intellectual power and oratory gift, Metternich influenced European political leaders to combine Belgium with Holland to check on the French military aggression.

Prevention in spread of revolutionary ideas in Europe

He succeeded in suppressing the spread of revolutions and revolutionary ideas in the Austrian Empire before 1848.

He was successful in convincing other European leaders to allow France join the major powers of Europe during the Aix – La – Chapelle Congress in 1818 which made France reform and struggle for peaceful Europe.

Calling of the Vienna congress

This congress was held in Austria in Metternich's house. It was during this congress, Metternich convinced other European rulers to check the further French aggression, to defeat Napoleon and to crush revolutionary ideas. The congress later resulted into the Vienna settlement of 1815.

Restoration of the Catholic Church

Metternich was able to restore the Catholic Church in the Austrian empire and in Europe by recognizing Catholicism as a state religion and putting education control under the Catholic Church. Also the Church was given back its privileges such as exemption from taxation.

Promotion of balance of power in Europe

Metternich promoted the principle of balance of power in Europe by ensuring that no country becomes too strong in Europe to extent of aggressing others states. This was achieved at the Vienna congress in which the former colonies of Napoleon were distributed and equally shared among the great powers.

Weaknesses and failures

Metternich failed to control the press in Austria proper whereby new papers, textbooks and journals of liberal ideas were greatly circulated in Austria proper among the university students, lectures and professors.

He made Catholicism a state yet Austria was a multiple religious Empire which made him unpopular.

He failed to restore all the legitimate rulers in Europe i.e. the overthrown rulers in Denmark, Belgium and Finland.

He was a worse dictator than Napoleon I and he was too rigid which forced him to resist reforms of any kind.

Through the Carlsbad decree, Metternich killed the spirit of liberation and nationalism in Italian and German states which delayed their respective unifications.

Metternich's selfish and conservative policies contributed to the eventual collapse of the Congress System.

He failed to wipe out revolutions and revolutionary ideas of equality, fraternity and liberty in Europe, for instance in 1820s, 1830s and 1848 revolutions.

The idea of having all the European political leaders in one "Thinking Cup" prove a failure as Metternich failed to convince Russia to drop her imperialist tendencies in the Balkan peninsula and in the 1821 – 1822 Greek war of independence.

The stopping teaching liberal subjects revealed Metternich as an intellectual coward which reduced on his popularity among the academicians.

Metternich failed to exercise considerable influence on Emperor Francis I to put in place comprehensive and fundamental administrative reforms in the Austrian Empire.



Application Activity 4.5

1. Explain the factors that contributed to the downfall of the Austrian Empire.
2. Describe the achievements of Prince Clemen Von Metternich in the Austrian government from 1809.

4.6. Causes and the consequences of 1830 Revolutions in Europe

Learning Activity 4.6

Visit your school library and collect information about 1830 revolutions in Europe then debate on their causes. Make summary of your work.

Causes of the 1830 European Revolutions

In 1830 most European states like Belgium, France, Poland, Spain, Portugal, German and Italian states experienced the wind of revolutions. Such revolutions were caused by the following:

- The influence of the 1789 French revolution and its success led to the outbreak of the 1830 European revolutions.
- The censorship of the press mostly practiced in states like France, Belgium and Poland.
- The mistakes of the Vienna settlement which restored the dictatorial rulers and agitated against liberation and nationalism also contributed to the outbreak of the 1830 European revolutions.
- The negative effects of the industrial revolution such as poor living conditions in urban areas and slum development among others led to the outbreak of the 1830 European revolutions.
- The weakness and eventual collapse of the Congress system contributed to the outbreak of the 1830 European revolutions.
- The desire for constitutionalism mostly in France under Charles X who dissolved the parliament in July 1830, in Netherlands where the Dutch oppressed the Belgians, German and Italian states oppressed by Austria.
- The unfair distribution of the key government posts mostly in the kingdom of Netherlands against the Belgians and in Poland where the Poles were discriminated against by the Russians.
- Over taxation commonly practiced in Poland, Belgium, France, Italian and German states.

- Corruption and embezzlement of the public funds mainly practiced in the Kingdom of Netherlands, Poland, Italian and German states also culminated in the outbreak of the 1830 European revolutions.
- The burning desire to attain unification and self – rule especially in Poland, Belgium, German and Italian states lewd to the outbreak of the 1830 European revolutions.

The 1830 European revolutions began in France. The French city at the time was riddled with divisions brought by liberalism vs conservatism. Upon being restoted to power, Louis XVII had introduced several reforms in issuing a new constitution, the charter of French liberties. But upon his death, his younger brother Charles X who took over power, rejected the idea of the charter. He suspended the legislature, limited the right to vote and restricted the press. The people responded swiftly by erecting barricades across the narrow streets of Paris. As they did this, they attacked the soldiers and within a few days, they took control of the town. The revolutionary tricolor flew from the towers of Notre Dame Cathedral. All these, frightened the king to abdicate and flee to England. Once more, revolutionaries had overthrown a monarchy. Radicals among them wanted to set up a republic while moderate liberals were for a constitutional monarchy. The latter carried the day. Deputies of the lower House of the French legislature, chose Louis Philippe, a cousin to Charles X, as the new king. Philippe was a supporter of the revolutionary cause. The French called him "The Citizen King" because he owed his position to the people.

Events in France ignited revolutions in other parts of Europe. A notable one was in Belgium. She broke out on 25th August 1830 after the performance of a nationalistic opera. The Belgians resented their union with the Dutch which had been brought by the Vienna congress.

Belgium

Belgians dominated by the latter hence they nursed feelings of independence. So when they had of the successful revolution in France; they also took to the streets. It began with students and workers putting barricades in Brussels, the Belgian capital. The Dutch king sought help from fellow monarchs in other countries. Unfortunately, France and

Britain supported the Belgians and asked the Dutch king to grant them independence. This was achieved on 4 October, 1831, when Belgium became an independent state with a liberal constitution. A government was formed under Charles Rogier. In December 1831, at the conference of London, the international community recognised the independence of Belgium and guaranteed its neutrality. The Dutch, however, only accepted the terms of the conference in 18 39.

Poland

Nationalism also saw revolutions occur in Poland in the 1830s. They staged an uprising in 1830. They were against being under Russia, Prussia and Austria. The poles wanted their independence in as a single nation and not what the congress of Vienna settlement. So come 1830, Polish students, army officers, and landowners rose in revolt. Unfortunately, they failed to get a lot of support. They were brutally crushed by Russian forces thus forcing survivors to flee to Western Europe and the USA. In these countries, although their attempts at getting their independence had crumbled, they kept alive the dream of freedom.

Switzerland

Switzerland was another country which was also rocked by the revolution. Peasants demanded more political say in governance. They thus wanted amendments to be made in the constitution and more representation in the local legislatures (Canons). The peasants held assemblies in various cantons to push for their in peaceful means. They held peaceful protests which eventually forced the Cantonal governments to give in. As a result, the constitutions of the assemblies were amended to expand political space for the peasants and others who had been left out.

Italy

The revolution was also felt in Italy. All along Italians had yearned for a united state. They saw this coming in the 1830s revolution. The Duke of Modena, Francis I, was driven by ambition to provide explicit verbal support to anti-Italian revolutionaries in different parts of Europe. The revolutionaries, however, got the support from the new French king Louis Philippe. This revolutionary fervouer saw rebellions in Modena, Bologna,

Forli, Ravenna, Imola, Ferrara, Pesaro and Urbino. In all these areas, the revolution was successful.

The revolutionaries replaced the Papal flag with the tricolor one except in Modena where it failed courtesy of assistance from Austria. The revolution was also successful in the Dutchy of Pama. All these Italiane Unite (United Italian provinces). They tactly got support from France under Loius Philippe. Unfortunately, Pope Gregory XVI sought for Austrian help against the revolutions. Cowed, the French monarch could not come to their assistance. Philippe was told by Austrian, that, it would not accept the successful revolutions in the Italian states and that French intervention would not be tolerated. France could now not provide the much-needed military assistance to the revolutionaries. She even did the unexpected, she arrested Italian revolutionaries residing in her soil. The Austrian army thus managed to crush revolutions in the Italian states in 1831. Many radicals were consequently arrested as the pope's authority in the Papal States was restored.

Portugal

The 1830s revolutions were also felt in Portugal and Brazil. In the latter, the revolutionaries managed to overthrow Emperor Pedro I from power in their country. Germanic states also experienced a wave of the revolution. However, they failed in the states under the German Confederation.

In sum, the 1830s revolution presented a mixed bag. Some were successful while in other areas, the forces of conservatism, still strong as earlier, led to their collapse. Nonetheless the currents of nationalism and liberalism had only been forced underground.



Emperor Pedro I

They were still strong. This was to be confirmed by the events of 1848 which saw Europe engulfed once more, in a serious wave of revolutions.

Effects of the 1830 revolutions in Europe

The 1830 revolutionary movements registered far reaching effects in social, political and economic fraternities of Europe.

The 1830 revolutions contributed to the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions in Europe as they exposed the weaknesses of the 1815 Vienna Congress.

The success of the 1830 revolutions in France inspired the Germans and the Italians to continue struggling for their freedom against the Austrians in 1848.

The 1830 revolutions led to the establishment of more oppressive policies in Poland, Italian and German states, where the movements failed.

The 1830 revolutions caused a lot of chaos and instabilities in Europe which forced major powers chiefly Britain, France and Russia to change their minds from opposing the Greek revolt against the Ottoman Empire.

The 1830 revolutions led to the attainment of constitutional monarchy with three independent organs such as judiciary, executive and parliament like in Portugal, Spain and German state of Brunswick.

The 1830 revolutions gained success over the conservative and autocratic rulers where in France Charles X was overthrown, Italian states of Parma and Modena, Marie Louis and King Francis IV were respectively overthrown.

The 1830 revolutions exposed the need for constitutional liberties and independences of certain countries.

In France Charles X was overthrown and was replaced by Louis Philippe and independent monarchy was established in Belgium and Leopold Saxe-Coburg.

Due to the 1830 revolutions, Metternich failed to influence his counterparts or fellow statesmen to support him against revolutionary waves in Europe.

The 1830 revolutions in Europe led to the destruction of property and life especially in urban areas where there were fighting.



Application Activity 4.6

Examine the effects of the 1830 Revolutions in Europe.

End of Unit Assessment 4

1. Explain causes of the 1789 French Revolution.
2. Some factors contributed to the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte to power in France. Explain them.
3. How did Congress system manage to maintain the peace in Europe?
4. Evaluate the achievements of the Prince Von Metternich.
5. Identify the main factors that led to the outbreak of the 1830 revolutions in Europe.

UNIT 5 ROLE OF COLONIAL AGENTS IN COLONISATION OF AFRICA

Key Unit Competence: Discuss the role of colonial agents in colonization of Africa.



Introductory Activity 5.1

Discuss the roles played by missionaries, chartered companies and explorers during the process of colonisation of Africa.

Introduction

Who is an agent?

This is a person who acts on behalf of another. It can also mean a person who obtains and provides information for the government in a certain area in secret.

Europeans who acted as agents to their respective governments came to Africa either individually or in groups such as: traders, hunters, explorers and missionaries, among others.

Europeans annexed African states in the second half of the 19th Century and early part of the 20th Century. Groups of foreigners began arriving in earnest in the 15th Century, and the flow steadily continued thereafter. Some were explorers and adventurers, curious and eager to see new things and places, or to confirm certain geographical phenomena or scientific precepts.

Many were looking for trading opportunities. Others sought an opportunity to spread the gospel and do philanthropic work among the long-suffering Africans; these were the missionaries. European intervention dramatically changed the history of Africa. The socio-political set up of many states was significantly disrupted and changed.

New forms of economic life were introduced. At first imperialism was gradual, sometimes imperceptible, and in the early days not even always in the conscious domain of the early arrivals. From the second half of the 19th Century, colonial intentions were much more clearly articulated and manifested. The roles of agents of colonial conquest can be illustrated through three main themes that link the activities of the earliest arrivals with the ultimate events of the colonial occupation.

5.1. Activities of different colonial agents in Africa

Learning Activity 5.1

Discuss the roles played by missionaries, chartered companies and explorers during the process of colonisation of Africa.

5.1.1. Explorers

Exploration is the act of searching for the purpose of obtaining information or resources. An explorer is a person who travels various in search of information various things and places. European explorers in Africa were seekers of information on geographical features, trade possibilities and agricultural potentials to mention but a few areas. However, whatever their immediate motivation, the result of their explorations led to European ultimate conquest of Africa.

Causes of Exploration

For many centuries, Africa was known to the Western world as the 'dark continent' meaning unexplored but also uncivilized and undomesticated area, populated by barbarians and wild animals. The European explorers who came to Africa were motivated by the expectation of visiting hostile and unknown regions.

A number of explorers aimed at introducing Western civilisation and Christianity to 'savage' black African peoples.

Exploration was also regarded as a source of national pride to have an explorer reach a certain goal, and explorers certainly competed as the stakes of arrogance were high for the men who could identify the source of Nile or reach other landmarks.

Some explorers went in a spirit of scientific enquiry or for the excitement of experience. In fact, exploration was an activity mostly practised by well-educated and wealthy men who had enough resources and the readiness to explore.

Other explorers went to Africa for humanitarian reasons. This was noticed especially in 19th Century when for instance, Livingstone who was a doctor and missionary wanted to bring Africans what he believed were the double blessings of Christianity and modern medicine.

The other important reason for the exploration of Africa by Europeans was the search of places where Europeans especially Portuguese could trade their manufactured goods. It was even in this context that Portuguese brought to West Africa some items like muskets and metal utensils in exchange for gold and spices.

Later in the 19th Century, European countries which sent explorers to Africa added to the scientific and economic reasons their political ambitions to create colonial empires. In this regard, the expeditions by explorers were more and more frequently followed by military campaigns to occupy and defend the territories in Africa.

Explorers in West Africa

Though by the beginning of the 19th Century the Europeans had a considerable amount of knowledge about the coastal states of West Africa, they were almost entirely ignorant about the interior of the continent. Men were sent off to explore the interior of Africa and bring back information about its peoples, its products and its geography. This was targeted at obtaining information about trading possibilities. This is why the early explorers of West Africa were so concerned with the River Niger, which they believed would be the highway to the riches of the interior.

The Europeans thought of themselves as explorers of unknown lands. From the point of view of the Africans these European explorers were tourists in lands which Africans had known for centuries. As a result of trade, particularly by the Dyula and Hausa, there were groups of Africans

who knew a great deal about the geography of their neighbours. In 1826, the Caliph Mohammed Bello of Sokoto was able to tell his visitor, Commander Clapperton from England, much about the lands through which he would travel.

The European explorers were only making discoveries for other Europeans. They were not telling Africans in the lands they 'discovered' anything they did not already know. What is significant about the work of the explorers is that they gave their own governments information about the interior of West Africa, in particular about its trading possibilities. Immediately after Richard and John Lander 'discovered' that the Niger emptied into the sea at Brass, the British government backed an expedition up the river by MacGregor Laird, a Liverpool trader. At first the information the explorers brought back served peaceful ends; the promotion of trade and the opening up of the continental to Christian missionaries. But when the European powers undertook the Scramble for Africa, they had already obtained a considerable amount of the geographical information which they needed to conduct their invasion.

Mungo Park

In 1788, the African Association was formed by a group of leading British scientists, with the aim of finding out the course of the Niger River. Europeans knew very little about the river beyond its delta. The first three travellers failed. In 1799, a Scottish doctor, Mungo Park, set out from the Gambia. He travelled through Medina and Kaarta and eventually reached the Niger at Segu. His only success was to establish that the Niger flowed from the west to the east. No one knew, yet, where the Niger ended. Park was sent on a second trip in 1805, this time accompanied by 45 Europeans. Many of his companions died of sickness.

Clapperton and Richard Lander

In 1822, explorers Qudney, Denham and Clapperton travelled from Tripoli to Lake Chad. Qudney died but Denham travelled in the Bornu area and Clapperton travelled to Sokoto where he learnt that the Niger flowed south. Soon after returning home, Clapperton set out for the Niger again and travelled to Sokoto from Badagry, but he died there in 1827. His young servant, Richard Lander tried to follow the course of the Niger

alone, but had to abandon the journey and return home to England. He then persuaded the British government to sponsor him and his brother on one more journey of the Niger exploration.



Fig 4.1 Mungo Park



Fig 4.2 Richard Lander

They travelled from Badagry to Bussa, where they used on canoes and floated down the river, eventually finding their way to the Niger Delta. There these two young men finally resolved the issue of the Niger and established that the so-called Oil Rivers were in fact the gateway to the Niger. Subsequent expedition in the 1830s which otherwise ended disastrously with even Richard Lander himself losing his life, established that the Niger was navigable by steamer.

The British Government in 1841 sponsored another ambitious expedition. It aimed to establish an agricultural colony of freed slaves at Lokoja. This, it was hoped, would become a centre old Christianity and legitimate trade comparable with Freetown.

In 1854 another Scottish doctor, William Balfour Baikie, led another expedition up the Niger. This expedition opened the door to an era of intensive trade and missionary work in the Niger. The British later conquered this place.

As can be seen, these journeys were not motivated by imperialist ambitions. But one later important journey was between 1887 and 1889,

where a French Officer, named Binger, travelled from Bamako to Kong Salaga and Mossi, ending his journey at Grand Bassam, in the Ivory Coast. This directly paved the way to French conquests in the Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) hinterland.

Heinrich Barth

Heinrich Barth was a German traveller in the service of the British Government.

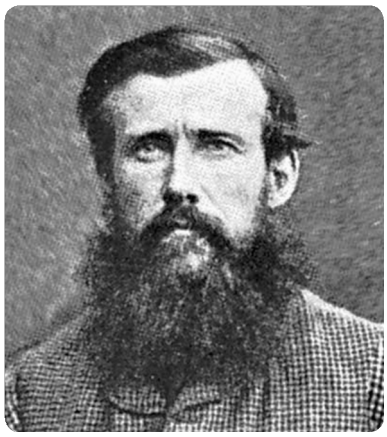


Fig 4.3 John Hanning Speke

Between 1849 and 1855, he journeyed from Tripoli across the Sahara to Western Sudan. His mission was to survey old trade routes and make treaties on behalf of the British government, with a view to exploring the possibility of developing the Sahara trade and to destroy the slave trade. Unfortunately the treaties he made were not followed up, and his mission proved worthless on threat score. But Barth also pursued other interests and copiously recorded in his Travels and Discoveries a great deal of the complicated history and analogy of these regions.

Travellers and explorers in East Africa

Early European explolers in east Africa came with the aim of establishing the source of River Nile. News that Krapf and Rebmann had seen the snow-capped Mountains of mt. Kenya and Kilimanjaro and stories of great inland seas revived this quest.

Speke and Burton

In 1856 The Royal Geographical Society picked two army officers, Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke, to lead an expedition from Zanzibar to trace the source of the Nile. With the aid of two experienced Yao guides, Sidi Bombay and Mwinyi Mabruk they travelled inland along the trade route to Tabora.

Early in 1858, they reached Lake Tanganyika but were unable to continue much further owing to illness. Returning to Tabora, Speke decided to

go north to examine stories of a great lake in that direction. Speke alone found the lake and named it after his Queen, Victoria. He was convinced, though without sufficient proof, that it was the source of the Nile.

Speke and Grant

A second Royal Geographical Society expedition came out in 1860, with Speke in command accompanied by Grant. Travelling north – west round the shores of Lake Victoria they eventually reached Buganda and were welcomed by Kabaka Mutesa. Leaving Grant behind, Speke then travelled east and came across the place where the Nile leaves the Lake, the modern site of Jinja Town.

Grant rejoined him and together they travelled north following the river to a place called Gondokoro. To Speke the matter was settled, and he sent a telegram to this effect to London from Khartoum

Henry Morton Stanley

Henry Morton Stanley made four expeditions to Africa:

First expedition, 1871-1872

Stanley had his first taste of African travel while in the service of an American newspaper, the New York Herald. He was on a mission to find Dr. David Livingstone whose whereabouts for a long time were unknown. Stanley caught up with Livingstone in Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika in 1871.

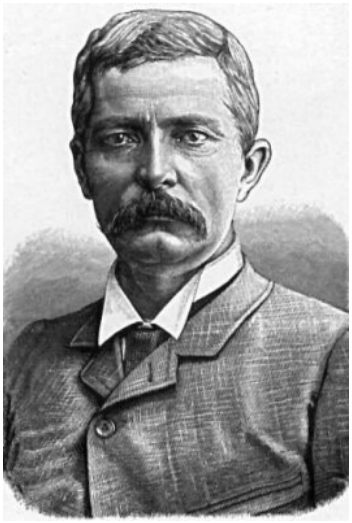


Fig 4.4 Henry Morton Stanley

Second expedition, 1874-1877

In his second expedition, from 1874 to 1877, he moved across the continent from Zanzibar to the mouth of River Congo. He became the first traveller to use large, well equipped, well-armed columns and ruthless military action against local populations who showed any hostility and lack of co-operation to his expedition. This made local people mistake Stanley and his party for slave traders. In his brief stay in Buganda in 1875, he impressed the Kabaka that he represented a people who would be useful

to him because they possessed superior technological and military power. Stanley believed that the success of European Christian missionaries in Africa would be dependent on European commercial and military power.

After his expedition, European Christian missionaries visited Buganda, which in turn was one of the factors leading to British colonial occupation of Uganda and Kenya. It was also during this expedition between 1875 and 1877 that Stanley charted the main stream of the Congo River. He confirmed that the river was navigable. This opened up to Europe the general possibility of exploiting the economic potential of the Congo Basin. The journey further led directly to the actual beginning of Leopold's imperial activities in the Congo. Stanley later became Leopold's agents in the Congo between 1880 and 1885. He had made a thorough survey of Lake Victoria, Albert and Tanganyika, completing his journey by travelling down the River Congo to the Atlantic.

Third expedition, 1879-1884

In 1879, Stanley made an agreement with Leopold II. In return for a large sum of money he would acquire the Congo for the Belgian monarch. Between 1879 and 1884, Stanley travelled up the Congo, establishing road and river communications from Kisangani to the coast, and building a solid base in the Congo Basin for Leopold's future commercial enterprise. Another European by the name Savorgnan de Brazza was in 1882 busy obtaining a treaty from Chief Makoko of the Teke, whose lands were north of the river. In this treaty, Makoko apparently ceded his territory to France. Leopold suddenly became aware that all his efforts in the Congo might come to naught if he did not first assume political control of the area. Stanley was consequently instructed to make treaties with the Viri chiefs south of the river, and this he did.

Fourth expedition, 1885

Stanley's last expedition, to rescue Emin Pasha, was an anti-climax after his second journey and imperialist work in the Congo. It was as futile and as unnecessary as his first expedition to find Livingstone. The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition was financed by a grant from the Egyptian government and the donations of English supporters.

Leopold II, with a great interest in the Upper Nile, got Stanley to lead the rescue expedition. The men of Stanley's relief expedition arrived at Kavalli's in such a state of poverty and sickness that Emin could be said to have rescued his rescuers. When Stanley and his men were fit again, Stanley insisted that Emin Pasha accompany him to Zanzibar.



Emin Pasha

Joseph Thomson

Joseph Thomson travelled between 1883-1884 through Maasailand, across the Rift Valley and into Western Kenya where he saw Mount Elgon. This was essentially a scientific expedition whose purpose was to gather geological and biological information about this part of Africa.

Explorers in Central and Southern Africa

From the close of the 18th Century, European countries began to take an increasing interest in Central Africa. The issue of the slave trade aroused interest in the continent which was the home of the black slaves. Furthermore, the Industrial Revolution led manufacturers and traders to turn their attention towards Africa as a source of raw materials and a market for the products of their factories. Thirdly, was curiosity and the quest for information on and confirmation of reported geographical and other scientific phenomena in the continent which might prove useful back home, and finally, there was the philanthropic interest, normally associated with Christian missionaries, who sought to put an end to the slave trade and convert Africans to Christianity.

Traders and hunters

During the latter part of the 19th Century, traders penetrated into Central Africa using two main approaches: from the east coast, either overland from the central settlements in Tanganyika and Mozambique; or up the Zambezi and the Shire and Luangwa rivers, to the land between the four great lakes of Mweru, Bangweulu, Tanganyika and Malawi.

Many Arab and Swahili traders used the overland routes while Portuguese traders generally used the Zambezi one. The other main approach was from South Africa to Barotseland and the area south of the Zambezi. European hunters and traders went into this area from the south. They went first to Matabeleland and then extended their interests to Mashonaland and Barotseland. Few penetrated further into Zambia which was very inaccessible before 1890.

Most of the visitors travelled along the so-called 'Missionary Road' to Matabeleland, which ran between the borders of the Transvaal and the Kalahari Desert. This area offered good facilities for hunting, as elephants and other game animals were plentiful in the savannah. Traders too were attracted as they were able to bring their goods into the area quite easily by wagon from the south.

George Cobb Westbeech

The Matabele were the dominant power in the region between the Limpopo and the Zambezi. Hunters and traders who wished to go anywhere north of the Limpopo needed first to gain permission from the Matabele ruler. In the early 1860s, two traders, George Philips and George Cobb Westbeech, reached Matabeleland. They were to have a long association in Matabeleland. In 1867 they formed a trading partnership: while Philips remained in Matabeleland, Westbeech pioneered trade in the Barotse Valley.

As a businessman Westbeech was usually more trustworthy than many. This earned him permission to conduct business from a permanent camp at Pandamatenka, a little way south of the Victoria Falls. Between 1871 and 1876 he exported 30,000 lbs of ivory from Bulozi. Lewanika found Westbeech's weapons superior to any he had handled before abhorring slaves as a means of transporting his ivory, he used ox-wagons.

The Lozi now more interested in contact with the south drafted him as an advisor to the Litunga. A seasoned white hunter and trader, perhaps no one played a greater role in paving the way for missionaries in Barotseland than George Westbeech; he introduced Lewanika to missionaries such as Coillard and Arnot.

Frederick Selous

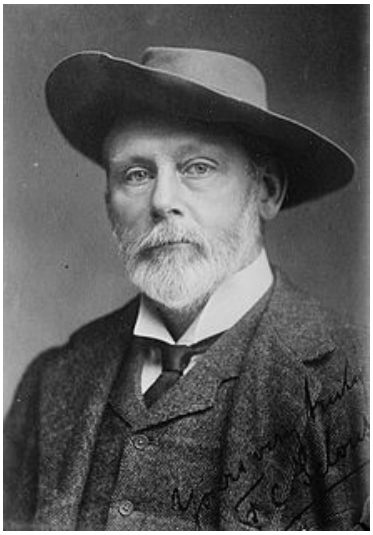


Fig 4.6 Frederick Selous

He reached Matabeleland in 1872 and after his introduction to the Matabele ruler joined an existing hunting party for elephant hunting. In his first three seasons he killed 78 elephants – a relatively small quantity compared to his predecessors.

At first, he hunted in Matabeleland and the region to the north, near the Zambezi and Chobe rivers.

Then in 1877 he got permission to travel further east, exploring Mashonaland in the next few years. He constructed a road from Bulawayo to Hartley Hills to facilitate transportation of ivory; it was named the Hunter's Road. He visited and named many places including the Sinoia Caves, Mt Hampden and Mt Darwin.

The increasing shortage of big game in Mashonaland and part of the Zambezi Valley made Selous eager to cross the Zambezi and explore the land to the north.

Eventually, he made a trip to the Barotse Valley where he met Lewanika and Coillard.

In his wanderings, Selous acquired an unrivalled knowledge of Mashonaland which he bequeathed to others in numerous books. He mapped much of the area and described it in vivid detail. When quantities of ivory began to dwindle, Selous began his great collection of African mammals. Then he found himself collecting specimens for many of the museums of Europe.

For over twenty years he was hunting and collecting in what is today Rhodesia, and stirred much enthusiasm for the area among those who followed his career. He also made a contribution to the events that led to the region coming under British control. In 1889 he made a preparatory trip up the Zambezi and obtained for Cecil Rhodes a mineral concession

from Mapondera, a chief who claimed independence from Lobengula. He next acted as a guide to the Pioneer Column and then laid out many roads under the new regime before he left for hunting fields outside Africa. He was foremost among the pre-Pioneers in opening up Mashonaland to the knowledge of Europeans.

5.1.2. Missionaries and Christianity in Africa

Missionaries or the 'soldiers of Christ', as they called themselves, provided the first concerted thrust at African institutions and way of life. Although they were preceded by the explorers, the the missionaries were men with a mission. They wanted to stay and win Africa into Christianity.

Their activities were to have a serious bearing on the direction of African history in the 19th and 20th Centuries. They usually invited their home countries to come and conquer Africa. In a sense therefore, the pattern of the partition was substantially affected by the earlier settlement of the missionaries.

Secondly, the missionaries purported to know the African better than other Europeans. Thus many of the policies pursued by the colonizing powers were inspired by the reports of the missionaries. It is important therefore to regard missionary activity in Africa in the 19th Century as the pioneering arm of imperialism.

Missionaries came to Africa on a mission of spreading Christianity because the people of Africa were seen as though they did not have a rightful religion or none at all.

Missionaries came under the guise of cultural civilization because they regarded African cultures and customs as barbaric and archaic. Therefore, they felt that, as "men of God", it was their duty to spread their civilization in Africa.

Missionaries came to Africa as philanthropists in order to stop slave trade that was rampant in Africa. It also said that they wanted to end human suffering that prevailed in Africa.

Missionaries wanted to counteract the spread of Islam as a rival religion because Islam in North and West Africa was being spread under Jihads

while in East Africa was being spread by Arab traders. Missionaries came to Africa because they wanted to promote legitimate trade since they were coming from industrialized countries; they had an ambition of creating market for their manufactured goods.

Missionaries also came to exploit the health of Africa as they tried to get raw materials for their home industries. When they came, they started plantation agriculture growing cash crops and exploited minerals.

Missionaries also came because of love for adventure or other similar reasons like fame, fortune and some on academic research. Some of these came with an interest of seeing the blacks of African continent, the physical features and its climate.

Missionaries came to Africa not only to preach the "Word of God" but in some case to preach the gospel of French revolution ideas such as freedom, equality and fraternity of men to Africans, especially to the leaders.

Missionaries were inspired and got "visions and calls" from God requesting them to spread the "Good News" throughout the world including Africa which was, according to them, still regarded as a dark continent that needed the light.

Missionaries came to Africa so as to prepare for the coming of the colonialists because most of them were colonial agents, e.g. Rev. R.S Moffat of the British South Africa Company, Dr. Livingstone. Reason why a historian called Roland Oliva said:

"The flag followed the cross".

Missionaries in West Africa

Christianity made practically no headway in West Africa between the 15th and 18th centuries. But in the 19th Century there was a great movement among English Protestants called the Evangelical revival. Evangelicals led the crusade against the slave trade. They stressed that man is saved by faith that made the work of converting non-Christian seem extremely urgent, though it tended to produce low and condescending view of non-Christian cultures.

Two important missionary organizations in West Africa were the Church Missionary Society (founded and run by Evangelical Anglicans), which was established in 1799, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Both of these were soon at work among the settlers and recaptives of Freetown, and the Creole Christians.

Christianity spread more rapidly in West Africa than in any other region of the continent. By 1900 there were about quarter million Christians, nearly 2,000 churches, about 3,000 missionaries – 2,500 of them African and 29 missions. The bulk of Christian activity was concentrated in areas of British trading and political domination, namely along narrow strips of coast.

The Protestant Churches began the Christian missionary activity after 1800.

They include Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists and various German and Swiss churches. They differ from the Roman Catholics in that they do not recognize the Pope as head of their Churches; their priests or ministers may marry; and their services are more varied. They received the name 'Protestant' because they protested against the Roman Catholic Church and therefore had to leave it.

The Church of England (Anglican Church)

The Church of England, also known as the Anglican Church, had two main missions in West Africa. One was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), and the other the Church Missionary Society (CMS).

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG)

This mission operated mainly in Ghana.

Ghana

The first chaplain of SPG, Rev Thomas Thompson, stayed for four years from 1752 - 56, trying to learn the Fante language. He baptized eight people some of whom disappointed him. He tried to start schools which were not successful at first. He therefore sent some boys to England for education. Rev Philip Quaque, a Fante educated under Mr Thompson's

scheme in England, was the chaplain from 1765 until 1816. He mixed trading with his job as chaplain. The only thing that he did actually to convert his fellow Africans was to run a school. In 1788 the school had 12 children. But he worked at his post for 41 years and left a small group of Christians on his death.

Church Missionary Society (CMS)

Men who had been active in the Sierra Leone Company founded the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1799. It was logical that Sierra Leone should be one of the first areas of interest.

Sierra Leone

Missionaries were dispatched in 1804. They were Melchior Renner and Peter Hertwig, both from Germany. Zachary Macaulay, the able ex-governor of Sierra Leone was on the Society's committee. He had brought some Susu to England for education. Therefore, Renner, after a long delay in Freetown, went with some reinforcement from Germany to the Rio Pongas in 1808 to start the Susu Mission. The mission proved both a challenge and an opportunity for the CMS. The challenge lay in the climatic unsuitability of the coast for Europeans, and in the lack of precedent in missionary methods. The opportunity was the ability to reach a significant number of Africans who were uprooted from their tribal surroundings and who represented a variety of ethnic groups.

From 1808 to 1812 setting up of the Susu mission remained the CMS' only work. Even so, it was reported, there was no church, no proper public worship, and the school room was everything. By 1812 there were 120 pupils. In the same year three lay missionaries came out to teach working with the hands. One CMS missionary, Nylaender, worked north of Freetown on the Bulom shore and produced a grammar and translation of part of St Mathews Gospel in Bulom tongue.

The colony was administered on parish basis, each parish was supervised by a clergyman, and the CMS provided not only churches but schools and education in each parish, culminating in training colleges for boys (Fourah Bay) and for girls (Annie Walsh Training Institution).

The Yoruba Mission

In 1942, the CMS in Sierra Leone sent the missionary Townsend to Shodeke, the chief of Abeokuta in the Egba part of Yorubaland. This was because several hundred Yoruba from Freetown had returned to their native land and sent urgent requests for missionaries to come after them. Shodeke undertook to suppress the slave trade and welcome white traders and missionaries to his land. Thus the Yoruba Mission was begun and in 1846, Townsend and Crowther reached Abeokuta to start work. This was the first effective mission from Sierra Leone. In 1948, five people, including Crowther's mother, with whom he had been reunited after twenty-five years became Church members. By 1857, there were 827 communicants. Schools were founded and in 1949 a teachers' training college at Abeokuta began.

However, the slave traders on the coast and in Abeokuta itself had no time for the mission and only wished to crush it. The priests of the Yoruba Supreme Being, Olorun, also opposed the Christians. The most serious threat was from Ghezo of Dahomey (the 'Leopard'), who attacked Abeokuta in 1851, but Bit he was repelled, with heavy losses, and the Egba drew the useful conclusion that the presence of the Christians and their God had secured their victory. All persecution stopped and many more chiefs sent their children to school.

This interference in politics was seen even more clearly in 1851. In that year, missionaries asked the British government to take over Lagos to bring peace to the country.

Accordingly, the British deposed the ruler, Kosoko and elevated Akitoye as a puppet, with conditions that: first he would outlaw slave trading; second that he would afford complete protection to missionaries; and third that he should engage only on lawful trade, especially with British merchants. This incident shows clearly the cooperation between missionaries and the British government in achieving their aims.

The Yoruba mission also encouraged trade and agriculture. Once the slave trade was stopped in Lagos, the river Ogun was open to legitimate trade, which the missionaries encouraged. They encouraged the growing of cotton and taught Africans how to clean and pack it and to repair the

machinery. They arranged for its export to England. Crowther introduced the plough round Badagry and gave prizes for the best farms.

In the 1860s, however, war broke out again in Yoruba. The British government intervened on the prompting of the missionaries. The events of that war can be summarized to demonstrate how often the missionaries proved to be one side of the coin of European colonial ambition.

Missionary influence in the colonial occupation of Lagos any of whom were former Yoruba slaves, started to arrive in Abeokuta. The CMS hoped to see the Egbas develop a cIhristian state, which would grow through the palm oil trade, and which would turn away from slaving. Abeokuta was interested in this emerging trade and regarded the missionaries as worthwhile contact with the British traders at Lagos.

When the Egbas turned to a policy of military expansion at the expense of the Egbados, a Yoruba sub-tribe, the mission approved on the grounds that this would extend the influence of its Christian teaching. However, Ghezo of Dahomey was not so willing to see Egbadoland, which gave Dahomey access Porto Novo and Badagry, fall to the Shodeke of Abeokuta. Ghezo had already conquered Mahi to the north of Dahomey and was determined to destroy Abeokuta. Under these circumstances in 1851, the Egba-missionary friendship scaled new heights. The missionaries persuaded the British authorities at Lagos to help Abeokuta, and Ghezo was successfully driven back to Abomey. However, fear and suspicion of the missionaries began to set in, and they were expelled from Abeokuta in 1862.

To begin with, the Egbas were suspicious of British motives informally occupying Lagos in 1851. In return, the British did not like the fact that Abeokuta was intending to make Badagry into a more important export than Lagos. Then came the problem of Ibadan which caused the split between the Egbas and the missionaries.

The Niger Mission

In 1857, a further British government expedition in the ship Dayspring went up the Niger. The CMS sent Ajayi Crowther and JC Taylor, an Ibo, and decided to start a Niger Mission. The expedition left Taylor at Onitsha, then

a town of 13,000 people, where he worked for nearly two years. Crowther obtained three sites for the mission. Crowther began to build a mission and read from the Hausa New Testament to passing caravans but soon after, the dayspring was sunk on the Juju rock at Jebba.

Deaths still occurred among European missionaries sent to the Niger and Crowther was so active and effective that Venn decided that he should be made a Bishop to had an all-African mission. In 1864, he was consecrated at Canterbury Cathedral in England. His main stations were then Onitsha and Lokoja. He recruited his staff mainly from Sierra Leone and ordained a few of them who were worthy. He was invited by William Pepple into Bonny in 1864 and despite persecution and one martyrdom, the mission progressed.

The Methodists

The Methodists broke off from the Anglican Church in the 18th Century. Their leader, John Wesley, an Anglican minister, did not wish to do this but he was often not allowed to preach in the Church of England and so Methodism became separate. They worked more with the poorer and simpler English people than the Anglicans did.

Sierra Leone. Of the 1789 arrivals in Sierra Leone from Nova Scotia, 223 were Methodists and had their own black preacher, Moses Wilkinson. The work of the early Methodists did not pick until 1815 when Rev W Davis arrived. By 1821 there were 470 members of the church and by 1840 2,000. In 1841 they had 1,500 pupils in their schools. They were divided into two areas: the Creole Churches, mainly in the Colony around Freetown, and the white-run mission Churches, mainly in the bush.

The Gambia. After 1821, the Gambia came under governor Macarthy. He proposed that Wesleyan Methodists should work there. Morgan arrived in 1821 and began work among Muslims in the Kimbo chiefdom. This proved to be an uphill task and he soon returned to Bathurst where he opened a school for liberated Africans who lived there. By 1836 there were 535 Methodists in the Gambia and 230 in the schools. Little increase occurred after that, partly because European after European died.

Gold Coast. In the Gold Coast the mission work was begun by Africans. William de Graft, a pupil at the Cape Coast Castle School, on his own initiative began in 1831 a 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge' which studied the Bible in order to understand it. Between 1838 and 1857, TB Freeman, the son of Negro father and an English woman did much work in Kumasi. After the British attack on Kumasi in 1874, however, the mission had to leave the area. Not until 1896 did they return by 1913 2,600 baptised Asante and a new beginning had been made in the Northern territories. In all areas, there was a clamour for schools.

Catholic missionaries in West Africa

The Catholic revival began half a century later than the Protestant efforts. It led to the formation of fairly small missionary congregations, often with only several hundred members each. Whereas the Protestant societies included both clergy and laymen, and a large number of lay supporters at home, the Catholic congregations consisted only of priests, nuns, or brothers. Funds were collected by a number of separate organizations, which pooled small amounts from large numbers of humble contributors. The most important of these was the society called the Work of the Propagation of the Faith.

The Catholic congregations that had the greatest impact on West Africa were the Society of African Missions, and the Congregation of the Holy Spirit. The latter grew out of a congregation founded in France in 1844 by a converted Jew, Father Liberman. In 1848, it joined another body, taking the name of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit. Bishop Melchior de Marion Bresillac, a French aristocrat who had previously worked in India, founded the Society of African Missions in 1858.

Sometimes the individual foreign missionary was unable to translate the high ideals, which brought him to Africa into day-to-day practice. Many were highhanded and authoritarian with their converts and exacted work from them, much in the fashion of forced labour for colonial governments.

Missionaries in East Africa

For East Africa, missionary activity can be divided into two phases. First the period from the early 1840s until about 1870. During this time the

number of missionaries involved was small, their success limited and sphere of their operation confined largely to the coast. Then following the death of Livingstone in 1873 came a great wave of enthusiasm and support that led to the establishment of new mission stations in the interior, particularly in Buganda.

Missionary activities at the Coast

The earliest European missionary in East Africa was a German, Dr Johann Ludwig Krapf. He had been sent by the Church Missionary Society in England to work among the Galla of southern Ethiopia in 1837. It was hoped that through this strategy he might effectively spread the Gospel across much of north-eastern Africa, the area occupied by the Galla.

It failed, however, and in 1844 Krapf came south to Zanzibar, hoping to obtain permission to cross to the mainland and approach the Galla from the south. A few months later he crossed to Mombasa and established a mission station at Rabai. Here Johann Rebmann in 1846 and Jakob Erhardt in 1849 joined him. Krapf saw the Rabai station as the first of a series, 'the first link of a mission-chain between East and Central Africa', he wrote in 1848.



Fig 4.7 (a) Johann Ludwig Krapf



Fig 4.7 (b) Johanne Rebmann

From the Rabai base, these missionaries travelled inland. Rebmann travelled to Taita in 1847 and Chagga the following year when he met Chief Makinga.

It was during these visits that he saw Mt. Kilimanjaro. In July 1848 Krapf visited Usambara where he was welcomed by the Shambaa king Kimweri ye Nyumbae who asked for missionaries to come and teach his people. In 1848 Krapf travelled through Ukambani and met Chief Kivoi and saw Mt

Kenya. He made a second visit there in 1851 hoping to set up a mission station. But while travelling with Kivoi towards the Tana River he was attacked and Kivoi was killed.

These pioneering days were difficult and the work of evangelism did not prove a success. When the British Consul, Colonel Playfair, visited Rabai in 1864, he found that only six people had been baptized and another six were being taught. But their work was not without some achievement. From the experience of their travels inland and from information they gathered from Arab and Swahili traders, Erhardt compiled a map of the interior, including what he called the Inland Sea, 'Uniamuesi'. This, together with their reports of snow-capped mountains on the equator, was to arouse much geographical curiosity and controversy. Several expeditions were sent out to East Africa in search of the Nile's source. On top of all of this, Krapf's work on a Swahili grammar dictionary was to prove of great value to missionaries and travellers. Due to ill health he was forced to leave in 1853, but Rebmann remained for another twenty years.

During the 1860s and 1870s, one of the main concerns of mission societies in East Africa was the suppression of the slave trade and the subsequent problem of what to do with the freed slaves. In 1863 the Holy Ghost Fathers came from Reunion Island and started a mission in Zanzibar. In 1864, Bishop Tozer and the UMCA came to Zanzibar after an unsuccessful attempt to establish a station in the Shire area of Malawi.

Much of their time and energy was taken up by the campaign for the abolition of the slave trade and plans for the resettlement of freed slaves. One such centre was set up by the Holy Ghost Fathers at Bagamoyo in 1868 at which former slaves were taught basic skills such as agriculture and carpentry as well as how to read and write. In 1875, the CMS started a similar centre at Freretown on the outskirts of Mombasa.

Livingstone's death in 1873 made him a national hero in Britain. His reports on the slave trade and speech at Cambridge University in 1857 were received with enthusiastic response, and money and offers of assistance poured in. Livingstone's emphasis on 'Commerce and Christianity' united both religious and business interests and gave a new impetus to missionary activity in Africa, widening its aims and objectives.

Typical of this new policy was the formation of the Livingstone Central African Trading Company by James Stevenson of Glasgow, with the dual object of supplying the missionaries in the area and exporting ivory at a price that would undercut the Arab slave traders.

Missionary activities in Buganda

Henry Morton Stanley led the exploration to the interior of east Africa and especially Uganda in 1876. He was an explorer who was looking for a missionary, David Livingstone. In the cause of his second great African journey, Stanley spent some time in 1875 at the court of Kabaka Mutesa I of Buganda. There, like Speke, he was impressed by the organisation of Buganda and, unlike Speke he found Mutesa no longer a foolish youth but a skilful diplomatist. In the course of his stay, Stanley broached the subject of Christianity with the Kabaka and found in him a ready listener. Stanley saw in Mutesa's interest the possibility of establishing a sound missionary station in an organized and prosperous country.

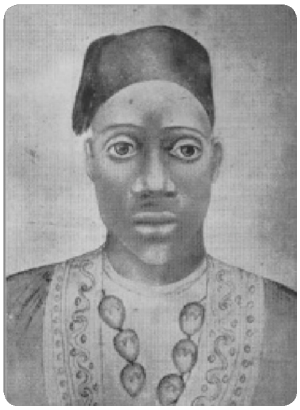


Fig 4.8 Kabaka Mutesa 1

Sir Henry Morton Stanley dispatched a message by Linant de Bellefonds, an agent of the Egyptian Government whom he found at Mutesa's court, calling upon the missionary societies of England to answer Mutesa's request for aid. Stanley's appeal created a greater impression than had the earlier proposal by Speke, which the CMS had rejected. In view of the state of public interest aroused by Livingstone's death it would indeed have been difficult for the missions to resist Stanley's call.

Nevertheless, the CMS would still have preferred to abide by their established policy of steady progress, step by step, from the coast. Their position became untenable, however, when, a few days after Stanley's letter had been published in the Daily Telegraph to startle its receptive readers, an anonymous offer of £5,000 was made to the CMS for the purpose of establishing a mission station on the shores of Lake Victoria. Other contributions were also received for the same purpose. The CMS selected a party of six to form the first expedition, and in spite of many

difficulties Kabaka Mutesa received the first two members, who formed the advance guard, in July 1877. At the end of the following year three more missionaries entered Uganda from the north, following the Nile route.

Missionary activities and relation to the Kabaka

The first missionaries to arrive were from the Church Missionary Society (British Protestants) in 1877, led by Alexander Mackay. There was also the Catholic White Fathers Mission, founded in 1868 by Cardinal Lavigerie to work among the Muslims of Algeria and more particularly to provide homes for children orphaned by famine. The order had grown in strength and Lavigerie had begun to look for further fields of activity. The party of missionaries set out from Bagamoyo in June 1878, and on reaching Tabora divided into two parts, one going on to Ujiji and the other, under Father Simon Lourdel, turning northwards to cross the lake to Buganda. Both groups received a warm embrace from Mutesa and were accommodated at his court and confined in his capital to curb their freedom of movement and the possible influence they might have on his people.

Buganda offered an excellent starting point for missionary activity. The country was under a strong government. It had a ruler who was intelligent and interested in Christianity. The Protestants and Catholics lacked charity towards each other. Mutesa and his people regarded Protestantism and Catholicism as two different religions, one for the Ingleza (the English) and one for the Fransa (the French).

In 1879, Mutesa almost became a Christian and even sent Baganda ambassadors to Queen Victoria, on a trip organised by CMS missionaries.



Fig 4.9 Kabaka Mwanga II

However, the Katikiro (prime minister) Mukasa pointed out that the Kabaka must remain independent of the three rival foreign religious groups: Muslims, Protestants and Catholics. The katikiro told the Kabaka, 'If you join any of these foreign religions there will be no peace in this country'. Even if Mukasa's advice had not given Mutesa sufficient reason to pause, the issue of

polygamy – of what to do with about two hundred wives – would have done so. Moreover, the Kabaka found the disputes between Protestants and Catholics confusing.

The absence of White Fathers between 1882 and 1884 was a blessing in disguise to Christianity in Buganda. African converts, left under their own leadership, continued the work of evangelisation with not only fervour but a growing self-reliance and responsibility. Men like Joseph Mukasa Balikuddembe emerged as inspiring Catholic leaders during Father Lourdel's absence. Lourdel's temporary withdrawal also led to an abandonment of the narrow and rather futile policy of trying to Christianise Buganda by first converting the Kabaka. From 1882, a new policy of spreading the Gospel widely to all in the capital who would care to listen to it was adopted. By the end of Mutesa's reign in 1884 there were several hundred Christian converts in Buganda.

Kabaka Mwanga's reign and persecution of Christians

The worsening relations between the missionaries and the Buganda leadership were brought to a head by Mwanga's accession to the throne. During his reign, Mutesa had been able to retain control over the new forces at work in his country. He had succeeded in preserving his independence by playing Anglicans against the Catholics, and both against the Muslims as the situation demanded. Arab traders had been admitted freely from as early as the 1840s, but their activities had been carried on under the strict supervision of the Kabaka himself. And if many of his subjects had become interested in Islam, Mutesa himself had paid it some attention, with the tolerant outlook of one who knew his own ability to check excess.

The Christian missionaries had been able to arouse deep concern for their teachings in the minds of some Baganda and had attracted a wider circle of those who hoped to benefit materially from the new religion. The arrival of the Christian missionaries had pushed the influence of the Muslims to a dangerous precipice, for the Christians combined their war against the slave trade with a powerful presence at the Kabaka's court. But under the watchful eye of Mutesa, neither the Christians nor the Muslims could hope to be too successful, lest they should challenge his own pre-eminence.

Mwanga, who succeeded Mutesa on the latter's death in October 1884, was of a different calibre. A young man of weak character, he was unable to dominate the situation in which he found himself, save for brief periods and by ill-considered acts of violence. At first it was hoped that the accession of Mwanga to the throne would strengthen the church. Joseph Mukasa was promoted to the the position of majordomo (leading servant or butler in the palace), and Andrea Kagwa became the hunting and travelling companion of the young Kabaka. A bitter struggle for power, however, developed between these new young men and the older tribal chiefs headed by the Prime Minister.

Missionaries in Kenya and Tanzania

Kenya

After the efforts of the 1840s by Krapf and Rebmann, other missionaries followed much later. These included the Holy Ghost Fathers who arrived in Mombasa in 1890 and founded a mission in Bura in 1891. The Consolata Fathers came in 1902, founding the Mangu Mission in 1906. The Mill Hill Fathers from Uganda founded a mission near Kisumu in 1903, Mumias in 1904 and Kakamega in 1906.

African Inland Mission (AIM) was founded in 1895 and began its work in Machakos. The Society of Friends (Quakers) founded a mission at Kaimosi in August 1902 and later among the Akamba. The CMS began their work in Western Kenya from Uganda with Bishop JJ Willis founding the Maseno Mission, while the Church of Scotland Mission worked in Central Kenya.

This Church later became known as the Presbyterian Church. It can be seen that most of these mission stations were established well after the British occupation in 1895, and perhaps as a direct consequence of the building of the Uganda Railway (1896 – 1901).

Tanzania

Missionaries moved in from Central Africa. They included the LMS near Lake Tanganyika. The Holy Ghost Fathers worked at the coast while the White Fathers worked in central and western Tanzania.

Founding of mission stations in East Africa also meant establishing rehabilitation centres for freed slaves (Freretown in Kenya and Bagamoyo in Tanzania). It also meant establishing of schools to teach literacy skills and vocations such as agriculture, carpentry, and masonry. Examples of mission schools in Kenya included Maseno School, Alliance High School and Mangu High School. In Uganda, the Catholic and Anglican missionaries founded St. Mary's College, Kisubi and Kings College, Buddo respectively. Mission stations were therefore centres of learning as well as medical centres as they offered medical services.

Missionaries in Central Africa

The story of missionary enterprise in Central Africa must start with David Livingstone. Livingstone was the pioneer of a widespread missionary movement in Central Africa. Several different mission groups took part in this, one of the first being the London Missionary Society. The LMS tried to work among the Matabele, but was as unsuccessful as the Jesuits who established missions at Bulawayo and Empandeni. The Paris

Missionary Society's Francois Coillard tried to establish a station at Mashiangobi's in western Mashonaland but was taken away and warned not to try again by

Lobengula's indunas. Coillard did not give up, and moving northwards to Bulozi, he managed to get close to Lewanika and achieved much success with the king and his people.

Dr. David Livingstone

Dr. David Livingstone was both a traveller and a missionary. Livingstone was born at Blantyre near Glasgow in 1813. At the age of 10 he went to work in a cotton mill, but spent time improving his education through evening studies. He entered university in 1836 to study medicine, at the completion of which he volunteered to work with the London Missionary Society (LMS) and proceeded to South Africa to join Robert Moffat at Kuruman in December 1840, from where he rapidly moved to Central Africa.

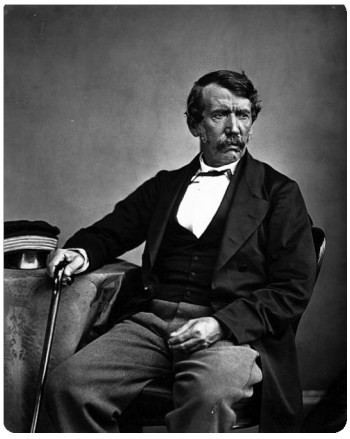


Fig 4.10 David Livingstone

Objectives of Livingstone's missionary work

There is every reason to suppose that Livingstone's ambitions, besides straightforward missionary work, had been formulated before he left for Africa, but they certainly concretised and took a more practical form during his first twelve odd years in Southern and Central Africa. The Following were the objectives of his missionary work:

To spread Christianity: Although born of Christian parents and becoming a devout Christian early, Livingstone's missionary zeal seem to have been catalyzed by a speech delivered by the veteran missionary practicing in South Africa, Robert Moffat. Moffat spoke of 'Africa's perishing millions', to whom the word of God would be a great gift. Moffat continued, 'I have sometimes seen, in the morning sun, the smoke of a thousand villages where no missionary has ever been.' The picture embodied in these words captivated Livingstone's entire being and fired his soul with great passion. He would go to Africa! He would be a forerunner for Christ 'in the land of the miserables'.

To abolish slavery and promote legitimate trade: Livingstone detested slavery, which he saw first hand in South Africa and later in its Arab form in East Africa. He was anxious that Christianity should break out of its narrow geographical confines and penetrate the interior. But such penetration required safe lines of communication, unsuited to the conditions of the slave trade and with endemic war. This could be secured only by regular trade of a kind welcome to interior peoples. Besides, the Zambezi valley would be a good source of raw materials for the British textile industry by producing enough cotton to make Lancashire independent of the slave-grown cotton of the American South. If articles of British manufacture were supplied to the interior by means of 'legitimate' commerce then the slave trade would find it difficult to survive. And if this could be accompanied by the spread of Christian influences, a new moral climate would exclude slavery and soften other features of African life.

To introduce western education: He also entertained the current popular belief in Europe, that white settlement in the vast, sparsely populated parts of the interior of Africa would greatly benefit the indigenous people in terms of western education and civilisation. Besides, the open space

of Africa would provide a very healthy alternative to the slum dwellers of Britain's cities.

Livingstone's legacy

In reality, these expeditions constitute Livingstone's major activities in Southern and Central Africa. Through them he had become an eyewitness to the most inhuman and repugnant trade in slaves, one whose eradication he felt must be the obligation of his countrymen. In his reports back to England as well as in lectures he gave between the expeditions, he singled out this as a reason why men of good will must come to Africa. The slave trade must be abolished. And here he achieved immensely. His writings and speeches on the horrors he witnessed at first hand in the central-southern African interior, stirred the humanitarian urging of the British Government to enforce abolition of the trade by the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1873, the year of his death.

He inspired the foundations of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) and the United Free Church of Scotland, which established a mission at Blantyre. Men were inspired to volunteer for missionary work as a result of Livingstone's example. The activities of these missionaries were later to lead to the British colonisation of parts of central-southern-eastern Africa.

Another target audience was settlers and farmers. He summoned his countrymen to come and settle in the healthy and fertile Central Africa, like the Shire Highlands. The British industrialisation now seriously underway, created a situation of overcrowded slums, smog-filled environment, and deplorable living conditions of the lumpen proletariat who were ready to move to new sites any time. Many people in England followed Livingstone's persuasions with a lot of interest. The settler situation in Central Africa subsequently became a prominent factor in the British colonisation of this area.

Livingstone also believed that commerce must be encouraged as this would undermine the slave trade and put Africa at par with the rest of the world. The Scottish doctor's activities and attitude towards Africa, was itself the epitome of paternalism that of a superior being sent as a gift to the 'unfortunate' lands. This attitude hopelessly betrayed the pioneer

tourist's motives. The white settlers, argued Livingstone, would tap the mineral and agricultural potential of Africa which the 'natives had been too lazy to harness for the benefit of all mankind'.

Finally, there can be no debate that Livingstone hoped to prepare the way for imperialism. He did so in various ways. He spread his views by means of his books, such as Missionary Travels and Researchers in South Africa (1857). A voracious readership consumed his letters, reports and articles, many of which appeared in newspapers and magazines.

Thus he played no mean role in nurturing public opinion for effective British involvement in Central Africa. His death in 1873 activated Stanley's great transcontinental journey from Zanzibar to the mouth of the Congo between 1874 and 1877 this led to the surveying of the River Congo, and active interest of King Leopold of Belgium and De Brazza of France in the region. Livingstone indirectly influenced these happenings, but they nonetheless conformed to his imperial motivations from the very beginning.

Missionaries in Zambia

Francois Coillard

Coillard belonged to Paris Missionary Society. Earlier missionaries had not been very successful. In 1858 the London Missionary Society missionaries Helmore and Price came to Bulozi but the Kololo chief Sekeletu gave them a cool reception on account that David Livingstone was not with them. Helmore died of malaria and Price went back to South Africa.

In 1879, the Jesuits began work among the Ila. Lewanika, now restored as ruler of Bulozi, took this as an insult, as he regarded the Ila as his subjects. On this occasion the Jesuits left because of disease, but when they returned in 1881, Lewanika sent them away. It was the Methodists who finally established themselves among the Ila, and later extended their activities beyond the Kafue.

However, the advantages of having missionaries working in his area were not lost on Lewanika. For one thing, they would teach people to read and write, and so improve the administrative system; for another, they would bring legitimate forms of trade, and so discourage the slave raiding of the

Mambari. To be resisted, however, was Christianity itself, as it threatened the king's own religious authority. Thus, in this cautious mood, Lewanika gradually moved towards acceptance of missionary activity in Bulozi.

Meanwhile, Lewanika's ally Khama had come under British protection. For Khama this meant security from the Boers of South Africa and from the Ndebele. Lewanika was well aware that the quickening of advance of Europeans from South Africa could not be ignored. An alliance with white men, either those in the south or those in the west, was essential for his survival.

He decided to follow Khama's example and in 1886 allowed Francois Coillard to found a mission station in Bulozi. Lewanika realized that this would mean valuable new kind of education for his people, or at least for his sons and those of other Lozi chiefs. If he could keep this education under his control, it could greatly strengthen his own position as a ruler, which was still by no means secure.

Coillard had worked in Lesotho and spoke the Sotho language which was similar to the Kololo spoken by Lewanika and his people. The Paris Missionary Society now became something of a state church in Bulozi. It was successful among members of the royal family, Lewanika's son Letia being converted, and the Mokwani, or Queen Sister, being persuaded to temper her punishments with mercy. But the PMS never became a popular church among the people of Bulozi as did the Watch Tower in the 20th Century. The Paris missionaries also suffered greatly from malaria. Coillard's wife died in 1891, and Coillard himself died of blackwater fever in 1904.

Missionaries in Malawi

Missionary work preceded the effective establishment of government by European powers. Missionaries from a number of Christian churches were involved in this work. Christian churches in Malawi included the following:

i. The Universities Mission in Central Africa (UMCA)

At a meeting at Cambridge on December 4, 1857, Livingstone had said, 'I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity.

Do you carry on the work which I have begun. I leave it with you'. These words inspired the formation of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, supported by largely Anglican well-wishers in Oxford, Cambridge and Durham universities.

Soon afterwards Charles Mackenzie was chosen to lead the first expedition. Mackenzie, a brilliant mathematical scholar at Cambridge, had planned to become a lecturer there, but in 1854 he decided to devote his life to missionary work. He had been working for five years in Natal when he was appointed leader of the UMCA expedition.

Having been consecrated a Bishop, Mackenzie set out with five European and three African Christians from South Africa. The party met Livingstone early in 1861 at the mouth of the Zambezi. Livingstone had recently explored the Shire and Lake Malawi area, and it was agreed that he should accompany the mission party to search for a mission site.

The Magomero Mission

They sailed up the Zambezi into the Shire in Livingstone's ship, the Pioneer. At Chibisa's kraal, the party stopped while Livingstone and Mackenzie pushed on towards the Shire Highlands where they hoped to find a mission site. Two years earlier, Livingstone been impressed by the prosperity of Nyanja villages there. But the area had been depopulated by Yao slave raids. Within a couple of days of setting out, trouble with a raiding party led to a change of plans. The missionaries made a settlement in the low-lying land at Magomero, where Livingstone left them.

The disasters which befell the mission can largely be traced to this ill-fated decision. The entire region was increasingly harried by the Yao who were pushing south-westwards from their home in the Rovuma Valley in their search for slaves. The whole area proved unhealthy too, and soon all the members were suffering from recurrent fevers.

The climax came in January 1862, when Mackenzie took a small party down the Shire to meet Livingstone who was bringing supplies. The canoe in which they were travelling struck a sand bank and the medicine chest which contained the allimportant quinine was lost. Shortly afterwards Mackenzie and a colleague, Henry Burrup, fell ill with malaria and died in

a few days. Illness struck the others, and within a year there were three more deaths.

The move to Zanzibar

In June 1863 Bishop Tozer took Mackenzie's place as leader of this mission, and when he reached Magomero he reluctantly came to the conclusion that the mission had to be withdrawn to a less isolated and unhealthy centre. Tozer moved to Zanzibar, home of the Sultan, the recognised head of all the Arabs in East Africa, and the greatest centre for the trade in ivory and slaves.

In August 1864, work among the Arabs and freed slaves begun there. When the Sultan agreed to close the slave market in 1873, the missionaries hastened to buy this site, and soon a fine cathedral was built with the alter on the spot where formerly the slaves' whipping post had stood.

The move to Likoma Island

Tozer was determined that the UMCA should return to the lake region as soon as possible. After 1875 the UMCA established a chain of mission stations leading to the lake. In1881, the missionary WP Johnson travelled around Lake Malawi. In 1885 a permanent settlement was established at Likoma Island, and this became the centre of missionary activity on both sides of the lake. A map drawn in 1899 shows seventeen stations on the eastern side and five on the western.

It was Chauncy Maples who built up Likoma, while WP Johnson carried out itinerant work from the steamship Charles Jansen. This steamship was important in two other respects: it enabled the missionaries to bring stores from Matope on the Shire River; and it put them in touch with the Scottish missionaries at Bandawe, where medical care was available. This meant that the UMCA missionaries no longer had to rely on the dangerous route to Zanzibar.

The Nyanja people, however, were now being raided by the Gwangwara Ngoni, so the UMCA mission at Likoma, like the one at Magomero, became a place of refuge rather than a centre of civilisation. There was also the recurring problem of malaria. In the first thirty years of the

mission, fifty-seven missionaries died out of a total of two hundred, and the average tour of duty was only five years. Furthermore, Islam was well-established in the Likoma area, making it difficult for the missionaries to convert people to Christianity. Nonetheless, schools were opened; the gospels were translated by WP Johnson into the chi-Nyanja language; and medical work was carried out, especially after the arrival in 1889 of Dr Robert Howard.

Likoma Island became the centre of mission work in the area – indeed today the headquarters of the Anglican diocese of Malawi – and a fine cathedral was completed in 1905. From this centre missionaries eventually spread into Zambia. Meanwhile, the UMCA made their biggest impact in the rural areas. The main emphasis of UMCA education was still academic, and in reality the UMCA missionaries did little to prepare Africans for the Industrial Revolution when it came. They did, on the other hand, allow an African clergy to emerge: the first African priest was a Yao, Johanna Abdalla. Another African priest was Leonard Kamungu, who was ordained in 1901, and who later worked at Nkhotakhota and in Zambia.

ii. Livingstonia Mission

The UMCA withdrew to Zanzibar in 1863. In 1874, the Free Church of Scotland formed a new mission in the area. It was called Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland in memory of the great missionary-explorer. Work in the south among the Amachinga Yao

It was first established in 1875 at Cape Maclear at the south end of Lake Malawi. It was not particularly successful in this area. The local people, the Amachinga Yao; saw little value in the missionaries for a number of reasons. First, they were sufficiently secure in their political position to need aid of external allies. Secondly, they also possessed in Islam an alternative historic religion and an alternative source of modernising skills to those offered by Livingstonia; and thirdly, and perhaps most important, their economic structure, and therefore their political power, depended on the continuance of the slave trade, while the missionaries demanded that they abandon slave trading and turn to 'legitimate' trade along the line of the Shire River.

This they could not accept, and the missionaries six years' sojourn on the edge of Yaoland was characterized by tension between the mission settlement and the chieftains of surrounding villages, as the former sought for refugees from the latter's villages to swell the ranks of its dependents. The Yao made little use of the missionaries.

Work in the north among the Tonga

In the north, even more momentous developments were taking place. In 1881 the Mission left Cape Maclear and moved north up the lakeshore at Bandawe in Tonga country. Here, under the energetic leadership of Dr. Robert Laws, the Mission was more successful. The Tonga were not involved in the slave trade and there was an absence of Islamic influence among them.

The Tonga, unlike the Amachinga Yao, welcomed the missionaries as they were looking for allies against Mbelwa's Ngoni, from whose kingdom they had broken, and who continued to raid towards the lake in the 1880s. Also, being agriculturalists, the Tonga were less opposed to the missionaries than the Yao or the Ngoni, whose way of life depended on raiding.

Yet, perhaps more compelling in their need for missionaries was the internal competitiveness of the Tonga society in which a premium was placed upon individual achievement, in consequence of which education was sought with unequalled enthusiasm. The Tonga took quickly to education and by 1890, there were more than 2000 Tonga pupils in mission schools. They wanted this education not to strengthen their political position, as was the case among most of the other African societies who were quick to encourage education, but to give themselves the skills they needed to take part in a western-style economy.

From 1886 onwards, the Tonga were using their new skills to obtain jobs as clerks, foremen and interpreters in the young work markets of the Shire Highlands, where the African Lakes Company, an adjunct of the Livingstonia Mission, had established the first settler-type economy north of the Limpopo. The desire for educational skills generally preceded conversion to Christianity itself. Many Tonga took advantage of the missionaries' teaching while remaining suspicious of their beliefs; not until 1895-1898 and after 1903 were there large-scale conversions of the Tonga.

iii. The Blantyre Mission

The Blantyre Mission, a second Scottish mission in Malawi, was another branch of the Presbyterian Church. It was founded in 1876 by Henry Henderson and established on land given by the Yao chief Kapeni in the Shire Highlands. It was more successful than the Livingstonia Mission had been at Cape Maclear because the Amangoche Yao, unlike the Amachinga, wanted an alliance with the missionaries.

They had been driven south by their Amachinga compatriots and were now being attacked by the Maseko Ngoni of the Dedza highlands. They saw some value in an alliance with the Blantyre Mission of the Church of Scotland, established a year later than Livingstonia.

Success, however, did not come immediately to the Blantyre Mission. From 18791881 there were management scandals and in 1881 the Mission had to be refounded by Reverend DC Scott. By 1885 the mission was carrying out successful missionary and educational work. But the mission's residential role as a small colony was paramount, as it had also acquired certain political powers. The mission intervened repeatedly in the political and judicial process, judging a wide range of cases, not only at its stations, but among the surrounding Yao chiefdoms. Scott and his colleague Hetherwick, not only judged cases between chiefs, but also decided on punishments themselves.

iv. The London Missionary Society (LMS)

The London Missionary Society (LMS) had opened a station at Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika. In 1881, a Scottish businessman, Stevenson, gave some money for making a road between the lakes, so that the missionaries at Ujiji could get their supplies from the African Lakes Company. This route, named the Stevenson Road, served two other stations – the L.M.S. station at Fwambo and the Free Church mission at Mwanwanda. In order to supply these new missions, and to collect ivory from the northern end of the lake, the Company decided to establish a permanent trading station at Karonga.

This move invited trouble because the Arab and Swahili traders, attracted by the chance of selling ivory to the Company, decided to settle in the area. But the Arabs and Swahilis, viewing the lake-side missions as the

chief critic of their own form of trade – the slave trade – now threatened the latter with violence and annihilation. Mlozi, the leading Arab tycoon, was not at all happy with the presence of the missionaries in Karonga, and the threat of Portuguese interference from the southeast. In the face of mounting opposition, British missionaries in the late 1880s began to campaign for some form of British protection.

John Moir, the founder of the Lakes Company, obtained the signatures of a number of chiefs to be sent to the Queen of England for her protection, or, if that was refused, the protection of a chartered company, in this case the African Lakes Company. Predictably, the request was refused, on account of the financial responsibilities it might involve the British Government in. At this stage, Cecil Rhodes offered to shoulder the administrative costs of the country under the British South African Company's charter. But the ALC's supporters and the Scottish missionaries were strongly opposed to the idea of South African involvement.

The British Government, however, did eventually reverse its earlier stand to accept administrative responsibility over Nyasaland. She could no longer take lightly the dangerously proximate Portuguese presence and the growing German interest in East Africa in the 1880s. Moreover, the victory of the Mahdi in Sudan in 1885 had created another fear. Salisbury thought that Sudan was urging the Arabs in the lake country to drive the missionaries and other white men into the sea, and conquer the whole region for Islam.



Cecil Rhodes

In May 1891, the British declared a Protectorate over Nyasaland. Johnston was appointed Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General to the territories under British influence north of the Zambezi. His expenses, and those of the other aspects of the administration of the new Protectorate, were to be borne by Cecil Rhodes' Company.

v. The Dutch Reformed Church Mission

In the early 19th Century Afrikaners had little interest in missionary work. This attitude changed, however, after about 1885-6. The Dutch Reformed Church formed a missionary society, and in 1889 sent a missionary, AC Murray, to Malawi. Murray, having gained experience by working with Dr Elmslie, began work among Chiwere's Ngoni.

Murray's presence helped Chiwere to keep his prestige among his own counselors, some of whom were plotting against him. Chiwere also expected Murray to have supernatural powers, especially in rain-making. There seemed to be miraculous evidence of these powers when, as had been the case with Dr Elmslie, rain appeared in answer to Murray's prayers, at just the right time.

Murray was then joined by another missionary, Vlok, and in 1890 schools were opened at Mvera and Ndwide. In the 1890s more missionaries came, and more schools were opened. It was, however, an uphill task: the missionaries were often threatened by the Ngoni, and malaria took its usual toll. Murray himself was savaged by a leopard.

In 1894, 19 Africans were baptized. In 1896, the Mission began work among Mazengera's Chewa. (Mazengera was anxious to protect himself against both the Ngoni and the Yao, and thought that he could do this by having missionaries at his village). By 1900 there were 18 missionaries working at Mvera, Kongwe and Nkhoma, and an African, Albert Namalamba, was looking after schools, 48 teachers and 1300 pupils. This educational work expanded still further after 1900.

Missionaries in Zimbabwe

In other parts of Central Africa missionaries helped to prepare African societies for the impact of European rule in various ways. Sometimes they acted as advisers to chiefs. Sometimes they provided education and skills, which gave the people among whom they worked a favourable position in the early days of colonial rule.

Sometimes they became so committed to 'their' people that they acted as effective spokesmen for them and defended their interests against the

new colonial administrations. Very often they prepared African societies for the impact of other Europeans by beginning the process of introducing new ideas and new demands.

The missionaries in Barotseland, the missionaries among the Tonga and northern Ngoni in Malawi; the missionary advisers of Khama of Botswana; all these played an important part in lessening the shock of the confrontation of blacks and whites in Central Africa.

From 1859 missionaries of the London Missionary Society were permanently established in Matabeleland. The Ndebele made use of them in various ways such as to mend guns, inoculate cattle and give medical treatment to the sick.

The Shona were Lobengula's subjects. He refused permission for mission stations to be set up in Mashonaland. The Boer and Portuguese hostility blocked alternative approaches to Mashonaland. In 1877, Coillard tried to set up a mission station in western Mashonaland; he was summoned before Lobengula and warned never to repeat the attempt. Eventually, missionaries lost interest in trying to get to Mashonaland. This position of missionaries in Matabeleland and Mashonaland had important results.

5.1.3. Traders and Charted companies as agents of colonization

The Chartered companies are business organizations or enterprises which were given political task to rule certain areas on behalf of their metropolitan governments in Africa.

Therefore, Chartered companies had power to govern, defend wars, to maintain armies and public forces to protect and defend the interests of the ruled people, to sign treaties of protection, to abolish slave trade and among others.

Those companies usually received commercial monopoly and other privileges that would yield profits which could be used to pay the costs of suppressing wars, fight slave trade and make administration easy. They were working on charter or permission received from their home governments which could be invoked due to non accomplishment of duties.

Major Chartered companies in Africa

British South African Company (BSACo)

It was formed and founded by Cecil Rhodes who was British colonial statesman and financier, one of the main promoters of British rule in southern Africa. It was at first called the "De beer mining company" operating in the mineral rich of South Africa. Rhodes later changed it to the "British South African Company". It was given charter of administration to administer with full powers the colonies of South Africa, Ndebele land, Mashona land, Bachunaland and Barotseland. Its charter was invoked in 1900.

Germany East African Company (GEACo)

It was formed in 1884 by Dr. Carl Peters and Counter Felix Behr Beudelih and received a charter in 1886 to administer and control territories in Tanganyika on behalf of Germany.

The company played an important role in the partition of Africa by signing about twenty treaties with the chiefs of Usagara, Ukambi, Uzingua and Ugulu and by preventing Tanganyika from falling into the hands of the British by concluding the Anglo – Germany Treaty of 1886. In 1889, it was faced by the Abushiri rebellion that led to the invoking of its charter in 1891. Imperial British East African Company (IBEACo)

It was formed by William MacKnon in1884 and it was operating in Uganda and Kenya for the British government. In 1885, it was fully recognized and given a charter. When it run bankrupt, it was kept operating for two years by finances got from the Church Missionary Society. At the time of its withdrawal, it had handed over Uganda to the British in 1894 and Kenya in 1895.

Royal Niger Company (RNCo)

It was formed by George Tubman Goldie after amalgamating several trading organizations of the British operating from the Niger delta region as the West African of Manchester, James Pinnock, and The Central African Trading Company of London, the Company of Liverpool and the Messrs Alexander Miller Brothers Company of Glasgow. George Tubman

Goldie was given a charter in 1886. However, the British government overturned this charter in 1900.

Association Internationale du Congo (AICo)

It was a trading company founded by King Leopold II of Belgium as his personal and private company. It operated in the mineral rich and forested territory of Congo (D. R of). He used this company in annexing Congo for himself as his personal colony not for his country. He exploited the minerals of Congo like gold, diamonds, iron ore, copper and grew their cash crops.

French Trading House of Legis

It was an important trading company of the French government. It was operating in French West Africa like in Dahomey (present day Benin). It helped in acquiring land for the French imperialists.

In the second half of the 19th Century, a large part of Africa was divided among the European powers. This process has been called both the Scramble and the Partition of Africa. In reality, the Scramble took place in Africa itself, when representatives of the European powers took land in Africa, or made treaties with African chiefs. The Partition took place in Europe, in agreements between the European powers, especially, at the Berlin Conference in 1884-5. One of the leading figures in both the 'Scramble and Partition' was Leopold II, king of the Belgians.

Leopold II and the Congo Free State

Leopold was an ambitious man. When he became king of the Belgians in 1865 he had already formulated ideas of taking over large parts of undeveloped world. He had travelled widely, and had studied African exploration.

In 1876, he formed the African International Association. The aim of the Association was to establish commercial and scientific stations in Central Africa.

They were to be attached to missionary stations, and protected by military garrisons.

The first of them were set up in 1878 and 1879 at the White Fathers Missions at Tabora and Lake Tanganyika. At this time, Leopold was mainly interested in developing Africa, and in abolishing the slave trade. From 1879 onwards, however, he became more interested in the wealth and power he could get from Africa.

It was in 1879 that Leopold formed his association with Henry Morton Stanley. Stanley, the journalist who had met Livingstone at Ujiji in 1871, had tried to carry on Livingstone's work by exploring the Lualaba area. He had travelled down to Congo, and he believed this area should be developed. He had taken these ideas to the British government.

Britain, in the early 19th Century, had been interested in the Congo. Official expeditions had been sent up the river, and trade had been developed by merchants from Manchester and Liverpool. This interest had now decreased, and the British government would not give Stanley the support he wanted. In 1897, therefore, Stanley made an agreement with Leopold. In return for a large sum of money, Stanley would take the Congo for Leopold.

It took Stanley five years (1879-84) to travel up the Congo. He established road and river communications from Kisangani to the coast converting more than 1,000 miles. Leopold wanted the control of the area mainly for its trade. He wanted to control all the trade in the Congo Basin. He wanted goods to be exported on his own river steamers, and on the railway he would build from Kinshasa to the coast.

Leopold's methods

Leopold now had to get the other great powers to agree to his taking over the Congo. In this, he showed himself a clever diplomat. He claimed that it was better to keep Congo as a free trade area under his 'international' control than to let any particular country have it. There were four main powers to convince - France, Germany, USA and Britain:

France: With France, Leopold made a secret treaty. He promised France that she could have the Congo if he was unable to govern it. (He had already led France to believe he would be unable to govern it owing to shortage of money).

Germany: Turning his attention to Germany, he supported the German chancellor, Bismarck, in his claims to other parts of Africa. In return, Bismarck supported Leopold in the Congo.

America: American support was obtained when Leopold's American secretary, Stanford, told the American government that Leopold's main aim in the Congo was to abolish the slave trade.

Britain: The biggest obstacle, however, was Britain. Britain was worried about the position of her traders in the Congo and about the safety of Baptist missionaries. In February 1884, Britain signed a treaty with Portugal giving the Portuguese control of the Congo estuary; this cut Leopold off from the coast. Leopold countered by offering profitable contracts to British merchants, and by persuading the British government that he would be more 'liberal' in the Congo than either the French or the Portuguese. Britain abandoned her agreement with the Portuguese but would not actually agree to Leopold taking the Congo.

In November 1884, however, the Conference of Berlin opened. The Conference decided that there should be 'freedom of navigation' on the Congo River. Britain could no longer keep Leopold out, and therefore gave way. France kept her territory north of the river, but Leopold took the rest of the Congo basin down to the CongoZambezi watershed. His territory thus included the mineral-rich area of Katanga; it was to be known as the Congo Free State, and it was to be the property of Leopold himself – not the Belgian government.

Traders in West Africa

In many instances in Africa's colonisation, 'the flag followed trade; in other words, traders, in the fashion of explorers and missionaries, blazed the trail for European colonisation. Traders were important agents of the British, French and German colonisation of the African continent. Sometimes their activities were of individual traders; but they were more successful as agents of colonisation when they coalesced as chartered companies. In parts of West, East and South-Central Africa, traders played no mean role in the European acquisition of colonies. Activities of traders in the colonisation of West Africa

Until the 19th Century relations between Europeans and West Africans were dominated by the slave trade, and it was not until the 1850s that the slave trade died out. The real period of European conquest began in the late 1880s. In the intervening years, Africans were required as objects to be bought. In the colonial period, they were subjects to be governed, if necessary by force of arms.

But in between the 1850s and 1870s when there was a black Anglican bishop on the Niger and a black commercial and professional class in Liberia and Sierra Leone, at least part of Europe's interest in Africa was a measure of genuineness in European concern for Africans welfare and sympathy for African aspirations. This was partly the reflection of religious movements such as Evangelical revival, partly the result of a sense of guilt about the slave trade.

It fitted in well with the search for export commodities. The combination of different interests was reflected in the motto "Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation". It was hoped that there would arise on the Niger 'a kingdom, which shall render great benefit to Africa and hold a position among the states of Europe'.

However, there were limitations to the humanitarian phase. It had a tendency to identify civilisation with European culture. The implication was also evil. What the Europeans had done to Africa in the long centuries of the slave trade was conveniently forgotten. They now could see themselves as bringers of Christianity, crusaders against the slave trade, agents of "civilisation". In a sense, it promoted a low view of Africans, who were seen mainly as the recipients of European good deeds. It directly paved the way for colonialism, which would be defended only in terms of the supposed benefits it would bring.

Application Activity 5.1

Q1. Explain the main causes of European exploration of Africa.

Q2. Assess the factors motivating the coming of European Christian missionaries to Africa.

5.2. Role played by colonial agents in the process of colonization of Africa

Learning Activity 5.2

Discuss the roles played by missionaries, chartered companies and explorers during the process of colonisation of Africa.

5.2.1. Role of traders and Charted Companies

The Scramble for West Africa was to end with the British in control of the two small colonies, the Gambia and Sierra Leon and two large ones, the Gold coast and Nigerian.

i. Role of traders in Gambia

The British presence on the Gambia dates from 1816. France and Britain had just fought a long war, in the course of which the British had taken Senegal from the French. At the end of the war, Senegal was restored to the French, so British merchants moved to Bathurst (now Banjul).

Britain controlled a narrow strip of territory along both banks of part of the Gambia; French expansion soon cut it off entirely from its natural hinterland. On several occasions in the 19th Century, an exchange of Gambia for French territory elsewhere was suggested, but it never came to anything, mainly because of opposition of British merchants on the Gambia. In this instance, colonialism meant the creation of a small country, where economic development would be difficult, and which was cut off by political and linguistic factors from its neighbours.

ii. Role of chartered companies in Sierra Leone

The colony of Sierra Leone began as a small area around Freetown. The colony was established in 1808, partly as a sequel to the various settlements made there, and partly because of the strategic value of Freetown harbour. During the 19th Century, the Creoles, who traded far and wide in the territory, repeatedly asked for an extension of British authority. But by the time the British authority was finally established in 1896, the French had already taken much territory which might well have formed part of Sierra Leone, and which instead became part of the Republic of Guinea.

iii. Role of traders in the Gold Coast

For centuries, the Europeans competed for gold and slaves in the Gold Coast (Ghana). They had built a number of stone or brick forts but continued to pay rent to African owners of the land in acknowledgement of African sovereignty. By the beginning of the 19th Century, the European nations remained on the Gold Coast. All faced economic difficulties after the abolition of the slave trade. Palm oil and gold found their way to the coast, but in small quantities. The Dutch and the Danes finally withdraw from the area and the British came close to doing so on several occasions.

In the 19th Century the company of African Merchants administered the British forts. This company had been heavily involved in the slave trade, and in 1821 it was abolished.

The British forts on the Gold Coast were then placed under the Governor of Sierra Leone, who happened to be Sir Charles MacCarthy, who had made tremendous contributions to the development of Sierra Leone. MacCarthy was killed in a battle with the Asante in 1824 and the British came close to withdrawing from the area entirely. The merchants trading in the area protested, and in 1828 the forts were handed over to a committee of merchants. The British presence in what is now southern Ghana was greatly strengthened during the tenure of the committee, especially its leader, Captain George Maclean, who developed very good relations with the African peoples with whom he had dealings. But jealousy led to criticism of him by his white colleagues and the crown resumed control in 1843, though Maclean remained in the area, in a judicial capacity, until his death in 1847. This direct control placed the territory under the Governor of Sierra Leone, Commander Hill who was appointed Lieutenant Governor.

Role of chartered companies in the colonisation of Nigeria

For British activity, Nigeria was unique in two ways. It was the area where British traders had penetrated deeply into the African hinterland, and it was also the area where they became deeply involved in local politics. Besides, Nigeria eventually emerged as Britain's largest colony in Africa in terms of size of territory as well as size of population.

The one British trader most remembered for a lasting interest in trade and politics in Nigeria was Sir George Goldie, who as the head of the Royal Niger Company acquired for Britain the bulk of its most important colony in West Africa.

Lagos

The British established their first bridgehead in Nigeria by the conquest of the small state of Lagos in 1851. Originally Britain became involved in this Yoruba Port by intervening in the rivalry for the kingship. In 1845 Kosoko drove out Akintoye and made himself king. Both Akintoye and Kosoko were slave traders, but Kosoko as one in power was now doing most to keep the slave trade going in Lagos. Kososko became the target of British missionaries and palm oil traders who persuaded the British government to drive out Kosoko and make Akintoye King.

In 1851-1852, the British navy duly intervened and defected the king. Akintoye as king signed treaties with Britain in which he promised to expel slave traders, protect missions and trade freely with British merchants. British conquest of Lagos was an act of economic imperialism.

Lagos was now very much under the influence of Britain, and ten years later the island and a small area of coastline became a colony. A number of major problems still faced the British and each required determined attention. French interest in the port needed blunting. The British palm oil trade and missionary interests needed protection.

The semi-independent ruler of Lagos, Dosunmu, who had succeeded his father Akintoye in 1853, had not effectively suppressed slave trading by the people of Lagos. Now a British governor replaced Dosumnu. Although British annexation led to a quick end of the slave trade, the development of the Lagos palm oil trade that followed caused slavery to increase in the Yoruba interior, as the warrior merchants of Ibadan used slaves as labourers in palm oil plantations and as porters in trading.

The occupation of Lagos brought with it the obligation to pay the cost of administering it. The most satisfactory source of revenue would have to be customs duties, which in turn could only come in sufficient amounts if the colony was expanded along the coast and other ports annexed.

Governor Glover during his tenure from 1866 to 1872 expanded the colony to the West to take in Badagry and to the east to absorb Palma and Lekki. But the Yoruba wars in the hinterland of the ports continued.

Trade was constantly interrupted and revenue remained poor. The logic of the British position in Lagos required expansion inland to impose a Pax Britannica on all Yoruba and end the war in the interior, thus ensuring free and regular trade. When the French occupied nearby Dahomey in 1892, the stimulus for Governor Carter to invade the interior was finally provided.

For a long time, Yoruba communities had looked suspiciously at the island and British authority at Lagos, and feared that it would lead to a further encroachment. But its divisions and wars weakened Yoruba's capacity and will to resist the invader. In 1886, despite this, two Christian Yoruba men went on a largely successful peace mission with the support of the Lagos governmen. They failed in one important respect, as Ilorin remained outside the agreement.

In 1888, a Frenchman obtained a treaty at Abeokuta, and the possibility of the French moving in on the area appeared. In 1982 the British invaded the southern Yoruba kingdom of Ijebu. They chose this particular area for a show of force, it would seem, because of Ijebu's refusal to admit Christian missions and Western influence. The overthrow of the warlike and well-armed Ijebu had a great psychological effect on the rest of Yorubaland, and treaties in the various Yoruba states, again with the exception of Ilorin.

In 1849 the British had appointed a Consul for a wide coastal area stretching from Dahomey to Cameroons. This consul's successors came to concentrate on the Niger Delta. Of course they were not colonial rulers. They were diplomatic representatives to sovereign states. They did not even live there, but, until 1882, on the distant island of Fernando Po. But supported by the 'moral authority of a "manof-war"' they often intervened in Delta affairs, with decisive effect.

The nature of the British presence in Southern Nigeria changed dramatically in the middle of the 1880s. In 1884-1885, an international conference was held at Berlin, where it was decided that 'effect occupation' was recognised. Before the delegates had left Berlin, German

representatives arrived in Togo and Cameroons, and obtained treaties, which established their claims to these areas. The British presence in the Cameroons had been much like the British presence in the Delta. There had been many British traders there, but nothing like colonial government. Hurriedly, to avoid being forestalled by another European nation the British established a protectorate in the Delta.

George Goldie and the Royal Niger Company

George Goldie Taubman, better known as Sir George Goldie, was the founder of the Royal Niger Company. The Holland Jacques and Company of London was one of the several companies operating in West Africa.

In 1875, this Company was nearly collapsed due to financial difficulties, its Secretary, Captain Joseph GroveRoss turned for help to the wealthy Maux family of Taubman. The response was positively enthusiastic, and Goldie took the affairs of the problem-ridden Company. A year later in 1876 he reconstituted Holland Jacques as the Central African Trading Company, and his brother left for the Niger.

Goldie arrived in Nigeria in 1877, and found three other British companies operating in that area; James Pinnock and Company, of Liverpool; the West African Company, of Manchester; and Alexander Miller Brothers and Company, of Glasgow. He quickly studied their problem. The four British and a few French firms were engaged in a fierce competition and could not realise much profit. Consul Hopkins visited the interior in 1878 and confirmed that the coastal type of cutthroat competition was now rampant there.

Goldie decided that this state of affairs had only one solution: the amalgamation of all these companies, elimination of competition, and the institution of a trade monopoly. One problem, however, would still remain unsolved.

While amalgamation might take care of the European firms, it would not reduce competition from African merchants. The solution to this was to secure political control over the Oil Rivers.

The question of competition was to be tackled swiftly. Goldie now took firm control of the Company, which had invited him first, and by 1879 had

managed to persuade the four British companies to come together and form the United African Company, with a nominal capital of £250,000. Their assets - ships, stores and staff – would be pooled together for a more economical and profitable operation. The bargaining power of the British traders would be strengthened, enabling them to reduce the prices paid to Africans for their palm oil and other products. Thus the new Company hoped to raise the capital needed to open regular trading relations with Hausaland. Eventually, Goldie hoped, he would be able to add the region of the Niger to the British Empire.

But the success of this monopolistic policy was itself a new incentive to renewed competition, for if prices fell on the Niger, trade in that region would begin to attract merchants buying produce in other areas and paying more. The French did not delay in making this possibility a reality.

Chartered Companies in East Africa

Missionaries and travellers had shown what the prospects were for trade. At first, this was limited to Zanzibar and the traditional exports such as ivory, gum copal, cloves, copra and skins.

In 1833, the Sultan had signed a commercial agreement with the United States, to be followed by one with Britain in 1839. French and German traders also became increasingly interested in trade in East Africa. The French had a particular concern in the export of slaves from the coast to their islands in the Indian Ocean. This was to bring them into conflict with both the sultan, for encouraging the smuggling of slaves without paying the duties required, and the British because they were attempting to abolish the trade.

Following the establishment of a British Consulate in 1840, British influence increased steadily in Zanzibar. In the 1822 Moresby Treaty and the 1845 Hamerton Treaty, Seyyid Said had reluctantly agreed to severe restriction on the extent of the slave trade, in return for Britain's recognition of his position in East Africa and encouragement of what they referred to as 'legitimate trade'.

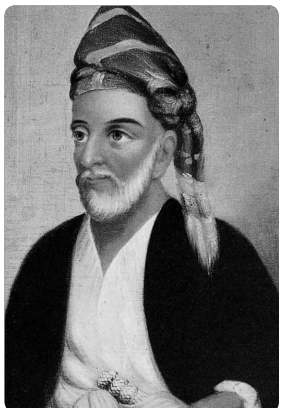


Fig 4.13 Sultan Seyyid Said

Missionaries and travellers were at the same time trying to interest British merchants and shippers in the commercial prospects of East Africa. Though prospects for trade were in fact poor, there was some response, especially from Scotsmen influenced by the appeal of Livingstone and the activity of the Scottish missions that followed him. In 1872, William Mackinnon, a self-made Glasgow ship owner and a member of Free Church of Scotland, began running the ships of his British India Steam Navigation Company to Zanzibar.

Thus there was tremendous expansion of European missionary and commercial activity in East Africa. But it would be a great mistake to imagine that this expansion was to lead inevitably to the establishment of colonial rule. Although the British, with their Indian and South African territories, and their powerful navy controlling the Indian Ocean, were in a very strong position to do so, they had no desire at all to found new colonies in East Africa. Prevailing economic theories insisted that colonies were a bad investment, yielding less in trade returns than they cost in administrative expenditure. The British Government's task was to create the conditions necessary for legitimate trade and Christianity to expand and drive out the slave trade.

This meant that the British Foreign Office, acting through its consular officials, sought to strengthen local states, which seemed likely to maintain the peace and order necessary for commercial expansion. In East Africa, the Sultanate of Zanzibar was an obvious vehicle for such a policy, the only difficulty was that it was a slave trading state. In 1841, Britain appointed a consul in Zanzibar and began the long process of forcing the Sultan to cut down the extent of the slave trade and to seek compensation in expanding his 'legitimate' trade and his political control over the mainland.

After the appointment of John Kirk, who had been with Livingstone on the Zambezi, British pressure on Zanzibar increased to such a pitch that in 1873, under threat of force, Sultan Bargash had to prohibit the sea-borne slave trade completely. Zanzibar was now ready as the British saw it, to go forward as a respectable, enlightened state, maintaining law and order in favour of British travellers, missionaries and traders.

In the light of later events such a policy was naïve, informed less by tough analysis of world politics than by hopeful dreams of an ideal world. It was soon challenged. The first challenge to the idea of using Zanzibar to control East Africa came, not from Europe but from Egypt.

Role of Imperial British East Africa (IBEA) Company

The British company was at first more successful than its rival. It possessed a rather more capital, which it kept more or less intact so long as its activities were confined to the coast. But for some years after the Anglo-German partition, British interest in East Africa was focused upon the Kingdom of Buganda. The great object of the East African Company was how to reach the lakes and its populous surroundings.

By 1890 the establishment of an administration in Buganda had become not only the chief goal of the Company, but also the chief justification for its stations at the coast and along the route into the interior. The Company's overriding emphasis upon Buganda determined the way money was spent in Mombasa and the way economies were made in Kikuyu.

At the coast the company stationed agents at Kismayu, Lamu, Witu, Malindi, Takaungu, and Vanga. Not much happened here save for the collection of customs. The central administration at Mombasa was larger, employing as many as 20 Europeans, and more active, but again, most of its work was connected either with customs or preparing caravans for the interior. Otherwise poor management was responsible for a great deal of inefficiency and sheer waste. Every traveller who visited the town commented upon the disorganization of the Mombasa administration. A great deal of disorganization was attributed to Mackinnon. Since Salisbury had never had much confidence in him; Kitchener's advice in 1888 was to 'get rid of him'. By 1890 even his fellow directors were angered with his impractical ideas and his poor tactical sense.

An assessment of Mackinnon's IBEA Company

The Company had gone into Buganda, and indeed East Africa, to further and defend British imperial interests, while the government whose claims it was upholding had steadfastly withheld its own assistance even during compensation. The biggest share of the burden was to be shouldered by

the Sultan. So the administration of the I.B.E.A. Company was taken over by the Foreign Office, and what is now Kenya became the British East Africa Protectorate in 1895.

The reasons for the Company's financial embarrassment, which led to its inability to continue operating in East Africa, were manifold. The early preoccupations with Anglo-German rivalry accounted for a great deal of lost time and spent resources. By 1890, however, the German problem had been resolved.

Role of chartered companies in Central Africa

In the 16th Century, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to attempt colonizing south-central Africa, but the hinterland lay virtually untouched by Europeans until the arrival of explorers, missionaries, ivory hunters, and traders in the early 1800s. These were the pioneers exploring unknown territory with their own agendas. The occupation and administration of firstly, Southern Rhodesia, followed by Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland started, and during the years 1885 to 1895 most of Central Africa was brought under British control.

Traders in Southern Rhodesia

The name "Rhodesia" was derived from Cecil John Rhodes, the British capitalist and empire-builder who was a guiding figure in British expansion north of the Limpopo River into south-central Africa. This was part of the scramble for Africa when almost the whole continent was parcelled out and apportioned among European countries. The British South African Company (BSA Company) under Cecil Rhodes was the enduring agent of the British colonisation of Southern Rhodesia.

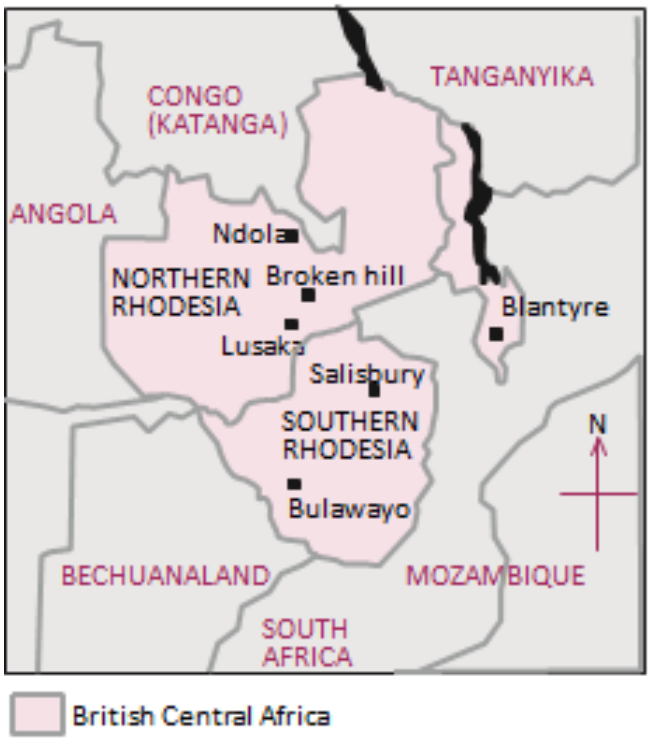
The factors that led to growth of British interest in Southern Rhodesia

Spearheading British interest in Southern Rhodesia were English-speaking South Africans led by the empire builder Cecil Rhodes. The following factors led to this interest:

- Belief in the existence of minerals in the interior. In the late 1860s travellers brought reports that gold was to be found in Matabeleland, and though the earliest prospecting companies,

set up in the 1870s, failed to make any really spectacular strikes, influential South Africans were still prepared to believe in the 1880s that Mashonaland held some of the richest deposits of alluvial gold in the world.

- At the same time, the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal in 1886, led to the belief that gold existed further in the interior. It had been known that Africans had access to gold of their own in trading with Arab traders on the East African Coast.
- Besides, stories of 'King Solomon's Mines' mixed with the theory of the Witwatersrand gold seam running further north attracted speculators and adventurers from around the world. Cecil Rhodes was determined to acquire this area for Britain in the belief that it contained endless supplies of minerals.
- Settlement. The country between the Limpopo and the Zambezi was regarded as enormously fertile. The climate and soils were also suitable for agriculture. The British saw Rhodesia as an area with promising potential for settlement.



The British Central Africa, Cecil Rhodes' imperialistic ambitions

- Cecil Rhodes was a declared imperialist. His overriding ambition was the expansion of the British Empire. 'If there is a God', Rhodes once remarked, 'I think that what he would like me to do is to paint as much of Africa British-red as possible'. In his vision, this meant the extension of the British Empire from Cape to Cairo for Britain. He believed the British culture to be superior to all others, and had to be planted in Africa. He formed De Beers Company, which controlled South Africa's diamond trade. Money provided Rhodes with freedom and power. Power he used to translate his political vision of extending the British empire into reality. Between 1888 and 1893, Rhodes' men, by a mixture of war and diplomacy, occupied Mashonaland and Matabeleland in Southern Rhodesia.
- Trade. The Portuguese were known to have conducted lucrative trade in gold with this part of Central Africa dating back to the days of Mwenemutapa through the Indian Ocean. The British sought to occupy Southern Rhodesia for the purpose of trade.

The role of BSA Company in the British occupation up to 1923

The British, Portuguese and Boers from the Transvaal desired to push into Central Africa but, as agreed at the Berlin Conference, a country's claim to a region would only be recognised if it could show 'effective occupation'. Whoever would be first to try in 1885, Lobengula, king of the Matabele, would be the greatest obstacle in the area south of the Zambezi, as the rivalry between Britain and the Transvaal centred upon him.

The British-Boer rivalry

The increasing number of concession seekers worried Lobengula and perplexed him about the best course to follow, as he found it difficult to resist the pressures upon him first by one group, then by another. In 1885, an envoy of British soldiers arrived from Bechuanaland to inform him that the country on his southern borders had become a British Protectorate and that the chiefs, notably Khama (with whom Lobengula had a border dispute) had accepted this. The envoy returned, believing that Lobengula's body language indicated he too favoured British protection.

However, by 1887, the Transvaal, a potentially wealthy state since the discovery of gold on the Rand, was subjecting Lobengula to a lot of pressure. The Transvaal government wished to expand northwards, especially as Mashonaland was known to have gold deposits which might yet prove as rich as those of the Rand. Accordingly, two government representatives sent over by President Paul Kruger, Pieter and Frederick Grobler, visited Lobengula and persuaded the king to agree to a treaty in July 1887. The treaty was a far-reaching non-aggression pact (treaty of friendship) between the Matabele and the Transvaal (the South African Republic). But the difference between what was said and what was subsequently written looked disturbingly big. This became especially evident when early in 1888 the Transvaal government appointed Pieter Grobler as 'Consul of the Republic in Matabeleland, who, after a short visit there, left for the Transvaal to fetch his family. Thus Lobengula later insisted that this was merely a revival of an old, non-committal treaty of friendship signed in 1852 between his father and predecessor, Mzilikazi, and the Boers, and no more.

The BSA Company's Charter and administration of the colony

In granting the BSA Company a Charter, Cecil Rhodes was given a number of mandates and the conditions to be met by the Company in carrying out the function of its powers.

Mandates

Its object was to acquire and exercise commercial and administrative rights in a large area extending from the Transvaal to the Congo and from Angola to Portuguese East Africa.

To extend the infrastructure of modern capitalism (including railways) into south-central Africa for the benefit of the British but without the cost's falling on the British taxpayer.

Unlike normal companies, the BSA Company was permitted to establish political administration with a paramilitary police force in areas where it might be granted rights by local rulers.

It was also allowed to profit commercially through its own operations or by renting out land, receiving royalties on the mining of minerals according to the Rudd Concession, levying customs duties, and collecting other fees.

The British government guaranteed the BSA Company a monopoly where it operated and, as a last resort, was prepared to support it militarily against rival European powers or local rebellions.

Conditions

The following conditions applied:

- The company was to be directly responsible to the Colonial Office for the handling of native affairs.
- Though a private concern, it had to accept some government-appointed directors.
- It was obliged to pay off all previous concessionaires.
- It was to exercise governmental powers only with the consent of the native ruler.
- It could have its charter revoked at any time.

These stiff conditions were meant to try and diminish the exploitation of Africans along the lines of what had happened to Africans in the Transvaal Republic.

The BSA Company was now poised to occupy at least part of Lobengula's dominions. A secret agreement was reached between Rhodes and two soldiers of fortune, Frank Johnson and Maurice Heany, that if Lobengula proved difficult, they would enter Bulawayo with a force of 500 whites, attack Matabeleland and completely break up the king's power, to pave the way for the Company's personnel and mining operations. Lobengula learnt of the pending confrontation and gave way just enough to avoid it. He gave Jameson, Rhodes' emissary, permission to prospect in the southern part of the kingdom. He gave them an alternative permission to prospect in Mashonaland in the event of gold not being found in the south.

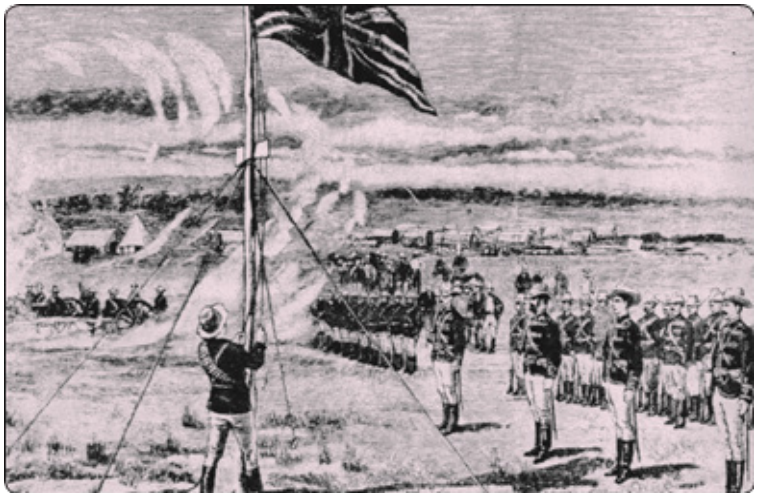


Fig 4.15 British soldiers hoisting their flag (Union Jack), at Salisbury

The 'Pioneer Column' and the occupation of Mashonaland

Lobengula's permission to the Company to prospect in Mashonaland, together with worries over Portuguese activities in these areas, propelled Rhodes to act. Armed with the BSA Company's Charter, Rhodes was fast in organising and dispatching the Pioneer Column to Mashonaland to carry out its provisions. The expedition was divided into two main groups: prospective settlers and police. The first was called the Pioneer Corps and consisted of some 200 young men. On arrival in Mashonaland each was promised fifteen gold claims and 3,000 acres of land. The second group consisted of another 200 young men to help protect the expedition on its way to Mashonaland and to maintain order on its arrival. These were the BSC Company police. The officer in charge of the police, Lt-Col Pennefather, was also to be in charge of the whole expedition. In addition, 200 Ngwato, led by Khama's brother, accompanied the Pioneer Column to help in making the road and to look after the cattle, wagons and horses. Dr Leander Starr Jameson accompanied the Pioneer Column as Rhodes' personal representative. Sir Archibald Colquhoun, who had gained administrative experience in the Indian Civil Service, was to act as the Company's administrator when the Column reached its destination.

In order to avoid a clash with the Matabele, it was decided to abandon the route through Bulawayo for the moment and to occupy Mashonaland by taking a column along the eastern border of the Matabele area. Thus,

an armed 'roadmaking party' was dispatched to make a wagon road to Mt. Hampden near present Harare. Thus, the 'Pioneer Column' entered Mashonaland in July 1890. On September 13 a flag pole was erected and the Union Jack hoisted in what became Cecil Square, Salisbury (present-day Harare), and the occupation of Mashonaland was proclaimed. In 1891 Mashonaland was declared a British Protectorate by an Order in Council.

BSA Company administration

In the early years of occupation of Mashonaland a simple administrative system was organised by Colquhoun and then by Jameson who took over from him as administrator in August 1891. The laws of Cape Colony were adopted. Mashonaland was divided into districts, each under a magistrate. In 1891 the BSA Company took over the ownership of the land. It had from the beginning granted settlers farms of 3,000 acres in anticipation of some agreement being made, as the Rudd Concession had given no rights over the land, and no land settlement had been made in the BSA Company's Charter.

Constitutional and administrative development of (Southern) Rhodesia followed a unique path. From the conquest of the country in the 1890's until 1923, the territory was administered by a commercial company, the BSA Company. The Company developed an administrative cadre whose members were drawn mainly from the Cape, headed by an officer bearing the title of 'administrator'. The Company's control of affairs was restricted in 1898 and a Resident Commissioner was appointed to Southern Rhodesia to act as a 'watchdog' of the British government. WH Milton, Administrator from 1898 to 1914, set up administrative machinery by reorganising the civil service, modelling it on that of Cape Colony. He set up a number of government departments and recruited capable and experienced staff. Europeans were employed in many subordinate posts which elsewhere in British Africa would have been filled by Africans. At the same time, most recruits to the service came to be local Europeans, not expatriates. In the administration of Africans, the BSA Company followed the direct method developed earlier in South Africa with chiefs deprived of most of their judicial powers and regarded as nothing more than government agents.

Southern Rhodesia was given a new constitution by the Orders-in-Council of 1898 to ensure a sound basis for its administration. The constitution provided for an Executive Council consisting of a British government-appointed Resident Commissioner - an ex officio member without voting rights - and four Company nominees as members, and a Legislative Council which would have four elected members in addition to five nominated ones. The Company Administrator presided over both councils. The Legislative Council could make laws subject to the approval of the South African High Commissioner, who might also legislate by proclamation. This constitution was largely the work of Lord Alfred Milner, the South African High Commissioner. He hoped, as did Rhodes, that Southern Rhodesia would one day join with the four self-governing South African states in some form of union or federation, in which Southern Rhodesia would act as a counter-weight in favour of British interests over Afrikaner nationalist ones. For this reason he set Southern Rhodesia on the road to white self-government by providing for the settlers to elect some of the members of the Legislative Council. Cecil Rhodes saw the new constitution as 'the first step in the direction of self-government' for Rhodesian white settlers.

Elections were held every three years. The effect of these qualifications was to exclude Africans from registering as voters. In 1903, the composition was altered to provide for seven BSA Company officials and seven elected members. In 1912 the franchise qualifications were raised to prevent sizable numbers of Africans from qualifying to vote: Voters had to be able to complete the registration form and write a fifty word dictated passage in English while the property qualifications were doubled. In 1919 women were granted the franchise, which roughly doubled the numbers on the voters' roll.

Role of traders in Northern Rhodesia

Imperialism in Northern Rhodesia (today's Zambia) was preceded and prompted by the outcome of the deliberations at the Berlin Conference of 1884 - 1885. The Berlin Conference stipulated that once a European power had established an effective occupation of an area, it could assert its claim upon the territory, and her supremacy in the region would be recognized by other powers.

For a variety of reasons, Britain was interested in retaining an influence in these areas. As was the case elsewhere in Africa, it was reluctant to face the pains of colonisation. In Central Africa, she was lucky in having Cecil Rhodes who was ready and willing to undertake the task of imperial expansion on her behalf. A supposed minerally-rich area, the BSA Company had made Northern Rhodesia an early target.

Factors that led to growth of British interest in Northern Rhodesia

Northern Rhodesia was created as an extension of British power in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and its main contacts were always with southern Africa. As was the case with the occupation of Southern Rhodesia, Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company spearheaded British interest in this area. A number of factors led to the growth of British interest in this region:

Copper mining: The Copperbelt attracted white settlers from Europe and South Africa. Rhodes considered Barotseland as a suitable area for British South Africa Company operations and as a gateway to the copper deposits of Katanga.

Agriculture: Europeans were discouraged from settling in Northern Rhodesia by the prevalence of tsetse fly and malaria. But in the more healthy areas, the Company appropriated blocks of land and made allocations from these to Europeans. Thus a few settlers took up land in Tonga country along the railway, which happened to run through a tsetse-free belt. There they raised maize and beef for sale in Katanga. Other European farmers settled in the far north, at the south end of Lake Tanganyika, and near Fort Jameson in the east, where from 1914 tobacco was grown successfully.

Suppression of slave trade: In his travels across Central Africa, David Livingstone had highlighted the dominance of the slave trade, calling upon men of goodwill to work for its suppression. The first batch of missionaries, traders and other humanitarians settled in these areas to see what they could do to suppress the slave trade and replace it with legitimate trade.

Role of the BSA Company in North-western Rhodesia

Cecil Rhodes used the chartered British South Africa company to make treaties with African chiefs on behalf of the British government in Central Africa. The company made many stakes of claim to African territory at the expense of other European powers. These treaties gave the company powers of administration in the areas, and thus helped in extending the British Empire. With the charter, Rhodes managed to secure for the British the Central Plateau north of Limpopo, at no cost to the British tax payer. His company shouldered the costs.

Most Europeans who crossed the Zambezi from Matabeleland or Bechuanaland in the 1870s went to the Lozi kingdom. Some ten years later Europeans began to reach the north-eastern part of Zambia, entering from Tanzania and Malawi. In this dual approach, Zambia was brought under British control as two separate areas, North-western Rhodesia and North-eastern Rhodesia.

The 'conqueror' with the praise name Liwani Ka la, more commonly Lewanika (whose real name was Lubosi) was king of the Lozi people of Barotseland in northwestern Rhodesia. This made him a leading figure in the events by which the area was brought under the BSA Company rule. He was aware of rival European ambitions, for by 1885 a German protectorate had been established in South-West Africa and a British one in Bechuanaland (Botswana).

The BSA Company's activities in Barotseland

Having made a treaty with the Ndebele in 1886, the BSA Company's first goal north of the Zambezi was Bulldoze (Barotseland). Rhodes' desire to establish his Company north of the Zambezi coincided with two factors, both advantageous to him. The first was Lewanika's eagerness to seek British protection against Ndebele and Boer attacks. Having heard of the benefits of cooperating with the British from his friend Khama of the Bamangwato, Lewanika was eager to welcome the British.

He invited a French Missionary Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Mission to act as an intermediary with the white man and his technology. Lewanika reasoned that western education – especially reading, writing

and even learning the English language – would be an asset to himself and his people. He also thought the British would create law, order and stability in his kingdom, and above all give him protection against his rivals and unfriendly neighbours.

The Lozi king had several times suffered from Ndebele raids, and had observed that the Bamangwato, his neighbours, had secured considerable immunity to such attacks by placing themselves under British protection. Lewanika made a formal application through the French missionary Francois Coillard, who wrote to Sheppard, the British administrator in Bechuanaland, requesting for protection.

The second coincidence advantageous to the Company was the presence in Bulozi of the pro- British Coillard. Coillard was the only foreigner in whom Lewanika had confidence. Coillard himself feared Portuguese or German interference from the west and desired British protection in order to further his missionary efforts. In January 1889, therefore, Lewanika sent a request for protection to the British government. The reply was slow in coming and somewhat indefinite as Britain did not see much wisdom at that stage in establishing a protectorate so far in the interior.

Meanwhile, concession-seekers mounted much pressure on Lewanika, who for some time was unyielding as he awaited a reply from Britain. Finally in June 1889, he granted a limited concession outside the Lozi kingdom itself to Harry Ware, a Kimberley businessman who hoped that there might be gold north of the Zambezi.

It was with this background that the north-western Zambia found itself entering into treaties with the British representatives, which would later lead to the occupation of their lands by the British. The British company upon entering the area, signed treaties with the chiefs in total disregard to those earlier made by the Portuguese. The key African personality to deal with the British and other European agents was King Lewanika of the Lozi.

Assessment of BSA Company's activities

Right from the start the Company was faced with the problem of fighting the institution of slavery, and in this Lewanika's cooperation was steady.

By 1906 the practice of slavery had been significantly reduced, and about 30,000 slaves liberated in the region. It also achieved the following.

The Company also succeeded in solving the boundary problem. The true extent of Lewanika's sovereignty had not been agreed upon by all the powers neighbouring the Kingdom: Britain, Germany, Portugal and Belgium. Rhodes had some interest in the north and would do anything to prevent Katanga's copper from falling into the hands of Leopold II of the Congo Free State. Accordingly, in 1890, Alfred Sharp was sent to Katanga to negotiate treaties, but had no success at Msiri's.

Rhodes later dispatched Joseph Thomson of East African fame to reach Msiri, but Thomson only got as far as the Lamba country. Rhodes' luck in this area failed him completely, for in 1891 two expeditions working for Leopold II penetrated the so-called 'Katanga Pedicle' and asserted Leopold's claims. These were upheld by a treaty between Britain and Portugal in 1894.

There was a problem also over the RhodesianAngolan boundary. The Portuguese had established a post across the Zambezi from Katanga and were clearly trying to press their claim. The British claimed that the area lay within Lewanika's kingdom. Both parties agreed in 1903 that an arbitrator be appointed to define the boundaries of the Bulozi kingdom. The Arbitrator Commission, under the chairmanship of Italy, established the frontier along the conventional geographical lines which form a prominent feature of the map of northwestern Zambia today. To the east, the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891 had established the boundary line.

The Company now faced local hostilities from the Bemba and Lunda. The Bemba had not abandoned the export of slaves and therefore resented the Company's influence. They tried to resist company rule but were finally defeated in 1898 by Company forces led by Robert Young. The Lunda under Kazembe also put up some resistance, but were silenced by the Company's machine guns, which hastened Kineme's flight into the Congo Free State. The defeat of the Bemba and Lunda made it possible for the Company to execute a more effective control in Bulozi.

The Mpezeni Ngoni of eastern Zambia who had settled among the Cewa in 1870 united together to resist invasion by Company Europeans.

With their warrior tradition, which distinguished them from Bemba, the Lunda and the Lozi immediate military action against the invaders who believed Ngoniland to be rich in gold, came naturally. The Europeans also attempted recruiting the Ngoni as labourers in their plantations in Malawi. Thus the Ngoni were determined to resist. A major confrontation occurred, resulting in the defeat of the Ngoni in 1891. This the completed the subduing of all the parts of Zambia. The territory was then referred to as Northern Rhodesia.

Portuguese interest

The Portuguese had been in these parts from the 16th Century. In both west coast and east coast, their main pre-occupation had been the slave trade. The Portuguese interest lay in the fact that control over Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia would give them an unbroken control from the Atlantic coast of Angola to the Indian Ocean coast of Mozambique.

It also lay in the fact that from Mozambique, they had operated in the region of Nyasaland for a long time – to such an extent that in 1882, the Governor of Quelimane in Mozambique took an armed force along the Lower Shire and invited the chiefs to hand over to his government 'the lands now in their possession which by right belonged to the Crown (of Portugal). Indeed, two years later a large force under Lt. Auguste Cardoza travelled up the Rovuma valley from the coast to Lake Nyasa and persuaded a number of chiefs, including the Yao slave trader, Mponda, to make treaties of loyalty to Portugal. This would give the Portuguese a bigger geographical area in which to operate.

Effects of BSA Company's policies in Central Africa

The BSA Company was the most important agent of the colonization of central Africa. In the execution of its control, solidly based on its South African experience, the impact of its administrative policies on the Africans was not always positive. The subsequent British colonial system was not to see a significant departure from what its agent had established. The BSA Company needed revenue. This could be obtained from mining royalties, sale of land, customs duties, postal charges and other sources. These sources, however, did not bring in enough money: in 1911 for instance, the Company collected £95,000 but spent £149,000. The deficit

was particularly great in Northern Rhodesia. Taxation was the obvious answer. The whites themselves were not taxed until after 1918, but the Company taxed Africans. Hut-tax, already in operation in Nyasaland, was introduced in Southern Rhodesia in 1898, North-East Zambia in 1900, and North-West Zambia in 1904. Hut-tax was double-edged: to raise revenue, and to get Africans to work.

In the early days the tax could be paid in kind – in gold, copper, ivory, livestock, cotton, coffee and salt. These goods were each given a value. Later, however, the tax could only be paid in cash. The hope was to draw Africans into a cash economy.

The problem of taxation was intertwined with that of labour. Because they had to pay tax, Africans had to go search for work in mines and on farms. The whites knew this: when the tax collector went to a village he was often accompanied by the recruiter of labour. The whites wanted cheap labour, and this often meant forced labour. This was normally the responsibility of District Commissioners.

In the mining settlements discipline was strict. Corporal punishment was often used. The whites had no concern for the well-being of the Africans. They used 'boss boys' noted for their brutality. They sat on the Africans' wages until they had worked long periods. They knew that if the African wanted money he would have to work at a mine; there was no other work. The government did nothing to help. The Masters and Servants legislation of 1908 made desertion a crime.

Migrant labour took away rural workers and broke up the pattern of rural life. It led to the weakening of traditional structures of government and to great suffering in the villages. The effects of migrant labour in Malawi were perhaps more acute than anywhere else in the BSA Company-controlled Central Africa.

In the Northern Province 328,314 Africans were expected to pay £18,379 in tax, but only 2,800 could work locally at wages between 4/= and 20/= a month, and since they were subsistence farmers they could make little money from selling surplus food. They had to go south to raise enough money for tax.

The expansion of the South African mining industry after the Anglo-Boer War of 1902 gave an impetus to the demand for labour. The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association was given permission to recruit in Malawi. In 1906 the Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau set up an agency at Chipata and recruited Malawi labour from there. Pass system came into operation in 1909, but it was not successful. Conditions for obtaining it were too stiff, and many Africans went south without obtaining it. Commissioner Manning tried to stop the flow, but it continued unabated.

Migrant labour caused a labour shortage in the Shire Highlands. The settlers and builders of the Chiromo-Blantyre railway needed labour. Going south was not the only reason for non-availability of African labour; the Africans, especially those educated at mission schools, were perfectly willing to work in order to buy calico and other goods, but the problem was that the settlers paid poorly and wanted labour in the rainy season when the Africans were planting their own crops.

Various methods were used to get Africans to work. Some settlers bribed the chiefs. Others used agents whose methods included intimidation. Some brought labour from the Northern Province and from Mozambique. Many settlers still took labour from their own estates to work as 'squatters' – to pay their tax and to pay rent.

In 1904, Commissioner Sharpe laid down rules that only approved recruiters could carry out recruitment in the Lake province. Employers would have to provide transport, food and housing. The settlers complained that this raised the cost of labour, but Sharpe rejected their demand to what amounted to forced labour, and from 1903-10 the relations between the settlers and the Government were hostile.

In summary, the colonial agents have played the following role in the process f colonisation of Africa:

a. Explorers

- They mapped the economic potentials of Africa so that the future colonialists would know where they could establish their colonies.
- They discovered and drew the maps indicating the location of the strong and hostile African tribes.

- They show on maps where located the weak African kingdoms and befriended some Africans and their chiefs.
- They indicated the location of African geographical features like navigable lakes and rivers.
- They called upon their home government to come and to exploit and dominate Africa, leading to the African colonization by European.
- They revealed to colonialists the ways of life of African people i.e. language, culture and all kind of organizations.
- They took to Europe African soils sample which enabled the colonialists to identify and occupy fertile part of Africa.
- They encouraged the treaty signing with some African leaders, consequently facilitated and accelerated the colonization process.
- They established the contacts and relationships between Africans chiefs and European colonialists. For instance, we can mention the visit of Stanley to Kabaka in Buganda and Von Goetzen to Kigeli IV Rwabugili in Rwanda.
- They signed treaties with African local chiefs, which treaties meant the surrender of African territories and sovereignty.

b. The role of European Missionaries in the colonization of Africa:

Missionaries exaggerated the wealth of Africa. For instance Livingstone and Rev. Moffat said that the minerals of South Africa were found in all areas from South Africa to Cairo. This attracted the Europeans to come and control these areas in order to exploit Africa's wealth.

Missionaries gave alarming reports about slave trade and human sacrifice which raised deep humanitarian fillings. According to them those could end if the African chiefs are overthrown and replaced by whites in colonial environment.

Missionaries financed bankrupt – chartered companies as a means of enabling them to finish the assigned duties and completed the preliminary work of colonization.

Missionaries played key roles in the signing treaties as long as they were working in fraternity with chartered companies and other colonial agents in luring Africans to sign treaties.

Missionaries agitated for the coming of many white settlers to come and occupy Africa. According to their plan, the white settlers would in turn seek for protection from their metropolitan countries.

Missionaries with collaboration of chartered companies trained Africans who became army men and later used by the colonialists to defeat African resistances.

Missionaries condemned African cultures and customs as backward primitive and barbaric. This weakened the African spirit of resistance and made it easy for Europeans to take over.

Missionaries built schools where they trained Africans that were to receive and work for colonialists. In such schools, missionaries trained Clerks administrators, interpreters and the masses taught the new language that imperialists would when they joined them.

Missionaries established communication facilities which were seen by European powers as favoring factors for their take over. Since they were assured of easy movements into most parts of Africa especially the interior, they did not hesitate to come to Africa to colonize it.

Missionaries did the work of softening the minds and hearts of the Africans. In their constant preaching, they emphasized on “Love one another as you love yourself”. This meant that the European strangers should not be killed, but loved; which neutralized African resistance but Africans might receive European colonialists in a hospitable behavior.

c. The role played by chartered companies in the colonization of Africa:

Chartered companies paved way for European colonization by signing treaties with African leaders. To Europeans these treaties meant surrender of the Africans thus such areas for their home government.

They exaggerated the mineral wealth of Africa, which created more appetite to colonize Africa. The British South African Company (BSACo)

exaggerated the mineral wealth of South Africa; Leopold's company said that the Diamonds and copper in Congo extend up to the coast of East Africa.

Troubles of slave trade were exaggerated which forced some countries to come on a ticket of humanitarianism. These companies argued that slave trade could only be controlled if the social, economic and political lives of the Africans were firmly governed by Europeans hence leading to colonial conquests.

The Chartered companies created peace, established law and order and courts to promote justice in Africa. When all these were done, their metropolitan countries saw the situation ready for take over from the Chartered companies.

Chartered companies built social facilities like hospitals and schools that helped the colonialists to come to do their work. The fear of diseases were reduced which encouraged the imperialists to come to Africa.

Chartered companies, in collaboration with missionaries, created manpower that was to help the imperialists in colonial administration as they financed some schools that trained clerks, interpreters and administrators as colonial auxiliaries.

Chartered companies trained and equipped African Loyal Army which was used in suppressing African resistance and rebellion. It was used also in the annexation of more land for the Europeans.

Chartered companies drew the maps and boundaries of the areas under their control and their establishment meant that the partition of Africa began when the companies were still operating.

Chartered companies supported religious, internal and external wars in Africa. This was meant to weaken African military, make them become enemies to each other and force one of these seek for European protection.

Chartered companies exploited the interior of Africa, opening it to the colonialists and they drew the map of African interior locating the fishing grounds, fertile soils, forests, mineral locations, mountains and other

African economic potentials. All these had to attract the colonial powers to take over Africa.

5.3. Problems faced by colonial agents in Africa

Learning Activity 5.3

Use internet or read different written documents about the colonial agents in Africa, and describe the problems faced by colonial agents in Africa. Summarise your work in assay form.

They faced the problems of communication and transport because in Africa there were no roads, railways and water bodies like rivers and lakes were not yet open for navigation;

Language barrier hampered their work since they came from different countries and thus spoke different language and they worked among Africans with diverse languages;

They faced a problem of diseases like malaria, yellow fever and sleeping sickness which claimed their life. Some of victims were Bishop Mackenzie Krapf and his wife and David Livingstone and his wife;

They met hostility from some tribes and chiefs, e.g. the Yao and the Ngoni forced Livingstone to withdraw from Malawi, in Buganda Kabaka Mwanga complicated the work of the missionaries while in West Africa the missionaries were buried from entering in the Islamic empires like Sokoto and Tukolor;

They faced the problem of harsh African climatic conditions as compared to what they were used to in Europe: it was sometimes too hot or too cold.

They met wild animal such as lions, reptiles, etc and killed most of them.

Problems of African traditional religion and Islam because some Africans were deeply rooted in their faith and were so conservative and Islam in West Africa was still spreading by the Jihadists;

In some areas, explorers were manifesting racial tendencies, being harsh, cruel and marginalizing the Africans;

They lacked support from their home governments. This was due to long geographical separation between Europe and Africa, which led to limited supplies in form of food, medicine and clothes.

They faced opposition from slave traders who looked at them as their enemies who were trying to close their source of income and other benefits. This was because most European explorers claimed to have come to stop slave trade.

The explorers lacked enough manpower. This was due to coming in few professionals compared to the big tasks they had. Some died or were sick and were unable to work. This led to overworking leaving some areas unattended.

One big problem faced was that they were lost in Africa due to lack of geographical maps and compasses. They relied on local guides and if they got lost nobody could help them.

Explorers face a problem of shortage of food and water and other major supplies as they would go so far interior of Africa and they could not easily adapt African food as their diet.

Due to the previous problems, the number of explorers, missionaries and traders was limited so that they could not effectively carry out their work in Africa. This became a great problem as long as they would operate in a large area in Africa.

Application Activity 5.3

The problem of the language barrier was one of the serious one faced by missionaries. Gather information in books in the library or elsewhere and try to provide explanation on how they were handing that problem.

5.4. Consequences of Exploration of Africa

Learning Activity 5.4

Searching on internet and reading written documents, explain the consequences of colonial agents in Africa.

5.4.1. Effects of European explorers

The introduction of new products in Europe like gold and silver flooded into Europe especially in Spain because it was more involved in explorations.

The exploration led to the improvement of the European economic conditions and the increasing of the population in Europe.

The exploration led to the motion of vast colonial empire to European leaders like French, British, Spanish, Portuguese and Belgians who got colonies in Africa.

It also contributed to the discovery of African rivers and lakes by Europeans like Victoria, Zambezi, Malawi, etc.

The exploration led to the development of industries, commercial routes and banking system.

There was also evolution and spread of the Christianity religion because almost European explorers were Christians and along their paths they had introduced their religion.

The exploration prepared the ground to the slave trade. Slaves were taken from Africa and were brought to America as the workers in different kinds of plantations and mining.

Explorers discovered much economic potential in Africa and this made them call upon their home government to come to occupy the regions in order to exploit which led later to colonization of the African continent.

Explorers exposed the hostile tribes and the tribes who were so welcoming which facilitated the coming of the colonialists.

They also encouraged the treaty signing that consequently facilitated the colonization in non-European territories.

5.4.2. Effects of the Christian Missionaries on African societies

Missionaries succeeded in spreading Christianity in Africa through evangelization, and then Africans took up new faith abandoning their traditional religion.

Missionaries campaigned against slave trade and succeeded in having it abolished in most part of Africa. They would receive and give protection to people running away from slave raiders.

They built schools where Africans received Western education and taught Africans how to write, read and to calculate. Some languages learnt were English, French, Portuguese and German.

Missionaries established health centers and hospitals which were to basically benefit the Whites and their converts and they were signs of social development in Africa.

Missionaries undermined and tried to uproot African way of life because they replaced Africans ways of life by their home civilizations and cultures. African Christian converts stopped polygamy, widow inheritance, sharing of wives, human sacrifice and killing of twins.

Missionaries contributed to the spread of European languages through education. However, there are some missionaries who studied and mastered African languages and were able to write and translate African languages. There were like Krapf who translated the New Testament of the Bible into Swahili.

Missionaries improve on agriculture by introducing new crops like coffee, cotton, sweet potatoes, palm oil trees and cacao and new methods of farming.

Missionaries collaborated with traders and established the means of transport and communication lines in Africa.

Missionaries tried to bring peace and security in areas they were operating. However, in other areas they increased and planted seeds of divisionism and conflicts. They also involved themselves in the local politics.

Missionaries paved way for the colonization of Africa as they were the forerunners of the European imperialism. They signed treaties which meant the surrender of territories of the signing chiefs, they called upon their home governments to come and give them protection together with their converts.

5.4.3. Effects of Chartered companies

They introduced taxation system in order to enable them and their home government to operate and set up some development schemes.

They rounded big spheres of influence for their home government by acquiring territories that they surrendered to their metropolitan countries. Or instance, the BSA Company annexed central and South Africa for the British and GEA Company got Tanganyika for Germany. This has reduced African resistance to colonial conquest.

They established economic assets that became the base for economic development for the imperialists. They started large plantations, industries, mining centers and farms. This was effective form of exploitation of African resources.

They prepared areas where the imperial settlers would occupy. For instance, the IBEA Co. reserved Kenya highlands for the British, Shire highlands of Nyasa and Shonaland in Zimbabwe annexed by the BSA Co. and the Niger basin region by the R.N. Co. also were kept for the British settlers.

They signed treaties with African leaders. These treaties principally meant to make these people co-operate to the white and meant that the African surrender their land. For instance Leopold's AIC Co. signed treaties with Chief Makoko of Kongo while the R.N Co. signed 237 treaties with the Niger Delta States.

They established the market for their home industries products. They spread European civilization and detribalized Africans, which forced them to need European goods. They even established a monetary environment which made some Africans be able to purchase European manufactured goods.

They established communication facilities like roads and railways that helped in trade, exploitation of the resources and for easing administration.

They trained an African army that assisted them to carry out their duties especially annexing more territory and defeating African resistors. This army was also inherited by the imperialists who came shortly after.

They began social facilities that were a means of "modernizing and civilizing" Africa. Thus, they established schools etc which helped them in training Africans who joined their schools as they learnt how to read and write. These later became the interpreters of Europeans and administrators.

They helped in the abolition of slave trade and used their armies including the local soldiers they had trained in fighting against slave trade.

Application Activity 5.4

Assess the effects of chartered companies on Africa.

End of Unit Assessment 5

1. Discuss the problems faced by the colonial agents while on Africa.
2. Asses the impact of the activities of European missionaries in Africa.
3. Analyze the role of Chartered companies in the colonization of Africa.
4. Discuss the influence of the missionaries towards African colonization by Europeans.
5. Describe how Carl Peters led the Germans to the encroachment of East Africa

UNIT 6 AFRICAN RESPONSE TO COLONIAL RULE

Key Unit Competence: Asses the African reactions towards European colonisation.



Introductory Activity 6.1

From 1897 up to 1980's African countries were under European colonization. By using different documents and searching on internet, jusfity why African resisted against this foreign domination. Summarize your work in essay form.

Introduction

During the time of colonial advancement into Africa, the Africans had responded in two major ways. That was either by collaborating with the imperialists or resisting to them.

African collaboration was mainly motivated by personal interest. Traditional African leaders collaborated to keep their power and to gain protection from Europeans, while ordinary Africans collaborated to get job and receive European gifts.

Africans who resisted were encouraged by nationalistic spirit and military power, and they resisted in order to safeguard their culture and religion as they considered Christianity a danger to the African way of life.

However, all forms of African resistance were defeated by Europeans who were using modern weapons comparing to the outdated African weapons.

6.1. Collaboration

Learning Activity 6.1

Carry out a research about African colonial response and analyse the different forms of collaboration as it was adopted by some African societies and find the seasons for collaboration. Make a summary of your work in your notebook.

6.1.1. Forms and methods of collaboration

Career collaborators: The people who were not traditional political leaders but ordinary men who were more opportunists. They chose to collaborate for political, prestigious and social reasons only. E.g. Kinyajwi of Kenya, Nuwa Mbangula, Appollo Kaggwa, Kakungulu, etc.

Collaborators: They were legitimate African chiefs who worked hand in hand with the foreign infiltrators in their society. They gave the imperialists much of the necessary assistance like military protection, land and food.

Africans collaborated with Europeans by the following ways:

By signing treaties: treaties which were signed in favor and protection of European interests for example giving them authority over land.

Provision of labor; Africans also provided labor on European schemes like in farms, construction projects .... Africans went ahead mobilizing their fellow Africans to work for Europeans.

Provision of accommodation: Africans also collaborated by giving accommodation to the Europeans. They also guided them through the areas which they did not know, especially places that were not easy to locate.

Spread of Christianity: Africans helped Europeans to preach Christianity to their fellow Africans. This softened their mind thus attracting more collaborators.

Helping in interpretation: Some Africans who were taught European languages helped the Europeans acting as interpreters. They went ahead

to interpret to their counterparts who could not understand European languages.

6.1.2. Reasons why African collaborated with Imperialists

Some Africans collaborated because they believed that invading imperialists were far superior militarily, well-experienced and had better weapons. “He who makes the gun wins the battle” commented Gerere, chief of Dahomey.

Some chiefs collaborated because they were seeking protection and defense against their neighboring hostile kingdoms or empires. E.g. The Fante against the Asante, Toro and Buganda against Kabalega of Bunyoro, the Shona were against the Ndebele, the Yao were against the Hehe, etc.

African opportunists collaborated because they saw it as a chance of getting job, prestige, becoming rich and gaining high status in their respective societies.

The societies that were politically segmented collaborated because of lack of coordination to resistance. They had no single identified leader who could organize them and they did not have a standing army and no military equipment;

The weaknesses of some African societies caused by the constant and prolonged wars led them to collaborate with the imperialists. These were like the Batoro weakened by the Banyoro, Fante weakened by Asante and the Shona who were weakened by the Ndebele.

The role of the missionaries, who had prepared the Africans to be humbled, softened and made obedient to the people with the white skin. They had been told not to fight foreigners because it was against the will of God.

The chiefs who had lost their throne collaborated in order to get support from the Europeans so that they could re-ascend it. That was in case of King Lenana of Masai against his brother Sendeyo and Mwanga of Buganda against his brother Kalema supported by the Muslims

Some societies collaborated because their neighboring societies which had tried to resist had been defeated and with heavy losses. In order

to avoid similar suffering and loss of independence, they decided to collaborate with the infiltrators. The Chagga and Nyamwezi witnessed in the Abushiri war.

Some Africans collaborated because they were economically weak, like the Masai, and they could not finance the war for a long time.

Some other African societies collaborated because their ancient enemies had resisted and their collaboration was a means of getting military supplies, assistance and destroying the enemy totally. E.g. Buganda and Buganda and Toro collaborated because Bunyoro had taken up resistance and the Masai collaborated because the Nandi had resisted.

6.1.3. Examples of African collaboration

The Wanga collaboration

Mumia, the Nabongo (King) of Wanga had developed a liking for foreigners from an early date. Arab and Swahili caravans in search of ivory and slaves had found hospitality with Mumia. His country lay in the main coast-Uganda route. When the IBEA Company discovered Mumia's unending friendliness, they built a station at Lureko (Mumias). On British Government takeover in 1895, the station became the headquarters for Western Kenya, until 1920 when it was transferred to Kakamega.

Mumia collaborated for four main reasons. Firstly, he wanted the British to help him against his enemies; the Luo of Ugenya and the Bukusu. Secondly, he realized the futility of resisting the British especially after learning of the defeat of the Bukusu and Nandi.

Mumia had also heard of Baganda having fallen to the British. He also realized his community was small and ill-equipped to face the British. Thirdly, he wanted to expand his territory and the military support of the British would come in handy. Finally, collaboration was not new to Mumia. He had initially welcomed Swahili and Arabs and was thus on very friendly grounds as this was an old habit.



Fig 5.12 Nabongo Mumia

For their part, the British found friendship with Mumia sensible. From Nabongo's capital at Mumias, expeditions were sent against the neighbouring communities between about 1894 and 1906.

The expeditions were largely composed of Baganda and Sudanese soldiers in the service of the British administration in Uganda.

Throughout, however, Mumia's fighters joined them. By 1906, military expeditions had been successfully completed against the Nandi, Nyang'ori, Sotik, Luo (Ugenya, Sakwa and Seme) and the northern Luyia (Bukusu and Banyala).

Results of Wanga collaboration

Collaboration worked well for both the Wanga and the British in various ways as follows:

- In recognition of his services and loyalty, Mumia was made a Paramount Chief in 1909. His position was thus strengthened as he was consulted over appointment of headmen and chiefs in the region of western Kenya up to 1920. Indeed, his brothers and relatives were sent as chiefs and headmen to many areas throughout Western Kenya. For instance, his step brother Murunga was appointed chief of Isukha and Idakho. These appointments were resented by the communities over which the chiefs ruled.
- Elureko became administrative headquarters of the British in western region.
- Mumias became a major trading centre; it was a resting point for traders en route to Uganda. This position was only taken over by Kisumu after 1901.
- Mumia and his subjects got material wealth like clothes, fire arms and bicycles, for the Wanga co-operation. Mumia's step brother, Murunga, became the first Wanga to own a bicycle.

The Maasai collaboration

The Maasai are a Nilotic speaking community. They occupied an area stretching from the Uasin Gishu plateau in the north to the plains around Mount Meru in Tanzania to the south. From AD 1750, they were the dominant group in the Rift Valley.

Organised and strong militarily, the Maasai were a constant threat to their neighbours whom they raided for cattle at will. The caravan traders avoided Maasai country for they spared no strangers on their land. When in the late 19th Century the British appeared on the scene, it was expected that the Maasai would put up a stiff resistance against them. But they did not, and instead became one of the best examples of Kenyan collaborators with the invading Europeans.

Reasons for collaboration

This response can be explained by five main factors:

Effects of the rise of the Nandi. The rise of the Nandi from the 1850s adversely affected Maasai power. They began raiding the same communities for cattle which were traditionally Maasai raiding grounds.



Fig 5.13 Laibon Lenana with his British visitors

The Nandi even successfully raided the Uasin Gishu Maasai. Second, at the time of the British penetration of Kenya the Maasai were economically and politically in a state of decline. The civil wars of the 19th Century had destroyed whole sections of the Maasai including the Uasin Gishu, the Ngurumaini, the Iloogolala and the Losegallai. From 1889 to 1890, cattle diseases spread to Maasailand, especially rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Drought of 1891. In 1891 there was drought and famine with smallpox and cholera, further reducing both human and animal populations. As a result of these calamities, many Maasai joined up with Kikuyu and Akamba neighbours. Others sold their women and children to neighbouring peoples. Still others became mercenaries, especially in the armies of Mumia and Akamba. The Maasai were no longer as strong as they used to be.

Succession disputes. In 1890, Mbatiany, the great Laibon of the Purko and Rift Valley Maasai, died. Although a laibon by tradition was only a

ritual expert and prophet, Mbatiany had also gained political power in the civil wars. Thus the position of laibon was still politically attractive when Mbatiany died, but there was no one of his stature to succeed him, and his two sons, Lenana and Sendeyo both claimed and disputed the position of laibon for ten years. Sendeyo was finally driven with his followers to the Loita region of northern Tanzania. But he never gave up and continued raids against the territory of his brother Lenana who remained in the area between Ngong and Naivasha.

Dispute with the Kikuyu. Succession dispute placed the Maasai in an even weaker position in the face of the incoming British. Lenana was also in dispute with the Kikuyu. Following the calamities that befell the Maasai as already outlined, Lenana had arranged for some Maasai women and children to be cared for in Kikuyu villages to avoid certain death. When he later went back for them he learnt that the Kikuyu had sold many of them to the slave traders. He quarrelled with the Kikuyu and prepared to go to war against them. He grew desperate: his enemies threatened to destroy him and his people; he was faced by the problems of raids by Sendeyo; there were frictions with the Kikuyu; famine and disease were afflicting his people and cattle. Lenana sought the support of the IBEACo agent, Francis Hall at Fort Smith. And Hall was only too happy to oblige, and assisted Lenana in his campaigns against Sendeyo and the Kikuyu. The British and the Maasai became allies. Maasai warriors assisted the British against other Kenyan peoples from 1894 to 1908.

The Kedong Valley Massacre. There was the Ewuaso-oo-Ng'indongi Massacre (Kedong Valley Massacre) of November 1895, and the friendship between Lenana and the British was sealed. A caravan of the Kikuyu, Swahili and Arab porters was returning from Eldama Ravine. Resting in the Ng'indongi Valley near Naivasha, members of the caravan attacked the Maasai, stole food and seized some Maasai girls. The Moran attacked the caravan, killing 647 out of 871 men. On getting the news, a Scottish trader, Andrew Dick, who was camped nearby, took the caravan side and set forth with two French travellers to fight the Maasai. He shot dead about 100 Maasai before he himself was killed. But this incident, in which three white men had killed a hundred Maasai warriors in one encounter, so shocked the Maasai that they immediately sought peace. Subsequent investigation into the whole incident by British officials exonerated the

Maasai and put the blame for the Massacre upon the porters. Lenana and his people were greatly impressed both by the military might of the white men and the magnanimity and sincerity of the British officials. From these and earlier contacts, good relations between the Maasai and the British were established, and Lenana and his followers collaborated with the British.

The Maasai collaboration had a number of consequences:

The British helped the Maasai against the Kikuyu and against his rival brother Sendeyo, and later the Maasai morans helped the British in their punitive raids against the Nandi in 1905 and other 'unco-operative' communities.

The British were able to build their railway across Maasailand without any trouble.

Lenana increased his prestige because the British rewarded him with cattle and he not only successfully claimed the laiboniship but was given the grand title 'Paramount Chief of the Maasai' in recognition of his support for the British. This was a purely political position, which helped to alienate him from many Maasai. He then moved permanently away from his traditional home among the Loita to Ngong, to live among the Kaputiei and Keekonyokie.

However, this happy relationship did not exist for long. Not all British administrators were friends of the Maasai and British Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate from 1901-04, Sir Charles Eliot openly despised the Maasai, asserting that they should abandon their 'socially and politically abominable' nomadic habits and settle down. Eliot considered that the Maasai had served their purpose and could no longer pose a threat to the railway or to the administration.

The Anglo-Maasai Agreements, 1904 and 1911: Eliot was succeeded in 1904 by Sir Donald Stewart, who in the same year accomplished what Eliot had been working on earlier - the signing of the first Anglo-Maasai Agreement. While Donald Stewart represented the British, the Maasai were represented by Lenana and his associates such as Masikonte ('Chief' of Laikipia) and Ole Gilisho ('Chief' of Naivasha). But the mass of the

Maasai had no say in the matter. The Maasai are said to have agreed to move to two reserves – to the south of Ngong and to the Laikipia plateau. They were promised that the two areas would remain theirs 'so long as the Maasai as a race shall exist'. A halfmile corridor would be created to link the two reserves.

But none of these points was implemented. On the other hand, all the land formerly owned by the Maasai was made available for white settlement. As a matter of fact, the Colonial Government and local settlers in particular were determined to alienate the enviable Maasai land.

By 1911, the settlers were putting pressure on the Government to move the Maasai out of Laikipia so that they could move there themselves. The Laikipia Maasai, through their chief, Legalishu, refused to move. Lenana, on the other hand, is said to have agreed as the 'Paramount Chief'. The second Maasai Agreement of April 1911 settled the matter. This time, the Maasai were literally forced to vacate their lands at great personal inconvenience and loss of property. In fact their lands in Laikipia were appropriated before adequate arrangements were made for them in the less attractive southern reserve (Ngong) even before the Imperial Government in London had given its approval. It is doubtful whether the Maasai agreed to move from Laikipia.

By April 1913, they had vacated Laikipia and moved to the enlarged, but drier and less attractive southern reserve in Ngong. The Maasai 'as a race' still existed; but they had virtually been forced to vacate Laikipia for white settlers and, as for other communities, their collaboration had not spared them from the ravenous intents of colonialism.

Sir Apolo Kagwa and Baganda collaboration

In Uganda, perhaps the best example of African collaboration in the early days of colonial rule is served during the reign of Apolo Kagwa. Born in 1869, Apolo Kagwa served as a page in the courts of Kabaka Mutesa and Kabaka Mwanga. He thus learnt the art of political survival in those dangerous times. Converting to Protestantism as a page, he became the leader of the Protestant group that eventually played a part in Mwanga's downfall. He came out openly and unabashedly in support of the British in their campaign against Mwanga and Kabalega in 1897-9. This episode

was followed by Mwanga's exile to the Seychelles and in his place his one-year old infant son Daudi Chwa was proclaimed Kabaka.

Of the three regents appointed to rule for him during his youth Apolo Kagwa, as Katikiro, was the senior. He therefore played a leading part in the formulation of the Buganda Agreement of 1900, receiving the largest single grant of land outside the royal family. He was granted 78 sq. km (30 sq. miles). He continued to work closely with the British authorities, encouraging the establishment of schools and the adoption of new agricultural methods and crops. His influence was particularly valuable when Sir Hesketh Bell decided on the evacuation of all people living on the shores of Lake Victoria, in order to eliminate sleeping sickness. He was not afraid to stand up for the rights of traditional Buganda institutions such as the Lukiko.

This brought him increasingly into conflict with the protectorate government whenever he felt that the independence of his group, the 'Bakungu' chiefs, was being threatened. He had other rivals and enemies within Buganda, including the Bataka and the new generation of chiefs. Moreover, the Kabaka had grown up and was anxious to assert himself. Finally in 1925 Kagwa resigned, angry and disappointed, and died the following year.



Apolo Kagwa

On the whole the British did not meet with a great deal of armed resistance after 1900. It took some time, however, to establish regular administration in the north and northeast. A series of boundary agreements made clear the exact extent of the protectorate for the first time. Between 1907 and 1912 the Uganda-Congo border was made clear and in 1914 the West Nile district was added to Uganda from the Sudan. In 1902 the whole of the Eastern province of Uganda was transferred to the East African Protectorate.

Lewanika's collaboration in (Barotseland) Zambia

The Lozi are among the three main southern Zambian tribes, which include the Tonga and the Ila. They belonged to Bulozi kingdom, and lived as mixed farmers on the fertile flood plain of the region. They had a long tradition of iron-working. They also traded with the Portuguese from the Atlantic coast and the Swahili from the east coast.

David Livingstone's reports on the atrocities of the slave trade gave rise to a flurry of activity in Zambia, aimed at its eradication. This partly explains the establishment of most mission stations in the slave-infested areas of Bemba and Lungu. In Bulozi, the missionaries established an early rapport with the Lozi King, Lewanika, who, ascending the throne in 1884, soon permitted them to begin work in his territory.

Reasons for collaboration

Lewanika's early collaboration with the missionaries can be explained by a number of factors. First was the desire for his people to get a new type of education, which only the missionaries could give. Second, his kingdom found itself faced with threats of invasion from all directions. The British advanced from the south and east; the Germans threatened from the south-west; while the Portuguese threatened from both their bases in Angola and Mozambique; nearer home, the Ndebele were a constant menace. Lewanika could not face them all and defend himself. He became a typical candidate for collaboration as a means of self-preservation. He chose the British as his protectors against the rest.

Lewanika was eager to seek British protection first against Ndebele attacks. The Lozi King had several times suffered from Ndebele raids and had observed that the Mangwato, his neighbours, had secured considerable immunity to such attacks by placing themselves under British protection. Khama, the Ngwato ruler, had succeeded in convincing him of the reliability of British protection. Lewanika made a formal application through the pro-British Coillard, who, like Khama, saw every good in Lewanika inviting, welcoming and accepting the protection of the British South Africa Company. Coillard was the only foreigner in whom Lewanika had confidence.

He himself feared Portuguese or German interference from the west and desired British protection in order to further his missionary work. Coillard therefore played a significant role in inducing Lewanika to accept the Company. Coillard wrote to Sheppard, the British administrator in Bechuanaland (Botswana) saying 'Lewanika is most anxious to solicit the protectorate of the British Government'. The British South African Company, through this request, was later to gain a stake in Lozi Kingdom.

Results of collaboration

Lewanika's collaboration had a number of results:

i. ***(i) BSA's rights over mining.*** The BSA Company first gained a foothold in Bulozi when it purchased the concession that Lewanika had sold to Harry Ware. Ware had been granted the right to look for minerals and to carry on mining for a period of twenty years. The permitted area of his operation was through Lewanika's dominions on the banks of the Manjili River, north and east of the cattle path from the north end of Barotse plain to the Ila country, and west to the Upper Zambezi.

ii. ***(ii) Lewanika-Lochner Treaty (with BSA Company).*** In 1890, Frank Lochner, a former officer of the Bechuanaland police, met with Lewanika on behalf of the leader of the BSA Company, Cecil Rhodes. He met the King at Sesheke at a time when the area had become a highly contested one, with several concession seekers rivalling the Company. But the Company was clearly favoured, a fact evidenced by Lewanika's presentation to Lochner in June 1890 of two large elephant tasks, followed by the signing of a treaty.

iii. ***(iii) The Lewanika-Coryndon Treaty of 1898 (with the British Government)***. The treaty allowed the Company to exercise limited authority within Barotseland proper (i.e. the area under effective Lozi control) and throughout the rest of north-western Zambia as far as the Kafue River. It further gave the Company the right to prospect for minerals, trade and mine as before throughout the territory of the Lozi as before. But the center of Bulozi would be closed to prospectors. A new clause granted the Company administrative rights to adjudicate all cases between white men, and between white and black men.

Lewanika's salary, which he had not received between 1890 and 1897 was reduced to £ 850.

The Company, also for the first time, undertook to maintain and endow schools and industrial establishments for the education of the King's subjects, and the provision of telegraphic, postal and transport facilities. Traditional Lozi rights to game, iron-working and tree-cutting for the manufacture of canoes, were safeguarded. The Company undertook to protect Lewanika and the nation from all outside interference and attack. Lewanika, on his part, promised to continue trying hard to suppress slavery and witchcraft in his country.

The treaty was understood to be a treaty of alliance between the Bulozi nation and the British Government. This treaty was modified a little bit in 1900. But thereafter, Lewanika's internal authority was greatly reduced and the Company threatened his people with use of force if they rebelled against their collaborating King. Lewanika's prestige rapidly waned and subordinates in various parts of the kingdom failed to regard him as king or to pay tribute to him. The Company started to give land to the Afrikaners from South Africa. Lewanika persisted in seeking protection from the British Crown, but the Company was in control. He died in 1916 a dejected and disillusioned man.

Collaboration of Khama of the Bamangwato

Khama became chief of the Bamangwato, a small Tswana group, in 1875. His ascent to power was difficult and he became authoritarian and arbitrary. He was an early convert to Christianity. This caused tension between himself and some of his non-Christian followers.

Reasons for collaboration

At the beginning of the Scramble, Khama had to contend with two dangers: Afrikaner expansion and Ndebele conquest. The beginnings of the Scramble in 1884, also brought the British into the area, and it was the British whom Khama and others determined to manipulate. At a meeting in 1885 with the British authorities from the Cape, Khama designed the tactics which were pursued by himself and two other Tswana chiefs, Gaseitsiwe of the Bangwaketse and Sechele of the Bakwena. In requesting

British protection they stipulated that they would prefer a continuation of existing laws, particularly those prohibiting the sale of alcohol and the sale of land. However, realizing that the British would almost certainly require land for white settlement, they offered land for that purpose as well.

Significantly, he offered land which was of no value to themselves in any case.

Khama offered land which was actually controlled by Lobengula and the Ndebele; Gaseitsiwe offered a vast stretch of the Kalahari Desert; and Sechele offered another stretch of desert.

Through a combination of diplomacy and accidental external factors, the chiefs obtained an Imperial protectorate which was extremely favourable to them. The British were more concerned to keep European rivals out than to intervene in detail, with the result that for several years the only effect of the protectorate was to protect against Afrikaners. Again southern Tswana country was transferred to the Cape while the north (apparently by accident and lack of interest) remained a separate political entity.

Course of collaboration

The severest test of Khama's diplomacy began in 1889. Rhodes' British South Africa Company had been formed for the purpose of getting and exploiting the area which became Rhodesia and the Company was anxious to secure rights and privileges in Bechuanaland Protectorate as well. The Imperial Government was apparently willing to allow the Company to do so. From Rhodes' point of view it was desirable to secure non-imperial control over the Protectorate, so as to facilitate communications between his base at the Cape and his extension into Rhodesia, and in order to reduce the risk of imperial interference in his rather dubious activities.

First, a telegraph line was run through the protectorate in 1890 and then a railway line began to approach the Protectorate's southern border from Cape Town in 1894. Rhodes' conquest of the Ndebele in 1893 with some assistance from Khama's people was also a portent for the future. The Tswana chiefs had not invited the British in merely to make room for

Rhodes' colonization schemes, though they had no objection to Rhodes as an ally against the Ndebele.

In 1894 Rhodes submitted a formal request to the Imperial Government for the right to administer the Bechuanaland Protectorate; and it looked as if the Imperial Government might agree. On the other hand a sizeable body of missionaries in South Africa and in Britain, impressed by Khama's religious attitudes and his claims upon the Imperial Government, protested against Rhodes' proposal.

Results of collaboration

- Khama set off to London in 1895. He was accompanied by Sechele of the Bakwena and Bathoen of the Bangwaketse, and reinforced by a letter signed by themselves and by Lentswe of the Bakgatla. In London, the new Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, was apparently willing to accede to Rhodes' proposal and to hand over the whole protectorate to the Company, on the same terms as it administered and controlled Rhodesia itself. However, in the face of the protests of the chiefs, he agreed to compromise so that each chief and his people would have a demarcated reserve, while the remaining area, of which the most important was a thin strip of country running parallel with the Transvaal border, was handed over to the BSA Company.
- It was not a perfect arrangement, but it did preserve the status quo in most of the protectorate and it got rid of direct company control over most of the Tswana. It was clearly an advantage to the chiefs that so little of their country was suitable for white pastoralism, and that all of the country was so important in colonial strategic terms.
- Thus two reasons sum up how the Tswana chiefs managed to become BritishProtected persons on relatively good terms. External circumstances were favourable to such a decision, and the diplomatic skills of the chiefs in seizing their opportunities were even more crucial.
- Chief Khama was converted to a Christian and for this reason he was able to acquire British support.
- The British support enabled chief Khama of Ngwato to expand his kingdom against the Ndembele in the north and boers in the east

such that he was able to bring the goldmines of Tati Region under Ngwato control.

6.2. Consequences of collaboration

- ***Spread of Christianity:*** Africans who collaborated with Europeans did not delay to embrace Christianity as a new religion introduced by Europeans.
- ***Adoption of European civilization:*** in order to show their loyalty to their colonial masters, Africans collaborators adopted European civilization such as the way of dressing, food diet, administrative and judicial systems, etc.
- ***Failure of African resistances:*** due to the role of collaborators who provided food, offered protection and even military support as they revealed the African defense secrets to the Europeans.
- ***Stability of some African States:*** some African leaders who collaborated were given protection and defense against their neighboring hostile kingdoms or empires. E.g. The Fante against the Asante, Toro and Buganda against Kabalega of Bunyoro, the Shona were against the Ndebele, the Yao were against the Hehe, etc.
- ***Loss of African culture and the disappearance of African religions:*** African collaborators actually lost their religions and they were forced to abandon their culture in favor of those of Europeans. This way, several elements of African cultures disappeared or even mixed those of Europeans through colonial education.
- ***Alignment of Africans to European policies:*** most of African collaborators peacefully adopted the European colonial policies such as tax collection, education system, growing cash crops, and forced labor among others.
- ***Enrichment of some Africans:*** Those who collaborated managed to become rich and gaining high status in their respective societies.
- ***Recruitment of some Africans:*** Africans who collaborated with European got a chance of getting jobs in European enterprises and in colonial administration.

6.3. Forms and methods of resistance

6.3.1. Types of resistance

Resistors were people who opposed the establishment of European rule in Africa. They were reactionaries to European imperialism and annexation of their territories. They were generally in two major types:

Primary resistors: They were Africans who blocked the imperialists from the boarders of their territories. E.g. Omukama Kabalega of Bunyoro, Samori Toure, Menelik, Lubengula etc.

Secondary resistors: They were Africans who had initially accepted the imperialists to operate into their territories, but later rose against them after understanding their intentions. E.g. Mwanga, Maji-Maji, Nandi etc.

However, there are some Africans who never took up armed resistance but resisted indirectly. They complicated the work of the imperialists and they refused to take up orders given by the imperialists. These were known as Passive resistors (passive resistance), while others took up arms against colonialists. These were known Active resistors (active or armed resistance).

6.3.1. Methods of resistance

Use of weapons: some Africans took up arms against Europeans, and faced them in battlefield. Example Maji-Maji, Nama-Herero, Shona Ndebele,

Strikes: In some parts of Africa, Africans demonstrated against Europeans due to their harsh rule and colonial exploitation. These strikes were both peaceful and violent, and took place either in mines or in plantations.

Boycotts: for example, by refusing to buy European goods, failing to attend European schools, churches, and hospitals. The aim of these boycotts was to ensure that Europeans made losses in their business, and this was one way of forcing them to return to Europe.

Formation of political parties: political parties were formed and acted as uniting factor for Africans to fight against colonial rule.

Creation of African Independent churches: independent churches like Ethiopian, Messianic and Zionist churches were formed and they criticized the atrocities done by Europeans to Africans like exploitation (forced labor, high taxation system, land alienation...), discrimination...

Use of diplomacy: Africans negotiated with Europeans for fairness in administration and they wrote letters to colonial governments to grant African independence (Ghana)

Creation of trade unions: these were labor organizations formed to help workers to get fair pay and good treatment and late they acted as political parties and demanded political freedom.

Pan-Africanism: This was an organization formed by Africans in Africa and in diaspora and it called for speeding up the process for independence.

Liberation wars: These were guerrilla movements which pressurized colonial masters.

The reasons why some African people decided to resist

There was need to preserve African independence because some African people had nationalistic and patriotic feeling to their societies. Those who resisted saw it as a means of keeping away foreign intruders and maintaining the independence of their kingdoms. Such people were like Kabalega of Bunyoro, Samoure Toure of the Mandika, Menelik and Theodore of Ethiopia, etc.

Some African chiefs and societies resisted because they trusted their military strength and they hoped defeating the Europeans. For instance, Kabalega with his Abarusura army, Mosheshe of Suto, Ngoni, Zulu, Samoure Toure, etc.

Some Africans resisted because their traditional enemies had collaborated. Bunyoro resisted because Buganda had collaborated and gave a base to the British, Samoure Toure resisted because Sikaso had collaborated with the French.

Some Africans resisted because they were struggling to keep and guard their trade monopolies as they knew that the coming of Whites would force them out of trade.

Some Africans resisted hoping that the Europeans could not withstand some African geographical environment using examples of explorers, traders and missionaries who had died because of the conditions in Africa.

Some Africans resisted in order to safeguarding their traditional religion because they supposed that their ancestors were not happy with the Christianity introduced by the Whites in Africa.

Some Africans resisted because of presence and pressure of Islam because it was known in some areas of Africa before the Christianity, which forced the Africa Moslems to counter the spread of Christianity and the Europeans.

Some African chiefs resisted because they had known that the earlier collaborators had been mistreated, undermined and politically subjected. Some chiefs who had collaborated were later overthrown and replaced by others. So, other chiefs who come to know about this decided to resist.

Some African chiefs resisted because they had a long standing enmity with the Whites. That long enmity was developed by explorers, missionaries and traders. For instance, Kabalega of Bunyoro quarreled with Samuel Baker and Samoure Toure with the French.

Some African chiefs and societies resisted because the European colonial administrative and economic policies were so oppressive and exploitative like forced labor, high taxes, land alienation and overthrowing of the traditional political leaders.

6.3.3. Examples of African resisatnce

Resistance against French in Mali and Senegal

From the 17th Century, the French, attracted by the trade in slaves, had made the Senegalese coast their base. Louis Faidherbe ruled Senegal as Governor from 1854 to 1861 and from 1863 to 1865. Faidherbe laid the foundation of France's West African Empire thirty years before the European partition. He united the scattered and precarious French coastal settlements known as the Four Communes as part of a larger colony about a third of the size of modern Senegal. Faidherbe was opposed to the policy also pursued by the British at this time, of informal empire. For

him commerce at the coast could only flourish with effective French occupation of the interior.



Fig 5.1 Louis Faidherbe

During his two spells as governor of Senegal, Faidherbe was able to formulate the concept of French penetration of the interior designed to prevent any European nation from challenging the French pre-eminence in the Upper Senegal or from sharing the commercial advantages the French were seeking to develop from there.

Resistance of Al-Hajj Umar of Tukolor, 1857 – 1860

Umar was a member of a Fulani ruling clan. In the true tradition of a good Muslim, he had made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1820. Colliding with the Muslim chiefs of his area in Futa, he had moved off to Dinguiry and declared a jihad against the peoples of the Sudan.

Causes of resistance

Knowing of the commercial ambitions of the French, he sought to prevent their domination of the hinterland of Senegal. Faidherbe, on his part, also sought to prevent Umar's expansion westwards, and negotiated a demarcation between Umar's and French territory, while secretly engineering rebellion in Umar's sphere by selling arms to the latter's enemies. Umar found himself unable to tolerate Faidherbe's doublegame.



Fig 5.2 Al-Hajj Umar

Many of those armed by the French defected to his side and fighting started. In 1857 Umar's forces were repulsed in an attack on Fort Medina. Frustrated, he turned to the river and brought French trade on the Senegal to a standstill.

Consequences and significance

Umar's clash with French Imperialism was important in a number of ways:

It made the French realise that in the prevailing circumstances it would be unrealistic to be content with the creation of immobile states. The new policy must be establishment of expansionist colonies.

It also gave the French an idea of what they were up against in attempting to colonise the Senegalese hinterland. Although unable to dislodge the French, Umar was able to secure a demarcation showing his sphere of influence in 1860.

It is also significant to note that the French did not expand into Umar's territory for the next fifteen years, and when they did they met with fierce resistance from Umar's successors.

This later resistance was occasioned by the decision to construct a railway from Senegal to the Niger. The brain behind the project was Paul Soleillet, a man who had made a name for himself in France by proposing a scheme to build a railway from Algeria through Timbuktu to Senegal.

Reaction of Ahmadou Sekou of Tukulor, 1882-1896

The Tukolor Empire had been created by Al Hajj Umar in 1862. Now, in the 1880's, it was being ruled by Ahmadou Sekou, al-Hajj Umar's son, and extended from the whole length of the Niger at Bamako to Timbuktu.

Causes of resistance

The French plans for a railway line was the main cause of this resistance. The railway was supposed to link up with the Niger through Sekou's territory. Gallieni demanded surrender of Sekou's territory on the Niger left bank, as well as French monopoly of trade on the Niger – a move that would definitely kill the middleman's role of Sekou's subjects. Yielding to these demands would have meant cooperating in the building of the SenegalNiger railway, which Sekou was not prepared to do.



Tukolor Empire

Not wishing to show commitment too early, Sekou employed delaying tactics, and stalled Gallieni for ten months. To force an answer, the French occupied Kita, inside Sekou's territory. Continuing his diplomatic game, Sekou gave the town away and agreed to give French the 'most favoured nation' status in trade. But he rejected the demands in their original wording.

In October 1881, he travelled to St. Louis to have his interpretation of the agreement ratified. When his mission failed, he repudiated the treaty and remained free for nearly two years, as the French were still pre-occupied with securing the Senegalese base.

Course of resistance

Early in 1883 the French struck. Bamako was captured, a fort erected, and preparation made for continuing the construction of the railway. "You have burst into our lands" complained Sekou to the French Commandant at Bamako, 'without authorisation, with no right and without any respect for the treaties which bound us.' The conquest of the Sudan had begun.

Sekou, in anticipation of French attack on Segu, had moved to Nioro. In 1886, Gallieni captured Upper Niger, and Sekou now divided his empire into four provinces: he himself took Kaarta, centred at Nioro; he placed Segu under his son, Madan; Massina under his cousin Tijani; and Dinguiry under his brother Aguibou. The French resorted to divide-and-rule tactics. Gallieni signed a protection treaty with Aguibou. Apprehensive, Sekou also feigned surrender to Gallieni's protection. But Archinard succeeded Gallieni in 1888 and declared that he would have no protection treaty with Sekou: he would only work for his destruction. Sekou, pricked by Archinard's obvious disregard to the importance of peaceful co-existence, attacked villages near Kayes and Medina. It was now Archinard's turn to sue for peace - a request that Sekou relished in rejecting. But soon after this, Segu and Medina fell to the French forces.

Samori at this stage suggested an alliance with Sekou, seeing that even he was under grave French pressures. He warned Sekou of the tragedy of remaining divided, and suggested an attack on the French by Sekou from the north while he would attack from the south. Sekou arrogantly refused. Nioro, his capital, was captured. Then Sekou, badly subdued,

asked for Samori's help. But the request had come too late. In 1893, aided by Sekou's treacherous brother, the French beat him at Korikori, and for the following three years he ruled only a tiny kingdom at Dounge. Later, he fled from the French advance and died in 1898.

Occupation and reaction in Dahomey

In the French occupation of West Africa, Dahomey was unique, for its occupation was driven by economic factors. Before the 1840s slaves had dominated Dahomean trade.

Reasons for resistance, 1890

After the 1860s palm oil replaced slaves and by 1880, two main Dahomean ports, Whydah on the West Coast and Cotonou to the east, were the exit points. The amicable, purely trade relations that had existed between the French and the Dahomeans began to be replaced by tensions in the 1880s, as the French demanded that Cotonou be handed to them. The French traders claimed that the town had been ceded to them in the 1868 treaties. The Fon did not agree, accusing the French traders of forgeries of clauses concerning Cotonou.

In November 1889 the French governor of Rivieres du Sud Dr. Jean Byole, was sent to Abomey to demand from the crown prince that Dahomey should immediately hand over Cotonou to the French. When Prince Kondo would not co-operate, Byole ordered for the forceful occupation of Cotonou and the arrest of all the Fon administrators there. The excuse for the attack was that the Fon were planning to attack the French installations and had already taken French merchants as hostages at Hueda. In 1880 the French invaded Cotonou, but were repulsed by the Fon army.

Results of resistance

A French missionary Father Dorgere was sent to Abomey to negotiate for peace. By the subsequent settlement, Cotonou was recognized as French and the French had to pay an annual tribute of 200 Francs to the Fon king as compensation for loss of revenue from Cotonou. The expelled Fon administrators were to be allowed back into the town to look after the affairs of the Fon.

But this peace agreement did not take care of another area causing much friction between the French and the Fon in the 1880s. This concerned Porto Novo, a Dahomean petty state under Dahomean authority as its satellite since the 1820s. The French now purported to offer Porto Novo protection, directly challenging Dahomean authority and political influence in an area of such great economic and strategic importance.

The so-called peace treaty over Cotonou had substantial opposition from both sides. Some Fon leaders felt that the French exploitation, when they had not been defeated in battle, was unacceptable. On their part, some of the French felt that the payment was too high while just a little more effort would have won them full control of Dahomey. In 1892 the two sides went to war again. The Yoruba captives of earlier conflicts took advantage of the war to stab their former captors, the Dahomeans, in the back. Some retreated back to their home country, looting and destroying property as they did. They attacked villages and diverted the attention of the Fon from the on-going war against the French. King Ben Hazan sued for peace and surrendered. The French forces occupied Abomey. In 1894 the French colonised Dahomey and appointed a puppet king.

The wars of resistance in Ivory Coast

The colonising powers often found it much more difficult to conquer on a small scale societies, which resisted village by village, than they did to conquer much larger, unified states. The Ivory Coast was such a state, where the small coastal-forest states staged the most coherent, and, along with Samori Toure, the fiercest struggle against subjugation anywhere in West Africa. They resisted for all of twenty-seven years.At the outbreak of Franco-Prussian war and subsequent defeat of the French in 1871, the French garrisons were withdrawn from the Ivory Coast.

French interests were left in the hands of the merchant firm of Arthur Verdier. Treaties were signed in which the French merchants were given trading rights in return for an annual tribute to the coastal chiefs. Verdier honoured the treaties and sold his goods from the Grand Bassam and Assinie.

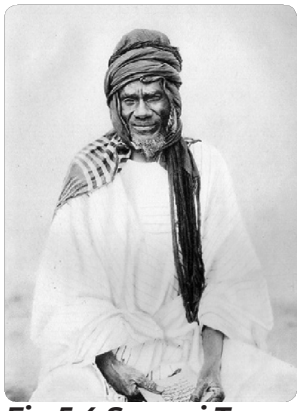


Fig 5.4 Samori Toure

The major markets were in the interior, to which coastal people carried French goods and where the products of the savannah and of the forest, as well as the gold of Asante, were exchanged. Between 1887 and 1889, the French negotiated similar tributary treaties with the forest chieftaincies and as far north as Kong in the savannah. By the treaties the French bound themselves not to interfere with African customs, land tenure and or government.

In occupying the area the French took no time at all to violate the treaties. They adopted the tactic of using the chiefs to sign treaties and then eliminating them in order to set up direct administration.

They demanded slave porters, meddled in the election of chiefs, and dispatched two military expeditions to strike at Samori in the north, which failed partly as a result of the hostile opposition. This especially came from the especially of Baoule people. In retaliation Samori sacked Kong, France's ally and by this the French were proved vulnerable and more groups joined the Baoule in harassing them. The colony was however, established in 1893 and French control seemed well-established by 1900. In 1908 Angoulvant became Governor of the Ivory Coast.

He was a man who was determined to be tough and who attributed French humiliation to the softness of his predecessors. He began a policy of systematic military conquest with the purpose of disarming the population.

Course of resistance

Despite the absence of centralised kingdoms like Asante, Benin and Dahomey, the small chiefdoms achieved exceptional co-operation in their resistance. While the French were preoccupied in suppressing one, two or three others arose to harass them. Because of the smallness of chieftaincies, there were no large armies against which the French could use their artillery. The forest provided an ideal environment for guerrilla 'hit and run' tactics. The people made a supreme effort to throw the French out of Ivory Coast and changed what had been a basically Baoule resistance into a general war of independence.

After the outbreak of the revolt Angoulvant was sent reinforcement from Senegal. The villages taken were burnt down. No pity was shown to prisoners. The severed heads were put on poles by the railway stations or in front of houses in the villages. Guns totalling 100,000 were confiscated, and this was a serious matter to the forest peoples who treasured them for hunting. Nearly 220 chiefs were deported, often being sent to the 'dry guillotine' of Mauritania. Taxes totalling about 30,000 pounds were imposed retrospectively; and forced labour and porterage exacted. Angoulvant waged a brutal war in which hundreds of villages were destroyed and their people herded into larger settlements. The French guarded these settlements to people from giving support to their fighting forces. One group formerly living in nearly 250 villages was forced into about twenty; another originally 147 was herded into ten.

Results of resistance

After years of military action, Angoulvant left the Ivory Coast in 1916. He left Africans of the forest zones of the Ivory Coast an exhausted, humbled and leaderless lot. Killings and deportations over the past twenty-seven years had almost wiped out the chiefly class. When the chiefs were destroyed the priests of the traditional religion attempted to lead the resistance. They, like the chiefs, failed. The people lost faith in the religion and the gods they represented. Military failure led to the collapse of political institutions and a weakening of faith in African religious beliefs and principles. It was in this political, religious and social chaos that a remarkable mass conversion to Christianity took place under a Liberian Christian preacher by name William Wade Harris.

Politically and economically the small chieftaincies were weak in contrast to the centralised states of West Africa. They could not raise large armies to be crushed by French firepower, nor depend upon walled cities which could be destroyed by French artillery. The wars therefore consisted of multiple risings, small groups striking and retiring, ambushing and cutting communication lines, so that the French found it difficult to profit by their military superiority. Africans were able to secure guns. The French capture of 100,000 firearms indicated a fairly reliable supply.

Reaction of Samori Toure of the Mandinka, 1882-98

Samori Toure was leader of the Mandinka in modern Mali. Samori first came into direct contact with the French in 1881. He was finally captured in 1898.

Reasons for resistance

Starting from Senegal, the French were expanding eastwards to the interior with the aim of conquering all of West Africa. Samori first felt their threat when they occupied Bamako. He resisted them for a number of reasons:

- The French threatened his independence, which he was determined to maintain.
- They threatened his commercial monopoly in the region.
- Being Christians, they were a threat to Islam.
- He himself was busy expanding his empire in the direction from where the French were advancing and the French stood in the way.
- Samoure Toure defended Mandika independence from being colonized by the French.
- Defense of Islam since the French colonialists were Christians while the Mandika were Muslims. Consequently, resisting them was a purposeful action to defend Islamic state against infidels.
- Samoure Toure defended trade because the French domination would monopolize the trade in the empire by outcompeting the Mandika merchants.
- The French colonial administration was very oppressive and repressive as it was in Algeria and Senegal.
- Samoure Toure defended the land from the French settlers because they were looking the fertile soils which were under the ownership of the Malinke people.
- Samoure Toure wanted to conclude an alliance with the British because he had shown the willingness to hand over his empire to the British protection other than the French.

- Samoure Toure defended Mandika culture which the French were set to destroy and replace it with the French culture through their policy of Assimilation.
- The French plan to use Tiebe of Sikasso to attack and when Toure found out he dissolved the treaty he had concluded with Sikasso and attacked them before it was too late. Unfortunately, Samoure Toure was defeated.
- False foreign support because Samoure Toure had been falsely encouraged by the military support had expected from the British, Creoles of Sierra Leone and Tokolor against the French. However, they had betrayed him when they left him alone in the battleground.
- Europeans were exploitative in nature; they subjected Africans to forced labor, over taxation and its brutal collection like the hut tax in Sierra Leone. Aware of this nature of Europeans, Samoure Toure of Mandika had to resist.

Course of resistance

Samori resisted the French from 1891 to 1898. He had a well organized army of about 35,000 men armed with repeater rifles, but not heavy artillery like the French. He preferred the use of guerrilla warfare and fielded only part of his army at a time. Samori divided his army into three groups. The first was armed with repeater rifles, engaged the French and then retreated. The second organised the people, evaluated them and led them on their eastward exodus. The third conquered new areas for the settlement of the people.

As they moved, they carried out the scorched earth policy, burnt villages, crops and everything of value. When the French came they found nothing, no food, no shelter and no people. They therefore had to get their food supplies from further areas in the West and this delayed their pursuit of the Mandinka. This is why it took so long for the French to defeat Samori. By 1896, he had moved his empire about 600 miles to the east. After nearly seven years of war, Samori surrendered to the French in 1898.

The following are the reasons for his long resistance despite the fact that he was defeated, conquered and captured and deported to Gabon in 1898 where he died two years after:

A large army:

Samoure had mobilized a large army consisting of about 100 000 fighting men which gave him a military strength enough to resist to the French.

Spy network:

Samoure Toure had a good spy network. He used the Dyula traders to spy for him among the French in West African colonies and they were able to get the French plans early and planned action against them.

Islamic unity:

Samoure Toure's statesmanship managed to unite the Mandika Islamic solidarity against the French aggressors who were Christians on their motherland.

Manufacture of his arms:

Samoure Toure manufactured his own weapons. He used skilled blacksmiths called"Forgerons" to repair, copy all types of guns and manufacture gunpowder locally. This helped him to resist for long time the French.

Division of his soldiers into mobile units:

Samoure used a military tactic of avoiding the matching of his soldiers in large number in the battle. He also avoided fortified cities as army bases because the French artillery would kill most of the soldiers.

Enough supply of army logistics:

Samoure Toure was able to resist the French for long time because he used the noncombatants (special division) to supply military logistics to the fighting men at the war zones. There was adequate supply of arms, ammunitions and food to sustain the resistance.

Guerilla warfare:

At the climax of the war, Samoure Toure embarked on guerilla warfare, characterized by fast surprise attacks and retreat on the French bases. This method outnumbered and disorganized the French military power.

Use of scorched earth warfare:

Samoure Toure used scorched earth warfare, he destroyed (by burning) villages, crops and everything of value leaving the French with not a single of food and yet, the French food supplies took long to arrive. This slowed the French offensive on the Mandika.

He played Britain against French:

Samoure Toure delayed French attacks when he used diplomacy to play the British against the French. The French before they negotiated with the British feared to conquer the Mandika Empire for the reason that it belonged to the British protected areas.

Retreated to the second empire:

Other than handing himself to the French, he established a second empire in the East (northern Ivory Coast and Ghana) with its capital at Dabakola for safety. However, he was surrounded by the enemies (French and British) and arrested in his village and deported to Gabon where he died in 1900.

Reasons for Samori Toure's downfall

A number of factors explain Samori Toure's fall:

- He was unsuccessful in winning British support against the French. Britain had decided that the Mandinka area was a French sphere of influence.
- There were differences and lack of unity among African ruler. Samori did not get the support of his neighbours, such as Ahmadou Sekou of Tukolor, Tieba of Sikasso.
- Samori was faced with local resistance due to his scorched earth policy and ruthless aggression against his neighbours. He thus dissipated his energy fighting the French and fighting wars of conquest in the east at the same time.
- Non-Mandinka subjects – largely captives – were cruelly treated and did not give the right level of support against the French. They even tended to welcome the French, whom they saw as their liberators.

- French troops were better armed and trained.
- Shifting of the empire eastwards weakened him economically. He was cut off from the gold fields of Wangara where he used to obtain his gold.
- Amori was also cut off from Freetown where he used to buy firearms. So he had to rely entirely on his military workshops for supplies, which were not adequate.
- The new empire was surrounded by the French and the British. The French attacked from the Ivory Coast; the British occupied Asante in 1896; the French had also occupied all the surrounding areas by 1898. Therefore Samori was stack at his second empire at Dabakala.
- His troops suffered heavy losses.
- The empire was too large for himto manage effectively.
- Samori was tricked into believing that if he surrendered, he would be allowed safe conduct and quiet retirement in his home village. But the French did not keep their promise, and when he surrendered in 1898, he was deported to Gabon, where he died in 1900.

Results of Resistance

Samori's resistance had the following results:

- Samori lost his independence as the Mandinka Empire was conquered.
- There was a lot of loss of lives and property as a result of the war.
- Samori was sent into exile in Gabon where he died in 1900 at the age of 70.

Occupation and reaction in Nigeria

By the mid 1870s the British possessed a firm political base in the island-colony of Lagos together with a strip of the adjoining coast. But the occupation of the rest of Nigeria was an extremely complex process, which brought the British into conflict with many indigenous communities.

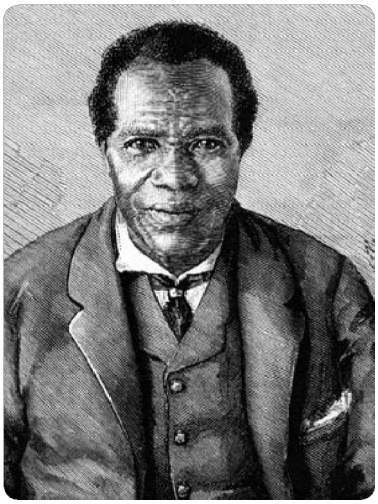
In her occupation of the coast and the Niger Delta, Britain had to contend with resistance by four African rulers. One of the better known of them was Jaja of Opobo.

Reasons for resistance

From 1884-1885, as Berlin Conference, Hewett began to sign protection treaties with the Niger Delta States. Protection treaties invariably purported to prevent the Delta states from making agreements with other European countries without the permission of Britain.

Jaja refused to sign these treaties as he saw them as potentially ruinous to his middleman's position and to the sovereignty he had achieved with such effort. He also took a militant stand against missionary entry into his country.

He was determined not to end up like the king of Bonny whose warm embrace of European religion and support had reduced him to a spineless puppet in European hands and an embarrassment to his people. They began to solicit government support in gaining entry into Opobo. Many of the traders who had previously supported Jaja also now turned against him because he had held a firm monopoly of trade along his rivers and excluded them from the profits of the hinterland markets.



Jaja of Opobo

The British decided to move against him, firstly, to forestall the French intervention, and secondly to break Jaja's middleman's position and political arrogance. Jaja decided to relax his militant stand. In company with the other rulers of the 'Oil Rivers' signed a treaty in 1884 designed to give the legal basis for a British protectorate.

Course of resistance

On 8 June 1885, the Niger Coast Protectorate was born. The activities of the British made the King of Opobo switch on again his true attitude to foreigners. He drove the Miller Brothers' factories away from the Qua

Eboe rivers. The British now decided that Jaja's power must be broken. Johnston tricked Jaja to board a ship upon which Jaja was arrested and deposed. He was subsequently deported to the West Indies where he died in 1891. Meanwhile, Opobo was effectively occupied by Johnston.

Nana Olumu of Itsekiri, 1883–1894

Nana Olumu was elected Governor of Itsekiri in 1883. He was determined to deal with Europeans as equals, but not as their inferior. He incorporated Urhobos, Jamieson, and Warri rivers into his trading empire by the use of force, friendship and marriage alliances.

The British, envying his control of these areas, offered him a treaty of protection in 1885. Nana signed it, but omitted a clause of commercial toleration to British traders in his empire. The British got the help of Dore Numa to stir up trouble in the empire in order to weaken Nana's authority. Nana was invited but refused to meet the Consul. In 1894 an expedition under Moore was dispatched against him. Ebrohimi, his headquarters, was taken by the British. They found an unfinished canal and sophisticated assortment of munitions. All these were indicative of Nana's modernising tendencies.

The Itsekiri Governor fled to the protection of the British Governor of Lagos, who handed him to the Commissioner of the Niger Coast Protectorate. He was charged with using 'boys' as slaves and blocking the highway of trade to British farms. He was found 'guilty' and deported to Accra.

Occupation by the British Government

The Royal Niger Company operated along the Niger and Benue rivers for many years before a formal British protectorate was proclaimed over Northern Nigeria. Its activities were essentially commercial. But during this time the Company entered into treaty agreements with a number of emirates.

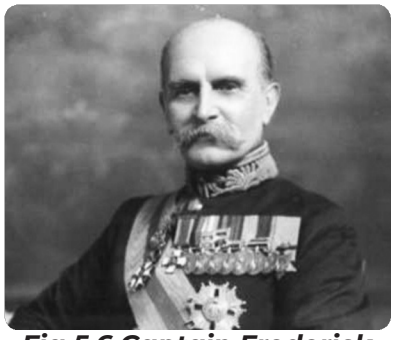


Fig 5.6 Captain Frederick Lugard Reasons for resistance

Some of these treaties gave it some form of political authority over the emirates.

The British government produced these treaties before the European powers at the Berlin Conference in 1884–1885 to achieve it's recognition of Northern Nigeria as a British sphere of influence.

The area of Northern Nigeria was also envied by the French. The only way by which the British could ensure that no other power seized control of it was by establishing a proper system of administration. It was felt that the Royal Niger Company could not, in the circumstances, undertake proper administration of the area. In 1899, its charter was revoked, and the British Colonial office assumed its powers.

On 1st January 1900, Lugard hoisted the Union Jack in Lokoja. This gestured the beginning of British rule in Northern Nigeria. It was already declared a British Protectorate. Lugard became its first High Commissioner. But the people of Northern Nigeria had not asked anybody to rule them and now firmly refused to recognise the declared 'right' of the British. They wanted to maintain their independence and deeply rooted faith. As Muslims, they were enjoined by the Quran not to allow themselves to be ruled by unbelievers. The Europeans, whether Christians or not, were non-Muslims. The Caliph's stand, expressed in a reply to a British letter, sums up the attitude of all the emirates in the North.

Course of resistance

Yola, Bida, Kontagora, Kano, Sokoto, Bauchi, Bornu, Katsina, Zaria and many others preferred to fight for their faith and freedom rather than surrender willingly to British rule. Some of the emirs who did not fight to the death tried to escape. This was not cowardice, for flight in circumstances such as these was also borne out of faith.

Prophet Mohammed himself had gone on such a flight in the famous 'Hijra'. Islam permitted flight from infidel rule rather than acceptance of it. Muslims had the option to fight or flee when threatened by infidel conquest.

The most spectacular flight of all was that of Attahiru I, the Caliph at the time of the British conquest. Realising that Sokoto would fall to the British, Attahiru decided to evacuate the city with his officials, emirs and property. The British pursued him. After five months of constant pursuit Lugard's forces caught up with the Caliph at Burmi in July 1903. Here a fierce battle was fought, at the end of which 690 men lay dead.

Results of resistance

For the devout Muslims defeat at the hands of the infidel was a terrible but not an overwhelming experience. Shortly after the fall of Kano, but before the capture of Sokoto, the emir of Kano wrote to the waziri (Vizier or chief minister) of Sokoto:

I have found no more useful plan for all Muslims.... than that we leave this country all of us ... as dogs (i.e. the Christians) have surrounded us and threaten to overcome us.

For those who could not take the path of '*hijra*' and were therefore forced to accept alien rule and even to collaborate with the infidel conquerors, an alternative line of action was permissible – *taqiyya* or dissembling in order to preserve the faith. 'This is legal in every land where Islam is not strong', wrote a learned Sheikh of Sokoto, to whom the *waziri* turned for advice after the British conquest.

We show regard to them with the tongue and have intercourse with them in affairs of the world but never to love them in our hearts or adopt their faith.

This attitude soon brought satisfactory results. The British were uneasy conquerors, haunted by fears of Mahdist insurrections, of the 'fanatical' Muslim Jihads. They were scrupulous in avoiding any gesture likely to offend Muslim sensibilities. In time many members of the Fulani aristocracy reconciled themselves to the British presence. A prominent Sokoto Fulani, later to become the premier of Northern Nigeria wrote:

The British were the instruments of destiny and were fulfilling the will of God ... They made no drastic changes ... everything went on more or less as it had done, for what could the resident, an assistant and a few soldiers in Sokoto do to change so vast an area as Sokoto Emirate?

With the conquest of the Caliphate, Britain completed its occupation of Nigeria.

Resistance of Kabalega of Bunyoro, 1893

Omukama Kabalega of Bunyoro was always everything the British based in Buganda would be cautious with. He was economically and militarily strong, thanks to his lucrative relations with the Khartoumers from the

north. He was aclose rival of the Kabaka of Buganda and not only a Muslim convert but also a dangerous rallying point for the Muslims in the region. In Lugard's travels to the west, he had made agreements with Toro and Ankole but had not gathered courage to enter Bunyoro, which remained independent and a threat to British interests in Uganda.

Reasons for the resistance of kabalega of Bunyoro kingdom

His strong army called Abarusura: he had a large well-trained army that he trained himself. His men were equipped with guns got from the Long-Distance Trade. This strongly encouraged him to revolt and he believed that he could defeat the British.

Relationship between Buganda and the British: The British collaborated with Baganda his rivals and enemies. This left him with no choice but to stage a resistance against the British.



Fig 5.7 Omukama Kabalega

Kabalega's early war victories over neighbours: he had earlier on skillful attacked and defeated his neighbours such as karagwe. This gave him false confidence of victory against the British.

Selfish economic interests: the British interfered with the profitable slave trade. As a result, the Nyoro incurred losses. The Nyoro decided to collaborate with Kabalega to resist the British rule in their empire.

Forced cash crop production: the British introduced a number of cash crops such as coffee, cotton and tea. All these were supposed to be grown by the Banyoro and this was viewed as exploitation and a way to prevent them from growing food crops.

Mistreatment of earlier collaborators: the colonial masters in Buganda Kingdom reduced powers and authority of the king. They subjected people to forced labor. They took people's land by force. This increased his hatred against colonialism.

Results of the campaign

A small occupation force was left in Bunyoro to prevent any revival of Kabalega's influence, but no formal annexation was made. As a reward for their part in Kabalega's overthrow the Baganda were assisted in annexing large areas in the east and south-east Bunyoro, the most important of these being Mubende. This was the former centre of the Kingdom of Kitara and the burial place of former rulers of Bunyoro.

Major Owen went down the Nile to Wadelai where he induced the local chief, Ali, to accept protection. On returning to Toro he restored to office Mukama Kasagama who had been driven out by Kabalega. Mukama sought refuge in the foothills of the Ruwenzori Mountains. Owen then made another agreement with the young ruler, which guaranteed British protection in return for the acceptance of a British Resident in Toro.

A similar agreement was made in August between Major Cunningham and the Mugabe of Ankole. Both treaties had been signed on behalf of the British Government yet neither had been authorized by the Government.

The Nandi resistance, 1895-1906

Soon after the proclamation of the East Africa Protectorate in 1895, the construction of the Uganda-Railway began in 1896. The Railway had to pass through the Nandi country, and it was during its construction that the British first came face to face with the Nandi.

Reasons for resistance

The Nandi resisted for a number of reasons:

Nandi Pride. The Nandi in recent years had experienced a series of successes in their raiding expeditions. They had come to believe in their superiority, both military and cultural, over the neighbouring tribes and everybody else. In entering the Nandi country with an air of superiority, as they did, the British were doing something that none of the Nandi neighbours would have dared. This was a serious threat to their pride by a foreign people, which had to be repulsed.

Appearance of Europeans. Europeans were thought to be devils for their clothes and skin colour. This view was confirmed by the sound made

by their guns when fired. The sound was similar to that made by Nandi women when they hit their skin skirts during a tribal dance. A conclusion was thus reached that these European devils were of the female variety and should therefore be expelled instantly.

Kimnyole's Prophesy. Kimnyole arap Turukat had been an Orkoiyot, a central figure in the Nandi community with social and often political functions. Kimnyole had prophesied that foreigners would one day rule the Nandi. One day, he said, there would come a big snake from the eastern lake (which turned out to be the Indian ocean), belching smoke and fire, and going to quench its thirst in the western lake (which turned out to be Lake Victoria). The 'snake' turned out to be the railway and the train, whose construction greatly worried the Nandi. The Nandi had sworn to resist this occurrence, and now fought an all-out war to protect their country.

Aftermath of Peter West's Murder. In 1895, the Nandi murdered a British traveller called Peter West who tried to cross their country. It was this event that sparked off over eleven years of fighting between the Nandi and the colonial government. Peter West had pitched his camp one evening by a running stream within the escarpment forest. The Nandi crept upon the encampment unseen, murdered West, killed 23 of his porters and looted their trade goods. The murder of Peter West was in revenge for punishment Peter West's employer, Andrew Dick, had inflicted on them for stealing some of his cattle.

Course of Resistance

When news of the murder of West reached Mumias, and further news that the mail party had been attacked by the Nandi, the mail burnt and the boxes stolen, the colonial government decided to act against the Nandi.

On 14th October 1895, Cunningham left Kampala with 1000 Sudanese and Baganda troops, who arrived in the Nandi country, and started fighting. Another column led by Colonel Trevor Ternan assembled another attacking expedition to Nandi. But this was unsuccessful and the expedition was forced to return to deal with unrest in Buganda. In spite of

the two fighting expeditions that had invaded their country the attitude of the Nandi and Tugen showed little change.

They were determined to maintain their independence by keeping foreigners away from their borders. Raids on the Maasai and other nearby ethnic groups were stepped up. Mail-runners and isolated strangers from caravans were still attacked and murdered. Several soldiers on the Uganda road were killed and their rifles stolen.

In these struggles against the British, the Nandi had a number of advantages from their environment. Firstly, their country was mountainous and broken by numerous rivers, many of which had steep, heavily wooded valleys. Secondly, large areas were covered with thick forest containing glades where cattle could graze, as well as deep holes where they could be hidden. These conditions were ideally suited for guerilla warfare and allowed both men and animals to be hidden. Big guns could not be used in these conditions and even the effectiveness of rifle power was reduced.



Fig 5.8 Koitalel arap Samoei

The maintenance of unity among the Nandi was moreover encouraged by the appointment of Orkoiyot Koitalel arap Samoei, to direct the war against the British. Samoei's reputation and influence increased between the Nandi and the neighbouring people as warriors' raids were regularly successful.

Successive punitive expeditions left without forcing the Nandi to make peace and all attempts to capture them were frustrated. The British Officer in Nandi, Captain Richard Meinertzhagen was convinced that if the Orkoiyot were killed the resistance would be broken. He therefore arranged a meeting with Koitalel arap Samoei at the Orkoiyot's home in October 1905. A stage-managed scuffle took place at the meeting and the Orkoiyot and most of his Maotik (advisors) were killed.

Results of resistance

Demoralised by their Orkoiyot's death, the Nandi gave in to the massive firepower brought against them. Hayes-Sadler, the new Commissioner, met the Nandi leaders on 15 December 1905. They accepted the terms of peace, which included:

The forced removal of the south-east Nandi clans (the Kamelilo and the Kapchepkendi) to a northern reserve away from the railway line. This was aimed at:

- The protection of the railway.
- The isolation of the Nandi from their cousins, the Kipsigis.
- The protection of the European farms in the area and the creation of peace for more European settlers.
- The Nandi also 'agreed' to live peacefully under British rule.
- In 1906 many European forts were built in Nandi country and effective British administration started.

Reasons why Nandi resistance took long

The Nandi resistance lasted almost ten years, certainly the longest resistance to colonial rule in East Africa. There were five main reasons for this:

The Nandi were traditionally a fighting people, and even in peace times young men were known to indulge in dangerous practices with their weapons. So to some of the warriors, the presence of European strangers offered them the chance for a good sport.

The layout of the Nandi country made it possible for them to engage in guerrilla warfare, which the whites were unable to match. Besides, the high altitude of the country, consisting of many steep hills and cold forests, caused breathing problems, and was totally unfamiliar to the Swahili, Indian, Maasai and Somali soldiers fighting for the British.

The youthfulness of many of the warriors ensured that the resistance would be long-drawn. The rising–age group, the Kimnyige, wanted to

establish themselves as respected leaders of the future, who could be depended upon to protect the community.

The British attempts to acquire allies from the Nandi's immediate neighbours like the Kipsigis and the Nyang'oris were not successful.

There were no elements of rivalry to power and no prominent leaders among the Nandi to negotiate with the British, as the British were accustomed to, elsewhere in Africa.

Reaction of Mkwawa of the Hehe, 1891-8

The greater challenge to German authority during the 19th Century came from the Hehe, who lived in the southern highlands of Tanzania. The Hehe emerged as a united people in the 1860s and 1870 when a local ruler, Munyigumba, asserted his power over 15 petty chiefdoms.



Fig 5.9 Col Richard Meinertzghagen

By adopting the military tactics of the neighbouring Ngoni, the Hehe soon acquired a formidable reputation as warriors. Under Munyigumba's son, Mkwawa, their raiding parties were striking eastward to the coast and northward to harry caravans using the important trade route between Bagamoyo and Tabora. In their dealings with the Maasai the British were faced with a declining power: the Germans, by contrast, found themselves confronted in the Hehe with a people still experiencing the first flush of successful expansion. Thus the Hehe-German relations soon presented the familiar pattern of a clash of rival imperialisms.

Reasons for resistance

The trade route from the Coast to Tabora and beyond passed through Mkwawa's empire. He levied hongo on those who traded through or in his territory. The Germans were unhappy with reports of heavy hongo levied by Mkwawa or his vassals and saw a solution to this only in the subjugation of the Hehe chief.

Mkwawa was aware that the invaders had no reason to like him, but at first hoped to amicably settle his differences with them. But he gradually became convinced that a ruler of his stature could not stomach the contempt the Germans had for him indefinitely. The manner in which von Wissmann summoned him to the Coast only confirmed his growing suspicion that the Germans did not respect him as a sovereign ruler. He retaliated by closing the trade route from Bagamoyo to Tabora. It had now become clear to him that a diplomatic solution with the Germans was impossible. In preparation for a military confrontation, he unsuccessfully sought an alliance with Chief Chebruma of the Ngoni, and Isike of Tabora. He then got ready to meet the Germans.

In June 1891 a German expedition led by Emil von Zewlesky, the commander of the Defence Force, set out from Kilwa Kivinje with three companies on a punitive expedition against the Hehe, who were persistently raiding neighbouring tribes. The Hehe chief, still hoping for a last-minute peaceful settlement, sent unarmed men with lavish presents to meet the visitors. The sight of Mkwawa's men triggered a defensive and aggressive instinct in the Germans. They opened fire and several of the men died.

Course of resistance

On 16 August 1891 Mkwawa retaliated by ordering an ambush at Lula-Rugaro which overwhelmed the German expedition. Ten Europeans (including von Zelewski|) and some 300 askaris fell in action. Only four Europeans and sixty askaris survived. The Hehe captured three cannon and 300 rifles. This reverse seriously weakened the military strength of the Germans and was a grave blow to their prestige.

But the Hehe also sustained heavy losses and Mkwawa decided to rely mainly on defensive tactics to counter the German threat. Accordingly, he set about his capital, Kalenga, with a massive stone wall. The Hehe believed this wall to be undemolishable.

However, their confidence was misplaced and their tactics ill chosen. From the fort, Mkwawa attacked the German garrison at Kilosa, killing all the occupants, retreating to the fort. In 1894, the Germans, under Lieutenant von Prince stormed Kalenga. They destroyed its fortifications,

and built a new post for themselves at nearby Iringa. The chief himself escaped and turned to guerrilla warfare. So great was the esteem and the fear in which the warrior-chief was held that he was able, though a fugitive, to resist the Germans for another four years.

Eventually, tired and deserted, but determined to avoid the humiliation of captivity, Mkwawa shot himself in 1898. The Germans beheaded his corpse, and the skull was sent to Berlin. The Hehe never forgot their leader, and constantly demanded the return of his skull. Finally in 1954, the British Governor, Sir Edward Twining, brought it back from Germany.

Consequent upon this victory, the Germans disbanded the Wahehe chiefs' council, demanded the exiling of resistance leaders, and imposed a heavy fine on the Hehe for having resisted.

Occupation and reaction in Angola

The earliest Portuguese interests in Angola were limited to the coastal regions. Only their halfcaste slaving agents known as pombeiros ventured to the interior in search of slaves. And as long as the supply of slaves to the coast was adequate, the Portuguese were content with their hazy control of parts of Angola.

Although Portugal was the most backward country in Europe economically, the forces of industrialism which were growing in Europe, Africa and America, and causing a greater scientific interest to be taken in the African hinterland, drove Portugal also to send out its explorers to probe into the continent of Africa. This started from the Angolan coast and the coast of Mozambique. This sort of activity was stimulated by the general 'scramble for Africa' and the competition with other European powers.

Reasons for resistance

When the Berlin Conference met in 1884-5 Portugal was given authority over Angola and Mozambique. The problem now immediately facing Portugal was the problem facing the other Europeans in Central Africa, namely, the establishment of political control over the areas which they claimed and the production of local commodities to Europe. This required

a greater degree of control and oppression by the Portuguese in Angola. These primary resistance struggles were especially pronounced in the extreme south and the extreme north of Angola, where they lasted until the First World War.

The Portuguese themselves admit the degree of resistance by the Angola peoples, when they speak of the endless wars of 'pacification' which they were forced to wage. Pacification of an area meant that the inhabitants had to work for the Portuguese in one way or another, mainly on construction projects, in obtaining rubber for export and in growing cash crops. With insufficient capital to allow for the payment of wages in a free labour market, the Portuguese favoured the continuation of forms of slave labour. In the face of increasing opposition from certain quarters in Portugal and elsewhere, the powerful slave – owning whites and mulattoes in Angola simply changed the designation from 'slavery' to 'corrective labour', which was punishment for so called 'vagrancy'. Later, it became 'contract labour', which was rewarded with a small payment, but which was as inhuman as slavery. Angolans found contract labour hateful.

In 1890-91, the Behe chief Ndunduma blocked the main route from Luanda to Barotseland before Portuguese soldiers and Afrikaners won a bloody war for the possession of his country. But the first great revolt of the modern era took place on the Bie plateau in 1902, and mainly involved Ilundo people. They were losing their lands to the Portuguese, and they were unable to carry on with their own agriculture because the men, who traditionally worked in the field doing this heavy labour, were conscripted to work for the Portuguese. The Bailundo revolt under Mutu ya Kevela exploded in 1902 as protest against the excesses that had accompanied the recruitment of labour. A number of white traders were killed and their stores destroyed. The Portuguese troops from Benguela and Mofamedes marched against the fighters and the revolt was suppressed with utmost brutality. Thousands of Africans lost their lives and their villages were burned. But while it was in progress, it put a stop to all commerce and greatly worried the Portuguese because it spread far into the interior. By the end of 1903, the Bailundo revolt was over.

Elsewhere in Angola, Africans similarly resisted the establishment of colonial rule. In the South, the Cuanhama remained unsubdued between 1890 and 1910, during which time they inflicted a series of defeats upon successive Portuguese expeditions. In 1897 after they had refused to have their cattle vaccinated, Cuanhama warriors routed a Portuguese garrison. There was an interval of peace, but in 1904, the Cuanhama again attacked the Portuguese, persisting in their opposition until the Portuguese finally won a decisive victory over them near Rocades.

Between 1907 and 1910, Portuguese troops from Luanda had meanwhile captured the powerful chiefs of the Dembos region – where a modern revolution erupted in 1961 – and gradually subdued their numerous recalcitrant followers.

Sao Thome experienced an even more vicious form of contract labour. Angolan workers were transported there to grow cocoa and coffee, and of the thousands who went there supposedly on fiveyear contracts none were allowed to return. The Sao Thome's contract labour, alias slavery, brought protests from Britain, Germany and the United States, which prevailed over the Portuguese to terminate this neoslavery in 1917. But resistance of Angolan peoples to this system was even stronger than the international protest, especially in the Congo Province of Angola, where most of the Sao Thome' workers were recruited by force. As early as 1913, fighting broke out in this region because of the export of labour and the armed protest continued until 1917. This confrontation is known, after the name of the leader, as the revolt of Tulante Bula.

As we have already seen, secondary resistance took place, not at the point of the arrival of European occupation, but after they had long settled. A number of examples can be cited.

Occupation and reaction in Sierra Leone, 1896

Sierra Leone was founded in 1789 as a Colony for freed slaves. It was a small settlement with an exclusive 'alien' society, which initially had little contact with the hinterland. Two things compelled the British in the Colony of Sierra Leone to declare the hinterland of the present–day Republic a Protectorate in 1896. One was to protect and promote trade with the people of the interior of the colony and the other was to secure a

peaceful atmosphere for trade in the interior. In agreeing to these appeals, Britain was influenced by two other factors. These were the expansion of the French sphere of influence and the territorial designs of Samori Toure. British action became imperative after the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885.

In 1896, Governor Frederick Cardew (1894-1900) declared the interior a Protectorate, despite strong protests from the native kingdoms. The Protectorate was divided into five districts. Bordering on the Colony were three districts: Karene in the north-west, Ronietta in the West-Central, and Bandajuma to the South-East. Further in the interior were Panguma in the north-east and Koinadugu in the north.

A white district officer placed over each district administered his territory with the help of members of the Frontier Police, who kept order and peace. Members of the Force in remote places occasionally appointed chiefs of their own choice. Doing this was contrary to the traditions of the people. The traditional rulers were generally given a measure of freedom of action in their own areas but only under surveillance of the white district officer.

In 1898 disturbances began. These escalated into a war between the natives and the British. This armed conflict is referred to as the House (Hut) Tax War.

Causes of the House Tax War, 1898

The War of 1898 had long-term and short-term causes.

The Creoles had been resented for a long time. They had taken advantage of their privileged position and training to monopolise the middlemen's trade in the interior. They had experienced the greatest impact of missionary activity, controlled the educational sector and excluded the indigenous people from its benefits. They also not only claimed a monopoly of foreign culture, but also openly condemned and despised traditional beliefs and practices. They spoke 'Krio', a language incomprehensible to the indigenous people, branded everything traditional 'barbaric', and exhibited a superiority complex never before seen in the hinterland.

The Creoles also seemed to suffer from another kind of complex. The Frontier Police Force had been established in 1890, and the Creoles formed the bulk of it. But their background as ex-slaves or descendants of ex-slaves was made much of by the people of the interior and this made them uncomfortable. Because of their rejection they took to vengeance and bullied, looted and raped women in the interior. Resentment against them was almost universal.

Furthermore, the people regarded the taking over of their territory as a Protectorate without their consent as a usurpation of their ancestral lands and sovereignty.

To make matters worse, the British-appointed District Commissioners infringed on the traditional authority of the chiefs. The chiefs now being appointed had no traditional claim to chieftaincy, and their positions in fact became steadily debased. Any chief accused of 'disrespect' to his European or Creole superior was summarily tried, publicly flogged and imprisoned. The Frontier Police did not only take the law into their own hands, but they were also seen as agents of terrorism in the service of equally unacceptable alien rule.

Chiefs were at the same time banned from participation in criminal or civil cases. And since the District Commissioners were ignorant of customary law, many Africans were imprisoned in a manner that did not conform to their sense of justice.

The administration itself was riddled with inefficiency and corruption. Owing to lack of personne. Some administrative powers were given to the Frontier Police, which was full of the hated and the hateful Creoles.

Also causing resentment was a new land policy. In 1896 a land ordinance was passed, that all mineral rights would come under the Crown, and that waste, or uninhabited lands should be allocated to settlers. The land policy overlooked the fact that Africans lived on a shifting cultivation system and that the alien definition would dispossess them by embracing their land as 'waste'. Alienation of their land in this manner greatly hurt the people.

The war was ignited in 1898 by an incident which served as the immediate cause of the war. Having failed to get the British home government to

pay for the cost of running the protectorate and not wishing to pass the cost on to the Colony budget, the Governor, Frederick Cardew, imposed an annual tax of between five and ten shillings on each household in the protectorate. Those who had no money could pay in kind with palm oil or rice. The people interpreted this to mean that henceforth they no longer owned the houses they themselves had built. How could they be asked to pay a tax as rent on their own houses, levied by an alien authority for the running of a Protectorate they had neither asked for nor needed?

Cardew directed that collection of the tax should start with the three districts bordering on the Colony; this was to be extended to the remaining two districts in the remote hinterland in due course. The tax was imposed not only on the 'natives' but also on the Creoles owning houses in the Protectorate; but it was mainly the natives who openly opposed the levy. The harsh method of its collection by some of the Frontier Police added to the objections of the people. The tax was a symbol of their loss of sovereignty. The revolt which ensued in 1898 was a war to preserve their independence.

Course of the war

Dissatisfaction in the hinterland exploded into violence in 1898. But at first the chiefs of the Temne in the North tried peaceful methods of protest. They petitioned the colonial government. A delegation spent some time in Freetown for the purpose. When their protests were unheeded, they had no other way open to them but submission, or violence. The House Tax became the climax and symbol of all their grievances.

Armed resistance started first at Port Loko, among the Temne, led by the local ruler Bai Bureh (Kebelai's official title as chief of Kasseh in the land of Temne). In February 1898, the British tried to collect House Tax at Port Loko, not far from Bai Bureh's capital. The people refused, and Bai Bureh was blamed for this. Troops were sent to arrest him, but they could not withstand the local people's resistance. The other Temne states came to the aid of Bai Bureh, who continued to conduct guerrilla warfare against the British for nearly a year. Reinforcements were sent from Freetown.

Eventually the troops defeated Bai Bureh and his men. The resistance broke down when a newly recruited force, the West African Regiment, containing men who were familiar with West African conditions, replaced the original (black) West Indian Regiment. Eventually Bai Bureh was arrested and exiled to Ghana. He was allowed to return to his native land in 1905 and shortly after that.

The situation in the South was much worse. The Mende, Vai, Loko, Bulom and Susu people also took up arms against the collection of the Tax. They attacked all people whom they considered enemies; whites and Creoles. The Mende who aped European culture were also slaughtered. The Creoles' list of the dead was recorded at 1,000. In Ronietta and Bandjuma Districts there were hardly any rules concerning the method of collecting the tax. The Frontier Police resorted to vandalism in order to enforce payment. Having planned resistance secretly within the Poro Society, the Mende and others rose against the oppressive measures. Not having a leader of Bai Bureh's calibre, the Mende were not organized or united. In consequence their resistance was quickly broken. Several hundreds of the leaders were tried and about 96 were hanged.

Consequences of the war

The House Tax War affected the history of what became to be known as the Protectorate in several ways:

Defeat of the natives led to loss of their ancestral independence, but heavy loss of lives, among the natives and among the Creoles who because of their dual position, were mistrusted both by the British officials and the Africans alike. The callous methods of the Frontier Police also resulted in considerable loss of property.

The British victimised many of the local rulers who led the resistance movement. Many of them were executed. Others were removed from their chieftaincy. They were replaced by leaders loyal to the British. Some of these loyal leaders were elevated to higher positions in society.

Governor Cardew proceeded with levying the offending tax. The Colonial Office in London sent out a special Commissioner, Sir David Charmers, to study the causes of the war and also to advise whether or not the House

Tax should be stopped. He stated in his report that the cause of the war was the Tax, and recommended that it should be abolished.

Governor Cardew prepared a counter-report and insisted that the tax must continue, first because without the tax there would be no money to run and develop the Protectorate, as both the home government and the Colony government were unprepared to shoulder the cost of running the Protectorate, and second, if the tax were abolished, it would harm the prestige of the British as the people might think such an action to be victory. After the war Governor Cardew marched the West African Regiment through the countryside to give a demonstration of British strength.

The influence of the Creoles declined, for the British blamed them for many of the troubles. Hitherto they had been placed in various positions of responsibility in the colonial administration. From 1898, the colonial authorities mistrusted them and not only removed many of them from high positions but stopped the further appointments of Creoles. The new emphasis was in employing mainly British Officials in the interior.

The development of the Protectorate separate from the Colony meant that two sets of people were living under the same colonial power based in Freetown. Laws meant for the Protectorate were made from the Colony. Not unnaturally the Creoles in the Colony began for different, but additional reasons, to feel superior to the people in the 'provinces', a situation which only changed after Sierra Leone achieved independence.

Mwanga's Revolt, 1897

At the first, Mwanga collaborated with the British, and signed a treaty of protection with captain Lugard of the I.B.E.A., and later decided to turn to armed resistance.

The previous three years had seen Mwanga try to be submissive to British rule. He felt that during this time he had suffered unbearable political frustration in the new British administrative system, which had left him only with a title – real authority being held by the two Christian Katikiros, Chief Justice and Treasurer. He could bear this no more and decided to act.

On 6th July 1897, he escaped from his capital to raise a revolt against the young British administration. He fled to Buddu, in southwest Buganda – an area not yet influenced by the British – and got immediate support. Quite surprisingly, in Kampala and other counties, if anybody supported Mwanga, he did not show it very enthusiastically. The two Christian *Katikiros* studied the situation carefully, and decided to throw in their lot with Britain, a move that was as opportunistic as it was grateful, for unlike the Kabaka and his men who had lost power with the establishment of British control, Christian leaders had all gained power. In Buddu, Mwanga was defeated and fled to German East Africa (Tanganyika).

The Acting Commissioner, Col Trevor Ternan, officially deposed the Kabaka and called leading chiefs to Kampala to proclaim, according to tradition, the accession of Mwanga's infant son, Daudi Chwa. Three regents were appointed to help the new Kabaka: Apolo Kagwa (senior *Katikiro*), Stanislaus Mugwanya (senior Catholic chief), and Zachary Kisingiri (senior Protestant Chief).

The senior regent, Apolo Kagwa, created for himself such a position of authority by his co-operation with the Protectorate Administration, coupled with the strength of his character, that Buganda never became united under its Kabaka until after Kagwa's death. Mwanga, meanwhile, escaped from his exile early in 1898 and sought refuge with his former enemy, Kabalega, north of the Nile among the Lango.

The two former rulers were betrayed and captured in April 1899 and in due course deported to Kismayu and then to Seychelles. In exile, Kabalega, whose opposition to the foreigners had been mostly persistent, became a Christian. He was baptised John and was allowed to return to Uganda. He died in Jinja in1923 before he could reach Bunyoro. Mwanga died in exile in the Seychelles.

The Maji Maji War, 1905-1907

The Maji MAji rebellion was a resistance organized by people of South East Tanganyika against the German colonization. It involved the people like Matumbi, Zaramo, Pogoro, Ngindo, Ngoni and Benzi. They were headed by the chief prophet and sorcerer called Kinjikitire Ngwale of Ngalambe. He was the chief priest of the snake cult of Kolelo.

This religion had a religious connotation and its name derived from "Magic water". This magic water supplied by the traditional priest was believed to be having immunity against Whiteman's bullets. It began in July 1905 and ended in 1907.

Causes of Maji Maji

Maji Maji was caused by the following three main factors:

The cotton programme

The principal cause of Maji Maji war was cotton. For centuries before 1905, Tanganyika's centre of gravity had lain in the south, first in the wealth of Kilwa, then much later in the new military states of the Sangu and the Hehe. Largely, the German government had first directed its programme to the highland settlement areas of the north, but by 1900, this programme seemed to have failed. Desperately in need of revenue, the government turned to a policy of African cash crop agriculture, and for this they naturally looked to the south. In 1902, Governor Adolf von Gotzen announced the adoption of a programme – borrowed from Togo in West Africa – of compulsory cotton cultivation. This was not by individual African farmers but on communal neighbourhood fields, one at the headquarters of each recognized headman (jumbe). He ordered that every jumbe and akida establish a cotton plot where all his people would come to work. The arrangement was that when cotton was finally sold, the workers, the akida and the government would share the profits equally.

The programme failed. It was marred by the hardship faced by those involved. Workers in the plantations were a compelled, rather than a willing and voluntary force. Labour was controlled with brutal force and there was little motivation. The soil was unsuitable so it produced poor crops. The marketing system broke down. Subordinate officials pocketed the little cash earned before it reached the producers. Few if any peasants received any payments at all in the first two years. The Zaramo workers refused the 35 cents they were each offered at the end of the first year's work. The whole scheme created very strong incentives for a revolt among the Wamatumbi, Zaramo and other peasants in the south.

Essentially, then, Maji Maji was a revolt against the government which was interfering incompetently with the way in which farmers grew their crops and managed their land.

The Advent of Arab Akidas

Forced cultivation of unprofitable cash crops was a widespread grievance in southern Tanzania, but it was not the only one. There were peculiarities in certain areas. The Wamatumbi, for example, hated the Arab Akidas and the askaris whom the Germans set over them. Up to now the Wamatumbi had successfully rejected Arab influence by barring them from entering Matumbi. Under German colonial administration, Arabs were employed as akidas and assigned, especially at the coast to administer. Thus in Matumbi there were Arab akidas at Kibata, Chumo, Miteja, Kinjumbi and Samanga.

The tragedy of this arrangement was that the Arabs had now been given an opportunity to rule a people who for years had frustrated their commercial and political efforts. There was much abuse of power as vengeance reigned high. People were seized and reduced to slaves. Backed by the askaris the Arab akidas' conduct in Matumbi could not go on forever. The brutality with which the akida were handled when the explosion against the German administration finally occurred was a reflection of their own conduct towards the people

Outrageous conduct of German officials

The German officials handled their African subjects with extreme brutality. On the slightest excuse the new rulers resorted to public flogging, or even killing of their subjects. They imposed a house (hut) tax, which was collected with excessive force. Apart from the common grievances which they shared with the other tribes, Wangindos' major complaint concerned the habit of German officials and especially that of their mercenaries and househelps, sleeping with their wives in circumstances which were a flagrant affront to Ngindo husbands. Their behaviour was punishable by war against the offender. The Wangindo were left with no alternative but to fight the Germans.

Introduction of taxation:

The taxes were to meet administration costs, construction of infrastructure. But the Africans were brutally and harshly treated by the tax collectors. Failure to pay would result into the confiscation of the property or imprisonment or offering free labor equivalent to three months pay. This forced people to fight in Maji Maji.

Land alienation:

This was where the fertile lands of the Africans were taken away by German plantations and infrastructure. Africans were concentrated to smaller and less productive reserves after being denied of the right of traditional land inheritance.

Introduction of forced labor in Tanganyika:

Every mature person was supposed to offer labor for 28 days annually on the Germany. Those who refused to provide labor, their properties were confiscated; which forced them to join Maji Maji rebellion.

Violation of the traditional norms:

The Germans had violated the traditional norms and culture of Africans in Tanganyika. For instance, the Ngindo accused the Germans for raping their girls and women while the Ngoni also joined this war because the Germans had given refuge to a young Ngoniman who had seduced to sex the wife of the Chibaruma, the Ngoni chief.

Boma massacre of 1897:

It was killing made by the German soldiers at Boma where they had executed the traditional religious and political chiefs of the Ngoni who had gone to discuss peace with the Germans. The Ngoni wanted to revenge against this Boma massacre by joining the Maji Maji rebellion.

To wipe out the German Christianity: In their preaching, the European missionaries from Germany undermined African culture and customs. They were against African sorcery, polygamy and burnt traditional sacred huts of the Africans. Thus, the Africans rose up in Maji Maji rebellion to stop the spread of this European religion.

Outbreak of natural calamities:

During the period from 1905 to 1907, most parts of Tanganyika were hit by drought and epidemic diseases. All of these were blamed to the coming of the Whiteman in the region, which forced people in Tanganyika to fight against the Germans.

German bad administration:

The Germans overthrew African traditional chiefs and begun a direct rule system. They became harsh as it is justified by the nickname given to Carl Peters as “Mukono wa damu” or Mukono ya Chuma” (“hand of blood” or “steel hand”) because of his brutality.

Role of traditional religion:

Prophet Kinjikitire prophesied that if people of Tanganyika would cover themselves with magic water, they would become bullet proof to the German bullets. This encouraged the people to join Maji Maji rebellion against the Germans in Tanganyika from 1905 up to 1907.

Organisation and course of the war

The Germans had defeated every tribe that had resisted their invasion during the l9th century. The tribes were small and divided. Besides, they had no weapons to match the rifles of the German troops. Now in the 20th Century, the people knew what they wanted to do, but waited and suffered, conscious of their disunity and the military strength of their rulers. Then, in the year 1904, a prophet arose. His name was Kinjikitile Ngwale. Near his home at Ngarambe there was a pool in a tributary of the River Rufiji. Kinjikitile claimed that the spirit, Hongo, who dwelt in the pool had possessed him.

Kinjikitile taught that Africans were one and that his medicine - the maji of the rising’s name - was stronger than European weapons. His teaching spread among the people living around the River Rufiji. It reached the Matumbi through a whispering campaign they called Njwiywila (or ‘Jujila’). Njwiywila was a secret communication from one person to another that at a place called Ngarambe, a powerful medicineman who could make white men more vulnerable had emerged. It was further

added that ancestors had not died but were looked after by God. They would be shown to those who went to Ngarambe.

Pilgrimages to Ngarambe followed quickly upon the phase of Njwiywila in early 1905. At Ngarambe, Kinjikitile, who had assumed the title Bokero (intermediary between men and the spirit), gave them the medicine against German weapons and committed them to war. The medicine consisted of a mixture of millet flour in water, and was smeared or sprinkled on the forehead of the prospective fighter. Sometimes he only drank the water.

From the beginning, Kinjikitile Ngwale's message promised aid against European rule. As the people flocked to Ngarambe, so the militancy of the movement grew. Finally, sometime during 1905, Kinjikitile sent representatives through the surrounding country to mobilise and train the people for war. He promised them protection against European weapons. He offered them leadership, organization, and unity. But he required that all the pilgrims, get the medicine, go back, and continue to work for the Germans and wait until he gave appropriate orders to start fighting. By July 1905 no order had come, and the Wamatumbi became impatient and began to look for ways of provoking the Germans.

They decided to uproot a few cotton shoots from the Jumbe's plantation. The Jumbe reported the incident to the Akida at Kibata. Messengers sent by the Akida to investigate were rudely turned back and pursued. Before they arrived back the Wamatumbi forced them into the first engagement at Matumbi Hills on 31July 1905. The Maji Maji wars had begun.

On that night the revolt claimed its first five victims. One was a German planter named Hopfer. He was 28 years old, and he was killed with an axe, somewhere in the bush near Mtumbei Chini, forty miles west of Kilwa. The others were the four men of the Matumbi people whom Hopfer is said to have shot as they closed in on him.

The news spread rapidly among the people of the Rufiji Valley who had already heard Kinjikitile's message. This was harvesting time, but the Pogoro of Kitope refused to pick cotton. They burnt cotton in the fields in many areas of southern Tanzania. The town of Samanga was looted and burnt to the ground. Akidas, Jumbes and those who worked for the

Europeans were attacked viciously. Early in August the people of Kichi, southern Uzaramo, western Uluguru, and Ungindo joined the war.

The Germans were completely taken by surprise and were ill-prepared for this mass explosion. The Governor ordered reinforcements from Germany and other parts of German Africa. By November 1905, a systematic and ruthless suppression of the movement had begun. Some African communities joined the Germans against their fellow Africans, considerably boosting German military strength. The Hehe were an example; they supported the Germans because their traditional enemies, the Pogoro, Mbunga, Sagara and Ngoni were fighting against the Germans. In 1905, Kiwanga, the chief of Mahenge joined the German side in gratitude for their help against Mkwawa in the 1890s. Maji Maji leaders were executed, or escaped into Mozambique. Towards the end of 1906, and by the beginning of 1907, the movement was dead.

Reasons for failure of Maji Maji

Maji Maji failed for four main reasons:

The German troops were better trained and better equipped. African fighters were armed with a religious belief in their invincibility to German rifles and cannons, and with the traditional African weapons at the time – spears, shields and clubs. The Germans overcame both types of weapons rapidly.

It was through the maji ideology that the leaders of the Maji Maji were able to be united and to secure the highest degree of mass commitment from a vastly diversified people spread out over a vast region. But as violence and insecurity caused by German counter-offensive tested the loyalties of the participants, the ancient ties of kinship proved stronger than the maji ideology. The peasant revolt disintegrated into a tribal and a clan guerrilla war.

Maji Maji lacked a unified command, and clear and united fighting plans. True, it produced many able guerrilla commanders: Abdalla Mapanda in Nachingwea; Selemani Mamba in Mwera; Digalu Kabasila in Maheromangu; and Chebruma Hanga in Songea. Yet none of these emerged as a genuinely charismatic revolutionary leader able to appeal

beyond his people. The Germans therefore took full advantage of this leadership gap and defeated them one by one.

The harshness and cruelty of the Germans was excessive. They were merciless and destroyed crops and homes, so that people starved and had nowhere to live. Thus weakened, the people were unable to sustain their revolt.

Consequences of Maji Maji

Maji Maji had a number of short-time consequences:

i. *Destruction and devastation*. The immediate consequences of the rising were tragic. The German forces left behind a trail of destruction and devastation that led to three years of the most terrible famine. This was the period known as Fugafuga, when survivors took to eating insects and wild fruit. Villages had been destroyed and families broken up. It has been estimated that 75,000 Africans died as a result of the fighting and the famine.

ii. *Inadequacies of religious organisation*. Maji Maji taught the Africans that the religious unity that had enabled them to fight together was not enough. Their weapons were weak compared to those of the Germans, and they needed better organisation. The Africans realized that armed resistance was no use; instead better methods had to be found. In addition to organisation, they were to learn the importance of leadership in any campaign against oppressive foreign rule.

iii. *Reforms of Governor Count Freiherr von Rechenberg*. The German government had also learnt a lesson. They had defeated the Africans but it had not been easy. They realised the need for better rule in their colony. They had to take their colony more seriously, and treat the Africans better. The German government appointed a new and more understanding governor. His name was Count Freiherr von Rechenberg (1906 – 12). Rechenberg was an extremely able administrator who knew the colony well, since he had served there as a judge (1893) and had also been German Consul in Zanzibar (1896 – 1900). He had mastered the Swahili language. He believed that the interests of the native inhabitants should not be subordinated to those of the white settlers.

He strongly opposed the indiscriminate use of the whip and insisted that corporal punishment should be inflicted only by due process of law.

There was loss of lives. It is estimated that about 80 000 people were died and some parts of Tanganyika got depopulated.

The rebellion caused famine in Tanganyika because no cultivation was done, yet the Germans used “scorched earth policy” where everything on the ground was burnt.

There was spread of diseases and other epidemics because of having many dead bodies not buried and this were accelerated by the fact that people were living in forests, because of destruction of their houses.

Corporal punishment also reduced following the rebellion. The policy of indirect rule was put in place where some Africans were given political authority with minimum powers.

The rebellion led to large scale migration of people from the areas affected to the Coast and other peaceful areas.

The rebellion provided a lesson to the Africans because the patriotic and national consciousness was implanted in these people who participated in the revolt and later used as base for future nationalist.

Africans lost confidence in African religion after that Prophet Kinjikitire had deceived them. This encouraged the easy spread of Christianity and the set up of more schools in Tanganyika.

The Maji Maji affected the future history of the people of Tanganyika by learning that unarmed resistance was fruitless. They learnt importance of proper organization and leadership in any campaign against oppressive foreign rule.

The Maji Maji rebellion led to a large–scale migration because the survivors who had no seeds for planting new crops after the war migrated to the coast for trade opportunities. This later became responsible for emergence of famine in Tanganyika due to the lack of force labor in agricultural sector

Thus the period after Maji Maji was a peaceful era of reform and development. As a result, the Africans became firm allies of the Germans

and they cooperated with them during the First World War in 1914. This surprised the British who had thought that the people of Tanganyika loathed the Germans. There were too, longterm consequences of Maji Maji. The revolt has come to be regarded as the national epic of the people of Tanzania. When Germany lost the War in 1918, the Germans were expelled from East Africa. The newly founded League of Nations took over the territories of the defeated nation. Tanganyika was mandated to Britain. Similarly Rwanda and Burundi were 'given' to Belgium.

The Shona-Ndebele (Chimurenga) War, 1896 –1897

The Shona-Ndebele war, otherwise known as the Chimurenga, broke out in March 1896 between the Ndebele and the British. The Shona joined the Ndebele in the war in June of the same year.

Causes of the Shona-Ndebele War

The Chimurenga war was caused by a number of factors:

Loss of independence: The Ndebele were displeased by the British taking over political control over Matabeleland and denying their traditional leaders power to control the region. They wanted to regain their independence.

Loss of land: It had always been the chiefs' right to allocate land in Mashonaland. Native land was alienated by the white settlers, the BSA Company or by mission stations, without the chiefs' permission. The whites claimed that Lobengula had granted land in Mashonaland, and that the Company therefore had the right to allocate it. But the Shona chiefs did not regard themselves as subjects of Lobengula. One of the most cherished chiefly rights was the right to allocate land. This right was now threatened. Meanwhile, the BSA Company took away all the good land and created poor reserves for the Ndebele people.

Loss of cattle: The issue of cattle also caused considerable distress to the Ndebele. There had been some 250,000 heads of cattle in Ndebele hands before the 1893 war. The ndembele cattlewere shared among the Volunteers, police, taken as BSA Company property while others were rustled into South Africa by white adventurers. The Ndebele were allowed

to keep only 40,930 heads of cattle, and most of these were given to senior indunas and not to the younger men, which showed a total disregard of Ndebele customs. This increased Ndebele resentment.

Unpopular veterinary policies: The loss of cattle after the rinderpest outbreak in 1895 led to a decision by the BSA Company to shoot and burn animals to prevent the spread of disease. This decision annoyed the Ndebele.

Interference with Shona trade: The Shona were unhappy with the British interference with their trade in gold-dust and ivory with the Portuguese in return for cheap goods at the coast. The trade was valuable because it provided guns, and it gave the chief the means of wealth and hospitality. Now, however, the Company sought to replace the Portuguese as Shona's trading partners but was interested only in European gold mining, not in buying gold from the Africans, and tried to stop the sale of gold-dust by African merchants from the Zambezi. The Shona were only allowed to buy goods from South Africa, which were more expensive than the Portuguese articles.

Shona suspicion with intentions of the whites: The Shona increasingly grew suspicious of the true intentions of BSA Company men. When the whites first came the chiefs thought they would stay as their subjects, and that their stay was temporary. Each chief was seeking for temporary white allies to balance the allies his rival might manage to recruit. But gradually people began to realize that the whites intended to stay – and they intended to make the chiefs their subjects instead of allies.

Forced labour: The Native Commissioner in each district was given the power to force chiefs to provide labour for mines and farms. Working conditions were deplorable. The system was no better than slavery. All able-bodied men had to work, whether they were Ndebele aristocrats or their former slaves. This naturally caused dissatisfaction among the zansi or Ndebele aristocrats. Employers and Native Commissioners used the sjambok (a kind of whip). Punishments were often threatened just before payday, so that workers would run away before they had received their wages.

Hut-tax: The Company administration introduced and demanded a hut-tax among the Shona in 1894. The meaning of this demand to the Shona was that they were being asked to submit to the whites when they had neither been conquered nor disarmed. The demand for tax was resented because it was regarded as the greatest threat yet to the political independence of the chiefs; its collection usually took the form of brutal raids and seizure of the Shona cattle and sheep instead of money, which the Shona did not have; and it was introduced abruptly, Jameson leaving its collection to Native Commissioners who were young, inexperienced and often dishonest. The Shona resentment blossomed into Chimurenga.

Law and punishment: The whites began to assume the right to punish the subjects of the Shona chiefs, thus usurping the chiefs' powers. They did this brutally, frequently using the sjambok. Lendy of the Victoria Incident fame killed Chief Ngomo and twenty-two others after goods had been stolen from a farmer called Bennett. Lendy was promoted and Jameson applauded his action. The Shona began to adopt a hostile attitude to the whites.

Humiliation and social suffering by the Ndebele: The Ndebele suffered socially. The military towns were broken up and the age regiment system abolished. Indunas lost their power. Not only were the whites themselves arrogant to the Ndebele, but by appointing Shona police to work in Ndebele areas, they gave the Shona a chance to get their own back on the Ndebele after several decades of suppression. The Ndebele could not take it anymore.

The role of the native police among the Shona: The Chiefs found their authority challenged by the new Native Police. These police were either recruited outside the district or from among servants or semi-slaves of the chiefs, the so-called Vanyai. They had been quick to switch over to Europeans either for refuge or because they wanted European goods and were among the first to join the native police force, welcoming an opportunity for revenge on their former masters. The police were a greedy lot and thought they had a right to everything they came across. In the eyes of the Shona, the conduct of the Europeans, whose direct agents and reflection the police were, could not be distinguished from that of the hated Ndebele.

Natural disasters: Natural disasters like famine, drought, locust invasion and diseases like rinderpest and smallpox were given religious interpretation. They believed that the god, Mwari of both the Shona and Ndebele was unhappy with British occupation. Indeed, the Mwari cult ultimately played a crucial role in Chimurenga.

Disregard for the Ndebele customs: The British disregarded Ndebele customs. Especially irksome was their attitude towards the Ndebele class system, which they ignored. They treated everybody equally including the Holi caste who were traditionally slaves to the Ndebele.

Opportunity in the Jameson Raid of 1896: The Jameson Raid on the Transvaal provided a unique opportunity for the Chimurenga. In January 1896, Dr. Jameson led a party of Mashonaland Police to the Transvaal. His aim was to overthrow the Transvaal government under Paul Kruger for Cecil Rhodes. However, the Jameson Raid was a complete debacle for the British and quite instructive to the Ndebele. It taught the Ndebele the valuable lesson that the British, after all, were not invincible. Jameson was recalled back to Britain as a result, and with him and his police out of the country, the Ndebele had the chance they had been waiting for.



Chimurenga fighters

Results of the Shona-Ndebele War

The Ndebele and Shona had fought against a common enemy in unexpected unity that adherence to the Mwari cult had partly been responsible for. The results of the Chimurenga war include the following:

Split in Ndebele unity. In Matabeleland the leaders of the older group decided to treat for peace while the younger generation was determined to continue fighting. This disagreement brought the unity of the fighters to an end.

High cost of war and Rhodes' quest for peace with the Ndebele. Over 130 Europeans and Africans were killed. Rhodes had been told by General Carrington that to win his war, he would have to build a railway to Bulawayo and bring up 6,000 troops from South Africa. This would cost the Company £5 million. Rhodes was also faced with the prospect of losing the Company's charter if war continued. He wanted peace, and personally went to the hills to negotiate with Ndebele leaders. He waited for six weeks in the foothills of the Matopos before the indunas would agree to meet him. Rhodes listened to their grievances. The indunas said they wanted the Shona police to be disbanded and the Ndebele headmen to be given some power.

Rhodes' promises. Rhodes promised the Ndebele that the administration would be reformed and the Ndebele would be allowed to come out of the hills and settle down in their pre-1893 land. Some of the resistance leaders would be given official posts and paid a salary as recognized indunas. There would be no victimization of the Ndebele or of their leaders. No Shona police would be used in Matabeleland without the authority of the Ndebele.

Results for the Ndebele. Many of these promises were actually kept and the terms were some kind of victory for the Ndebele. Indeed, some of the most respected leaders of the rising did become recognized indunas and were paid salaries for their services; they were therefore able to give their people some leadership within the new system. This is how Umlugulu, the Ndebele leader in the war, became an induna of the Gwanda district. Indeed, some Ndebele were posted to help in administrative duties in Mashonaland. But the Mwari and Mhondoro priests were punished for their part in the rising: Siginyamatshe for instance was sentenced to twelve years hard labour. But Mkwati who had been the backbone of the spiritual unity of the Ndebele, escaped, and with his help, the war spread to Mashonaland. He was largely responsible for the refusal of the Shona to treat for peace.

Results for the Shona. When the Ndebele treated for peace, the Shona continued the war. They were hunted down and killed throughout 1897. After the capture of their religious leaders, chiefs Kakubi and Nehanda, most of them surrendered unconditionally. Their chiefs were given no

terms and no promises. Many of them were put on trial for murder and hanged. The result was that Shona chiefs no longer appeared as leaders of their people in the old sense; the indunas lost their positions, land and authority, in contrast to Ndebele chiefs some of whose positions were recognised. Most of the Shona retired in acceptance of complete defeat.

British government indictment of BSA Company. All in all, the events of 1897 had been very damaging to the image of the new administration. The BSA Company was discredited abroad, both for its Jameson Raid debacle in the Transvaal and its Rhodesian conduct. The Rhodesian white population was blamed for its various acts of oppression and regarded as a dangerous and irresponsible community.

Erosion of traditional beliefs. The risings had been a political war to evict the white man. But the Mwari or Mlimo Cult had played a leading religious role in strengthening the fighters. The defeat of the risings was therefore, a serious blow to the people's confidence in the tribal spirits in the face of modern weaponry and organization. Some even became Christian in protest. Here in the risings then, was the beginning of the slow process of erosion of traditional beliefs and customs.

Confiscation of cattle. The Company confiscated a lot of cattle from the Shona and Ndebele as compensation for losses incurred during the war. These were given to white volunteers who had participated in the war.

Advent of famine. Africans were exposed to severe famine because the war discouraged agricultural activities. The Ndebele were given one million bags of maize as relief food from South Africa.

Improvement in tax policy. There was improvement in the tax policies for the Africans; a tax reduction on the Shona and Ndebele from £2 to £1 was introduced.

Division of the country. The country was divided up into districts and the Ndebele and the Shona were settled in different areas so that they could not unite again against the British.

6.4. Consequences of African resistance to European colonial rule

Learning Activity 6.4

By using different resources, discuss the consequences of African resistance to European colonial rule

The African resistance to European colonial has brought the following effects on African societies:

Depopulation: caused by the loss of lives due to the fighting because where Africans tried to resist, Europeans reacted by killing them massively. It was also due to displacement of people who were flying from the battle field.

Destruction of property: due to the fighting between Africans and Europeans, there was destruction of properties such as houses, crops and villages, etc.

Famine: because of insecurity and instability, economic activities were disrupted and people could not provide themselves with foods and essential items. In some cases, this famine was also caused by military tactics like "scorched earth policy" used by the Germans in Tanganyika.

Spread of diseases and other epidemics: This was due to the presences unburied bodies and by the fact that people were living in forests because their houses had been destroyed.

Rise of African nationalism: the rebellion provided a lesson to the Africans because the patriotic and national consciousness was implanted in these people who participated in the revolt and later used as base for future nationalist.

Spread of Christianity: Traditional religion lost its credibility among the Africans because of its defeat after the execution of its leaders. Thus, this opened chance for the spread of Christianity.

African submission to colonial policies: Some native people accepted to go and work for the Whites on their roads, farms and railways construction and other projects.

Increase of European settlements in Africa: after defeat African resistances, Africa was secured and this encouraged other European to come massively to settle in peaceful African regions.

Land alienation: Because of the end of the war of resistance, many Europeans settled in Africa which increased the confiscation of the land of the Africans. For instance, Zimbabwe still has a very large population of Whites.

The causes of the failure of African resistances and they may come before the collaboration

Africans were militarily weak comparing to the well-trained and well-armed colonial invaders while the Africans were poorly armed with traditional arms.

Disunity among resistors themselves because the African armed resistors did not organize a coordinated and joint struggle against Europeans.

Role played by the missionaries and explorers that had facilitated easy European penetration in Africa by identifying the strong and weak societies and preparing the minds of Africans.

Effects of slave trade because the Europeans had took the Africans who were strong able to defend their continent and left those who were too old, weak, sick and very young who could not contribute much towards the success of resistance.

The role played by the collaborators who provided food, offered protection and even military support as they revealed the African defense secrets to the Europeans.

Use of diplomacy and treaty signing by the Europeans which meant the surrender and submission of African sovereignty because most African leaders were illiterate and ignorant about the content of the document they signed.

Constant civil wars among the African societies made them vulnerable to European defeat because the Africans had been weakened by those constant wars and no longer to defend their kingdoms or empires.

Africans were economically weak and they failed to get finances for purchasing modern weapons that would level them with the Europeans and the Europeans imposed arms embargo on Africans.

Lack of patriotic and nationalism spirit because some Africans had no sense of political maturity and love for their territorial integrity.

Europeans were determined to colonize Africa while some Africans seemed relaxed and never sought support from their neighbors while the Europeans used all means to get victory against the Africans.



Application Activity 6.4

1. Examine the consequences of African resistance to European colonial rule.
2. Analyse the reasons behind the defeat of African resistance to European colonial rule.



End of Unit Assessment 6

1. What do you understand by the following terms?
2. Resistance
3. Collaboration
4. Discuss any five African communities who collaborated and those who resisted colonial conquest.
5. Who was Nabongo Mumia? Why did he collaborate with the British? What were the consequences of his collaboration?
6. Why did Lewanika of the Lozi collaborate with the British? Highlight the main events of that collaboration.
7. Discuss the reasons for Samori Toure's downfall in his resistance against the French occupation of Mandinka.

UNIT 7

RWANDA UNDER GERMAN AND BELGIAN COLONIAL RULE (1897 – 1962)

Key Unit Competence: The learner should be able to assess the performance of the German and Belgian colonial rule, the 1959 crisis and the process of the independence in Rwanda.



Introductory Activity 7.1

From 1897 up to 1962, Rwanda was under European colonial rule, mainly the German and Belgian colonial rule. Different authors have discussed reasons supporting this colonial rule and assessed its impact on Rwandan society. According to you, to what extent Europeans were justified to colonise Africa and Rwanda in particular?

Introduction

European colonization in Rwanda refers to the period when various European powers, including Germany and later Belgium, exerted control over Rwanda. The process of European colonization in Rwanda began in the late 19th century and lasted until the mid-20th century. The scramble for Africa among European powers during the 19th century set the stage for European colonization in Rwanda.

By the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, Rwanda was placed in *Deutsche Ost Africa,* meaning German East Africa, composed of Rwanda, Burundi and Tanganyika. Germany's primary interests in Rwanda were driven by economic exploitation, strategic positioning, and geopolitical ambitions. Following Germany's defeat in World War I, Belgium took over the colonial administration of Rwanda under a League of Nations mandate. Belgian colonial rule, which lasted until Rwanda gained independence in 1962, brought its own set of policies and impacts.

7.1. Rwanda under the German colonial rule (1897 – 1916)

Learning Activity 7.1

By searching on internet / visiting your school library, discuss the different factors leading to European colonization in Rwanda since 1897 up to 1962. Prepare a written document to be used while sharing ideas with your classmates.

Introduction

The German colonial rule in Rwanda refers to the period when Rwanda was under German control, which lasted from 1897 to 1916. It was part of Germany's larger colonial project in Africa during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Germany's interest in Rwanda stemmed from its imperial ambitions and the scramble for Africa among European powers. The Germans sought to expand their influence, secure strategic positions, and exploit the region's resources. Rwanda's location in East Africa made it strategically important, offering access to trade routes and potential military bases. The German colonization of Rwanda had significant impacts on the country's social, political, and economic landscape.

7.1.1. Causes of German and Belgian colonial rule in Rwanda

Need for raw materials: Due to their success in the Industrial Revolution, the Germans needed raw materials to feed their home industries. Some of such raw materials were minerals which were available in Rwanda.

Growing demand for land to grow cash crops: Cash crops like tea, coffee, sugarcanes, etc. were in high demand in Germany and Rwanda had fertile land for growing them.

Need for more land to resettle their growing population: During the Industrial Revolution, there were many discoveries in health which improved the living conditions. This reduced the mortality rate in European countries, including Germany. This led to high population growth and land scarcity, hence the need for more land for resettlement.

Need to decrease the unemployment rate in Europe: The Industrial Revolution caused unemployment in Europe as machines replaced human labor. Therefore, they came in order to create new jobs in their colonies.

Need for areas to invest their surplus capital: The Germans and Belgians needed new areas where they could invest their surplus capital and found Rwanda a virgin country to cater for such desire which made them interested in colonizing it.

Need for markets: Germany and Belgium were among the first industrialized countries in Europe, and they needed markets for their manufactured products elsewhere outside Europe, like in Africa, including Rwanda. This encouraged them to come and occupy Rwanda.

Need to promote Western civilization: By colonizing Rwanda, the Germans and Belgians socially wanted to promote Western civilization by making the people of Rwanda modern and civilized. This developed more obsessive desire in colonizing Rwanda.

Need to spread Christianity: The Germans and Belgians who were Christian were fascinated by colonizing Rwanda as they could easily spread their religion to Rwanda. They viewed it as “the best religion” in the World.

Need for political prestige and glory: At the time, European countries believed in having many colonies for prestige. Therefore, the Germans also had this desire to acquire political prestige by colonizing many areas including Rwanda.

Green light given by the 1884 – 1885 Berlin Conference: By establishing international guidelines for the acquisition of African territory, the Berlin Conference had officially recognized Germany as the rightful colonial master of Rwanda. This granted and encouraged the Germans to take over Rwanda as their colony.

Application Activity 7.1

By 1897, the colonial rule was introduced in Rwanda where the Germans and Belgians started to dominate political, economic and social life of the Rwandans. Discuss the main reasons for this colonization.

7.1.2. European exploration of Rwanda

Learning Activity 7.2

By searching on internet and visiting your school library, read different documents written about European exploration of Africa and then identify the discoveries made by different European explorers in Rwanda.

Before the coming of Europeans and Swahili-Arab merchants, Rwanda was a region enveloped in legends. It was previously a "terra incognita"; it remained inaccessible for a long time to the Swahili-Arabs who wanted to penetrate it. The first explorers were attracted to discovering the source of the Nile River – an obsession that dated back to Antiquity. They also wanted to exploit opportunities in Rwanda for commerce and evangelization.

Richard Francis Burton, John Hanning Speke and James Augustus Grant

The London Geographical Society organized the voyages of the first explorers seeking to discover "the source of the Nile" in 1856. The first group of explorers interested in Rwanda was composed of Richard Francis Burton, John Hanning Speke, and James Augustus Grant – all British army officers in India. They were unsuccessful in penetrating into Rwanda. They reached Lake Victoria and Tanganyika around November 1861. John Hanning Speke, who was stationed in Karagwe, reported in his notes stories originating from myth about the inhabitants of Rwanda, according to which Rwanda was a dangerous and mysterious country where foreigners were not welcome.

Henry Morton Stanley

In 1876, Henry Morton Stanley became the second European to write about Rwanda. He was informed of Rwanda by the ivory and slave Arab merchants. He tried to enter the country from the eastern border through Lake Ihema. He spent the night of the 9th to 10th March 1876 on Ihema Island in Lake Ihema. The next day, when he tried to penetrate inside the country, he was drawn back by the local population. He is not recognized by the Rwandan population nor by the royal court since he had not been in contact with them. In his book, he states that the country could only be penetrated with care and caution. It was Stanley who named Akagera "Nile Alexandra."

Dr. Oscar Bauman

The first European to penetrate into Rwanda was a German called Dr. Oscar Bauman (1864-1899), a philosopher and PhD holder in Geography from the University of Leipzig, was employed in 1891 to serve on the "German committee against slavery". He was looking for the source of the Nile River. From Massailand, Dr. Oscar Bauman went to Burundi to explore the source of the Nile River. From September 11-14, 1892, he passed through the southern part of Rwanda.

Count Gustave Adolf Von Göetzen

In 1894, Count Gustave Adolf Von Göetzen embarked on an expedition with the aim of exploring the region. On 4th May 1894, Von Göetzen and his companions, Lieutenant Von Pritwittz and Dr. Kersting accompanied by 362 men, protected by 127 soldiers *(askaris*) crossed Akagera River near Rusumo and entered Rwanda. This expedition crossed Gisaka and was received by Sharangabo, Rwabugiri's son, in Rwamagana on 12th May 1894. After informing his father who was at the time in Nyamasheke, Sharangabo led Von Göetzen and his expedition to Kageyo in Kingogo, a hill located in present day Ngororero District (Western Province) where Rwabugili was waiting for them.

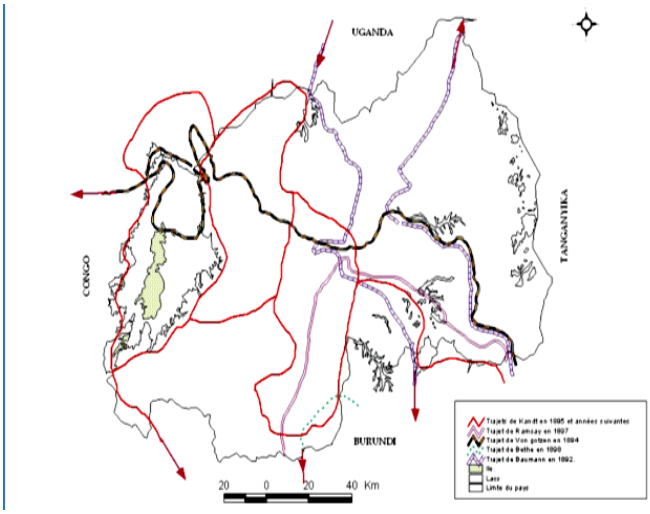
Von Göetzen was welcomed on 29 May 1894 and he remained there until 2nd June 1894. He was impressed by the personality of the king. The caravan crossed the remaining part of the country, climbing Kageyo up to

Lake Kivu (present town of Rubavu) and penetrated the Congo Free State (EIC). Von Götzen's expedition marked the first official contact between the colonial power and the people of Rwanda.

Dr. Richard Kandt

Inspired by publications of previous explorers (Speke, Stanley, Bauman and von Götzen), Dr. Richard Kandt was much interested in African geographical issues. He became a member of the Geographic Society and started his journey to Africa using different ways from his precursors. So, he came to Bagamoyo and then to Tabora in 1897 looking for the sources of Ugalla-Sindi River, but in vain. In June 1897, Dr. Richard Kandt arrived in Rwanda looking for the source of the Nile. He traveled from eastern Rwanda to the southern, then to the northern, to Lakes Albert and Eduard, to Rutshuru in Congo, to Lake Kivu, to Rusizi and Burundi. He concluded that Nyabarongo was the main branch of Akagera whose main tributary is Mukungwa. In November 1907, he was appointed the first German Resident of Rwanda.

The first European explorers' routes



Source: ***Lugan B.,*** *Histoire du Rwanda: De la préhistoire à nos jours****, Paris, Bartillat, 1997, p. 248.***

Application Activity 7.2

Examine the work of the following European explorers in Rwanda:

Henry Morton Stanley

Count Gustave Adolf Von Goetzen

Dr. Richard Kandt

7.1.3. The German administration in Rwanda

Learning Activity 7.3

Basing on your research through internet and reading different written documents about the period of German administration in Rwanda, describe the different phases of the German administration in Rwanda from 1897 up to 1916.

German occupation of Rwanda

The first attempt by Germans to take over Rwanda politically was by Comte Gustav Adolf Von Götzen who was received by King Kigeli IV Rwabugili on May 25th, 1894 at Kageyo in Kingogo. He was the first *Governor General of German East Africa* (*Deutsch Ost Afrika*).

After Von Götzen, the second German mission led by Captain Ramsay arrived at Runda on March 20, 1897 under the reign of King Yuhi V Musinga. Captain Ramsay was the regional military chief of Tanganyika – Kivu whose capital was Ujiji (in Tanzania). On this occasion Captain Ramsay managed to make King Musinga accept to cede the sovereignty of Rwanda to the Germans and he left a German flag with Musinga as a symbol of German authority.

From 1898, the occupation of Rwanda by Germany became a reality and the German regional military of Tanganyika – Kivu was divided into small regions. Rwanda and Burundi became a region with the capital in Usumbura (Bujumbura). This region was put under the control of Captain Bethe who visited Musinga's court at Gitwiko (in present-day Kamonyi District) between the 3rd and 20th March, 1898.

He had a mission to conclude a pact with King Musinga which was to place Rwanda under the German Protectorate. This pact was concluded on 5th March, 1898 and Rwanda was to be the 20th province in East Africa. The Musinga – Bethe Pact contained political, administrative and military protection which the German Government would, from this time, ensure for Rwanda.

Steps of German colonization

In the beginning, Rwanda was included in the "Bezirk" or "military region or circle of Tanganyika-Kivu with Ujiji as a chief-town. In 1899 the "Bezirk" of Ruanda-Urundi was created with a military camp in Bujumbura. This new *Bezirk* was placed under the authority of Captain Bethe, who depended on Count Von Gotzen, Governor of German East Africa with its headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam. In 1906, it was decided to create the Residences of Bukoba and Rwanda and on 15th November, 1907, Captain Werner Von Grawert lost his attributions on Rwanda remaining only with those on Burundi.

The German Protectorate was committed to ensuring indirect rule for Rwanda, meaning that by this system of administration, the local traditional leaders and the culture would be maintained. German East Africa was divided into territories. In Rwanda, the implementation of the German rule was to be attained through the following:

The military phase (1897 - 1907)

The first phase (1897 to 1907) was characterized by military occupation of Rwanda. During this phase, the German officers were also the governors of Territories. Rwanda was occupied and managed by the 11th company under the orders of a lieutenant accountable to a captain living in Bujumbura.

The German Government was to give support to the local leaders to suppress several insurrections. It was in this regard that the first German administrators who came in 1897 established a military camp at Gisenyi. In 1898, they created another one at Shangi (Nyamasheke District) in the Western Region. In this way, the military posts created by the German Government had the role of bringing the population under German rule

and therefore under local Rwandan rule headed by King Musinga. They had also to counter the eventual armed conflict from Belgian soldiers living in Belgian Congo.

In 1899 Captain Bethe signed a treaty with King Musinga, placing Rwanda under German Protection. Accordingly, Musinga was given official recognition and allowed to retain his traditional form of government. In return, the king had to accept the advice of German Residents.

In 1908 Rwanda and Burundi were separated administratively and Rwanda became a territory of its own with its capital at Kigali.

Civil administration phase (1907-1916)

This step started when administrative services of Rwanda were transferred from Bujumbura to Kigali and with the appointment of Dr. Richard Kandt alias *Kanayoge***,** as a civilian Resident. He was charged with the responsibility of establishing civilian rule in Rwanda, carrying out a population census, raising taxes and creating a police force. In 1908, he founded Kigali as an imperial residence which became the capital of independent Rwanda.

During this phase, the German Government also helped the Rwandan authorities to put down several rebellions, markedly the rebellion of Ndungutse and his acolytes Rukara and Basebya. The Ndungutse rebellion had started in the north of Rwanda towards 1910 in Buberuka, Kibali and Bukonya, in the present-day Northern Province.

Collaboration of Rwandan court with the German colonial administration

The coming of the Germans was initially not resisted even though Rwanda was not militarily weak by the standards of the time. The colonial administrators could not manage without the collaboration of the Rwandan elite.

After the bloody Rucunshu war in 1896, Musinga decided to collaborate in order to defeat those who opposed his authority. Unknowingly, he was made a tool of the colonialists because of his mother and great uncles (Kabare and Ruhinankiko) who were already collaborators. Some reasons have been advanced for this:

- Reports from neighboring territories had suggested that the Whites were militarily superior. E.g. the advice from King Rumanyika of Karagwe to Kigeli not to resist.
- The fortune tellers advised the king that the best way to fight them was to allow them settle, learn more about them, and later drive them out.
- Other sources say that King Rwabugiri's kingdom had been split and he could not easily mobilize his people against the Whites.
- The protection of Musinga's power.
- Creation of military posts.
- Disunity of Rwandans due to the incident of Rucunshu.
- They wanted to benefit from European civilization.
- Economic weakness.
- Poor military organization.
- Fear of loss of political position in case of failure of resistance.
- Influence of missionaries.
- Hospitality of Rwandese.
- Fear to be punished like earlier resistances.
- Influence of gifts given by Germans.
- Treaty signing between King Musinga and Captain Bethe.

Resistance to German colonial rule

On their arrival, the Germans supported King Musinga and greatly assisted him to defeat those who were fighting his power (though he, himself passively resisted their rule), e.g Rukura from Gisaka in 1910 and Ndungutse who had conquered northern Rwanda in 1912.

After the events of Rucunshu and the death of Kabare in 1911, Ndungutse, whose real name was Birasisenge, had wanted to proclaim himself the legitimate king by claiming to be a descendent of Mibambwe IV Rutarindwa and Muserekande alias "Nyiragahumuza". The organization of the Ndungutse rebellion in the north of Rwanda was due to many reasons including the following:

1. The people of this region wished to recover their autonomy which had been highly compromised by King Kigeri IV Rwabugiri;
2. hey were also subjected to the forced labor introduced by the Germans during the fixing of frontiers in 1910;
3. At the time, the people were also obliged to provide food for the Germans thus forcing them to resist against both the Germans and the central authority of Rwanda.

These rebellions threatened a widespread breakdown of law and order and were met by swift German counter-measures. They were put down ruthlessly and their leaders severely dealt with. These rebels, among others included: Basebya, Ndungutse, Rukara and Nyiragahumuza.

Ndungutse Rebellion

Ndungutse lived at Bugwangali in Umutara Region. In his revolt, he was supported by Rukara (son of Bishingwe, son of Sekidandi) and Basebya, son of Nyirantwali. During the revolt, he conquered Murera, Bukonya, Kibali, Buberuka and a part of Bumbogo. Ndungutse's fate, unlike Rukara and Basebya who were killed in 1912, remains a mystery. Some say he died on the battlefield, while others say he went into exile.



Rukara rwa Bishingwe after his arrest

Rukara Rebellion

Rukara, the son of Bishingwe was one of the Abarashi warrior commanders during the reign of King Kigeri IV Rwabugiri who resisted colonization at the time; he lived at Gahunga (Burera District). He was known for killing a White Father Paulin Loupias, nicknamed *Rugigana* who was a priest in the Rwaza Catholic Parish. Father Loupias was killed because of his interference in the conflict between Rukara and Sebuyange of Kabaya over the limits of their territories. Moreover, some oral sources trace the dispute between Rukara and Bitahurugamba to Rukara's raid of his cows. Certainly, Father Loupias was killed by Manuka, one of Rukara's militias.

Basebya Rebellion

On top of this rebellion was Basebya's adventure. He was a son of Nyirantwari of Rugezi and the member of the Abashakamba militias of Kigeli IV Rwabugiri. With his band of warriors known as *Ibijabura*, Basebya waged a guerrilla war against the Germans in the regions of Buberuka, Kibari and Bukonya, which he finally conquered. He was arrested by Chief Rwubusisi, and was later killed on May 15, 1912 at a place called Kajwi in Kibari.



Basebya & Chief Rwubusisi

Nyiragahumuza Rebellion

Muserekande *alias* Nyiragahumuza, was one of King Rwabugiri's many concubines and lived in the northern part of Rwanda. She was one of the resistors to colonial rule and her resistance greatly differed from that of Basebya. She had used the Nyabingi cult, as a vehicle for propagating her ideas and consolidating support among the people of Murera, Bukonya and Buberuka (Rukiga) regions of northern Rwanda.

This was in reaction to the colonial teaching that the indigenous religion was satanic. She mobilized her people and they set Christian Churches on fire. When the Germans failed to



Muserekande alias Nyiragahumuza

defeat her, they asked for British assistance from Uganda.

Source: ALISON, L. Des FORGES, (2011), Defeat Is The Only Bad News: Rwanda under Musinga, 1896 - 1931, The University of Wisconsin Press, Page 98

Nyiragahumza was eventually captured in September 1911 when she and a group of her followers were forced to surrender to the British authorities in Bufumbira (Uganda). It is said that she was beheaded–and her head was sent to Europe – to prove beyond doubt that she was dead. This was an indication that she had given them a great headache.

By this combined rebellion, Musinga's power would have been seriously challenged and it was with the support of the German colonial administration, that such rebellions were defeated. Following the expedition of Ndungutse in Bumbogo and Buberuka, the acting Resident Representative Lieutenant Godivius, nicknamed *Bwana Lazima*, decided to fight against the opposition beginning on April 13th, 1912. Ndungutse and Rukara were killed a few days later. Rukara was hanged and Basebya arrested by Chief Rwubusisi, suffered the same fate on May 5th, 1912.

Another major event that occurred during this phase of civil administrators was the delimitation of Rwanda's borders. It was on February 8th, 1910 during a conference held in Brussels between Belgium, Germany and Britain that Rwanda's borders in the northern and western were redrawn.

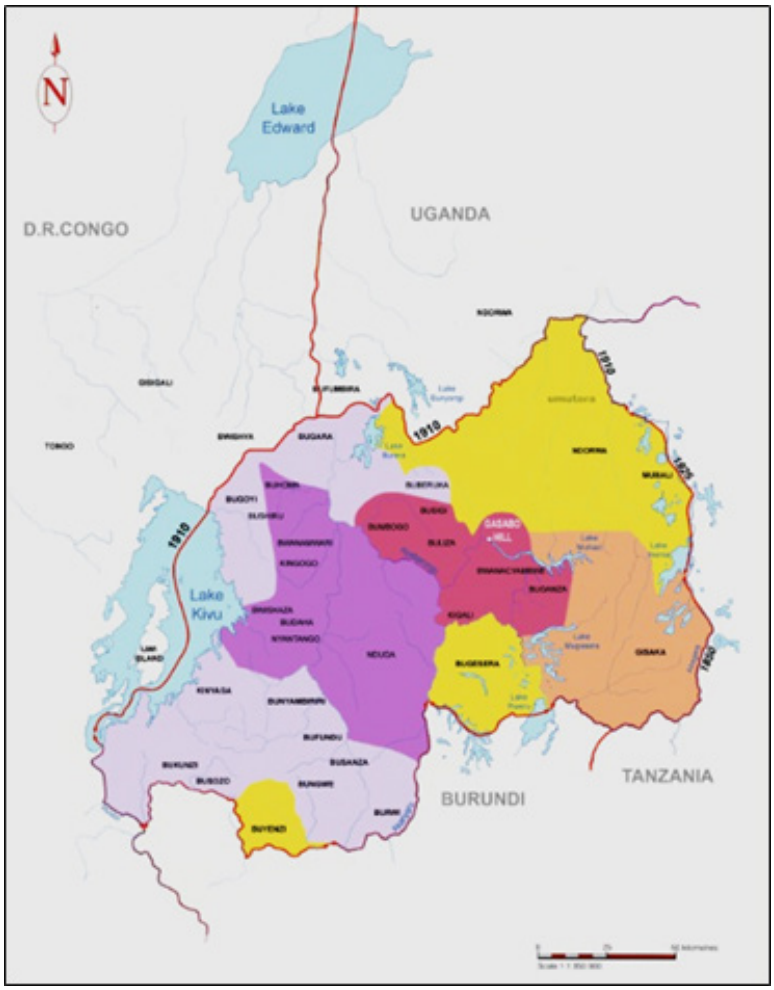
A map of Rwanda before the delimitation by the Brussels Conference of 1910



Sources*: Alexis Kagame (1972), Ferdinand Nahimana (1993) and MacMillan Rwanda Atlas (2006)*

During this time, Rwanda lost a third of its size. Ijwi Island, Bwishya and Gishari were annexed to Belgian Congo, while Bufumbira was annexed to Uganda. During this process, neither local realities nor the structure of the local population were taken into account.

A map of Rwanda after Brussels conference



Source: ***Alexis Kagame (1972), Ferdinand Nahimana (1993) and MacMillan Rwanda Atlas (2006)***

The coming of Christian Missionaries

After the coming of German administrators, they were followed by Christian Missionaries. During the German colonial rule, three religious groups were introduced: Islam, Catholicism and Lutheran Protestantism.

The first Catholic and Protestant missionaries came to Rwanda with the spirit of conquest and domination. This was discernible from the occupation strategies they adopted, their contempt of the people, their use of force, and the priority they gave to the interests of the colonizers.

Roman Catholic Missionaries

Roman Catholicism was brought by African Missionaries of Africa known as "*White Fathers*' ' headed by the Apostolic Vicar of Southern Nyanza (Tanzania) a french Bishop John Joseph Hirth. They were part of the "*Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique*" *(African Missionary Society),* a congregation founded in 1868 by the Archbishop of Algiers, Cardinal Charles Lavigerie.

Bishop John Joseph Hirth came to Rwanda from Shangi where Captain Bethe was staying and arrived at the royal court in Nyanza on February 2nd, 1900 accompanied by Fathers Brard and Paul Bartholomew and Brother Anselme.

Their arrival at the palace had been announced by the envoy of Captain Bethe to the King Musinga, and when they came, they expressed their desire to stay and establish a missionary station near the royal capital in order to attract the King and the great chiefs first, brief all socio-political elite and then general population as it was recommended by Cardinal Lavigerie.

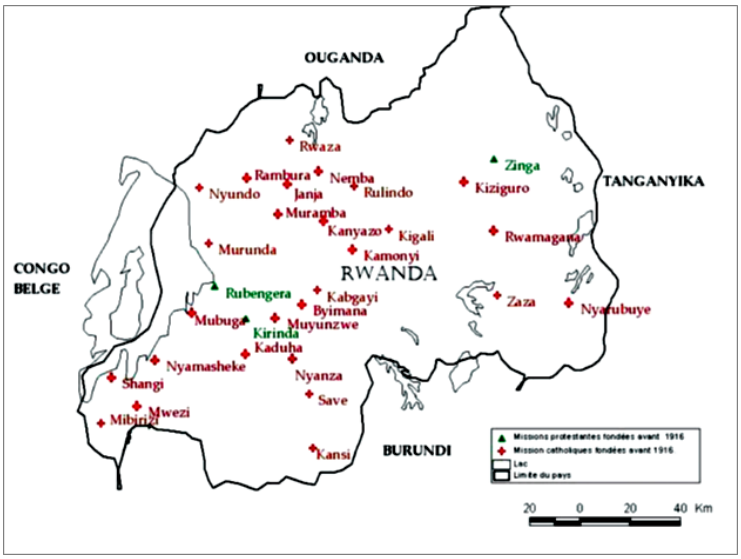
Musinga could not refuse to receive them since they were sent by German authorities. However, he did not allow them to build the missionary station at Nyanza, so they were authorized to establish the first missionary station at Save in Bwanamukari region on February 8th, 1900. Then, they established following missionary stations:

Mission	**Date of foundation**	**Founders**
Zaza	1/11/1900	Fathers Bartholomew, Zumbiehl and Pouget
Nyundo	25/04/1901	Fathers Bartholomew, Weckerle and Leon Classe

Rwaza	20/11/1903	Fathers Leon Classe, Dufays and Brother Hermenegilde
Mibilizi	23/11/1903	Fathers Zumbiehl, Verfurth and Cunrath
Kabgayi	9/05/1906	Fathers Lecoindre, Desbrosses and Brother Fulgence
Rulindo	26/04/1909	Fathers Boission, Dufays and Durand
Murunda	17/05/1909	Fathers Dufays, Ecomard and Soubielle
Kansi	13/12/1910	Fathers Lecoindre, Dufays and Brother Rodriguez
Kigali	21/11/1913	Fathers Donders, Zumbiehl and Brother Alfred

The White Brothers and Sisters also arrived in Rwanda between 1909 and 1910. In 1912, Rwanda was separated from the Vicariate of Southern Nyanza and became a separate Diocese under Bishop Joseph Hirth.

The first Rwandan priests were ordained on 7th October, 1917. They were Donat Reberaho and Balthazar Gafuku; while the first Rwandan bishop was Aloys Bigirumwami, consecrated on 1st June, 1952 at Kabgayi by Bishop Laurent Deprimoz.



Source: *Byanafashe Deo and Rutayisire Paul, (2016),* *History of Rwanda; from the beginning to the end of the twentieth century****, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), Kigali, Page 203.***

The establishment and expansion of Catholic missionary stations played a great role in the socio-cultural evolution of Rwandans moving from their own traditional customs to European civilization. Apart from evangelization, Catholic missionaries were most of the time involved in different social activities such as education, health care, assistance to the poor and the improvement of salaried work.

Sometimes, Catholic missionaries in Rwanda faced resistance from the royal court on one hand and on the other hand popular resistance which was often passive or violent in some regions (Mulera, Bugarura and Bugoyi).

Introduction of the Protestant Religion in Rwanda

The Protestant Church was introduced by the Missionaries of the Bethel Society. The missionaries of the Bethel German Society under Pastor Ernet Johanssen, accompanied by Recius, arrived in Rwanda in 1907 from Bukoba, Tanzania.

German Protestant missionaries were received at the royal court in Nyanza on the 29th July, 1907. They founded their first missionary station at Zinga, near Rwamagana in 1907, Kilinda in 1907, Rubengera in 1909, Kiteme and on Ijwi Island in 1909 and Remera – Rukoma in 1912.

All the Lutheran Bishops were Germans and when the Germans were defeated by the Belgians during World War I in 1916, these Bishops left Rwanda. So, by the time of their retirement in 1916, most Germans, including military officers, administrative civil servants, and Lutheran missionaries, had left Rwanda after having established three strong missions in Kilinda, Rubengera, and Remera-Rukoma.

Introduction of Islam and establishment of the Muslim Community in Rwanda

Islam was first introduced into Rwanda by Muslim traders from the East Coast of the Indian Ocean in the second half of the 19th century. Islam was linked to the advent of trade in the country. Swali-Arab traders moved around Rwanda during the reign of King Rwabugiri without managing to penetrate it. It is claimed that Islam came through Arab merchants who

first entered the country in 1901. Swahili-Arab traders such as Hamed Ibrahim, Said-Saif, and Said of Muscat used their messengers to send gifts to the royal court, but the king refused these gifts.

It is said that Mohammed bin Khalfan said Rumaliza, who was an Arab trader, asked for permission to establish relations with the King of Rwanda. He also sent him gifts of beads, cloth, and wires, but all this was without success. When he was chased from Belgian Congo, he forced his way to Rwanda where he encountered stiff resistance and resentment.

It was as a result of German rule that Islam was entrenched in Rwanda. From the beginning, the German administration not only encouraged the arrival of Muslim traders, but Muslims were also allowed to make settlements in the country. Germans recruited some Swahili-Arabs among their ranks. They served as soldiers (*Askaris)*, clerks, interpreters, porters, peddlers, bugles, maids, servant-cooks,

Taking advantage of the relative favor from the German administration, the Swahili-Arabs founded trade centers like Cyangugu, Kigali, Gisenyi and Bugarama... They built shops and stocked them with trade items from Tabora and Bukoba. Lastly, the Swahili-Arabs introduced Swahili as a language of administration. Then, from 1901, the Arabs, Indians, Europeans and Swahili became the first traders in Nyanza to look for animal hides and skins.

Some from those Muslim communities married local Rwandans and they built their first mosque in 1913. This mosque is known as the *Al-Fatah mosque*.

Application Activity 7.3

Q1. Identify the different factors that motivated the Rwandans to collaborate with the German colonialists.

Q2. Describe the following rebellions organized and rose up against the German colonial rule in Northern region:

Ndungutse rebellion

Nyiragahumuza rebellion

7.1.4. World War I and the end of German Administration

Learning Activity 7.4

From 1914 up to 1918, the World experienced the First World War opposing mainly European powers. The colonies, like Rwanda, were also engaged in. By making research via internet or visiting your school library and describe how the first World war in Rwanda. Write a summary you will share with others in classroom.

The First World War (1914 – 1918) was a war mainly among the European countries which eventually spread to Africa and Asia among the countries that had been colonized by Europeans.

When the First World War started in Europe in 1914, the German East Africa normally had to be maintained out of the conflict according to the neutrality statute to this part of Africa by the1885 Berlin General Act. Despite such neutrality of the conventional basin of Congo, Germans attacked Uvira and cut the telegraphic lines on 15th August, 1914. They destroyed the unique Belgian steamer on the Tanganyika Lake and controlled this lake.

The beginning of the hostilities came from a simple mistake. The initiative came not from Brussels, Berlin, Dar-es-salaam or Leopoldville but from subordinate agents. A German messenger came from Kigoma to the other border of Tanganyika (Congolese side); he had to inquire if Belgians intended to fight or not in their respective colonies. While waiting for the answer of Léopoldville, he was arrested and put under surveillance. Once he was released, he interpreted this attitude as aggressive intentions and regained Kigoma. His report on how he had been treated was followed by hostilities.

At the beginning of the war, on the western border of the Deutsch Ost Afrika, Germany was well equipped in terms of weapons and munitions with white and black staff. It was one of the reasons that have pushed the Belgians not to be involved immediately in the fights.

During World War I, King Musinga did all to support Germany by availing soldiers for German East Africa. This support included providing armed warriors of Iziruguru companies, Indengabaganizi and Indugaruga and supplies of food. The court hoped to recover the territories lost according to the German promise also. Therefore, there was agreement and collaboration between King Musinga on the one side and Captain Von Grawert, nicknamed Bwana Digidigi and Captain Max Wintgens, Bwana Tembasi, commanding the German troops in Rwanda from 1914 to 1916.

When hostilities started (December 1915), the German Forces that defended Rwanda formed three main groupings in the West and in the North:

- The first group (around 1 000 men) under the command of captain Wintgens (Tembasi) had to protect the northeast of the Kivu lake with strong positions on the peak of the hills edging the Sebeya river;
- The second group (around 7 000 men) commanded by Von Langen had to defend Rusizi River and had some detachments in Bujumbura, Kigoma and Ujiji;
- Finally, Captain Godovius (Bwana Lazima) had to face the British troops of the low Akagera (around 1500 men).

These German officers mastered the topography and resources of Rwanda.

The Belgians troops were deployed in two areas: one at Gisenyi, on the border of German East Africa (Tanganyika, Rusizi, North Kivu) under the command of General Tombeur that opened the fighting on April 18, 1916. They were composed of 14 battalions, grouped in 2 regiments and in two brigades.

Facing the borders of the German territory, the Northern brigade, under the command of colonel Molitor was in front of the German line of the Sebeya River. These troops had strong positions in Congolese mountains.

This Molitor's brigade was divided into two groups. The first had to pass by volcanoes to Uganda and passed through Gatsibo to Kigali which was occupied on the 6th May, 1916. This group had also to continue westward to cut the retreat to the troops of the Sebeya River.

The second group had to maintain the enemy in the strong position of the Sebeya. The Southern brigade, led by Colonel Olsen, had to concentrate on the south of Kivu Lake and to attack Nyanza. After conquering the island of Nkombo and occupying Cyangugu by driving back the troops of Cyangugu and those commanded by Von Langen, went on to Kigali. They occupied Nyanza on 19th May, 1916. After that the Belgians continued with the war in the West and South of the Rwandan territory.

Like in other countries, the effects of World War I on Rwanda were famines like Rumanura or Rumanurimbaba. This was due to the destruction of food crops like bananas and the suspension of sorghum cultivation ordered by Germans in order to deny cover to the enemy. The victory of the Belgians marked the beginning of Belgian rule in Rwanda.

Application Activity 7.4

Q1. How did the hostilities between Germany and Belgium start during the First World War in great lakes region?

Q2. How did King Yuhi V Musinga support the Germans during the fighting of the First World War?

7.1.5. Impact of German colonization on Rwanda

Learning Activity 7.5

By making research on internet and using textbooks, evaluate the impact of German colonial rule on Rwandan society. Write a summary of your findings so that you share with your classmates.

In the beginning, Germans had little control in the region. They were completely dependent on the indigenous government. They did not encourage modernisation and centralisation of the regime. Their reign was short-lived, from 1897 to 1916. This was due to their defeat in the First World War in Europe and Rwanda respectively in 1916. Their administration has the following impact in Rwanda:

Political impact

Until 1916, the Germans had taken care not to modify local institutions in any way in Rwanda. They had opted for the policy of indirect rule. In most cases, the local authorities were given up implementing roles while the decision making was basically reserved for Germans.

Due to European explorers' activities, like the initial visits of Baumann and Von Götzen, the country was opened to outside influence and later encouraged the coming of other Europeans, including the missionaries among others.

The Germans settled and helped King Musinga to gain greater nominal control over Rwanda affairs. They fought rebellions in the northern region of Rwanda and defended his rule. The Germans used indirect rule in Rwanda that gave power to the king and local authorities.

During the German colonial rule in Rwanda, there was border demarcation. It was a result of the European Convention of Brussels about fixation of the borders of Uganda, Congo and East Africa, Rwanda's borders by cutting off some parts. The fixing was done using a map and Rwanda lost parts equal to one and half of its actual size.

Economic impact

The Germans after pacifying the country, they started economic exploitation by implementing the road infrastructure. Before leaving the country in 1916, they had the project of building the railway Dar-Es-Salaam – Rusumo via Tabora – Kigoma – Mwanza. But the First World War interrupted its execution and the whole project was abandoned after their defeat and departure.

In the commercial sector, there was the presence of Arabs from Asia, the introduction of some coin money: the rupee (Urumiya) and Heller (Amahera) and the censuses were carried out in order to tax the people in a reasonable way. So, the German colonization of Rwanda led to the introduction of head tax on male adult Rwandans. It was 1 rupee by adult people from 1913. Many Rwandans saw money as a replacement for barter trade in terms of economic prosperity and social standing.

German colonization of Rwanda led to the export of large quantities of hides and an introduction of some eucalyptus trees and a few coffee trees were planted.

Social and cultural impact

The German colonization of Rwanda led to the coming of European missionaries in Rwanda. Roman Catholic missionaries, led by the White Fathers, came to Rwanda in 1900. They were followed by the Presbyterian missionaries in 1907. This promoted Christianity in Rwanda.

During this period, there was the building of a non-denominational school in Nyanza in 1904. This school only admitted sons of chiefs for learning Kiswahili, German, reading, writing and rudimentary arithmetic. By October 1913, there was the establishment of the Minor Seminary St Leon Kabgayi and the Great Seminary St Charles Borromeo of Kabgayi. The latter will host candidates from Rwanda and Burundi and repatriation of Rwandan seminarians from Rubia (Hangiro/ Tanzania).

Briefly, when the Germans left the country they would have been still well appreciated by the population and by the local authorities as well as by King Musinga himself.

Application Activity 7.1

Briefly, discuss impact of German colonial rule in Rwanda from 1897 up to 1916.

7.2. Rwanda under the Belgian colonial rule (1916 – 1962)

7.2.1. Belgian military occupation (1916-1924) and its reforms

Learning Activity 7.2

Through your own research by using internet or visiting school library, analyse the different reforms introduced in Rwanda during the period of Belgian military occupation. Make a summary of your work in form of assay to be used in class discussion.

The Belgians did not wait for the peace conclusions to act on the sovereignty of the conquered territories. Right after the conquering Rwanda in May 1916, the Belgian troops were replaced by occupation troops. The Belgian military High Command of German Eastern Africa was handed over to the Royal High Commissioner General J.P Malfeyt, with his residence at Kigoma in Tanganyika.

The Royal High Commissioner had the role of maintaining order and public safety over all territories and managed them while waiting for the end of the war and the future peace treaty. On April 6th, 1917, Major De Clerck was appointed resident of Rwanda and he arrived at Kigali on May 3th, 1917. The residence of Rwanda was divided into three military territories in 1917 and later in 1921 in to 4 military territories: The Western territory with Rubengera as territory capital, the Northern territory with Ruhengeri as territory capital, the territory of Nyanza with Nyanza as capital and the Eastern territory with Kigali as territory capital. The purpose of this territorial division was to facilitate the implementation of military orders relating in particular to food requisition and the recruitment of carriers.

In May 1919, Major de Clerck was replaced by F. Van Den Eende who was the first Belgian civilian resident. But at the end of 1920, he was replaced by George Mortehan as resident. The civil administration was maintained within military occupation system which ended practically in 1926.

Political and administrative reforms

With the colonial experience that was gained in Belgian Congo, the Belgians undertook gradual political measures that undermined the monarchical system in Rwanda. To achieve this, the Belgians introduced the following reforms:

Banning of the king's right over life and death (1917) over his subjects. The Royal Commissioner in agreement with the Belgian Government put a ban on the indigenous sovereigns' unconditional right over the life and death of their subjects. They only remained with an honorary title.

Limitation of the kings right to appoint or dismiss his chiefs and sub-chiefs (1923). From 1923, measures were put in place to prevent the king from appointing and dismissing chiefs without the permission of the Representative of the Belgium Government.

Economic reforms: Fiscal reforms (1924)

Fiscal measures of 1924. This involved the abolition of Imponoke that consisted of cows given as gifts to a chief who had lost cows in huge numbers. It also abolished Indabukirano, that consisted of cows that were given to a new chief upon assuming his duties as a new leader in a given area.

Socio- cultural reforms: Religious reforms (1917)

The king was obliged to allow freedom of religion and worship. By doing so, he lost his politico-religious power. Rwandans considered the king as their unique religious leader who communicated with 'god' through some sort of magical power. He was a source of life and prosperity for the whole kingdom.

Gisaka affair and the Orts-Mirner convention

Just before the signing of the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919, Belgium accelerated to put forward some negotiations with Britain concerning the redistribution of former German colonies in East Africa. It was in that context that Belgium succeeded in signing an agreement with Britain that came to be known as "Orts – Milner Convention", Orts for Belgium and Milner for Britain; signed on May 30, 1919.

According to that agreement, Belgium accepted to cede to Britain the territories of Gisaka, a part of Ndorwa, a part of Buganza and a part of Mutara from Rwanda and Bugufi from Burundi. This was equal to 1/8 of the country.

In compensation, Great Britain had accepted to support the Belgian demand for ratification of the tracing of frontiers of its colony on the mouth of Congo River. Actually, it was through the Treaty of Simulambuco in 1885 between the kings of Portugal and Cabinda's princes, that a Portuguese protectorate was decreed, reserving rights to the local princes and independent of Angola. Cabinda once had the Congo River as the only natural boundary with Angola, but in 1885, the Conference of Berlin extended the Congo Free State's territory along the Congo River to the river's mouth at the sea.

By receiving Gisaka and other territories, Britain would now be able to realise its project of building a railway line from Cape to Cairo which according to their wish, would pass entirely in an area controlled by the British and join together the whole of its colonial empire.

With the abandoning of the British ambitious project of building this railway, Gisaka lost its economic and political value. The two countries abolished the Orts – Milner Convention and informed the League of Nations. The League took note of this and on August 31st, 1923, it approved the repossession of territory by Rwanda. Britain evacuated it on the 31st, December 1923.

Application Activity 7.2

1. Explain the different colonial reforms introduced in Rwanda between 1916 and 1926.
2. Discuss the "Gisaka affairs"

7.2.2. Reforms under the Belgian Mandate (1924 – 1946)

Learning Activity 7.3

Carry out a research on the transformations made by the Belgian colonial government in during the Belgian Mandate period. Afterwards, present the outcomes of your study to the whole class.

Understanding of Mandate system

The Mandate, in ancient Roman law is a contract in which one person agreed to perform a gratuitous service for another in return for indemnification against loss. The mandate was formulated as a compromise between the desire of the victorious powers to retain control of conquered areas and their wartime declarations opposing territorial annexation.

The territories were placed under the supervision of the League of Nations, and the administration of the mandates was delegated to certain victorious powers until the areas could govern themselves. The mandates were divided into three classes (A, B and C)

Rwanda was placed under the Mandate regime 'B' providing that the mandatory country was responsible for the administration of and and promotion of the well-being of the population involved.

On October 20th, 1924, the Belgian Parliament approved Mandate 'B' on Rwanda. From then, Rwanda shifted from 'an occupational territory' to officially become 'a territory under Belgian Mandate'. Rwanda was also placed under Mandate 'B' because it had reached a certain degree of development. However, the League of Nations member states felt that it was still incapable of ruling itself. Belgium had the mission to politically emancipate the colony by; ensuring public services which were functioning through local authorities, favouring the moral and material well-being of indigenous people, opening the mandate territory to open trade and finally reporting annually to the League of Nations' Permanent Commission of Mandates.

It is after this Belgian approval that a number of reforms were introduced to meet the League's terms. Belgium administratively annexed this new territory to her own colony – Belgian Congo. Belgium simply applied on it the Congolese colonial law.

Political and administrative reforms (1926-1931)

The political reforms undertaken during this time included the famous Mortehan's administrative Reforms initiated as from 1926. These administrative reforms brought about the following transformations:

- Restructuring of the administrative entities. Rwanda which was originally ruled under 20 districts (Ibiti) and pastoral fiefs (Ibikingi) was now transformed into a system of chiefferies, sub-chiefferies (Chefferie, Sous-chefferie) and territories. By 1931, Rwanda consisted of 10 territories instead of 20 districts, 52 chiefferies that corresponded to historical traditional regions and 544 subchiefferies.
- Rwanda-Urundi was joined to Belgian Congo in terms of administration. Congolese colonial law was applied to both countries
- New distribution of power. The functions of the land, cattle and military chiefs were abolished. The nomination of leaders in this

reform contributed to the creation of disunity among Rwandans because it excluded the Hutu, Twa and Tutsi from modest backgrounds in favour of the Tutsi from rich families. Old chiefs were replaced by their sons who had graduated from the school reserved for the sons of chiefs. They were considered able to rule in a modern way because they were supposed to have acquired basic western leadership, writing and reading skills to serve as loyal colonial auxiliaries.

- The deposition of King Yuhi V Musinga (1931). On November 12th, 1931, the vice governor of Ruanda-Urundi, Charles Voisin proclaimed deposition orders from the throne and hence Musinga's deportation to Kamembe (today in Rusizi District). Later, he was banished/excluded Moba in Belgian Congo. On the same day, Rudahigwa was proclaimed King by Vice-Governor Voisin. He was enthroned under the title of Mutara III on November 16th, 1931. According to the report of the Vice Governor General Voisin in 1931, King Musinga was accused by the Belgians of opposing moral, social and economic work that was being carried out by the colonial administration. At the same time, Christian missionaries accused him of being hostile to to their work. Doing that, King Yuhi V Musinga wanted to safeguard or preserve political, customs independence and opposed to the establishment of European/ Belgian rule in Rwanda. He had a nationalistic and patriotic feeling to Rwandan society. King Musinga saw it as a means of keeping away foreign intruders and maintaining the independence of the kingdom.

Economic reforms

The economic performance of Belgian rule in Rwanda between 1924 and 1946 was significant in different economic domains that were agriculture, mining and sociocultural domains. To implement all the required work in these domains with the main one being agriculture, led to the introduction of compulsory crop cultivation known as "Ishiku" which was added to colonial forced labour "Akazi" by the Resident's decree No. 49 of 31st December, 1925.

Agriculture

The Belgian's main focus on agriculture was on areas such as;

Food production to fight against famines and large scale production of cash crops such as coffee.

Food production

During Mandate period, Beligians authorities concentrated more efforts for working on coffee farms, with little or no pay. This led to a shortage in food supply which result, a number of famines. In 1924-1925, when the program of regulating and increasing the production of food crops was being elaborated, the Gakwege famine was on. In 1928-1929, the Rwakayihura famine killed a number of Rwandans. These famines affected people more often than before the coming of the colonialists. To phase out these famines, Belgians took over vacant lands and some pasture lands and planted drought resistant crops such as cassava, sweet potatoes, beans and Irish potatoes.

Since 1925, the imposition of compulsory food crop cultivation known as Ishiku became the order of the day. One family was required to plant at least 10 acres of food crops. Rwandans had to even go and work in fields that were far away from their homes but were near main communication lines. This was to please any passing high ranking colonial authority. However, this compulsory food crop cultivation program did not fight the famines but served as a tool for increasing the merits for the people in charge of the implementation. By 1932, plantations covered 7,600 hectares of the land and it had become so unbearable that people migrated to Uganda in search of free and paid labour.

Large scale production of cash crops

People were obliged and forced to grow cash crops like coffee, cotton, tea, pyrethrum and others. Cultivation of cash crops such as coffee, on a large scale, was imposed on peasants. The cultivation of cash crops mobilised more people than the cultivation of food crops. This was so because they were for promoting exports which were only limited to cow hides. By 1931, cash crops – mainly coffee were made compulsory and systematic to the extent that a peasant had to possess a plantation of at least 54 coffee

trees, a sub-chief a plantation of 250 coffee trees and a chief a plantation of 1000 coffee trees. Coffee production increased from 40,000 kilograms in 1927 to 2,000 tonnes by 1937. An office in charge of the quality of exports was formed: OCIRU (Office du café Industriel du Ruanda-Urundi). The same Akazi that was used in food crop cultivation, was also used in cash crop cultivation.

Animal husbandry

The Belgian colonial regime paid attention to livestock rearing, especially cattle. They set up selection farms since 1926 in Songa, Cyeru, Gisenyi and Nyagatare. Animal health services and veterinary centres were established in rural areas to cure periodic livestock epidemics such as Muryamo. Muryamo was a mysterious disease that affected cows in Rwanda at the end of the 19th Century. It killed many cows. The other disease that affected the livestock was trypanosomiasis.

Fiscal system

The Germans had introduced the use of money as a means of exchange in trading by the time they exited Rwanda in 1916. They used a currency known as rupee. When the Belgians took control, they introduced a new currency to replace the rupee. In 1927, they introduced a currency known as "Franc Congolais". They did this so as to facilitate exchange and payment of taxes by the locals. Tax was made compulsory as it was needed to finance public service in the colony.

Since 1917, taxes were paid by all Rwandan adults to add on to the colonial funds and chiefferies administrations. However, from 1931, this capitation tax was extended to every taxpayer after carrying out a general census of Rwandans. It became compulsory and was only received in cash.

Mining

Rwandans were introduced to mining and running of small scale industries. The mining activities were mainly carried out by Minetain company (Sociétés des Mines d'Etain) at Gatumba (Ngororero District) from 1935, at Musha (Rwamagana District) from 1937. Other mining companies included SOMUKI and GEORWANDA. SOMUKI (Société Minière de Muhinga et de Kigali) opened sites at Rutongo (Rulindo District) in 1933

and Nyungwe Forest in 1936 for mining gold. GEORWANDA (Compagnie Géologique et Minière du Ruanda) opened sites at Rwinkwavu (Kayonza District) from 1940.

Missionaries as another form of colonial agents established semi-industrial enterprises for cigarettes at Rwaza and Gisenyi, milk processing and candle production plants from 1935.

Salaries and professional training were introduced by mining companies, mining and farming colonialists, trading companies, public works and religious missions to their labour force. This was done to promote the exchange system since Rwandans were entering the capitalist system.

Transport and communication network

The development of transport and communications networks brought about the introduction of bicycles and cars from Europe and Asia as from 1927. Moreover, this network joined trading centres that started forming important urban centres such as Kiramuruzi, Kigali, Nyanza, Astrida, Kamembe, Gisenyi and Ruhengeri.

Fishery

This activity was known and practised in traditional ways on rivers and lakes. The Belgians improved it by introducing new types of fish in 1935. Tilapia niga species were planted in lakes such as Muhazi, Bulera and Ruhondo while tilapia nilotica were planted in Lake Kivu.

Forestry

Forestry was also encouraged to protect the environment and to control soil erosion in the highland regions of northern and western Rwanda.

Forced labour imposed on people (Akazi)

Before colonisation, there was Uburetwa that was kept in the sense of many tasks rendered to local chiefs as citizens' duties. Under Belgian colonial rule, to Uburetwa was added the forced labour in the form of working on white plantations, carrying heavy loads, road constructions, building of churches, schools, hospitals and digging of anti-erosion ditches to exploit the colony. The Belgian colonial administration named it Akazi

to differentiate it from the services provided in Uburetwa. The Akazi was not remunerated or was just slightly remunerated. The more this forced labour (Akazi) became so unbearable, the more Rwandan people fled it into neighbouring Uganda, Tanganyika and Belgian Congo in search of free and paid labour especially from coffee and tea plantations. The Akazi persisted alongside the Uburetwa until its abolition in 1949 by King Mutara III Rudahigwa.

Socio-cultural reforms

Abolition of ubwiru and umuganura institutions (1925)

The abolition of these two pillars of the monarchy paved way for the decline of the Rwanda Kingdom.

- **The new education system (1925).** Belgians substituted the informal education provided in Itorero by formal education. They aimed to promote colonial auxiliaries through subsidised and free education. However, formal education remained the monopoly of the Christian missionaries.
- **The medical program**. By 1931, Belgians had established hospitals (of Kigali and Astrida) and many dispensaries throughout the colony to deal with widespread diseases. Vaccination campaigns were also carried out from 1933. The introduction of school curricula, sections of training on medical assistance and medical auxiliaries in specific schools (Astrida, Kabgayi and Kigali) began in 1937. At the end of the Mandate regime (1945 – 1946), Rwanda had sixteen hospitals – both private and public and thirtyfour dispensaries. The construction of the hospitals was not for the Rwandese interest but in favor of the Beligian colonialists who needed strong manpower for exploitation of the country.
- **Religious change**. Christianity was introduced in Rwanda under the German rule. However, it was not welcomed as it undermined the king's moral influence on his subjects. It later benefited from the administrative reform of 1926 which required that to be a chief or sub-chief, one must have a minimum of western education acquired from the colonial schools and the Catholic church dominated other churches by having a large number of churches

and congregations. However king Yuhi V Musinga continued to resist and this led to his depression in 1931. He was replaced by his own Mutara III Rudahigwa who converted to christianity and consecrated Rwanda to Christ the king on october 27th,1946 at Nyanza.

- **Introduction of identity cards.** By 1935, Belgians had come up with identity cards known as Ibuku which detailed the following; clan identity, marital status, names of parents, area of residence and "ethnic" group that was given after one's socio-economic class (Tutsi, Hutu or Twa).

Application Activity 7.3

1. Analyse the impact of forced labours and obligatory cash crops on Rwandan people during mandate period
2. In 1935, the identity card was introduced in Rwanda and Burundi, mentioning if a person is a Hutu, Tutsi or Twa. Analyse the impact of the introduction of this identity card in great lakes conflicts.
3. Discuss the reason why Musinga was deposited.

7.2.3. Reforms under the Belgian Trusteeship (1946 – 1962)

Learning Activity 7.4

Using the internet or textbooks, make a research about what the Belgians should have done in different sectors to enable Rwanda gain autonomy and be prepared for political independence. Compile an essay for presentation

Towards the end of the World War II, the victorious nations created the United Nations Organisation with principal mission of maintaining peace and security in the world. At the same time in Rwanda, the mandate regime was replaced by the Trusteeship regime but all under the Belgian authority. It was on the 13th December 1946 that the UN and Belgium signed a Trusteeship Agreement on Rwanda and on April 29, 1946, the Belgian Parliament approved it. The Belgium was given a mission of preparing Rwanda for internal autonomy and later on independence. Belgian

government had the duty to promote economic and social development as well as of the local people who would manage the country after attaining independence. In order to help the Belgium fulfil that mission, the UN put up a Trusteeship Council which had to send a mission every 3 years to territories under Trusteeship. The purpose of these missions was to hold consultations and examine together with the state holding Trusteeship any petition arising from the administrated population. Such missions in Rwanda were in 1948, 1951, 1954, 1957 and 1960.

Political reforms

Creation of a government for Rwanda and Burundi was created in 1947 and was purely consultative. In 1949 it was abolished and replaced by a General council for Rwanda and Urundi . This was made up of 53 members; 9 high level personalities who include the governor, 2 residents, 2 kings and 4 high level Belgian functionaries. Besides these, there were seats reserved to 4 representatives chosen by the high council of Rwanda-Urundi, from among its members, 18 representatives of expatriates and 14 members appointed by the governor .This council also played a consulatative role not a decision making role.

Reform 2:

By the decree of the 14th July 1952,on national level , Belgians established :

High Council of the State presided by the King and composed of representatives of 9 councils of 9 territories (Cyangugu, Astrida, Nyanza, Kigali, Kibungo, Byumba, Ruhengeri, Gisenyi and Kibuye); 6 chiefs elected by their peers, a representative elected by each council of the territory from the members who sat on it, 4 people chosen because of their understanding of the problems of the country and 4 people chosen due to their level of assimilation to western civilization.

The "Conseil du Territoire (The Territorial Council)":It was composed by:

- The head of the territory
- Chiefs from the territory

A number of sub-chiefs which had to be equal to the number of chiefs. The subchiefs who sat on the Territorial Council were chosen by their fellow sub-chiefs from their ranks.

Notables on council. Their number was equal to that of chiefs and sub-chiefs and were elected from an electoral college composed of 3 people elected by each ‘‘conseil de chefferie’’ from among its members.

The ‘‘Conseil de chefferie (The Council of Chiefs)’’:It was made up of the chief himself who was its chairperson and 10 to 18 members of whom 5 were sub-chiefs elected by their peers, others were notables elected from members of a college made up of 3 notables from a sub-district. The 3 notables were chosen by the subdistrict council from among its members.

The ‘‘Conseil de sous-chefferie (The Council of Sub-Chief)’’: it was composed of a sub-chief who presided over it and 5 to 9 members elected by an electoral college designed by the sub-chief.

Economic reforms

- The Ten-Year Economic and Social Development Plan initiated by the Belgians in Ruanda-Urundi in 1951 as a result of the first UN mission of 1948 recommendations.This was meant to empower Rwanda economically in preparation for self-rule and later independence.
- The abolition of Ubuhake (clientelism) system based on cows after the decree of King Mutara III Rudahigwa on April 1st, 1954. This forced the cattle keepers to reduce the number of cows to manageable and profitable sizes and liberation of pastoral clients (Abagaragu) for private initiatives.
- Land reforms which touched on land use mainly for both food production and cash crop farming for economic gains.
- Operations of Akazi which saw Rwandans engaged in forced labour in activities that were for the economic gain and development of Rwanda, e.g working on plantation farms, construction of buildings and roadsall in favor of Beligian authorities.

Socio-cultural reforms

King Mutara III Rudahigwa’s decree consecrating Rwanda to Christ the King on October 27th, 1946 at Nyanza by which Christianity through the Catholic

- Church became the state religion. All other traditional religious practices were prohibited (Kubandwa, Guterekera, etc.)
- Construction of schools, hospitals and dispensaries, roads, drainage of marshlands and planting of trees termed in the 1951 Ten -Year Economic and Social Development plan. This was for shifting the Rwandan economy and getting more educated and healthy manpower.

7.2.4. The causes and effects of the 1959 crisis in Rwanda

Learning Activity 7.4

By your own research about the history of Rwanda during the period of 1957 – 1962, study the events of 1959 in Rwanda. Make a summary of its causes and its effects on Rwandan society.

Introduction

The 1959 crisis in Rwanda was a result of the long term bred tension between King Mutara III Rudahigwa and the Rwandan elite on one side and the Belgian administration and the Catholic Church on the other. The tension first occurred in 1954 when the Rwandan elite headed by the king claimed the creation of lay schools to reduce the monopoly of the Catholic Church in teaching and education. The Rwandan elite had also started blaming Belgians for; being reluctant to allow Rwanda to attain self-rule, poor socio-economic development, unfair participation of Rwandans in administration and in making decisions on their country's future.

The reaction was so harsh that the king was treated as a communist. In that same year, the king abolished the Ubuhake without the consent of colonial administration. On February 22nd, 1957, the High Council of the State (Conseil Superieur du Pays) prepared a memorandum known as "Mise au point"(putting in focus) to submit to the 1957 UN mission. It severely criticised the Belgian administration and demanded self-rule as soon as possible. The Belgian administration reacted by instigating the publication of "Le Manifeste des Bahutu"(Hutu Manifesto) in which its authors accused the king and the Tutsi elite of having monopolised power and orchestrated a lot of social injustices and inequalities to the masses.

From then up to December 21st, 1958, the Belgian administration intensified hatred against the king and his Tutsi elite by declaring her support to the Hutu masses.

Later, King Mutara III Rudahigwa died suddenly in Bujumbura on July 25th, 1959 in mysterious and suspicious circumstances. With his death, the Belgian administration got a chance to block all political initiatives of the king and turned things to their favour.

On October 10th, 1959 Jean-Paul Harroy, the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi, decreed the relocation of three UNAR influential chiefs – Kayihura, Rwangombwa and Mungarurire as a punishment for having participated in the UNAR meeting held in Kigali. This decision ended up in stopping the relationship between UNAR and the colonial authority. Uprisings against this unfair relocation were contained by the Public Force in Kigali. One person was killed and a few others were injured. Many chiefs and sub-chiefs resigned. Due to this situation, the governor suspended the relocation. However, the situation kept on getting worse.

From the 1st to 7th November 1959 a flare-up of violence erupted in Gitarama against the Tutsi and the members of UNAR. Some called it a "planned revolution" instigated by the colonial rule through members of PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA broke out against the Tutsi and members of UNAR. The violence first broke out in Gitarama (Muhanga District), then Ruhengeri (Musanze District), Gisenyi (Rubavu District), Byumba (Gicumbi District), Kibuye (Karongi District), Nyanza, Astrida (Huye District), Kigali and Gikongoro (Nyamagabe District). Only Cyangugu (Rusizi and Nyamasheke Districts) and Kibungo (Ngoma District) were safe. It is in this state of unrest that Colonel Guy Logiest was called upon from Stanleyville (Belgian Congo) by Resident J.P Harroy to manage military operations of armed men stationed in Rwanda.

He then proceeded by arresting, imprisoning, exiling, assassinating and dismissing about twenty chiefs and a hundred sub-chiefs. He automatically replaced them with the Hutu. He was finally appointed Special Military Resident of Rwanda on November 10th, 1959 to finish up the Belgian plan of installing their protected Hutu regime.

Note: This wave of violence targeted most members of UNAR and the Tutsi. Many of them were killed, their houses burnt down while thousands of them were forced to exile in the neighbouring countries of Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Belgian Congo where they underwent so many sufferings in refugee camps.

Causes of the 1959 crisis in Rwanda

The causes of the 1959 crisis can be attributed to the following:

- *The 'divide and rule' policy* commonly used by colonial powers in their respective territories. The Belgians enforced this policy between 1916 and 1962. As soon as they established their rule, the Belgians undertook a series of reforms aiming at transforming the traditional social classes into "ethnic" groups to confirm that there was nothing common between the Hutu, the Twa and the Tutsi. In traditional Rwanda, the terms ubuhutu, ubututsi and ubutwa meant dynamic social identities based on wealth and political levels, that is, a Hutu who acquired wealth could become a Tutsi and a Tutsi who was impoverished could become a Hutu.
- *The distribution of administrative responsibilities* in the new structure was discriminatory. This was because it excluded members of low social backgrounds, mostly the Hutu and Tutsi of modest family, in favour of the Tutsi from influential families.
- *There was antagonism between King Mutara III Rudahigwa and the Belgian Colonial Administration* (1954 – 1959) resulting from the king's opposition to the church's monopoly in education. The king pushed for more representation of Rwandans in the political administration of the country. This bred hatred towards the Rwandan Tutsi elite by the Belgians.
- *The sudden death of King Mutara III Rudahigwa on 25th, July, 1959 disoriented* the fight for independence. The king was a good symbol of unity among Rwandans.
- *Effects of Cold War*. Arising from the competition between superpowers (USA and USSR) the Cold War affected the countries which were colonised in Africa. These superpowers wanted to gain political and economic influence (capitalism and communism)

throughout the world. Belgians accused the monarchy of preparing independence in form of the communist system. They conspired against the Tutsi elite to support Hutu leaders.

Consequences of the 1959 crisis in Rwanda

The 1959 crisis in Rwanda resulted in consequences that not only affected Rwanda but also most of the Great Lakes region.

- A lot of people lost their lives. Many Tutsi and members of UNAR were killed.
- Property was destroyed. These included houses, livestock, crops and businesses.
- People were displaced from their homes. They migrated to hostile areas like Nyamata, which was highly infested with tsetse flies.
- People migrated to the neighbouring countries and became refugees.
- Since this crisis, Rwanda inherited the "ethnic"-based ideology that later resulted into the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994. The crisis left behind the leadership based on discrimination and regionalism.
- There was perpetuation of the Belgian colonial model of administration. Belgium continued to serve in the new regime as government political advisors, technicians, etc.
- There were arbitrary arrests, imprisonments and assassinations.
- The 20 chiefs (Tutsi) were dismissed and 150 sub-chiefs (all Tutsi) were replaced by the members of PARMEHUTU assisted by Colonel Guy Logiest.



Application Activity 7.4

Discuss the main causes of the violent events which happened in Rwanda in 1959.

7.2.5. The process of independence in Rwanda

Learning Activity 7.5

Carry out a research by reading various historical materials and browsing the Internet to find out more information about the failures and achievements of the Belgian rule in Rwanda. Analyse the activities that led to attainment of independence in Rwanda. Summarise the findings in your notebooks and later discuss them in class.

The United Nations Organisation formed a Trusteeship Council in 1945. The council's mandate was to oversee the decolonisation of some dependent colonies. Rwanda was one such dependent territory that was put under the UN trusteeship. To monitor the process of decolonisation, the United Nations Trusteeship Council kept sending missions to these colonies.

In Rwanda the process was as follows:

- **From 1948 up to 1960:** five missions of the UN visited Rwanda and blamed the Belgians for deliberately delaying the independence of Ruanda-Urundi.
- **In 1952**: the Belgians introduced the statutory order establishing the representative organs held by various councils.
- **In 1956:** the law amendments introduced the universal suffrage at the level of aforementioned organs.
- **In February 1957:** The "Mise au Point" memorandum was prepared by the High Council of the State demanding more representation of Rwandans in political administration of the country. It was addressed to the Belgians and the Trusteeship Council. The Belgians rejected it and instigated a counter memorandum called the Hutu Manifesto (March 23rd, 1957). The memorandum accused the Tutsi of monopolising power and practicing social injustices. It was signed by Gregoire Kayibanda, Joseph Habyarimana alias Gitera, Calliope Murindahabi and Maximillien Niyonzima.
- **In March 1958:** King Mutara III Rudahigwa created a committee that had to analyse the Hutu-Tutsi social problem.

- **In June 1958:** The reaction of the High Council of the State on the above committee report noted the existence of a socio-political problem on the administration level that was not "ethnic" in nature. The problem was resolved by the removal of the "ethnic" mention from the identity cards. However, this attempt failed because some of the political parties that were being formed were "ethnic"-based e.g PARMEHUTU
- **In March 1958:** King Mutara III Rudahigwa created a committee that had to analyse the Hutu-Tutsi social problem.
- **1959-1962:** A series of events that quickened the declaration of independence took place:

On May 8th, 1959: the statutory order set up political parties, namely UNAR (l'Union Nationale Rwandaise) formed on September 3rd, 1959, APROSOMA (l'Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse) formed on February 15th ,1959, PARMEHUTU (le Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation des Bahutu) formed on October 9th, 1959 and RADER (Rassemblement Democratique du Rwanda) formed on September 14th, 1959. On July 25th, 1959, King Mutara III Rudahigwa died in mysterious circumstances. He was the great figurehead in the struggle for the independence of Rwanda. He was replaced by his young, brother, Kigeli V Ndahindurwa on July 28th, 1959.

From 1st to 7th November, 1959, a spark of violence erupted in Gitarama against the Tutsi and the members of UNAR. The violence was sparked by members of PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA. It spread throughout the country except in Cyangugu and Kibungo.

In June – July 1960, communal elections took place and on 30th July, 1960, PARMEHUTU was declared the winner with 74.4% of the votes. However, UNAR and the king protested against the results.

On October 26th, 1960, a provisionary government was put in place by the Resident Jean-Paul Harroy and Gregoire Kayibanda became the first prime minister.

On January 28th, 1961, The Coup d'état of Gitarama took place. Many decisions were made including the abolition of the monarchy, the proclamation of the republic and nomination of Dominique Mbonyumutwa as the first president while Kayibanda Gregoire remained prime minister.

In February 1961, there was the recognition of the new regime by the Belgian Trusteeship.

On September 25th, 1961, legislative elections and a referendum (Kamarampaka) for or against the monarchy regime was conducted. The monarchical system was voted against in favour of the republic regime. On the same day, legislative elections took place and on 2nd October 1961, the legislative assembly that later elected the president of the republic was put in place.

On October 26th, 1961, Kayibanda Gregoire was elected and confirmed as the president of the first Republic of Rwanda.

On July 1st July, 1962, Rwanda recovered independence in a mitigating environment

Role of the Trusteeship Council in Rwanda

The UN Trusteeship Council played a great role in Rwanda's politics from 1945 up to 1962 as follows:

- It sent different missions to check on the political, economic and social progress in Rwanda in the following years; 1948, 1951, 1954, 1957 and 1960.
- It signed a Trusteeship Accord with Belgium proposing reforms for future self-rule, economic and financial systems plans and social assistance programs to be carried out as a result of the 1948 first UN mission to Rwanda.
- It blamed the Belgians for anti-democratic attitudes in Rwanda and discrimination in its different recommendations after its visit missions.
- It sponsored and supervised a referendum on the monarchy system in Rwanda in 1961.

- It urged the Belgians to withdraw their forces led by Colonel Guy Logiest from Rwanda in 1959.
- It urged Belgium to respect the terms of the Trusteeship Accord providing total autonomy to Rwanda in December of 1961.

However, the UN Trusteeship Council is blamed for not having paid special attention to the 1959 crisis and its aftermath because it left Belgians to recognise the newly instituted regime after the Coup d'etat of Gitarama (28th, January, 1961) in February 1961.

Application Activity 7.5

Discuss the main steps that led to the recovery of the independence of Rwanda by the 1st July 1962.

End of Unit Assessment 7

1. Explain the circumstances under which the Belgian rule was established in Rwanda.
2. What were the different stages of the Belgian rule in Rwanda?
3. Identify the political, economic and socio-cultural performance of the Belgians in Rwanda.
4. Evaluate the effects of the political reforms undertaken by the Belgians in Rwanda.
5. The Belgian rule influenced both negative and positive changes in Rwanda. Discuss.

UNIT 8 COLONIAL DIVISIONISM IN RWANDA

Key Unit Competence: The learner should be able to understand the colonial divisionism and role played by colonization in dividing Rwandans.



Introductory Activity 8.1

Many publications have been produced on the introduction of colonial divisionism and the role played by colonization in dividing Rwandans. By using internet and / or visiting your school library, make a research about introduction of colonial divisionism in Rwanda, then assess how European colonialists introduced divisionism in Rwanda.

Prepare a supporting written document you will use to discuss with your colleagues in order to share the findings of your research.

8.1 European theories on Rwandan immigration and settlement



Learning Activity 8.1

By searching on internet, read different European writings on Rwandan settlements and identify different hypotheses used by Europeans to justify the settlement of Rwanda.

The Europeans, from explorers, colonial agents to churches missionaries, established wrongly the existence of racial groups in Rwanda. This speculative assertion became a political and ideological challenge of exceptional importance to the country. The analyses proposed by missionary and colonial writings were conceived within the context of a racial ideology. They resulted in a "disseminationist" theory that was developed towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the racial and divisive concepts were widely disseminated by information organs and were implemented by some intellectuals and political leaders.

These views were propagated by ethnologists and missionaries who excelled in classifying and categorizing hierarchies of peoples, which were baptized as "races" from different regions: the Bantu, Hamites and Nilotics. From this perspective, the original settlements of Rwanda were associated with migration waves. The entire history of Rwanda was reduced to the migration of conquering races. It is believed that the Hutu came first and pushed the Twa back toward the forested areas. Later, the Tutsi are said to have dominated the two groups.

What is unfortunate is that many political leaders found in these theories arguments that supported their ideology of division, exclusion, and even genocide. Further, this interpretation of Rwandan society has been and still is entertained by some international media. Other theories attempting to explain the original settlements of Rwanda are based on linguistic, archeology, and anthropology.

8.1.1. Linguistic theories

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, linguists found a community speaking a Prototype-Bantu language. This was an artificial language formed from terms borrowed from modern language. This language permeated through a well-organized society practicing agriculture, animal husbandry, and metal works. This Bantu language was said to have developed in Asia and to have been introduced in Sub-Saharan Africa by groups of Hamites. According to this theory, Hamites are considered to be blacks of a superior race who were responsible for bringing civilization to this part of Africa.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the Hamitic ideology was replaced by one of the Bantu. The Bantu became the centre of all ideological and historical conceptions. In an attempt to provide scientific arguments to these views, many linguists believed in the Prototype-Bantu language; there were terms which designated activities related to agriculture, animal husbandry and metal works. In the process, they were silent on the presence and the importance of other linguistic groups that preceded the arrival of Bantus speakers, thus denying these groups any contribution to civilization.

It follows that foreign contributions of theory were privileged and that interest was focused on the origins and migrations of groups of people. The continuous human presence mentioned in the first part of this chapter was not amply taken into consideration. It is necessary to take a multidisciplinary approach to interpret and understand the history of settlements in Rwanda. It is also important to recognize the presence of cultural factors which prove the existence of these settlements. As such, we call for a review of the existing theory on settlements in Rwanda particularly and in the Great Lakes region more generally.

During the last century, several theories were advanced on the themes of origin, migration, and settlement. They can be summarized into the four major stages of their evolution:

The first stage occurred around the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century – between 1863 and 1924. It is characterized by theories that link the origin of African people to Asia45. The Pygmies and Bushmen, or San, were the first settlers in Africa. They settled in the forest and savannah, respectively. These theories deal with two last migratory waves, those of the Hamites and the Bantu. The distinction between the Hamites and Bantu was not clear during this period. The Hamites were at first identified with the Bantu by John Speke, as opposed to being related to the blacks and Pygmies. Later, however, when Speke arrived in Ethiopia, he deemed that Tutsi and Galla pastoralists were related.

Some considered the Bantu to be a group resulting from intermarriages between Negroids and Hamites. Others conceived them to be a racial group different from the Hamitics. Von Gotzen considered the Batutsi to be Hamites who dominated the Bahutu. This idea of domination was linked to the Hamitic myth emanating from an erroneous interpretation of the Bible, according to which difference in race resulted from a curse to Noah's son, Cain. The blacks were thought to originate from this son and were condemned to become slaves of his brothers, Shem and Japheth. The Great Lakes Region played an important role in the spread of Bantu-speakers.

The expansion of the Bantu-speakers is said to have started in the second century B.C. Well-armed and led by Hamitic aristocracy, the Bantu are said to have conquered the natives of the Great Lake Region (Johnston 1919, 22-28).

The second stage stretched from the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century to the end of the Second World War and was characterized by questioning the nature of outside migrations. The Australopithecus discoveries in eastern and southern Africa49 in the 1920s contributed to skepticism that Africans had foreign origins.

However, the concept of migration continues to preoccupy the views of history, the debate on population movements, and concepts of migration within the continent. From this perspective, the history of settlement in the Great Lakes Region is presented in three phases: The San (Bushmen and Hottentots) phase, the Caucasoid phase, those who imposed themselves on the San, and the Bantu phase, which arrived during the Old Stone Age.

During this second period of theory, the Hamitic hypothesis was widely taught in Burundian and Rwandan schools, where it fell on fertile ground for two reasons. Firstly, the colonial power drew capital from the theory in order to justify its policy of exclusion. Secondly, it was used by the Tutsi and later by Hutu leaders, who were advised and supported in the propagation of this myth by the Catholic Church and the colonial powers in Rwanda. The latter used these theories to justify divisive policies so as to safeguard their interests and ensure the future of their political stay in Rwanda.

The Hamitic theory reinforced the biases and cleavages between groups during the colonial period. Coupled with the Bantu theory, the Hamitic theory also served to institutionalize ethnicity after independence. The gap between groups was reinforced by imported biases, stereotypes, and ethnographic literature. The divisive reports of Belgian administrators and missionaries were also widely disseminated by missionary schools.

Tutsi cultural authorities welcomed the Hamitic theory because it served to justify the privileges they were endowed with by the colonial government. These privileges were also strengthened by the establishment of internal

and external security organs. An awareness of these reforms provoked sentiments of inferiority and exclusion among the masses vis-à-vis the privileged class of the Tutsi.

The third stage was characterized by the questioning of the Hamitic theory and controversy regarding the origin of Bantu languages. The location of Bantu origins and the means used to arrive at a theory of origins were also questioned. The Hamitic myth conceived at the end of the nineteenth century to explain civilizational trends in Africa was opposed by 1949 and dismantled by 1954. It became clear that it was impossible to distinguish a Hamitic based on physical characteristics. The theory of Bantu expansion came to dominate views of settlement in central, eastern and southern Africa. Many anthropologists, archeologists and linguists strived to look for arguments in favor of this Bantu-expansion theory.

The fourth stage was dominated by the Greenberg theory, which located the home of the Bantu in the northwest of the current Bantu territory. This theory is accepted by many linguists. The expansion of Bantu speakers is illustrated by the map proposed by three linguists from the map indicates the routes followed and the stages of expansion. The expansion of the prototype- Bantu language is said to have begun around 3500-5000 B.C. while the oriental group began around 1000 BC57. This timeline was accepted by many archeologists, who attempted to add new data, especially the dates of technical innovations attributed to the Bantu.

The second model suggests a separate development of Eastern and Western Bantu languages. The speakers of Eastern Bantu languages are said to have their original home in the border areas between Nigeria and Cameroon, circumventing the tropical forest in the north. They are said to have spread from here to the interlacustrine region. They later spread towards Eastern and southern Africa (Coupez et al., 1975; Bastin et al., 1983; Vansina, 1984).

Archaeological contributions have instigated a review of historical interpretations, especially the chronological timetable. The explanations that dominated the second half of the twentieth century were increasingly questioned and needed qualification to say the least. An examination of the theories on the expansion of Bantu linguistic groups shows that if

the theory of their expansion from the West of the interlacustrine region enjoys credence, there still exist some uncertainties on the origins, causes, dates, extent, and direction of their migration movements.

8.1.2. Anthropological interpretations

Until the last few decades, the human fossils discovered in Sub- Saharan Africa were classified into four categories distributed over three geographic locations: The Negroid in West Africa, the Europoid and Khoisanoid in Eastern and Southern Africa, and the Pygmies in the dense and wet forest areas. The history of settlements in Eastern Africa that emanates from this perception is presented as follows. The Bushmanoid and Khoisanoid groups formed an ancient stratum, to which the Caucasoid group from North Africa was combined. The lithic, or Caspean, industry and Neolithic innovations were associated with this group.

The advent of the Negroids in Central, Eastern, and Southern Africa was linked to the expansion of Bantu language speakers. This theory won a lot of support until skeletons were analyzed in the interlacustrine region and in Eastern Africa.

Archeological proof of early settlements consists of structural objects or human vestiges, as discussed in the first paragraph on the current state of knowledge. There are many knowledge gaps because archeological research is still incomplete. The last studies were conducted in the 1980s and were conducted at very few sites.

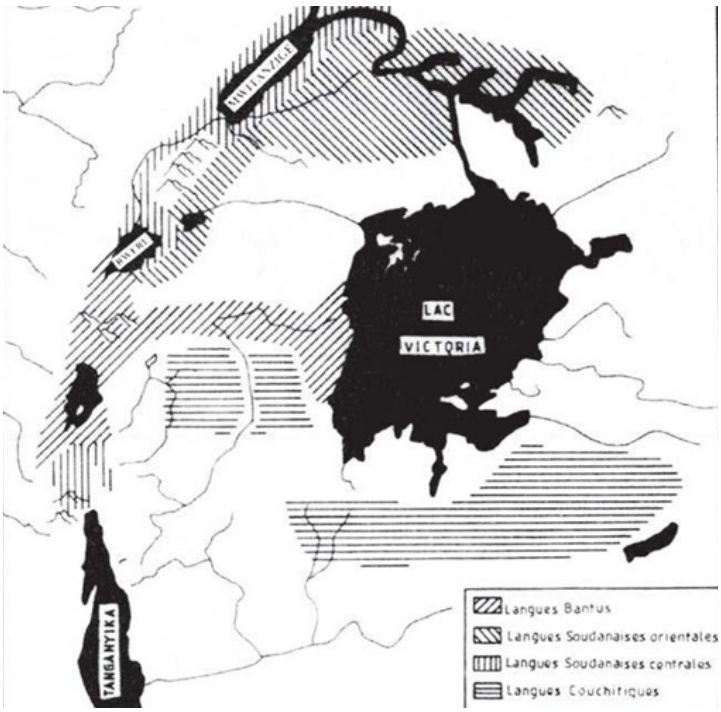
Some observations could form the basis for writing the history of the region in general and of Rwanda in particular. A re-examination of history taking into account relatively recent settlements implies a consideration of data obtained from diverse fields. The evolution of the environment from the Holocene (9,700 years before the Common Era-BCE) is considered from the standpoints of archeology, anthropology, linguistics, and oral tradition.

The overly simplistic dichotomy that contrasts Tutsi cattle keepers to Hutu agriculturalists falls under racist and divisive ideology. The exclusive practice of one of these activities provides the need for the complementary activity, leading to better adaptation to a diverse environment. Human

activities modified the environment as time went by. It is important to note that the process of modification neither followed similar rhythms nor scopes of development across all Rwandan regions.

The chronology of settlements for the current groups we read about in history textbooks lacks scientific justification. Archeological and anthropological documents prove that some groups existed whose languages have been ignored, which we should now consider in our reconstruction of history. If such factors were to be considered, we could integrate all this data into the table of settlements. The dating and analysis of the settlements of the people of Rwanda are therefore subject to uncertainties. Much of the origins of Rwanda still remain mythical.

Map 1: Location of linguistic groups in the Great Lake Region from 1000 BC to 500 BC



Source: Schoenbrun, 1998

Application Activity 8.1.

Discuss how Hamitic theory played a role in cleavage between Rwandan people.

8.2. Role of colonial power and catholic clergy in promoting ethnicity in Rwandan society

Learning Activity 8.1

Explain the elements that promoted ethnicity between Rwandans by colonial power and Catholic clergy during Belgian mandate

8.2.1. Definition of the native policy by Belgian Mandate (1926 - 1948)

With the end of the First World War in Rwanda and the facto replacement of Germans by Belgians, the first officers and sub-officers who participated in the military occupation knew nothing about the reality on the ground, but it was necessary for them to acquaint themselves with the political players and the local systems and dynamics involved. This information was provided by the White Fathers in the regions where the Belgian colonial officers were stationed. In a study conducted by Father Classe (Vicar General of Mgr Hirth), "The political organization of Rwanda at the beginning of the Belgian occupation in 1916," point of reference was created for the new authorities. This document attracted the attention of a large audience and was quoted in many reports during the first years of the Belgian rule. It was also quoted by all visitors to Rwanda.

The theory developed in Father Classe's document was that Rwanda could be compared to a feudal regime of the middle Ages.

In this text, Father Classe gave the essential points to be known by the new masters. However, by generalizing the political system, which he supported and knew very well, especially in Marangara, he distorted local realities that differed from the ones he knew. The account he gave in his report did not only influence the administrative events of that time, but also influenced future knowledge of Rwandan society, given that his theories were quoted without criticism.

Indirect rule

Franck succeeded Renkin as the Minister for Colonies. He visited the occupied territories and the Congo. During this visit, he outlined major guidelines for effective administration of Ruanda-Urundi. Like the

Germans, he opted for indirect rule. He was of the view that this would succeed in countries organized along traditional structures, or those with solid native institutions and with a political class of "sure talents." "The European," he said, "was supposed to assume the role of educator and guide."

The Minister was supposed to respect and use traditional political structures whose recognized legitimacy was based on history. He had this to say:

It was not a question of tampering with political institutions under the pretext of equality. We feel that the Watusi were established since time immemorial, they are intelligent and are a capable people and we will respect this state of affairs.

The Minister developed a colonial charter that was specific to the territory under the mandate that bestowed to it a specific legal status. The charter facilitated the occupation of the new territory at minimum cost in terms of manpower and money. In practice, the king appointed chiefs in the region as the most important authorities who handled all matters regarding Europeans, including the organization of carrying equipment, constructing and maintaining roads, and collecting taxes.

The choice of using the Tutsi as partners was justified on the basis of racial arguments. Influenced by missionaries, the Belgians described the royal class and Tutsi aristocracy with contradictory double-standards. The first standard reproduced the Hamitic myth based on pseudo-scientific details of anthropological and ethnographic features of the Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa. This myth was reproduced in many official texts, establishing stereotypes that were transmitted from one administrator to another. The second standard gave a less attractive reality based on daily experiences.

According to this stereotype, the Tutsi were at best a noble class that originated from Asia and who made a long stop-over in Pharaonic Egypt. All descriptions of Tutsi chiefs made reference to their slender features, tall height, diplomatic qualities, and talent in military command. These qualities distinguished the Tutsi from their Hutu servants. The subordination of the latter originated from their moral character and the

servant-master relationship emerging from the Tutsi ownership of cattle. Rwubusisi and Rwagataraka were Tutsi prototypes. The Tutsi triumph of the 1930s disseminated the pseudo-scientific racist character.

The Hutu formed a group of the Bantu considered to be defeated people. They never had qualities similar to those of their masters. Their description conformed to a classic picture of the Negro.

On the other hand, the Twa were devoid of any form of humanity. They did not have a good code of conduct and were cruel by nature. They executed orders of their masters. The annual report of the Nyanza Territory of 1925 described them in the following terms:

An old and worn-out race facing extinction, the Mutwa (...) has a somatic character properly defined: short, broad-backed, muscular, and hairy especially around the chest region, with an ape-like face and a distinct flat face and a flat nose that combines the general physical traits of the monkey with obsession for forests

From this assessment, leadership went to the Tutsi. Hard, painful tasks were given to the Hutu who shared with the Twa the consequences of the original sin.

This racial discrimination was unacceptable to all people. This was not the image that the aristocracy held about itself. They believed power rotated around the royal authority and the elite from all races were always in competition. Rwanda's folktales do not mention any superior race. Only the king was portrayed as exceptional and as playing special roles. This function elevated the monarch beyond ethnicity; he was seen as a charismatic ruler. Other cultural institutions and proverbs gave another view of the ethnic factor. The Tutsi protagonist and the Hutu were represented along similar lines. In folktales, the Hutu were represented as people who had newly succeeded and who were needy and experienced. The Tutsi were portrayed as members of the "nobility, discrete and grateful." The Twa were referred to as "naïve, stupid and cruel." Such derogatory perceptions were likely to have originated from the political context of the ethnic radicalization that coincided with the extension of Tutsi power from the middle of the 19 Century. Rwandan proverbs expressed helped

to translate aspects of social life, but they cannot be taken as irrefutable proof of division and hatred between Hutus and Tutsis.

The history of social relations between Rwandans cannot be oversimplified to a Hutu-Tutsi-Twa divide. Such divisions, if they ever existed, could not have led to the establishment of a united national community. Indeed, while socio-cultural differences between regions and groups cannot be denied, there also existed many factors of commonality, such as language, religious practices, common habitat, clan network, wars against neighboring kingdoms, and a feeling of patriotism. If the "premise of inequality"121 ever existed, it was linked to historic factors but not to static congenital criteria or even to the criterion of cow- ownership.

We can look to the example of Kinyaga to illustrate this point. The emergence of the ethnic divide in Kinyaga dates as far back as the second half of the 19th Century, when the Hutu and Tutsi lived together for a long time. Before the arrival of chiefs appointed by the royal court, emphasis was put on clan groups or neighboring communities. This was true of other regions such as Bumbogo, the northern region, and other territories where power belonged to the lineage and not to external factors connected with the court. It was the Rwandan royal court and the colonial machine that imposed the predominance of Tutsi chiefs.

End of the traditional monarchy

The process that led to the end of the traditional monarchy started with a series of measures that targeted it. In 1917, King Musinga was seriously attacked by authorities of the military occupation. In the same year, the administration concentrated, among other things, on the terrible Rumanura famine. It was necessary to solve this calamity with the help of the Catholic Missions, the only organizations present in the country at that time. The Protestants had left with the Germans. At the same time, the relations between the colonial authorities and King Musinga's court were very poor.

After the imprisonment of King Musinga, the legal proceedings against him and his entourage were suspended pending the arrival of Major Declerck. The latter came with instructions to handle and solve the matter. As soon as he arrived in Rwanda, Major Decleck conducted an inquiry concluding that the King of Rwanda was innocent.

The hypothetical poison affair led to the arrest of the King of Rwanda by the occupying authorities followed by a legal investigation. This proved to be the end of sovereignty for the king of Rwanda and demonstrated the painful relations that existed between the royal court and the Belgian soldiers. Later on, other measures that progressively undermined the foundation of the traditional Kingdom of Rwanda were put in place. The most important measures taken were as follows:

Suppression of the right to life and death (1917)

The first measure taken by the Royal Commissar, who was working in tandem with the metropolis government, was to remove the unconditional right over life and property from traditional leaders. The right of justice (jus gladii) was reserved for the Belgian King while the indigenous king remained with mere titles and honors. King Musinga was fully aware of their intentions. He and his mother were not moved by this measure. Their abrupt and unexpected demotion reminded them of the happy days of German protection and led to their desire to have it back. This marked the beginning of a silent but cunning resistance which led, fourteen days later, to the deposition of the king and his banishment. Reacting to Major Declerck, who came to remove this fundamental right from the king, the Rwandan supreme royal leader is said to have declared: "Since I can no longer kill as I wish, I do not deserve to be king anymore."

Declaration of freedom of worship (July 1917)

In July 1917, there was a big meeting between Major Declerck and the Catholic Church, represented by Mgr Hirth, his Vicar General, and Father Classe. On the request of the religious leaders, King Musinga was obliged to declare the existence of freedom of worship in his kingdom as stated in the Western legal code. In reality, this act was aimed at stopping the monopoly enjoyed by the traditional religion. Any contravention of this act by traditional leaders would result in legal proceedings. This law benefited the Catholic Missionaries as the only religious group on the ground.

Undermining Mwami's judicial powers (1922)

The monarchical ideology perpetuated a specific terminology designed to stress that King was the most important human figure, a man of integrity, and Nyamugirubutangwa (someone who cannot be contradicted). His orders and decisions were both fair and final, and his decisions were without appeal. In 1922, however, it was decided in discharging his judicial responsibilities that King would be assisted by a delegate sent from the office of the Resident in Nyanza.

Limitation of King Musinga's powers to make political nominations (1923)

In 1923, King Musinga was notified that he was prohibited from making appointments or revoking the appointment of chiefs or notables whose command originated from the court. Provincial chiefs could no longer appoint or remove their subordinates without prior instruction from the office of the Residence. The extent of this decision had serious consequences. The Belgian administration became the final source of power. Chiefs and sub-chiefs were no longer responsible to King Musinga, but instead were subordinates of the administration.

Abolition of "Ubwiru" and "Ubuganura" in 1925

In 1925, the Belgian administration decided to banish Gashamura, the chairman of the Abiru esoteric code, to Gitega, Burundi. He was accused of opposing development projects and of exercising "unlimited powers to influence King Musinga." In colonial and missionary literature, Gashamura is portrayed as a great medicine man and sorcerer. He was different from his son Rwampungu, who was admitted to the school for sons of chiefs in Nyanza. His son was baptized by the Catholic Church in 1928. By deporting Gashamura, the Abiru institution was left with no more successors.

Musinga's deposition

The fall of the traditional monarchy was characterized by the loss of its principal ideology and judicial power and the removal from the monarch the powers to appoint or remove chiefs. Under German rule, Queen Mother Kanjongera and her brothers could do as they pleased. With the

arrival of the Belgians, this power was reduced due to the presence of several informers in the court. This subjected the chiefs in the royal court to a precarious situation. King Musinga complained of being constantly spied upon by the Whites and especially by Leenaerts, a delegate from the Office of the Resident in Nyanza. Using his position as head teacher, Leenaerts used students and teachers in Nyanza School and Rwandans who were opposed to King Musinga's rule as informers. These informers were given protection by the Belgians.

King Musinga lost all powers before his chiefs because he could no longer physically punish them. In addition, any dismissal of a chief was subject to the decision of the Resident. The king resorted to intimidation, but even then his victims complained to the Belgians. The decline of royal power was reflected in the deterioration of the royal premises in Nyanza. The king lost a big fraction of his material wealth and was unable to refurbish his residence. The services provided by his subjects were reduced as many of his chiefs shifted their allegiance from him. He received a good monthly salary from Belgian administration. The discount on taxes earned him 7,000 Francs per month. There is little information on the royal court expenditure. According to administrative reforms of 1962, there were budgetary cuts that affected all junior chiefs. In retaliation, the king diverted his salary and food to support the chiefs who were victimized by Europeans 124. He used the royal tribute to assist those who were faithful to him. This generosity was done at the expense of repairs to the royal palace. King Musinga divorced his wives in 1923, and they were henceforth taken care of by their respective families. In 1927, the Belgian administration obliged him to meet the expenses of his sons. The colonial authority wanted to discourage him from making donations to sympathizers living in Nyanza.

The monarch was rendered powerless as far as finances and other economic resources were concerned. But the climax of the monarchy's neutralization was characterized by the neglect and isolation conducted by German administrators at political and administrative levels. The situation became increasingly difficult for the king as he could not adapt to the colonial situation. This finally culminated in the king's deposition.

King Musinga's deposition was a result of events that took place between the Residence in Kigali and the court, though their succession s separated by times of relative calm. The major difficulty was the reduction of his powers and his refusal to recognize the Belgian administrative powers. The king refused to respect the role assigned to him as far as his legitimacy was concerned. The Belgian authorities thought of stopping all contact with him from 1922-1929. However, they dropped this idea due to local government matters and due to the fact that they did not want to upset the Permanent Commission of the Mandate and the League of Nations.

The annual report of 1928 carried a big charge sheet against King Musinga made by the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi. He was accused of several crimes, including incest, ambition, incompetence, and lack of responsibility. Most of the charges rotated around moral crimes. Consequently, the report proposed his deposition. As they waited for the decision from Brussels, it was decided that the King's allowances be reduced. Brussels refused the proposition for two reasons:

- The advantages of indirect rule: it was still necessary to use the prestige of the royal court to implement administrative orders;
- Diplomatic constraints: it was seen as a serious mistake to abolish an institution symbolizing indirect rule. The Permanent Commission of the Mandatory Powers insisted on respecting this type of institution; its abolition would be perceived badly in Geneva, Germany, and Great Britain.

Equally important however was King Musinga's grievances against the Belgians. Although no witness testified on his side, there were reports and witnesses of administrators and missionaries expressing his bitterness and anger. King Musinga refused to recognize the authority of the delegate appointed by the Resident to the royal court. As far as the king was concerned, the delegate of the Resident was supposed to be equivalent to a senior chief. The king regarded him as his subordinate as the delegate continued to adopt a paternalistic attitude toward the king.

The function of the Resident's delegate was maintained and even reinforced. Leanaerts, the successor of the Defawe, doubled as Chief of Nyanza Territory and head teacher of Nyanza School. His grievances

with King Musinga were numerous, although at first he discharged his responsibilities with tact and friendship. This relationship initiated him to the secrets of the Royal court. However, this sympathy was short lived. Out of disgust, the court nicknamed him "Rurenge." He was accused of interfering in court matters on several occasions, leading to 9 years in which King Musinga was victimized and surrounded by a crowd of spies. The Resident's delegate became more powerful than the king himself. The king's servants were even replaced by those who paid homage to the white man in Nyanza.

King Musinga protested the appointment of his son Rudahigwa to the chieftaincy of Marangara. He feared it would subject him to bad influence by Mgr. Classe. He even asserted that Mgr Classe was the King of Rwanda because all appointments had to be discussed in advance between him and the Resident.

During the Governor's visit in August 1929, King Musinga and the Queen Mother expressed their grievances about the removal of customary services and rights. They complained about their powers that had been eroded and about the misunderstandings with the Belgian authorities. They resented the Belgians lack of respect for their customs. The Governor concluded, "the Royal institution relied entirely on custom and tradition and that the king was in a way a slave of tradition because what the ancestors had declared had to be respected." In the eyes of the colonial authorities, culture and traditional religion were synonymous with stagnation while the religion of the whites was seen as progressive. The backwardness of the country was attributed to King Musinga, who through his commitment to follow his ancestors without accepting change, gave the impression that he was not concerned with the development of his people. This led scores of Rwandans to conclude that the king did not care about their plight. The Governor simply wanted a king who would promote colonial goals.

King Musinga made visits on the ground and violated a cultural prohibition. He crossed River Nyabarongo and went to Kigali to handle matters without consulting his mother. The Governor wanted to neutralize King Musinga's wishes. The king accepted collaborating with the Governor, but only as his superior. This period was brief; Lenaerts accused the king of

impatience, irregularity, and contempt toward the Resident's delegates. The king's deposition was inevitable.

The process of deposing King Musinga entailed putting pressure on the Ministry of Colonies, which had expressed interest in keeping him for administrative reasons. Local authorities thus launched a campaign against King Musinga after consultating Mgr Classe. The argument developed by Mgr Classe achieved its objective; Brussels started developing an idea of initiating a legal suit against the king to justify his deposition.

The administration did not want to involve the Abiru institution, which was regarded as an institution of sorcerers. Its influence had to be stopped, but care had to be taken with the chiefs who first had to be consulted. They turned against the king for fear that the Belgian administration would impose sanctions on them. King Musinga's deposition was planned in the following way:

Governor Voisin arrived on November 11, 1931. He notified the king about the decision to depose him. In reaction, the king is said to have responded that he had been waiting for that decision for a long time. An inquisitive mood followed. The team aware of the plan was composed of Voisin, Classe, Coubeau, Lanearts, and Rudahigwa. It was difficult to imagine that Rudahigwa, a young man who was faithful to his father, could have kept such a serious secret. Rudahigwa was declared King of Rwanda on November 14 on behalf of the King of Belgium and was enthroned on November 16. The Abiru were happy because their royal institution remained intact.

It is hard to know Rwandans' opinions of this event. The population did not react to the announcement of the king's deposition. According to Kabgayi Mission Diary, Rwandans and their king expressed a feeling of resignation. Some people said the population did not react because the king's son was enthroned. Others influenced by the anti-Musinga campaign blamed King Musinga for refusing to come to terms with the Belgians. He refused to join the Catholic religion because he was very much attached to the Germans. Others claimed King Musinga was betrayed by his own relatives. The administration gave an order to follow

the new king, and the Rwandans accepted. Those who refused to obey were threatened with consequences.

The happiest group in this arrangement was the Christians. The Missionary campaign insisted on King Musinga's illegitimacy, i.e. Musinga's unfaithfulness vis-à-vis the Belgians and his anti- Christian stance. Outside the Kingdom, no reaction was noted.

No embassy of the Western world, not even Geneva, was moved by King Musinga's deposition!

Far from being a simple affair, King Musinga's deposition became an important event in the history of Rwanda. The colonial authority wanted to purge the royal institution of its divine claims to power and its cultural and historical claims. The deposition of the king aimed at making the latter responsible to the colonial administrative structure by assigning him duties supervised by Belgian civil servants. The deposition also aimed at making the king a common man and not someone with a divine right to rule the Rwandan people. King Rudahigwa's enthronement testified a willingness to conserve the royal kingdom as a political and cultural institution that would usher the entire country under colonial rule.

After the ceremony of enthronement, Governor Voisin decreed a series of reforms regarding the king. Services rendered in kind were replaced by an annual deduction of 1 Franc to be levied as tax. The chiefs were to give cows to the king in order to avoid milk conflicts in the royal court. These reforms were made to give the king both economic and material empowerment so as to ensure his self-reliance vis-à-vis his chiefs.

Administrative reorganization and power monopoly of Tutsi

The process of Belgian colonial administration was gradual. It started as soon as the Belgians arrived in the country and ended with natives becoming docile civil servants who supported European administration.

The first measure by the colonial administration was the deposition of chiefs who demonstrated a retrogressive character and who refused to abandon their arbitrary procedures of administration. This measure was announced in 1924. The following year marked the official formulation of

a policy to be implemented by the colonial authority regarding chiefs and sub-chiefs. This entailed recognizing and reinforcing customary authority, implementing "respectable" customs, replacing stubborn chiefs and sub-chiefs and those who were abusing power, and gradually replacing all "dead wood" by educated people. In 1924, these reforms underwent revisions and were later adopted.

The complexity of the organizational chart of Rwanda's traditional authority is seen in the number of junior and senior chiefs maintained. Under the reign of King Rwabugiri, the country was divided into two provinces (prefectures) with a royal palace as the headquarters; the palace was responsible for channeling all regional services. Some border-areas were exempted from providing services because they were concerned with military service.

Two civil servants collected taxes (Ikoro): the chief of pastures (Umutware w'umukenke) collected pastoral taxes and the land chief (Umutware w'ubutaka) collected taxes on food items. This arrangement was modified by the sedentary nature of the Nyanza court under King Musinga. All services were carried out in Nyanza, but this was conceived as forced labor by people in peripheral regions.

Reforms of traditional administration started in 1926 with the abolition of the system of three chiefs. This had a profound impact on social relations. The former authoritarian system offered a possibility of choosing between several protectors (chiefs), but this was abolished in favor of a single chief. This system penalized the most vulnerable social classes.

By abolishing the system of three chiefs, the colonial authority wanted to simplify the political administrative process. The Belgians were convinced the traditional structure was problematic and found it difficult to manage many authorities. The aim of the colonial administration was to administer the country according to European administration standards so as to achieve administrative efficiency.

The Resident was responsible for appointing and dismissing officers at all levels. The king only intervened for ceremonial approval. The new administrative system was intended to fight the absenteeism of senior

chiefs, who were obliged by custom to stay at the royal court most of the time. The duration of their stay at the palace was reduced to 15 days per year.

The “Mortehan reform” put an end to the traditional system of three chiefs and created a structure of chieftaincy and a sub- chieftaincy supervised and enforced by Governor Voisin. This reform was pursued from 1929 until the deposition of King Musinga. It had the effect of managing the territory efficiently and sensitizing the entire population on political matters.

There were reforms at the Igikingi level. The Igikingi consisted of a hill or part of a hill covered by homesteads. The Belgian administration believed that divisions at the Igikingi level were done badly. In 1926, the king abandoned the establishment of new Ibikingi. All Ibikingi that had fallen vacant due to the death of their owners or otherwise136 were to be attached to a sub- chieftaincy. In 1930, the Resident abolished Ibikingi divisions and those who were benefiting from them; 1,278 sub-chiefs and the owners of Ibikingi were removed.

In the meantime, the administration started a policy of combining chieftaincies so as to include neighboring territorial sub-divisions. The objective of this policy was to have the provincial chief as “the centre of genuine decentralization of power. The administration was composed of sub-chieftaincies of at least 100 taxpayers. This number later increased to 300. In some areas, the initiative of exchanging territories was left to the notables themselves. In other cases, a massive removal of chiefs took place from 1930 to 1932,138 leading to the grouping of several territories. The removal of many lines of command and the decision that chiefs should stay in their chieftaincies helped to achieve the desired goals of colonial authorities.

The territorial reorganization and simplification of the hierarchy led to the problem of existing Ubuhake contracts. Someone could become a client of a notable under the arrangement of Ubuhake, but also a subject of another according to the administrative arrangement. The notables were always forced to exchange political commands and servants.

The reorganization was completed by the end of 1933. Consequently, there were 65 provincial chiefs exercising authority over an average of 5,500 tax-payers, and 1,043 sub- chiefs whose jurisdictions had an average of 343 tax payers. Divisional groupings continued, but at a low rate. In 1938, there were 56 chiefs and 860 sub-chiefs, in 1947, there were 51 chiefs and 625 sub-chiefs, and in 1959, there were 55 chiefs and 559 sub-chiefs.

The new political organization led to the monopoly of power by the Tutsi. It reinforced ethnic identity through the extension of Tutsi authority and aristocracy to regions where it was never before recognized. Many Hutu chiefs and sub-chiefs were thrown out, not because they were incompetent but due to their ethnicity. It is difficult to know how many Hutu were dismissed, but during the 1929 reform, no Hutu were retained. Those few who remained met in remote areas where Tutsi presence was insignificant.

Application Activity 8.2.

Discuss Mortehan reform and its consequences on Rwandans unity.

8.3. The Trusteeship (1946-1962) and ethnic awakening

Learning Activity 8.3

By 1957, there was publication of two contreversal Memoranda in Rwanda. Make your own research and discuss about the content of such Memoranda. Summarize your work in your notebook so that you can share your findings with your classmates during class discussion.

After the Second World War (WW2), the League of Nations gave way to the United Nations Organization (UNO). Rwanda was placed under a Trusteeship on 13th December 1946. The Trusteeship accord envisaged a specified period at the end of which the territory under Trusteeship would become an independent and sovereign state. The fundamental objective of the International Trusteeship Program was to prepare the inhabitants under protection to evolve politically and progressively until

they were mature enough to administer themselves and later accede to independence.

Challenges on the eve of decolonization

The period which began in 1946 was characterized by several events which unfolded one after the other. This happened at a supersonic speed up to the ethnic violence of 1959 and the advent of the Republican regime in 1962. These developments considerably shaped the ways of life of many Rwandese and are still fresh in both their individual and collective minds. After the Second World War, the movement of liberating colonies was in top gear. The new organization of the United Nations recognized the right of nations to attain self-determination. The colonies and territories under the Trusteeship were supposed to prepare themselves for self-rule first and independence later.

Nonetheless, the political evolution of Rwanda was described by the UNO as being slow. The observations made by the different UNO visiting teams to the territory under the Belgian

In this context, the political reforms initiated by the royal decree of 14th July 1952 gave way to some small political space by enabling a certain degree of representation in the Consultative Councils created at the level of the sub-chieftaincy, chieftaincy and in the territories as well as at national level (Higher National Council or CSP). But in the final analysis, these new structures were dominated by the Tutsi elite. The latter were privileged by the system. This discrepancy led to frustrations among those who were excluded, especially the Hutu elite. But in addition, a big fraction of the Tutsi elite were frustrated. It was therefore not by accident that the beginning of the second term of these councils was characterized by political disputes in 1956.

At the time when social political and economic demands of the Ruandan elite were made hastily, the colonial authorities thought that they still needed enough time to prepare the country for self-rule and independence. Van Bilsen advocated for a plan of 30 years for Belgian Africa to accede to independence. The event which followed from 1956 therefore took the Belgian Trusteeship by surprise.

Protests by the Rwandan elite

Like everywhere on the African continent, whether the Rwandan elite enjoyed a privileged status by the colonial authority and missions or not, the former protested more and more against the existing political regime in the early 1950s. Their objective of obtaining sympathy from various members of the social stratum, especially among Rwanda's Roman Catholic Church leaders, persisted after World War II. The latter continuously stressed the need to exert influence on the "évolués" and to control ideologies they were advocating for. As said earlier, the reforms introduced by the government decree of 14th July 1952 fermented the elite in terms of political matters. In principle, these reforms were encouraged to open a democratic space resulting from the population's representative bodies set up not only at national level but also at the level of sub-chieftaincies, chieftaincies and territory. These bodies ended up being monopolized by the Tutsi elite.

The 1956 amendments which included a universal adult suffrage made of able-bodied people at "sub-chieftaincy" level did not bring about any change. The Hutu elite got between 30 and 80% of the vote in sub-chieftaincy council elections. As for higher levels, no change was observed. The supporting authority was mainly controlled by Tutsi families within the administration and consultative bodies. The negative effects of such ill-conceived reforms by the supervision authority were put on the shoulders of the indigenous authorities who were exploited by Hutu politicians and their allies.

Demands with an ethnic leaning

In February 1957, some members of the Higher National Council (CSP) published a document entitled, Mise au Point (Clarification). This document was directed towards the colonial authority and its demands are listed below: promoting a more developed educational system (with a university), giving more power to the king and the Higher National Council, establishing tangible economic and social development programs and abolishing racial discrimination between Whites and Blacks. The tone of this document was both conciliatory and moderate in so far as the powers of the ruling authorities were not questioned. This document

only demanded that the colonial authority be modified, and it sought to prepare Rwandans for such changes. On 29th April 1959, a reception was organized by the Higher National Council task force. In his speech, King Mutara Rudahigwa reiterated the demands of the above-mentioned document: "I also hope, and I believe that it is the hope of all Rwandans, that the changes to be proposed to us will satisfy each one of us, and that their scope, their generous spirit and their progressive character will give this country, together with the modern structures it needs, a reinforced social tranquility and will lead the country towards more and more prosperity. I really assure you, Mr. President that Rwanda desires to fully participate in the management of its own affairs and take charge of its own destiny (...). I believe in this legitimate desire and wish that Belgium, which supported us enough, understands this and will help us to realize a brotherly and prosperous Rwanda."

It can be said that on top of the ideas raised in the "Mise au Point", the king's speech triggered off a hostile environment with Belgium. The events that followed from 1959 onwards confirm this view.

The "Mise au Point" did not get any official response from the Belgian colonial administration to which it was addressed. The only reply came from a group of "évolués" known as "Hutu leaders". On 24th March 1957, they published a document entitled "the 'Bahutu Manifesto': the social aspect of the indigenous racial problem in Rwanda"332. This document focused on only one aspect of the colonial dispute, namely the relationship between the Hutu and Tutsi, or to put it simply, the exploitation of the Hutu by The Tutsi for centuries. It completely ignored the scores of political and socio-economic demands that the majority of the Rwandese were confronted with, especially the responsibility of the Trusteeship and the Roman Catholic Church in aggravating the relationships between the Hutu and Tutsi.

This document was composed of valid claims related to the political and socio-economic monopoly of the Tutsi aristocracy, the access of the Hutu to education (particularly the education that enabled people to work in administration), the promotion of professional and crafts education, the improvement of the living conditions of the peasantry, etc.

Its limitations and dangers consisted of initiating a political debate charged with ethnicity which it intentionally provoked and supported. It is worth noting however that ethnic-oriented views were not characteristic of the Hutu "évolués" alone. All educated Rwandans were involved in these pseudo-scientific stereotypes about the ethnic composition of Rwandans and the social relationships (Hamitic and Bantu myths) between them. Some enlightened Hutus used these stereotypes to prove the discrimination they were subjected to and later on to exterminate the Tutsis.

Some members of Tutsi aristocracy also did the same to justify the privileges they were enjoying. In spite of its limitations, the "Bahutu Manifesto" was extensively published in the media of the Roman Catholic Church. It had greater impact than the "Mise au Point" newspaper. Actually, the "Bahutu Manifesto" was somehow a response to the "Mise au Point" and appeared as an opposite version of the latter. The Mise au Point criticized the Trusteeship and belonged to the independence-driven movement, whereas the "Hutu Manifesto" praised the Trusteeship and viewed all existing problems along the criteria of Hutu-Tutsi divide. This tactic successfully resulted into an ethnic movement and served as the foundation for the state which in turn led to the 1994 genocide and massacres.

Lastly, the succession of the publication dates for these two documents and their content inevitably presupposed a certain degree of relationship between them. The Mise Au Point was published on 22nd February 1957 while the Bahutu Manifesto was published on 24th February 1957. The origin of the Bahutu Manifesto remains controversial. Some people simply attribute it to the missionaries. I. Linden greatly relied on sources and interpretations of a group of missionaries whom he called "socio-democrats" to conduct his research on the matter. He asserts that Canon Ernote and Father Dejemeppe took part in writing the Bahutu manifesto.334 René Lemarchand maintains that the above-mentioned document could have been written by a Roman Catholic missionary. Others like J. Kalibwami attribute it to its real signatories.

Be that as it may, the majority of signatories were former seminarians who usually went to Kabgayi mission for professional and religious obligations.

They came from Gitarama except two of them who came from Butare. These were Gitera and Isidore Nzeyimana. It is hard to believe that the Bishop and his close associates were not least informed about producing such a document, written by its employees and protected by the diocese. Moreover, some of the terms used in this document were also found in several colonists' and missionaries' writings, especially in the 1959 lent guidelines by Bishop A. Perraudin whom we shall later talk about

Therefore, it is fair to say that in 1959 two movements on the future of Rwanda confronted each other. The first movement was advocated by the Higher National Council (CSP) which bitterly criticized the way Belgium ruled Rwanda. It demanded for bold reforms to prepare the country for autonomy in the first place and independence thereafter. The second movement was made of some elites. It assumed an ethnic identity and praised the work done by Belgium and condemned all ill-treatment and injustice done against the Hutu by the Tutsi. These two movements demonstrated that with such contradictory aspirations, and with no adequate solutions to the problems raised, open conflict was bound to break out.

Reaction of the Tutsi elite

In 1957, the colonial authority and missionaries were faced with two choices to make. The first one was to carry on with their old alliance with the Tutsi aristocracy, thereby assisting this aristocracy to lead the country to self-rule first and later to independence. The second choice was to secure new safer alliances.

When the Hutu-Tutsi issue was presented for the first time to the Higher National Council during its sessional meeting of 13th- 29th June 1956, it was rejected on the king's request. A motion was tabled to stop the use of terms like 'Muhutu', 'Mututsi' and 'Mutwa'. The purpose of the above motion was to stop dealing with "all those who, through their writings, wanted to imply and prove that the notion of 'Munyaruanda' did not really exist, and that only racial groups like Tutsi, Hutu and Twa existed". The motion in favor of the removal of ethnic vocabulary from official documents was worded as follows: "(...) Some people, who are ill-informed or not informed at all, keep on saying or writing deliberately that the Batutsi came as

conquerors; they took the property that belonged to Bahutu by force and kept them in a low social status. Such an assertion results from the the insistance on the negative side of history. Those who formulated it are oblivious of the fact that some political and social organizational gaps between the Batutsi and Bahutu were caused by.

From time immemorial, the Bahutu had an opportunity to acquire wealth and gain social status. As for political power, the Bahutu and some Batwa were appointed as chiefs by the king of Rwanda. If people lost sight of this fact, and if they believed that only the Tutsi were the ones who ruled the country, it means that alliances between the Bahutu and Batwa chiefs as well as the Batutsi families were formed early enough to iron out social and racial differences in such a way that it was impossible to make any distinction between them. All the same, under the existing regime, all people had equal chances to occupy vacant posts on merit. Rwanda was inhabited by a homogeneous group of people who enjoyed the same rights. On this issue, the CSP had this to say: "(...) Rwanda is not a ground for social strife between racial or social divisions. We request all Banyarwanda not to fall prey to this false theory that is splitting our community. We have a common goal to pursue, i.e. the development of the country in all its forms. The two great enemies to fight against are extreme poverty and anarchy. We must focus our efforts on a single objective which is referred to in our country's motto, namely unity for progress (imbaga y'inyabutatu ijyambere). Even the bible also reiterates this message: "every kingdom divided against itself will fall.

The issue of Hutu-Tutsi issue had been discussed in May 1956 in the Council of the Vice Governor by A. Maus who was a colonist and Chairman of the Euro-African Union. He suggested that Rwandans and Burundians should be represented according to the Hutu/Tutsi/Twa "social classes". He identified these classes as "castes". The Council unanimously refuted this suggestion, and both King Rudahigwa and Bishop Martin who was the Apostolic Vicar of Ngozi were especially opposed to it. King Rudahigwa said that there was no reliable criterion to accurately justify such identities given that Rwanda's ethnic composition was brought about by intermarriage.

In March, 1958, the issue of Hutu-Tutsi divide was raised in the Higher National Council (CSP) at the request of King Rudahigwa together with the petitioners who had produced the Bahutu Manifesto. An ad hoc committee was set up. It was composed of Gitera, Mulindahabi, Niyonzima, Bendantunguka, Ndahayo and Bicamumpaka on petitioners' side. This delegation met some members of the CSP. These were Bagirishya (Chairman of the committee), Bwanakweri, Gashugi, Mbanda, Rwagasana, Father Kagiraneza and Mungarulire who acted as secretary. This committee embarked on the mission it was assigned between late March and early April of 1958.

Below is a summary of the historical debate on the HutuTutsi issue.

Representation of the Bahutu

One of the principles on which the monarchy rotated was questioned by petitioners, namely that the king was neither Hutu, nor Tutsi nor Twa but was common to all racial groups. However, said petitioners, especially Gitera, who had a one-sided view: "the Bahindiro are likely to monopolize power". Petitioners like Mulindahabi and Niyonzima demanded for the appointment of a Hutu representative to assist the king. This arrangement is what Mbanda referred to as "institutional democratization" which, during these debates, was confined to the "establishment of a Hutu representative next to the king". In any case, it was a middle- way arrangement. The Batutsi had their own representatives, i.e. Tutsi chiefs and deputy chiefs, who directly and regularly dealt with the king on administrative matters. The Batwa were represented by Harerinka. The representative of the Bahutu was also supposed to represent other leaders before the king, i.e. chiefs and deputy chiefs. This suggestion was summarized as a triple representation of the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa.

This idea of an official or unofficial representation of the Bahutu was refuted by Higher National Council members who replied that "a racial tripatite representation" would engender "a regrettable precedent for the future of our country"; Mungarulire said that "it is dangerous because such a representation based on racial groups will only result in destructive race-based antagonism"; we need to remain united and shun "anything that is likely to bring about division." Bwanakweri said that "it is also an

ineffective solution because the arrangement of three representatives will not work together.

Each one of them will strive to accumulate advantages in favor of his group; the redistribution of responsibilities can be done in a different way, for example through a democratic process, instead of resorting to a system which "is based neither on intelligence nor on any other abilities"; this method is "unfair (...) and anti-democratic"; it is a divisive move which is aimed at "creating division in one and the same country." Kayihura explained the consequences of that suggestion. He said that "it is a retrogressive suggestion because it is not based on merit, but on racial considerations. It will therefore bring about division and create divisions within the country. Thus, it is against modern, progressiveand civilized ideas".

The issue of ethnic representation strongly held by petitioners provoked another debate on the meaning of the terms "Hutu", "Tutsi" and "Twa". To provide clarifications on these terms, Bicamumpaka said that the term "Gahutu" has a social meaning, and that a "Mututsi is similar to a Muhutu".

Another petitioner made it clear that the Muhutu was "a poor man of lower status, and a Muhutu by race who was made Hamitic does not belong here because for us, the Mututsi is supra-human, a superman who suffers from superiority complex, naughty and despises the Muhutu, whereas a sympathizing Mututsi who likes to identify with us does not qualify to be a Mututsi in our sense." Bendantunguka also talked about a Muhutu in a genealogical sense! In reply, Chief Bwanakweri said that such a view was unfortunate and very dangerous. He said, "On the grounds of this racial basis, you will get involved in an impossible task. You seem to confine the discussion to one racial group while it is impossible to separate them from other people." Another speaker regretted the terms expressed by Bwanakweri concerning a poor Mututsi. He said, "Leaving out a poor Mututsi is advocating for conflicts of class struggle.

In my opinion, we need to abandon all these considerations and rely solely on social justice." Chief Mungarulire was against names "Muhutu and Mututsi" because they were used by those who wanted to accentuate differences and create clan-based division." Both groups including

Gitera dismissed the ethnic representation factor and agreed on finding another solution. They realized that a Hutu representative was, after all, not necessary in reforming the system.

The Tutsi monopoly in administration and justice

Another problem raised by petitioners was the Tutsi monopoly of both the administrative and judicial fields. Gitera stressed the fact that "the three ethnic groups did not enjoy the same advantages offered by their country, and that only one of the three had exclusive benefits." The administration of the country is managed by only one group: The Tutsi. The few Hutu who are in the administration think that they are no longer Hutu. There is not a single Hutu worthy of his name who is a member of the indigenous administration". The real Hutu is one who holds to his name, contrary to the CSP's idea of removing such names. The CSP members also recognized the problem of the Tutsi monopoly in administrative institutions. Their argument was that such a situation was not created by the Tutsi.

In principle, there was no action that interfered with equal opportunities of the Hutu that prevented them from getting jobs within the administration. However, according to Mungarulire, facts spoke for themselves because there was no Hutu in the administration. He continued to say that "everyone will agree with me that this situation of power monopoly did not exist in ancient Rwanda". After the occupation of Europeans, the king was obliged to choose native assistants from among those who had attended Nyanza School which admitted only the Tutsi as well as the "Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida" which had an option for future chiefs and was exclusively reserved for the Tutsi. The Tutsi were therefore the only ones destined to occupy the above- mentioned posts.

Management of education

The question of education was examined by a committee in the meeting of April 9th 1958. It was alleged by the petitioners that the Batutsi monopolized primary, secondary (general and specialized) and higher education at the expense of the Bahutu. It was therefore necessary to determine the Bahutu and Batutsi proportions in schools. Gitera and Niyonzima said that segregation began in secondary school. Other

committee members such as Bwanakweri and Kagiraneza were keen to collect reliable and quantitative data from primary schools. The committee members were sent to the Groupe scolaire d'Astrida to collect data. They also visited the Girls' Teacher Training College [école des monitrices] operated by the White Sisters. The headmistress of this school did not provide the needed information because she said that "their records did not mention race". The Groupe Scolaire gave the same answer.

A circular was sent to all schools in the entire country requesting for information on racial proportions. The issue was repeated in meetings held between 4th and 7th June. After assessing the responses given by head teachers, it turned out that, 29 out of 114 primary schools provided answers (i.e. 25%). The findings showed that 67.81% of the pupils were Bahutu, 31.70% were Batutsi, and 0.01% were Batwa. Bwanakweri noted, without disclosing his sources, that this data was not accurate. Even at primary school, he said, "The Batutsi outnumbered the Bahutu. Everyone rallied behind his opinion. In secondary schools, 29 out of 47 schools (i.e. 47%) provided information. The findings indicated that 39.20% of the pupils were Bahutu while 60-80% were Batutsi. However, there were no Batwa.

Some head teachers expressed discomfort and were incapable of responding appropriately to the questions from the committee members regarding the number of Hutus, Tutsis and Twas in their schools. The head of Astrida Groupe Scolaire said that he was unable to take a decision on this issue. Most of them called themselves Tutsi just because they were proud of this name. "The management of Groupe Scolaire accepted no responsibility regarding the accuracy of students' declarations as per their origin. For us, a pupil is a pupil, no matter whether he/she was a Munyarwanda or Murundi, Muhutu or Mututsi. We make no distinction on their disciplines. There is no racial discrimination."

It was reported that the exams done for admission into the Groupe Scolaire were administered without any racial distinction and that only the state was responsible for that. The administration of the Groupe Scolaire did not intervene in any way in this area. They had this to say: "we see that there is no Muhutu in the 'administration option'. Yet, each pupil completing the lower secondary school level is free to choose the option

they wish to follow. The obvious conclusion is that the Bahutu are not interested in that option". This explanation was refuted by the petitioners without any reason. Responses from the Apostolic Vicariate of Kabgayi also reported the same difficulty. The Priest in charge of schools said: "I do not understand how such information can solve the problem you are investigating. In any case, it would be impossible to give you the information you want (...). During the admissions of seminarians and novitiates, no one is asked about their race. The Church ignores the racial factor in choosing its clergy, and once they are admitted into the seminary or novitiate, God chooses those He wants. Nobody has ever been chased because of their race". Concerning the laymen who go abroad to study at the expenses of the Vicariate, we do not put such statistics into consideration: "I know their names but not their respective races. The Vicariate never asks them what their race is before sending them to study abroad, and nor is there any interest to know their races. They are all Banyarwanda".

The same is true of primary schools: "We accept anyone who comes, provided that they meet requirements established by the state in terms of age and regular attendance. In secondary schools, there are entry exams marked by inspectors and arrangements for admission are made according to this criterion. The headmaster of Mushishiro Mission School sent the following testimony to the ad hoc committee: "(...) I must admit that this survey is impossible for us, since we never pay attention to the social class of our children. For us, all our students are Banyarwanda regardless of their race. In principle, we do not want to tackle this issue in our classes so that everyone without any discrimination should feel comfortable with us. In addition, the moral and intellectual abilities of the students are the only two-fold preconditions that we consider for promotion to higher classes or admission to secondary school.

During the debate about the causes of this Tutsi monopoly, petitioners called for comparisons of the Tutsi monopoly in the social, political and economic fields. It was noted that due to their social status, the Bututsi obtained a place for their children. Ndahayo and Mulindahabi said that the Tutsi children met all the requirements because their parents were rich and could pay the required fees. The King who was chairing the committee wished to know whether it was the rich and not the race that

was the root cause of this monopoly. Using arguments from colonial political history, Father Kagiraneza was able to convince the majority of members. He said that the ethnic imbalance was due to several factors.

Since 1917, the native organizations based their argument on the last paragraph of Article 4 of the Legislative Order of April 6, 1917. The article stated: "under the direction of the Resident, chiefs exercise their judicial and political responsibilities following the norms and procedures set up by the native tradition and the royal Commander." This option was reinforced by the Legislative Order No. 347/ A.I.M.O of October 4th 1943 and by the Decree of 14th July 1952 which recognized the established indigenous authority which was in the hands of the Batutsi and thus, the latter enjoyed advantages from the colonizer. The schools which trained indigenous leaders were state-owned. In the first place, these schools were in Nyanza, Ruhengeri and Cyangugu, and later in Astrida.

These schools were reserved for children of chiefs and the Tutsi community who could afford to provide "ingishywa"and "banyagihe". Therefore, the Tutsi aspiration for education was on the increase whereas the Bahutu were not yet aware of the benefits of education. For the Priest, the Tutsi monopoly in education was, first of all, caused by the political and administrative system in the previous regimes.

Although it was relevant during its time, it was no longer the case. Secondly, there was the psychological factor that resulted from the system. The expected benefits of education led the Tutsi to realize the importance of education". The committee focused on the segregation perpetrated in the 'administrative option' in the Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida where the Hutu were not admitted.

During the committee members' visit to the Groupe Scolaire, the Principal of the school said that everyone had equal chances to be admitted into the administrative option. Those who knew the history of the school made it clear that, not only the Hutu, but also the ordinary Tutsi were not admitted to this option. Only the children of Hutu or Tutsi chiefs were admitted. By the time the debate was held, this option was no longer there. It had been replaced by a new administrative option whose structure was different from the former one.

Mungarulire reported that the new option trained anyone for any administrative post but not exclusively the administration of the chieftaincy. The petitioners questioned the validity of the information given by the Principal of Astrida Groupe Scolaire, given that the Tutsi candidates in the new option were the majority. This was proof that nepotism still existed in this option.

Several solutions were suggested to rectify the imbalance that had disadvantaged the Hutu in schools. It was proposed that a thorough campaign be launched among Hutu children of school-going age to enroll for primary school. Bicamumpaka andMulindahabi proposed that scholarships be granted to poor children at post-primary and higher levels of education. Kagiraneza proposed setting up a fund made up of private people. It was also proposed that nepotism should stop in the administrative option in the Groupe Scolaire of Astrida.

Other proposals were made to sensitize teachers so that children do not drop out of primary school without completing the full cycle. It was also proposed that sufficient premises should be found to run compulsory education. No other proposal convinced the majority of the members than the principle of zero-tolerance on discrimination in school admissions.

Other topical issues were discussed without taking as much time as the previous ones. This was the case for the issue of representation which was challenged by petitioners because of its ethnic imbalance. According to Gitera, CSP was supposed to be formed in accordance with the decree of 1952, but this was not the case. It was exclusively composed of the Batutsi. A better, equitable and fair representation was therefore needed. That is why Gatera advocated for the Hutu representative to the king's court.

The CSP members defended themselves that although they were Tutsi, they represented all Rwandans, and that they supported the interests of all Rwandans. The CSP members noted that many proposals and papers by CSP on institutional reorganization were never put before the Trusteeship authority. Yet, the situation needed a total overhaul in favor of a policy towards a constitutional monarchy. The ad hoc committee proposed a commission of enquiry to study the matter in all aspects.

The members of the ad hoc committee also briefly talked about the abuses committed by chiefs and deputy chiefs. Letters were sent to the king and read during debating sessions; they outlined various abuses suffered by the Bahutu. The abuses included: extortion of gifts by chiefs on people who wanted to do deaths or births registrations, working for indigenous authorities without payment, premature payment of cattle taxes, punishments inflicted during soil erosion control projects, etc. Kagiraneza, one of the CSP members responded by highlighting the negative effects of forced labor (Akazi) whose abolition was proposed. The members were astonished to hear Gitera advocating for maintaining forced labor for some time. He said: We are people who are not accustomed to doing work. For this very reason, we need minimum amount of work and a minimum degree of freedom. We must therefore, in my opinion, allow some degree of forced labor.

The debates on the Hutu-Tutsi issue in the CSP were held in an atmosphere of total freedom. They were open debates that had nothing to envy from debates held in developed countries. As one can realize, the ethnic issue in Rwanda is not theoretical. It cannot be conceived without addressing sectorial policies such as education, administration, financial management, exercise of power, etc. The debates presented two approaches and two sensitive issues. On the one hand, the petitioners wanted an immediate solution to their daily life problems. As for members of the CSP, they blamed the entire colonial system for being responsible for the multiple problems in the country and therefore proposed the needed for change. These two approaches were reconcilable. There were areas of agreement however. The debates established the premises on which dialogue could be built. Besides, the radicalization of identity awareness was limited to a few individuals. It was the duty of the Trusteeship government to extend this debate and provide solutions to the identified problems. However, the colonial government chose to distance itself from the debate on the ethnic issue though they acknowledged that it was fundamental in nation building.

Reaction from the Trusteeship authority

The Trusteeship local authorities and the Deputy Governor General witnessed a social deterioration among the population but failed to take

appropriate measures in time. R. Bourgeois warned the Ministry about the possible consequences of this situation. He said, “Given the big population of the Hutu, if we leave the precarious political situation to deteriorate, it will lead to devastating and unmanageable consequences”. In agreement with the Resident of Ruanda-Urundi, the Director of Political Affairs in the Governor General’s office made consultations on the future political organization of these two territories. The preliminary draft which served as the basis for discussions between the two Residents focused on the need for immediate reforms. The major points discussed after the project amendment noted that the Council’s opinion was still needed before appointing or dismissing any official of the native authority.

Members of the Council at the sub-chieftaincy level were to be directly elected through a universal male adult suffrage at chieftaincy level. The composition of the council at chieftaincy level was constituted in a more democratic manner because the number of elected members was doubled compared to ex-officio members. In addition, the Territorial Council was dissolved and members who constituted the Higher National Council were overhauled. The chosen or co-opted members of the CSP were composed of delegates from all chieftaincy councils, i.e. 1 chief, 1 deputy chief and 2 notables. The composition of a permanent representation was amended. The new structure was composed of 3 chiefs, 3 notables and 1 member from each category who was appointed by the king. The Council’s duties and responsibilities were categorically stated, particularly those on land and staff appointment.

The draft also included technical reforms on the statute governing indigenous cadres, management of funds in the chieftaincy as well as the king’s funds, the CSP’s powers, etc. The reformed bill was forwarded to Léopoldville in November 1957 with a special request from Usumbura to examine it without delay because the situation was deemed critical and urgent. This is what it stated: At a time like this when the peasants and Buhutu manifesto have expressed their requests, we have to lead the Territory towards a democratic regime which seeks the emancipation of individuals from feudal bondage. The peasants have put their trust in us and if we wait indefinitely, it would be dangerous to see them turn their back on us and even listen to the advice of bad shepherds. The technical

department of the Ministry of Colonies was also called upon to take action. For the Director General, the whole project took into consideration the evolution of ideas and shaped them thoroughly into political institutions.

The Council reforms were considered to be conservative but adequate enough to temporarily meet the aspirations of the native public opinion supported by some Europeans. However, it recommended a clear position on the government's intentions to gain sympathy from the natives. The accuracy of the duties and powers of the Trusteeship authority were meant to decrease tensions between the two parallel administrative institutions.

There was a comprehensive law which, on top of building wider institutional confidence of native authorities, firmly maintained the prerogatives of the administrative authority whose role became increasingly difficult. The objective of the above was not to be content with minor reforms but to reform the entire system of representation and the relationships between parallel administrations. Certainly, it was necessary to democratize more the native authority institutions in order to ensure a wider representation of the masses. Yet the Trusteeship was still indispensable. The instruction remained unclear on the co-existence advocated for, namely between the Trusteeship authority and the democratic institutions thus established. The final document was approved in a meeting held on 28th January 1958. It was sent to the Colonial Secretary by the Office of the Governor General. It envisaged two possible scenarios: "either giving the country independence or self-rule".

The chosen course of action was a progressive transfer of power from the colonial administration by providing local elites with technical support especially in areas where they lacked expertise. The gradual integration of the natives into the colonial government was to be done in parallel. This was done by increasing the powers of the local government. Here, the native administration was subordinated to the colonial one, whereby the latter was supposed to control and supervise it. The reasons for the above decision were that in Ruanda-Urundi there was still lack of adequate political maturity to form an autonomous and effective administration and government. This was premised on the inadequacies experienced at both technical and economic levels. In this context, a gradual africanization of

the general administration was seen as the only solution.

The CSP's role was restricted to native affairs, while the Residence was to be assisted by a joint-council of members from the native and Trusteeship authorities to handle technical issues. Governor General Pétillon accepted the proposed institutional reform on two conditions. First, they were not to lose sight of the issue of Hutu elevation. Secondly, the integration of the natives into the overall administrative structure was not to be exclusively left to the Batutsi. In other words, the Bahutu were to have their fair share, as much as possible. Henceforth, the policy which relied solely on the Batutsi dominant class was considered as outdated: "(...) We must encourage or support the efforts of the Hutu to by helping them achieve their political and social demands of emancipation. In this regard, we will get support from international bodies, high ecclesiastical authorities and active elements of the European population. However, at the beginning, we will have to be careful to avoid taking sides.

The Governor General clarified his position vis-à-vis the Hutu movement. He said: "(...) I cannot end this letter without mentioning the need to fully support the Hutu emancipation movement, to guide and sometimes supervise it in order to prevent it from causing brutal social and political upheavals or get stuck in impartiality. The danger is, in particular, so serious that the reaction against numerous customary services required, more or less correctly by the Tutsi, could spread to all kinds of work required or directed by the administration in the interest of the nation, especially the farmers.

The instruction was clear. The local Trusteeship administration was to support claims and mentor the organizations of Hutu elites. Actually, this is what happened. The second condition suggested by the Governor General was to avoid the creation of "tiny indigenous States that were economically unviable in the formation of infant nationalism". In the absence of a unitary State composed of Rwanda and Burundi, it was wished that power devolution should not be narrowed down to "parochialism". However, this wish was never realized. On the eve of 1959, there was a consensus on the need for fundamental reforms to adapt social, political and economic reforms. It is not true that indigenous elites were against this decision as some people asserted, saying that opposition to the

reforms would come not from the elites but from the "evolved, evolving and the rural masses". The Hutu and the most intelligent Tutsi sensed the imminence of the "defeudalization of the regime".

A simple comparison between the recommendations from the meetings of the traditional elites and the projects of the Trusteeship helped to harmonize the convergent and divergent ideas. The outcome of these projects depended primarily on the determination of the Trusteeship authority. Was it willing to lead them to a "sincere dialogue with a valid representation of opinions from the Rwandese as proposed in the first arrangement?

By promoting the ethnic divide in the political debate, all the advantages were short lived. An easy way was chosen which safeguarded the interests of the Trusteeship. But this was detrimental to the interests of the majority of Rwandans. At the 10th session of the CSP which took place in June 1958 in the name of the Vice-Governor, the Provincial Director for Native Affairs declared that "there was nothing to fear either in the current state of our politics or in the co-existence between the Hutu and Tutsi. Concerning the Hutu leaders' claims, he said: "This is a problem of poor people which is not a problem per se, but they just want to attribute dramatic connotations to it". We can say that, on that date, the Trusteeship had not yet changed its alliance with the Tutsi aristocracy. The change of alliance occurred on 3rd December 1958.

Indeed, it is at that time that Vice-Governor J. P. Harroy officially denounced the social, political and administrative system previously supported by Belgium. This is what he said in his speech to the General Council: "The Tutsi-Hutu issue is an undeniable problem in this country which is characterized by inequalities (...). It is a fact, one the one hand, that the Tutsi social group occupies a high percentage of official posts and whose holders are guilty of abuses and that, on the other hand, the Hutu group forms the vast majority of poor masses who are victims of these abuses."

In his memoirs, J. P. Harroy confessed that "this was a difficult decision to make since "it was Belgium that had rejected all the Mutara conclusions of June 1958"371. Nevertheless, the Vice- Governor General did not mention the word "ethnic" or "race" in his speech. He talked of "Tutsi or Hutu as social groups". He knew very well that the problem was not fundamentally ethnic and that it would be wrong to generalize and say that all the Tutsi were rich leaders who were guilty of commiting abuses. He knew that a

big number of Tutsis were poor.

He was also aware that not all Hutus were poor peasants, starting with the Hutu elite who consisted of "a marginal group among the Hutu composed of successful civil servants, artisans and teachers, the majority of whom were married to Tutsi women". There was also a large Hutu community in the north of the country which consisted of wealthy land owners known as "Abakonde". In this way, the Vice-Governor General exonerated Belgium from its colonial action because he attributed abuses and errors to the traditional political and administrative organization. At the same time, the Trusteeship Authority renounced its arbitration role in initiating a process of decolonization negotiated by all competing political forces.

The Belgian circles which were concerned with the colonial problem shared opposed views. Some of them favored traditional authorities who, once they became masters of the country, they would necessarily seek Belgium's support. Those who supported the Hutu elite's ideas mainly came from the Labor movement of the Belgian Christian Social Party. These were the forces that convinced the Metropolitan Authority to change its tune. Otherwise nothing predestined the Belgian government's alliance with the local Hutu petite-bourgeoisie which was close to the Roman Catholic Church. Indeed, the Ruanda-Urundi administrative authorities were at loggerheads with the Church on the issue of secularization of schools. In addition, Harroy was an anti-clerical who was often treated as a free-mason. He admitted that, even after defending the Hutu cause, it was not yet accepted because he was both liberal and anti-clerical.

In 1959, Grégoire Kayibanda took advantage of his first meeting with King Baudouin in Bujumbura to request him to replace Governor Harroy 374 with a Roman Catholic Governor. The change of tune by the Belgian government was a strategy to protect their interests. The Hutu leaders were in fact an alternative authority. Contrary to the traditional authority, the Hutu were not against colonization. They did not denounce colonial exploitation which was a burden for both Hutu and Tutsi masses through forced labor, corporal punishments, taxes, economic exploitation, cultural alienation, etc.

The "ethnicization" of the political debate was a convenient tool of achieving this objective since it sidelined crucial problems of the day and focused on scapegoats: "native colonization" by the Tutsi who were taken

as a group of long- standing oppressors and foreigners. In this regard, the central committee of PARMEHUTU issued the following statement: "(...) the populations of Ruanda-Urundi want their independence an independence from two types of colonization that history had superimposed on the populations: The Tutsi colonization and the colonization of the European Trusteeship. When the Tutsi say they represent Rwanda, it is exactly like the way the French represented their colonies before independence.

During the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of Rwanda's independence, Kayibanda once again put the two types of "foreigners" in the same basket, namely the Tutsi and the Whites who had sucked the blood of Hutus.

The 1959-1962 changes

Death of King Mutara II Rudahigwa.

The year 1959 is very important in the history of Rwanda. It was from this time that many events which shaped the destiny of Rwanda took place. On 25th July, 1959, King Mutara II Rudahigwa died in mysterious circumstances in Bujumbura. The circumstances surrounding his death are still unknown. There are divergent official versions. Some said that the king died of a "penicillin injection". Others talked of "cerebral hemorrhage"388 while others suggest the possibility of ritual suicide. For some Rwandans, this death was not natural. They contend that "it is the colonial authorities and Bishop Pérraudin, the Apostolic Vicar of Kabgayi, who plotted against the king and killed him".

Whatever the actual reason for the king's death may be, King Rudahigwa's death plunged Rwanda's political landscape into total chaos that led to a political vacuum in the country. It occurred at the time when the country was in the midist of reforms. Many people were expecting real reforms in the political arena. And, in addition, the relationship between King Rudahigwa and the Trusteeship authority had become sour. It was the end of an era of a collaborative regime between the Trusteeship authority and the Nyiginya monarchy. It marked the beginning of a new and eventful era which led to the introduction of important institutional, political as well as social reforms. After the king's death, many open consultations were made. The Hutu leaders gathered in Ruhengeri in a bid to set up a new political formula to be proposed to the Belgian Trusteeship authority. The latter did the same in Nyanza. "The Resident of Rwanda held several

consultative meetings with his staff".

The pro-monarchy side also did the same. The Trusteeship authority envisaged a transitional period but not an immediate appointment of a successor. Before burying the late king, the court ritualist (Umwiru) declared the name of King Rudahigwa's successor, Jean Baptiste Ndahindurwa who was to rule under the name of King Kigeli V. According to A. Kagame, it was Rudahigwa who revealed this plan391. Some people considered Jean Baptiste Ndahindurwa's appointment as a coup d'état (the Mwima coup d'état).

On the other hand, others saw it as a procedure that restored the secular tradition. The evidence provided by the proponents of the first assertion was that the Belgian government was presented with a fait accompli. They could discuss political opportunities of the modalities chosen by the monarchists but could not question the legality of the act. Indeed, Article 15 of the 1952 decree which served as the reference text stated that: "the title of King is determined by the rules of the tradition. However, he can fulfill his duties only after being sworn-in by the Governor." This swearing-in ceremony took place on 9th October 1959 during which time the king took an oath and committed himself to rule as a constitutional monarch. However, there was lack of trust because the relationships between the court and the Trusteeship authority kept on deteriorating.

Birth of political parties

On the basis of the Legislative Order No. 11/234 of 8th May 1959 on political associations which was approved by the Ordinance R.U. No 111/105 of 15th June 1959, political parties were created in 1959 in preparation for elections that were to be held towards the end of year and in accordance with the 1952 decree. From September 1959 to May 1960, there were 20 political parties. Only four of them were mass parties that monopolized the political scene. The remaining 16 parties were regional parties or associations.

In 1960, PARMEHUTU declared that the republican form of government was the best system to ensure freedom and equality before the law and that it was the best representative power- sharing arrangement. The transition from "feudal, colonialist and racist monarchy to a constitutional monarchy had become impossible. In addition, it was stated by PARMEHUTU that

the liberation of Hutu-Bantu groups from Tutsi colonialism required the abolition of the King form of government and all its feudal and racist myths".

To solve the problem of Hutu-Tutsi divide, MDR PARMEHUTU suggested the formation of a confederation of two separate regions for the two groups, namely "the Hutu and Tutsi separate regions". This was a similar arrangement organized between the Flemish and Walloons in Belgium401. This proposal was submitted to the UN. It was justified that the proposed separation would lead to: "(...) national progress and democratic life, the common good as well as tranquility of the two groups. They proposed a demarcation of areas suitable for the development of each ethnic group. The justification for this proposal was based on "the insurmountable difference between the Hutu and Tutsi groups" as well as the divergent political opinions held by the two groups.

The Tutsi advocated for a balance between autonomy and independence from 1960 to 1962 whereas the Hutu wanted a "preservation of an active Trusteeship for a reasonable period of time". The Tutsi wanted to prolong war (continuation of the November 1959 unrest) while the Hutu wanted to get back to work. The Tutsi wanted to hold on to their hegemony. Finally, "despite the false illusion of living and working together and some cases of mixed marriage, the Tutsi and Hutu lived as two states within one State". The coexistence and collaboration between the Hutu and Tutsi required an "establishment of two zones, otherwise one ethnic group would disappear in favor of the other". The Hutu-Tutsi dialogue was impossible to achieve. The UNAR-minded fanaticism was strong and everlasting. It was better to determine the regions for this confederation.

The advocates of this separate confederation noted that separate regions did not mean segregation like the one perpetrated by the "Hamite" monopoly in schools and social life. "We do not want to rectify segregation by instituting another one, but this is the most realistic method to ensure social peace and free development for all the groups to live harmoniously in the country. The creation of separate regions is better than traditionalism"405. Leaving each group, the possibility to develop its own aspirations would lead to a genuine decentralization policy. The proposed regions for the Tutsi were Bugesera, Rukaryi, Baganza (in Kigali

territory), Kibungo and Mutara territories.

All in all, a comparative analysis of the political parties' programs shows that most parties were similar. Their difference however lay in the question of internal autonomy and independence. UNAR wanted immediate and unconditional independence. It rejected any idea of internal autonomy which implied "collaboration" with the Belgians and was compared to a perpetual cold war. It would lead to a series of assassinations and divisions among Rwandans. The other three parties wanted to first "democratize the country". Gitera presented independence as synonymous with "witch-hunting the Whites" and "reintroducing forced labor, exploitation and tyranny of the Tutsi".

After the approval of the multiparty system, political parties started campaigning. UNAR was anti-colonialist. During the political meetings held at Nyamirambo on 13th September 1959, UNAR leaders talked about national unity, autonomy and independence409. Initially, UNAR enjoyed real success because of its discourse and the fact that the majority of chiefs and deputy- chiefs had joined the party. According to R. Lemarchand, UNAR's success was due to the fact that it had a nationalist-orientated discourse which aimed at uniting all Rwandans for progress in all areas.

Nonetheless, UNAR met a strong opposition from the Trusteeship administration and partly from the Catholic Church. The administration used all means to destabilize this party. For example, there was an unfair transfer of three chiefs who were influential in UNAR. These were: M. Kayihura, P. Mungarulire, and C. Rwangombwa. They were reprimanded for having attended a meeting organised by UNAR despite the fact that they were civil servants.

Before silencing UNAR leaders and before smashing the party's popular base, a lot of anger was used by the Trusteeship authority to sabotage the activities of this party during their campaigns. Even the Catholic Church leaders like Bishop A. Bigirumwami and Bishop A. Perraudin warned Catholics against UNAR because it was accused of monopolizing patriotism in its favor. UNAR said that those who were not with them were against the country. They demanded immediate independence and broke ties with the Metropolitan power. They were accused of being in

contact with other African nationalists and this was proof for their affinity with Communism.

On the other hand, PARMEHUTU got support from the Trusteeship Government and partly from the Catholic Church whose plan was to help this party to accede to power by winning elections. Initially, it was only known within the immediate neighborhood of Kabgayi and Rwaza missions. Lemarchand talked of the assistance given to PARMEHUTU in minimizing its weaknesses: "(...) yet the PARMEHUTU remained rather weak and ineffectively organized, thus failing to mobilize grassroots support in areas other than Gitarama and Kabgayi. The main asset of the Hutu leadership was the utmost unconditional support they received from the Catholic Church, which enabled them, among other things, to gain control over their vernacular press and their use of the daily newspaper "Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique" published in Bujumbura. It served as a vehicle for disseminating their ideas among Europeans and literate Africans".

G. Kayibanda had ties with many associations which had good working relations with the Catholic Church and scattered throughout the country. He proved effective in spreading PERMEHUTU slogans and messages.

The ethnic and political violence of November 1959

The ethnic and political violence that took place in the first half of November 1959 occurred in a social-political climate that was tense. The Trusteeship government could no longer get along with the native assistants and the royal court. During their campaigns, political parties used abusive language and held inflammatory leaflets that considered opponents as enemies. The antagonism between UNAR and other political parties made the situation acquire a more explosive stance. There was aggression between the young UNAR militants and PARMEHUTU. D. Mbonyumutwa, a PARMEHUTU deputy chief was allegedly victimized at Byimana and this added insult to injury. Rumors of his death spread throughout the Ndiza416. At first, the groups of the Hutu youth conducted a hunt for the Tutsi in the Central and north-western regions of the country. Then, there was a monarchists' counter-offensive led by UNAR members in the south.

During the violence, the Belgian administrative authorities were absent.

They justified their absence by the structure of the terrain and the limited number of military personnel at their disposal. For the royal court, the silence of the Belgian authorities implied support to the uprising of Hutu parties. Indeed, it was an established fact that Belgian officials supported the spread of disorder. The Trusteeship administration's support for Hutu leaders was strengthened by the arrival of Colonel Logiest on 9th November 1959. He took over the command of Belgo-Congolese troops and later, took over the leadership of Rwanda as a special Resident who was directly responsible to the Colonial Office (but not to Governor General). The Colonel had all the powers and used them as he pleased. His action was decisive for PARMEHUTU in acceding to power. He declared President Habyarimana on 5th July 1982 as a "God-given man".

Colonel Logiest quickly stopped the political line he was supposed to follow. In preparation for the visit of De Schrijver, the Minister of Colonies, Colonel Logiest collaborated with Major Louis Merlière (Chief of Staff) from the FP Headquarters in Léopoldville. He was a specialist in "guerilla operations and revolutionary warfare". On 20th November 1959, he prepared a paper on the situation and proposed a line of action to be followed in the near future. This document was very interesting. It outlined the plans to be used in solving Rwanda's political unrest at that time.

According to this document, "the monarchy which was made of 15% of the population could no longer be reformed. The majority of people preferred a democratic regime and a constitutional monarchy. "We have to meet the needs of the majority and give them part of the power they deserve. UNAR has to be neutralized through fighting its armed gangs as well as the king because of his symbolic value417". "King Kigeli V will always be an obstacle to the process of democratization", said Colonel Logiest. "His education is based on anti-democratic beliefs. He is surrounded by UNAR extremists". The colonel was aware of the plan that the "king might flee" to Uganda. And, he was also aware that the Tutsi could flee to this country and organize terrorist counter attacks. This would oblige Belgium to occupy the country militarily, thus undermining its credibility before the UN.

Why was Colonel Logiest biased against UNAR? According to him, "this party was seeking support from the Congolese political parties and the UN in order to influence the international opinion in their favor. He also felt that UNAR had a plan of neutralizing other political parties through

intimidation, and this would stir up, according to him, an anti-Belgian uprising418". Colonel Logiest wanted to recover the traditional authority of the king in his plan. He used the following means: propaganda statements, confining the king to Kigali, and making him understand that any opposition to the Trusteeship authority was a suicidal move. He continued with the policy of replacing chiefs and deputy-chiefs by people who were favorable to the Trusteeship authority; he conducted a harsh crackdown against any sort of intimidation as well as purging traditional institutions of UNAR sympathizers; he provided financial, political and organizational assistance to other political parties (other than UNAR); he set up a real propaganda department supervised by a specialized staff which influenced the public through radio, newspapers, cinema, leaflets, brochures, mobile groups, photos, etc.

Colonel Logiest also sought to contact the Colonial Office personally in order to establish diplomatic ties through Uganda and Tanganyika and the British Colonial Authorities. This would make the latter change their position and attitude vis-à-vis Belgium because these countries could serve as a base for extremists. The Belgian diplomatic staff in these countries therefore needed to be strengthened. We shall see how this plan was pursued and executed in its entirety.

In addition, Colonel Logiest hosted the Colonial Minister in Kigali. The latter was amazed by the policy used. Following this visit, Colonel Logiest was sent to Rwanda for a short period of six months to exercise the functions of a civilian administrator with a title of "Special Civil Resident". He enjoyed exceptional and unlimited powers. To achieve his objective, several measures were taken to eliminate UNAR from the political scene. He used all the means at his disposal to keep the Tutsi away from the new state machinery.

The first step in the long process of PARMEHUTU's access to power was the dismissal of a big number of chiefs and deputy-chiefs. They were replaced by members of PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA. As a result, after the violence of November, 23 chiefs out of 45 and 158 deputy-chiefs out of 489 no longer exercised their functions because they were arrested under the pretext that they had fermented violence in their constituencies. Some fled the country; others were killed, yet others had their property

destroyed or got imprisoned. In his message to Rwandans on 23rd November 1959, Colonel Logiest explained the reason for these reforms as follows: "(...) in several territories, Hutu chiefs and deputy-chiefs were appointed to replace Tutsi chiefs and deputy-chiefs who were dismissed. However, this has not been done to harm the Tutsi. It has been done for the good of the Hutu majority living in those territories, i.e. those who have been demanding to be governed by their fellow Hutu").

The king protested against this decision which he described as illegal but all was in vain. Article 17 of the 1952 decree gave Col. Logiest the powers to appoint chiefs and deputy-chiefs. This decision was a milestone in the evolution of the country. On the strength of this decision, the colonial administration made new appointments and gave funds to the new authorities and their parties to expand geographically. Without these means, this expansion would have been impossible.

Application Activity 8.3

Discuss the role of colonial education system in creating inequality among Rwandans.

End of Unit Assessment 8

1. Explain the different theories used by Europeans to explain the settlement of Rwanda.
2. Identify the different measures undertaken by the Belgian government aiming at undermining and weakening the power of king Yuhi V Musinga.
3. Analyse the content of the two memoranda published in 1957.
4. Identify the different solutions suggested to rectify the imbalance found in education by 1959.

UNIT 9 COMPARISONS OF GENOCIDES

Key Unit Competence: By the end of this unit you should be able to compare and contrast different genoides in the 20th Century.

Introductory Activity 9.1

Using the Internet search for *United Nations High Commission for Human Rights* and read the whole *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* of 9th, December, 1948.

This will help you understand the international legal framework that deals with genocides. Evaluate how this convention has been applied in Rwanda.

9.1. Different genocides that occurred in the 20th Century

Learning Activity 9.1

Use internet and / or visit your school library in order to make a research about the occurrence of different genocides happened in 20th century. The identify the different crimes committed during any crime of genocide as recognized by UN Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide as it was adopted in 1948. Summarize your work in your notebook.

Genocide

The word 'genocide' was derived from two words. It originated from a Greek word 'genos' meaning origin or species, and a Latin verb 'caedere', meaning to kill. It was coined by Raphael Lemkin, a Polish-born American lawyer who taught law at the University of Yale in the 1940s. He used the

term for the first time in his book, Axis Rule in Europe, published in 1944. He used this term 'genocide' uniquely to make it different from other crimes of mass killings.

A universal definition of genocide is found in Article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This was approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is contained in Resolution 260 A III of December, 1948. It defines genocide as any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part a national, ethnic or religious group, by:

- killing members of the group;
- causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- imposing measures intended to prevent births on the group;
- Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

It is worth noting that the occurrence of genocide is not limited to Rwanda. There have been other cases of genocide in different parts of the world that occurred in different times. Some of the cases of genocide that happened in the 20th Century are as follows:

Genocide against the Herero in Namibia by the German colonialists (1907)

The Nama Herero Genocide was not recognised for unknown reasons by the United Nations Organisation. However, many authors and specialists in the study of genocides qualify it as a pure act of genocide committed against the Nama and the Herero in 1907.

When the Germans arrived in South-West Africa (Namibia) in 1880, they found the area populated by certain groups of people such as the Nama (Namaqua) who were about 20,000 in number by then. Another group of people was the Herero who were about 75,000 in number. Their occupation was cattle herding. These people violently resisted occupation of their land and establishment of the German rule. The German commander who led the conquest, vowed to meet any resistance from the natives with

'uncompromising brutality'. He vowed to wipe out the natives completely in 15 years time.

The Herero waged war against the Germans in 1904 – 1908. The Germans took the native land forcefully and planned to build a railway across their territory. The Herero were led by the leader Samuel Maharero. In January 1904, the Herero attacked white-owned farms and murdered 123 German settlers and traders sparing only women, children and missionaries. Later, the commander of German Forces, General Lothar von Trotha organised his ground army and they surrounded the living areas and the livestock pastures of the Herero.



Fig 3.1 General Lothar von Trotha

They only left a small opening through which the Herero could escape to the Omaheke Desert.

The Germans attacked and killed 5,000 people and wounded 20,000 others. They captured water sources and forced the survivors to flee to the desert. They followed the survivors to the desert and massacred them. They also poisoned water sources in the desert.

On 2nd, October of the same year, General Trotha released an extermination order forcing the Herero people to leave the land. The Herero escaped to the desert where the Germans had already poisoned the water wells.

When the Nama saw what had happened to the Herero, they also fled. Those who remained behind were collected into camps where they were tortured and forced to provide labour. Most of them died of diseases such as small pox and typhoid in the camps. About 80% of the Herero and 50% of the Nama people were wiped out.

The Holocaust (1941 – 1945)

The Holocaust is a genocide that occurred in Germany and its occupied territories. It targeted Jews of whom approximately 6,000,000 were killed by Adolf Hitler and his Nazi regime.

Apart from the Jews, non-Jews were also killed including millions of Polish Gentiles, Russians, Ukrainians and prisoners of other nationalities. This has been one of the largest genocides in history. About two-thirds of the Jews who lived in Europe were killed in the Holocaust.

Laws were passed in Germany that excluded Jews from the civil society, more specifically the Nuremberg Laws of 1935.

Concentration camps were established where Jews were murdered in large numbers. Jews were collected from various parts of Germany occupied territories in 1939 and were transported in cargo trains to the famous concentration or extermination camps.



Adolf Hitler

Most of them, however, died along the way. Those who survived the journey by train were killed in gas chambers.

The genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 in Rwanda

Events leading to the planning and execution of the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 in Rwanda date back to 1959. The cause of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi was the history of a long process of violence, hatred, injustice and ethnic divisions in the first and second Republics of Rwanda. Massacre against the Tutsi had happened in 1959 as a result of similar reasons to those ones that caused the 1994 Genocide – manipulated ethnic rivalries between the Hutu and the Tutsi.

There was an ethnic and political violence which was characterised by a period of violence from 1959 – 1961 targeting the Tutsi and Hutu members of UNAR.

From November 1959, a series of riots by the Hutu took place. The riots entailed arson attacks on Tutsi homes. The violence forced about 336,000 Tutsi to exile in the neighbouring countries where they lived as refugees.

Afterwards, there were no active threats posed by the Tutsi refugees to the Hutucontrolled government in Rwanda. It was until the early 1990s

when the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a movement which they used to force the Rwanda Government into a political negotiation. However, the negotiations failed as Hutu extremists were not willing to share the power. From April 7th 1994, they executed their long term plan of killing the Tutsi in the 1994 Genocide at the end of which more than one million Tutsi were massacred.

The genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 did not take a long time to be recognised by UNO. The Security Council created the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) by the Resolution 955 of November 8th, 1994. Based in Arusha, the ICTR was established to deal with the prosecution of the Rwandans responsible for the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi.

Different phases of the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994

From April 7th 1994, the country was ignited in several weeks of intense and systematic genocidal massacres of Tutsi, the long planned Genocide against the Tutsi started in Kigali City. It was started on the political officials in the opposition namely; Minister Frederick Nzamurambaho, Faustin Rucogoza, Agathe Uwiringiyimana, Landouald Ndasingwa as well as Joseph Kavaruganda (Supreme Court). Killing the persons who could first oppose it was a strategic method used to freely commit the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. The genocidaires went on to kill the Tutsi all over the country within a very short time.

Some state officials in the newly formed 'Government' (Guverinoma y'Abatabazi) led by Theodore Sindikubwabo, (then a.i President of the Republic), Jean Kambanda (a.i Prime Minister), the Prefects of the Prefectures, Commune Burgomasters up to the cells leaders sensitised people to kill the Tutsi.

The genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 was possible through the involvement of different actors. They included the following:

- The Government of Rwanda that did not use its coercive power to stop killings, prohibit or punish the killers. It even provided funds to make the killings possible. Armed forces starting with the Republican guards (Garde Presidentielle), Gendarmes (Police), Militias Interahamwe;

- (MRND), Impuzamugambi (CDR militias) and military commanders at the local level and the Communal police;
- Local government officials such as prefects of prefecture (as province today), burgomasters (as mayors today), communal coordinators, Conseillers de Secteur (as executive secretaries of sectors) and cell leaders; Responsible de cellule (as executive secretaries of cells);
- Individuals such as traders, local leaders of political parties, opinion leaders (intellectuals), faith-based missionaries, observers or bystanders and accomplices to killers etc.

All these actors played a major role in killing the Tutsi within a period of three months.

The genocide that lasted three months from April up to July 1994 was then stopped by the RPF when they defeated the genocidal forces.

Application Activity 9.1

a. Analyse its causes, its course and its end.

b. Write an essay suggesting steps that could have been taken to prevent its occurrence.

9.2. Similarities and differences between the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 and other genocides

Learning Activity 9.2

Brainstorm: Having evaluated other genocides that happened in the 20th Century, find out more on how the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 was different from the rest.

Similarities between the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 and other genocides

The above genocides have the following as common features or similarities:

- Preparation and execution by the concerned governments. They are always a result of bad leadership.
- Intention of destroying or completely wiping out the targeted group.
- Involvement of the government that put in place all necessary measures to destroy the targeted group.
- Large scale killing of the targeted group.
- Innocent people are killed because they belong to the targeted group.
- Cruel methods are used to torture the victims before killing them.
- Negative effects like trauma and poverty are common among the survivors.
- There are mechanisms of denying the genocide committed.
- Most of them are generated by internal divisions.
- They mostly occur during war times.

Differences between the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 and other genocides

- It was executed within a short period of time. The genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 claimed the life of more than one million people in a period of one hundred days.
- Many people were involved, killing their fellow citizens, their relatives and their neighbours. Killers and victims shared citizenship and culture.
- The government agents, church members and security organs were all actively involved in the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994.
- The international community did not intervene to stop the genocide in Rwanda. The genocide committed against the Tutsi

in 1994 was stopped by Rwandans themselves. It came to an end when the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) defeated the genocidal forces in July 1994.

- Cruel and extreme forms of violence were used in the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi e.g. torturing victims before killing them, throwing victims in septic tanks alive, burying them alive in common graves, gathering them in churches and other places and burning them alive using gasoline, raping women before killing them, crushing babies in mortars or smashing them against walls.

Application Activity9.2

Discuss about uniqueness of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda

9.3. Measures that have been taken to reconstruct the Rwandan society after the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994

Learning Activity 9.3

By your own research, find some measures that have been taken to reconstruct Rwanda and to instill a sense of love and respect among all people. Make a summary of your work.

The 1994 Genocide against Tutsi came to an end only after the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) defeated the genocidal forces in July 1994. On July 17th, 1994 the RPF established a Broad Based Government of National Unity which carried out a number of national reconciliation activities aimed at helping Rwandans to live together in harmony.

- The Rwandan Government guaranteed security to returning refugees and to all citizens. Security organs were supported in carrying out their activities.
- It promotes national unity by encouraging people and political groups to forget their past and live together in harmony.

- It reconstructed government institutions since they had collapsed during the first and second republics.
- It ensured justice to the victims of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. *Gacaca* Courts provided both justice and reconciliation.
- It established different commissions to promote national unity and reconciliation e.g the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission and the Human Rights Commission.
- It established the office of the ombudsman to receive complaints against injustices.
- It promoted activities of civil societies like non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to help in rebuilding the communities as well as the economy.
- The National Constitution was reviewed in 2003. It promotes human rights observance and gives the Judiciary independence i.e. the decisions made are respected.
- The teaching curricula were updated e.g. Curriculum for Political Education.
- The Government of Rwanda also promoted participative leadership at all levels through equity, meritocracy and accountability.
- It set up the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide to organise a permanent framework for the exchange of ideas on genocide, its consequences and strategies for its prevention and eradication.
- It put in place the policy of solidarity trainings camps in places such as Nkumba and Mutobo where Rwandans of different age groups had to shape their mindset through different physical and psychological teachings on Rwandan issues. Also, through the Girinka, Ubudehe, Umuganda and Kuremera programs, the Government of Rwanda revived the spirit of cohesion. Every Rwandan realised the necessity of living together and of patriotism to all Rwandans.

- The post genocide Government of Rwanda put measures in place that ensured reconstruction of the Rwandan society. It ensured justice was served to the victims of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. This was done through the establishment of the Gacaca Courts which facilitated conflict resolution and reconciliation.



Application Activity 9.3

A number of national reconciliation activities aiming at helping Rwandans to live together in harmony were set forth. Provide and explain any six of them.



End of Unit Assessment 9

1. Define the term genocide.
2. Identify the genocides that occurred in the 20th Century.
3. Describe the common features of genocides.
4. Describe the differences between the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 in Rwanda and other genocides.

UNIT 10 HUMAN RIGHTS CODIFICATION AND ITS IMPACT

Key Unit Competence: The learner should be able to explain how the Human Rights have been codified since Second World War and the impact this has had in Rwanda and the other countries.



Introductory Activity 10.1

Check on the Internet or visit the library and look for books with relevant information about codification of Human Rights all over the world since World War II, then analyse how Human Rights have been codified. Prepare a summary you will use in class discussion.

Introduction

Human rights are basic legal entitlements that justifiably belong to every person. Human rights are essential to all human beings no matter their status. Every person should enjoy their rights without discrimination.

Human Rights have been in existence since the time of Greek and Roman empires. The first written document on human rights was written in England. It was called Magna Carta or the Great Charter (1217) which announced some guarantees against the arbitrariness of the crown.

The declaration of American independence on 4 July 1776, coincided with the proclamation that Human Rights be respected by the political powers. The declaration of rights of man in France in August 1789 and the claim for freedom during the 19th and 20th Centuries broadened the field for Human Rights.

10.1. Human Rights codification since the World War II

Learning Activity 10.1

Use internet and /or visit your school library and carry out research then discuss the Human Rights codifications that have come up after World War II. Maka a summary in essay form that you will use in class dicsution to your findings with your classmates.

The tragedies caused by World War II created consciousness about human rights in people. From that time they started respecting human rights. This consciousness resulted in the creation of United Nations Organisation (UNO) to replace the League of Nations (LON) in maintaining peace and security all over the world.

The UN Charter was signed on 26 June, 1945, in San Francisco, at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organisation, and came into force on 24th October,1945.

The UN charter declared the people's trust for fundamental human rights, their dignity, values and the equality of men and women as well as the nations. For this purpose there are a number of international, regional and national instruments for human rights protection.

International Human Rights codifications

International instruments for human rights promotion and protection include the following:

1. **Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 10th December 1948**

UDHR was adopted and proclaimed by United Nations General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948. It is made up of an introduction and 30 articles stating the essential human rights and essential freedoms that cover all men and women including the societies they live in, all over the world, without any discrimination.

The UN General Assembly called upon all member countries to publicise the text of the Declaration and *'to cause it to be disseminated, displayed,*

read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institution, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories.'

2. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 16th December 1966

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights was adopted by the UN General Assembly Resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16th December 1966. It entered into force on 23rd March 1976 in accordance with article 49.

It recommends the ideals of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom in accordance with the universal declaration of human rights.

The implementation of the covenant on civil and political rights is entrusted to the human rights committee.

3. The International Covenant on the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 16 th December 1966

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights was adopted by UN General Assembly Resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16th December 1966. It was enforced on 3rd January 1976 in accordance with article 29.

It recognises that the ideal of free human beings enjoying freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if the conditions are created whereby anyone may enjoy his economic social and cultural rights as well as his civil and political rights.

4. The International Convention for Eliminating all forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965

The International Convention for Eliminating all forms of Racial Discrimination was adopted and opened for signature and ratification by UN General Assembly resolution 2106 (XX) of 21st December 1965. It entered into force on 4th January 1969, in accordance with Article 19.

Article 1 of the Convention defines racial discrimination as any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on equal footing,

of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.

Article 2.1(c) provides that each State shall take effective measures to review governmental, national and local policies, and to amend, rescind or nullify any laws and regulations which have the effect of creating or perpetuating racial discrimination wherever it exists.

5. Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) of 18 December 1979

On 18 December 1979, the Convention on the elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women was adopted by the UN General Assembly. It entered into force as an international treaty on 3 September 1981.

The Convention was the culmination of more than thirty years of work by the UN Commission on the status of women, a body established in 1946 to monitor the situation of women and to promote women's rights. The Commission's work has been instrumental to light all the areas in which women are denied equality with men. These efforts for the advancement of women have resulted in several declarations and conventions, of which the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women is the central and most comprehensive document.

The spirit of this Convention is rooted in the goals of the UN to reaffirm faith in fundamental Human Rights. The convention focuses on the equal rights of men and women. The document spells out the meaning of equality and how it can be achieved. In so doing, the Convention establishes not only an international bill of rights for women, but also an agenda for action by countries to guarantee the enjoyment of those rights.

6. Convention of the United Nations of the Children Rights 1989

The Convention on Child Rights was voted for by the United Nations on 20th November 1989. It came into force in September 1990.

The convention of children's rights focuses on four great principles. It requires that all member states of the convention must ensure that all the children who belong to their jurisdiction enjoy all their rights fully.

Geneva Conventions

The Geneva Conventions came into being between 1864 and 1949 as a result of efforts by Henry Dunant, the founder of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

It focused on the protection of civilians and those who can no longer fight in an armed conflict. As a result of World War II, all four conventions were revised, based on previous revisions and on some of the 1907 Hague Conventions, and readopted by the international community in 1949. Later conferences have added provisions prohibiting certain methods of warfare and addressing issues of civil wars.

The first three Geneva Conventions were revised, expanded, and replaced, and the fourth one was added, in 1949.

The Geneva Convention for the *Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field* was adopted in 1864. It was significantly revised and replaced by the 1906 version, the 1929 version, and later the First Geneva Convention of 1949.

The Geneva Convention for the *Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea* was adopted in 1906. It was significantly revised and replaced by the Second Geneva Convention of 1949.

The Geneva Convention *relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War* was adopted in 1929. It was significantly revised and replaced by the Third Geneva Convention of 1949.

The Fourth Geneva Convention *relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War* was adopted in 1949.

Regional instruments for Human Rights promotion and protection

These are elaborated at the regional level. They include:

The American Convention of the Human Rights

This convention is also known as the Pact of San Jose. It was adopted at San Jose, Costa Rica on 22nd November 1969. The bodies entrusted with

its oversight are: i) Inter-American Commission on Human Rights ii) Inter-American Court of Human Rights

The purpose of this convention is to consolidate a system of personal liberty and social justice based on respect for the essential human rights. This is ensured through the framework of democratic institutions.

The European Convention of the Human Rights

It was formerly known as Convention for the Prevention of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. It was formed in 1950 by the Council of Europe. It was enforced on 3rd September 1953. The European Court for Human Rights was established by this convention. People who feel their rights have been violated by any state party can sue the party involved to this court.

The African Charter of the Human Rights and People's Rights, (1981)

It was also known as the Banjul Charter. It is an African outfit that is intended to promote and promote human rights and freedoms of people in the African continent. It was named the Banjul Charter because the final draft was adopted in Banjul; the capital of Gambia.

A protocol of this charter was used to create African Court on Human People's Rights. This charter was formed in 1981 and came into force on 21st October 1986: such instruments are interlinked with UNO charter of 1945.

National instruments for human rights promotion and protection

These are elaborated at the national level. They include:

- The Constitution
- Various codes and laws
- National mechanisms
- The government institutions
- The Non-Governmental Organisations

Application Activity 10.1

List the Human Rights codifications of post-World War II and the regions where they are found.

10.2. Rwandan constitution in respect of the Human Rights

Learning Activity 10.2

Get a copy of the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda and analyse the articles that touch on human rights. Then, explain how the Constitution enforces the respect of human rights.

The Rwandan Constitution promotes Human Rights in the following ways:

- In the fifth paragraph of its preamble, the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda is committed to building a State governed by the rule of law, based on the respect for human rights, freedom and on the principle of equality of all Rwandans before the law as well as equality between men and women.
- It provides for Fundamental Human Rights and the Rights and Duties of the Citizens. All Articles under chapter Four about Human rights and freedoms, commit to protecting human rights. The constitution of Rwanda guarantees the citizens their rights and freedoms. Article 13 describes human (persons) beings as sacred and inviolable.
- Article 161 gives the Rwanda National Police the mandate of safeguarding the fundamental rights guaranteed by the constitution and the law.
- Article 140 provides for The National Commission for Human Rights as an independent institution. It is mandated with:

1. Educating and mobilising the population on matters relating to human rights.

2. Examining the violations of human rights committed on Rwandan territory by state organs, public officials using their duties as cover, by organisations and by individuals.
3. Carrying out investigations of human rights abuses in Rwanda and filing complaints in respect thereof with the competent courts.
4. Preparing and disseminating annual and other reports as may be necessary on the situation of human rights in Rwanda.

According to Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda, the following rights and freedoms are guaranteed to any person, as determined by Chapter 4 of this Constitution:

- Right to lif
- Right to physical and mental integrity
- Equality before the law
- Protection from discrimination
- Right to marry and found a family
- Protection of the family
- Child's right to protection
- Right to education
- Right to good health
- Right to a clean environment
- Respect for privacy of a person and of family
- Right to liberty and security of person
- Right to a homeland and nationality
- Right to freedom of movement and residence
- Right to participate in the governance of the country and right of access to public service
- Right to seek asylum
- Right to due process of law
- Right to free choice of employment

- Right to form trade unions and employers' associations
- Right to collective bargaining
- Right to strike
- Right to private property
- Right to private ownership of land
- Right to activities promoting national culture
- Freedom of conscience and religion
- Freedom of press, of expression and of access to information
- Right to freedom of association
- Right to freedom of assembly
- Limitation of rights and freedoms

Implications of Human Rights in Rwanda

- Increased equal opportunities for men and women in the sociopolitical structure of our country.
- Respect and dignity for people with disabilities and those living with HIV and AIDS.
- They have promoted recognition of rights of children; basic needs and access to basic education in our country.
- Observance of human rights have attracted foreigners to invest in our country and promoting bilateral relations with other countries.
- The promotion of human rights is a responsibility of the State. This responsibility is particularly exercised by the National Commission for Human Rights. This Commission is independent.
- The Judiciary is the guardian of human rights and freedoms. This duty is exercised in accordance with this Constitution and other laws.

Application Activity 10.2

Explain how human rights have been codified since World War II and the impact this has had in Rwanda and other countries.

End of Unit Assessment 10

1. Discuss the international Human Rights codifications that have come up after World War II.
2. List the Human Rights codifications of post-World War II and the regions where they are found.
3. Discuss how the Constitution of Rwanda shows respect for Human Rights.

UNIT 11

NATIONAL COHESION, IDENTITIES AND THE RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Key Unit Competence: By the end of this unit you should be able to survey the factors affecting the national cohesion, identities in terms of culture, history and economical activities and respect of Human Rights.



Introductory Activity 11.1

Discuss and come up with an analysis of how national cohesion, identity and culture have influenced the respect for Human Rights in Rwanda. Later discuss the findings with your teacher in class and make sure you ask questions to understand the concept clearly.

11.1. Concepts of national cohesion, identity and culture



Learning Activity 11.1

Discuss the meaning of national cohesion, identity and culture. Share the findings with your teacher in class and make sure you ask questions to understand the concept clearly.

National cohesion refers to a unified society that is composed of people from different backgrounds who have come together to achieve one common objective. National cohesion thrives when there is love and peace in the society.

National cohesion is a made up of positive relations which link citizens of the same nation and compel them to respect each other and share the same country while observing the same rights.

People's sense of belonging to a particular nation strengthens national cohesion. It entitles one to human rights and at the same time demands that the citizen fulfills certain obligations such as living together harmoniously and participating in social activities.

Certain factors that obstruct or kill national cohesion are such as ethnic hatred or discrimination, social divisions, religious conflicts, political divisions, racism and failure to embrace cultural diversity among others.

National identity

National identity is a person's sense of belonging to the nation that is their country. This sense is shared with other people who belong to the same country. People come together as a whole regardless of their various cultures, traditions, language and politics.

National symbols create a sense of national identity. They include the national flag, national anthem, national motto and the seal of the republic.

Culture

Culture is the characteristic and the way of living of a particular group of people that distinguishes them from another group. It comprises customs, beliefs, language, material objects such as houses and clothing, religion and art among many others. As Rwandans, we have activities that our national culture; ie the *umuganda* the monthly day of participation in public service.



Application Activity 11.1

Discuss and come up with an analysis of how national cohesion, identity and culture have influenced the respect for Human Rights in Rwanda

11.2. Factors of national cohesion and identities

Learning Activity 11.2

Research on factors that promote national cohesion and identity.

Write a group essay based on your findings and present it to your teacher for marking.

- Peace is an important factor for national cohesion and identity. Peace thrives when people choose to embrace each other and live together despite their differences. When there is no peace, dialogue can be used to restore it.
- Justice. This means maintaining the administration of law. Nobody is above the law in the presence of justice. Everybody respects the fundamental rights of fellow citizens.
- Good governance. It is a process of making and implementing decisions. This promotes cohesion and identity when citizens are allowed to participate and contribute in the decision-making process and their views put into consideration.
- Equality and fairness. This involves treating all people equally and being fair while rewarding them. All people should be treated fairly based on merit and competence in education, employment and in distribution of national resources.
- Gender equality with the aim of giving women and men the same rights in the economic, social and political domains.
- National symbols such as the national flag, national anthem, national emblem and national motto.
- The national language
- National territory marked by national boarders
- Values of the national culture
- Existence of national institutions for unity and reconciliation, for example, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC). This commission was created in March 2009 and mandated to promote unity and reconciliation among Rwandans in the aftermath of the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994.

Application Activity 11.2

Discusses the factors that promote national cohesion, culture and identity and the manner that they have influenced the respect of Human Rights in the context of Rwanda especially after the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 for the promotion of unity.

11.3. How national cohesion, identity and culture have influenced the respect of Human rights

Learning Activity 11.3

Describe the ways by which national cohesion, identity and culture have influenced the respect of Human Rights in the context of Rwanda especially after the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 for the promotion of unity.

- They influence the sense of fairness and inclusion in a society. This brings respect for Human Rights.
- National cohesion, identity and culture discourage discrimination in the society. When there is national cohesion, diverse aspects such as gender, ethnicity, culture and religion among others are brought together and exist without exclusion. This ensures respect for Human Rights.
- National cohesion and identity bring respect for national laws and institutions. These laws and institutions value and uphold human rights, therefore, people observe them. These laws are such as the constitution and institutions such as law courts and National Unity and Reconciliation Commission of Rwanda NURC).
- Respect for cultural diversity brings people together and they embrace each other regardless of their various cultures. People respect each other's rights and this prevents conflicts.

- National cohesion, identity and culture breed peace. When there is peace, people live in harmony respecting each other's rights. Peaceful people value human dignity even in conflicts.
- Citizens are encouraged to express their thoughts and opinions freely. All of these are put into consideration while formulating national policies.



Application Activity 11.3

Demonstrate how national cohesion, identity and culture have influenced the respect of Human rights.



End of Unit Assessment 11

1. Define the following terms:
   i. National cohesion
   ii. National identity
2. Discuss factors that promote national cohesion and identity.
3. Explain the roles of national cohesion and national identity in the promotion of Human Rights.

UNIT 12 ROLE OF GACACA AND ABUNZI IN CONFLICT SOLVING

Key Unit Competence: By the end of this unit you should be able to examine the role of Abunzi and Gacaca jurisdiction in Rwandan society.



Introductory Activity 12.1

Through a well documented research, discuss and analyse the organisational structure of the Abunzi and Gacaca. Find out what their roles in solving conflicts and bringing reconciliation in our country. Summarise your findings and write them down on your notebooks and thereafter have a class discussion

12.1. Structure and organization of Abunzi (Mediation committee) and Gacaca courts



Learning Activity 12.1

By using internet or visiting your school library, make a research about Abunzi and Gacaca Courts, then describe their structure. Summarise your findings and write them down on your notebooks and thereafter have a class discussion.

Literally translated, the word abunzi means 'those who reconcile'. The Abunzi are local mediators in Rwanda, who are mandated by the state as the conciliatory approach to resolve disputes, ensuring mutually acceptable solutions to the conflict. The abunzi mediators are chosen on the basis of their integrity, and they handle local cases of civil and criminal nature.

Initially, in 2004, the Government of Rwanda established the traditional process of Abunzi as an alternative dispute resolution mechanism.

Abunzi committees were by established by organic law n° 02/2010/OL of 09/06/2010 on organisation, jurisdiction, competence and functioning of the Abunzi Committee published in Official Gazette n°24 Bis of 14/06/2010. But this law was viewed in 2016 with the Law N° 37/2016 of 08/09/2016 determining organization, jurisdiction, and competence and functioning of an Abunzi Committee.

According to law N° 37/2016 of 08/09/2016, the Abunzi Committee is an organ responsible for providing mediation services as a prerequisite for parties to bring an action before competent courts in matters provided for in provided for in competence of Abunzi Committee. Mediators shall serve on a volunteer and nonremunerated basis.

Organisation, competence, function and the role of Abunzi in conflict solving and reconciliation in Rwanda

Organisation of Abunzi Committee

At the Cell and Sector levels, the Abunzi Committee is comprised of seven (7) persons of integrity who must all be residents of the Cell and the Sector respectively and well-known for their conciliation skills. Members of Abunzi Committee are elected for a renewable term of five (5) years. At least thirty percent (30%) of members of Abunzi Committee must be females.

Members of Abunzi Committee are elected by the Cell Council or the Sector Council respectively, from among people other than high authorities, Cabinet members, Parliamentarians, staff of judicial organs, security services, local administrative entities and others whose duties are incompatible in accordance with specific laws. Elections are prepared, organized and supervised by the National Electoral Commission. A Presidential Order specifies modalities for electing Abunzi Committee members.

Before entering in their functions, elected members take oath before the population and the Chairperson of the Council of the concerned entity or its Vice Chairperson in case of absence of the Chairperson. The oath of office is received by the Primary Court of the area of operation of the Abunzi Committee.

The Abunzi Committee at the Cell and Sector level is headed by a Bureau composed of a Chairperson and a Vice Chairperson elected by their peers.

The Bureau of the Abunzi Committee, in general has the following duties:

- To ensure coordination of activities of the Abunzi Committee.
- To supervises the performance and conduct of members of the Abunzi Committee.
- To gives to the Abunzi Committee all instructions and necessary advice for the smooth performance of duties.
- To prepare all the documents relating to the functioning of the Abunzi Committee.

Competence of the Abunzi Committee

In civil matters, the Abunzi Committee at the Cell level has jurisdiction to decide any civil matter relating to:

- movable and immovable assets and succession thereto where their value does not exceed three million Rwanda francs (Frw 3,000,000);
- a breach of contract between indivinduals, if its value does not exceed three million Rwandan francs (Frw 3,000,000);
- family issues other than those requiring rendering a decision on civil status;
- dispute involving land property located in different territorial jurisdictions.

Functioning of Abunzi Committee

At the Cell level, it is the Executive Secretary of the Cell receives disputes to be submitted to the Abunzi Committee at the Cell level. Disputes are submitted verbally or in writing and are registered on the list of disputes of the Abunzi Committee.

On the day of receipt of a dispute, the Executive Secretary fills out forms which contain a brief description of the dispute and submits them to the Abunzi Committee to allow it to summon the respondent and decide on the venue, the day and the time of consideration of the dispute.

The Executive Secretary of the Sector receives disputes to be submitted to the Abunzi Committee at the Sector level.

After receiving the dispute, the summons is delivered, with acknowledgment of receipt, to the office of the Cell or Sector of the respondent's place of residence or to the secretariat of the institution where the respondent works.

The summons briefly describes the dispute, the venue, date and time set for the respondent's appearance before the Abunzi Committee, with notification to the applicant. The summoned person is given a period of at least seven (7) days to appear before the Abunzi Committee from the date the summons is served on him/ her.

On the day of appearance, the parties agree on three (3) Abunzi to whom they refer their dispute. Where parties fail to agree on the abunzi, each party chooses one and the two (2) choose the third one. Where parties agree on the same umwunzi, the latter chooses the two (2) others from Abunzi Committee to assist him/her. Parties have no right to refuse umwunzi or abunzi chosen following this procedure. The Abunzi Panel chooses from among its members a Chairperson and a rapporteur who must be literate.

Umwunzi shall not sit on a panel examining a dispute involving him/ her or in which he/she has an interest. Umwunzi may recuse him/herself from the panel on his/her own motion or in response to a motion by the applicant.

When the dispute considered involves all or the majority of members of Abunzi Committee at the Cell or Sector level, thereby making it impossible to form a panel, the chairperson of Abunzi Committee notifies the coordinator of activities of Abunzi Committee at the District level of the issue in writing within fifteen (15) days of the day when the problem is noticed.

The Coordinator of activities of the Abunzi Committee in collaboration with the Executive Secretary of the Cell or Sector in which the problem is noticed seeks support from Abunzi of the nearest Cell or Sector to determine the dispute.



Local residents stand bofere the Abunzi committee in Karongi District.

Source: https://minijust.gov.rw/fileadmin/_processed_/8/3/csm_abunzi_pic_3a3a5a8127.jpg

During reconciliation procedure, the conciliation session is public, save for a session behind closed doors which is decided by Abunzi on their own initiative or upon request, following the nature of the dispute. Members of the Abunzi Committee that are not chosen to examine the dispute may participate in any conciliation session but without the right to vote.

During the conciliation, Abunzi hear from each party and from witnesses when they are presented by the parties. They may also seek advice from any other person as long as he/she can provide clarification on the dispute.

While considering the dispute, Abunzi help both parties to reach a compromise. Where parties fail to do so, Abunzi render a decision in accordance with the law, culture of the place where the dispute is being settled or their own conscience provided the decision is not contrary to written law.

Before the Panel of Abunzi, a lawyer may assist a party having sought his/ her assistance, but the lawyer cannot represent or plead for him/her.

The applicant, the respondent or the witness may use an interpreter who is given the floor before Abunzi Panel. Interpreter fees are borne by the person having sought his/her services.

Abunzi must settle the dispute within one month from the day the dispute is registered on the list of disputes of Abunzi Committee.

If a summoned person fails to appear on the date indicated in the summons, he/she is summoned again and informed that Abunzi render their decision on the scheduled date irrespective of whether he/she appears or not.

If the party summoned fails to appear again on the date indicated, the applicant chooses umwunzi and Abunzi Committee chooses another and the two select a third one to decide on the dispute in the summoned party's absence.



Mediators hearing from each of the parties in conflict in Kirehe District in September 2012.

Source: RCN Justice & Démocratie http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/ Mediation%20Session%20in%20Nyamugari%20 Sector %20 in%20the%20Kirehe%20 District_2012.jpg

After the dispute consideration, Abunzi withdraw themselves from the public in order to make a decision. The Abunzi's decision is taken by consensus or, where there is no such consensus, by an absolute majority of votes. The decision is recorded in minutes signed on each page by all members of Abunzi Panel and the concerned parties right after the procedure of conciliation.

The verdict must be written and signed by Abunzi on every page and available within a period not exceeding ten (10) days from the day on which the decision was made.

The verdict of Abunzi Committee indicates the following:

- The parties' identification;
- The summary of the dispute;
- The arguments put forward by the involved parties;
- The decision with which all parties agree;
- The decision to which one of the parties does not agree, if any;
- The date and place of the dispute settlement;
- Signatures or fingerprints of parties in conflict;
- Abunzi names as well as their signatures or their fingerprints;
- The rapporteur's names as well as his/her signature or fingerprint.

The verdict of Abunzi Committee is sealed with the seal of the Abunzi Committee and is kept by the Executive Secretary who submits it to the concerned parties.

Where one of Abunzi holds a dissenting opinion, the issue and the reason thereof are stated in the verdict. The Chairperson of Abunzi Panel that examined the dispute notifies the parties of the written verdict of the Abunzi Committee, within five (5) days from the day on which the verdict was available.

12.1.2. Structure of Gacaca Courts

Gacaca Courts originate from the traditional system of conflict resolution called Gacaca. The system mainly dealt with civil and social conflicts between members of the community. It referred to a physical green space where people used to meet. It was especially used by elders in the community and individuals well-known for their integrity and wisdom, to discuss and resolve problems and conflicts within the community. Among the measures taken against an offender, the traditional Gacaca called upon the family of the offender to reconcile with the offended family.

Likewise, the Rwandan community after the Genocide against the Tutsi found it wise to use this system for dealing with genocide cases as well as rebuilding the social fabric which had been completely destroyed, a task that was practically impossible to carry out using the classical system of justice.

Establishment of Gacaca Courts

The Gacaca Courts were established by Organic Law n° 40/2000 of 26 /01/2001, governing the creation of Gacaca Courts and organizing the prosecution of Genocide crimes and other crimes against humanity committed between the 1st October 1990 and the 31st December 1994, published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda, 15th March 2001.

However, the organization and function of Gacaca Courts were revised by Organic Law no 16/2004 governing the organization, jurisidiction and functioning of Gacaca Courts. The Gacaca Courts' activities were launched by His Excellency President of the Republic of Rwanda on the 18th June 2002. Gacaca Courts' activities were officially closed on 18th June 2012, also, by His Excellency President of the Republic.

Gacaca Courts had the following main objectives:

- Revealing the truth about Genocide;
- To Speed Up The Cases Of Genocide And Other Crimes Against Hum
- To Eradicate The Culture Of Impunity;
- To Strengthen Unity And Reconciliation Among Rwandans;
- To Prove The Rwandans' capacity to solve their own problems.

Structure, duties, competence and the role of Gacaca Courts in conflict solving and reconciliation in Rwanda

Gacaca was a system of justice put in place in Rwanda to deal with crimes of the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994 at the community level. It was adopted from the traditional court system. These courts were created to handle the high number of cases that awaited trial in national courts. They aimed to bring justice and reconciliation in the community.

Organic Law No. 40/2000 of 26th January 2001, governing the creation of Gacaca Courts determines the organisation and functioning of the courts as follows:

A Gacaca Court is created, in each Cell, Sector, District 'or Town' and Province/ Kigali City of the Republic of Rwanda. This court is responsible for handling crimes of genocide and other crimes against humanity committed in Rwanda between October 1st, 1990 and December 31st, 1994 within the limits of the law.

Organs of Gacaca Courts

Each Gacaca Court is comprised of a General Assembly, a Bench and a Coordination Committee.

i. The General Assembly

The General Assembly of each Gacaca Court holds an ordinary meeting once a month and an extraordinary session whenever it is required for the proper functioning of the Gacaca Court. Decisions of the General Assembly are taken by consensus or, otherwise by the absolute majority of its members. This monthly meeting is aimed at evaluating the activities of the Bench and the Coordinating Committee. It is convened and chaired by the President of the Coordination Committee, out of his own initiative or as requested by at least a third of the members of the Gacaca Court Bench.

Where the president has a justified reason that hinders him from convening the General Assembly, the meeting can be convened by one of the vice-presidents. In case the president refuses to convene the General Assembly, the Bench of the court can meet summoned by at least 7 of the members and a quorum of 14 members.

They designate one member who will summon the General Assembly.

Apart from the General Assembly of the Cell, the Gacaca Court is called upon to give information regarding the perpetrators and victims of the genocide; where every inhabitant of the Cell should indicate the place where he or she resided before and during genocide. The individual should also testify on what he or she knows about the crimes of genocide committed in the Cell.

The General Assemblies had the following common attributions:

- To present means of prosecution and defence evidence during the hearing;
- To elect members of the Gacaca Court Bench and their substitutes;
- To constitute necessary additional Benches within the Gacaca Court of the Cell;
- To elect the members of superior Gacaca Courts;
- To examine and adopt the report of activities done by the Coordination Committee.

ii. (ii) The Seat

The members of the Bench of the Gacaca Courts commonly known as Inyangamugayo Judges are Rwandans of integrity elected by the General Assembly of the Cell in which they reside. In order to be considered a Rwandan person of integrity, the following conditions should be fulfilled. One should;

a. Have Good Behaviour And Morals;
b. Be Truthful;
c. Be Trustworthy;
d. Be Characterised By A Spirit Of Sharing Speech;
e. Not Have Been Sentenced To A Penalty Of At Least 6 Months Imprisonment;
f. Not Have Participated In Perpetrating Offences Constituting The Crime Of Genocide Or Crimes Against Humanity;
g. Be Free From the spirit of sectarianism and discrimination.

Note: Any person of integrity who is at least 21 years old can be elected to be a member of the Gacaca Court Bench. Each Bench of the Gacaca Court is composed of 19 individuals of integrity. Before exercising his or her duties, every member of the Bench of the Gacaca Court shall take the following oath:

"I, ...in the name of God Almighty, solemnly swear to the Nation to honestly fulfill the mission entrusted to me by complying with the law; to always be guided by the spirit of impartiality and search for the truth, and to make justice triumph".

iiii. Coordination Committee

The Coordination Committee is composed of a president, first vice-president, second vice-president and two secretaries, all of whom must know how to read and write Kinyarwanda. Members of a Gacaca Court Seat elect the Coordination Committee among themselves, with a simple majority.

The Coordination Committee of every Gacaca Court shall carry out the following functions:

- To convene, preside over meetings and coordinate activities of the Bench for the Gacaca Court as well its General Assembly;
- To register complaints, testimonies and evidences given by the population;
- To receive and record files for suspects answerable to the Gacaca Court;
- To register appeals filed against judgements passed by the Gacaca Courts;
- To forward files of judgements appealed against the Gacaca Courts of Appeal;
- To register decisions made by organs of the Gacaca Court;
- To prepare reports of activities of the Gacaca Courts;
- To implement decisions of the General Assembly and those of the Gacaca Court Bench;

- To immediately transfer the report of activities approved by the General Assembly of the Gacaca Court to superior Gacaca Courts.

Note: The Coordination Committee of the Gacaca Court meets as many times as possible, convened by its president, out of his own initiative or requested by at least two members of the committee. In order to sit validly, the Coordination Committee should have at least three of its members present, one of whom should be a secretary. Decisions are made by consensus. If there is no consensus, the matter is submitted to the Gacaca Court Bench.

Duties of Gacaca Courts

The law provides for specific duties for each Gacaca Court:

i. The Cell Gacaca Court

The Cell Gacaca Court exercises the following duties:

- To make up a list of individuals who resided in the cell before and after the genocide, individuals suspected to have participated in the genocide and victims and their damaged properties;
- To bring together the files forwarded by the Public Prosecution;
- To categorise suspects according to the provisions of this Organic Law;
- To try cases related to properties;
- To give a ruling on the disqualification of members of the Bench of the Gacaca Court of the Cell;
- To receive confessions from individuals who participated in the genocide; • To forward the files which are not in their jurisdiction to the competent courts;
- To elect members of the Coordination Committee.

ii. The Gacaca Court of the Sector, District or Town and that of the Province or Kigali City

The Gacaca Court Bench of the Sector, District or Town and that of the Province or Kigali City has the following duties among others:

- Making investigations, if necessary, on testimonies given;
- Receiving confessions from individuals who participated in the genocide;
- Giving a ruling on the disqualification of members of the Bench;
- Trying cases falling under its jurisdiction, after making sure that suspects forwarded to it, have been categorised in conformity with the alleged offences,
- Examining appeals against judgements passed by Gacaca Courts of the inferior level within its jurisdiction;
- Electing members of the Coordination Committee;
- Examining reports of activities from the lower Gacaca Courts of its jurisdiction.

The competence of Gacaca Courts

3. 1. Jurisdiction

a. Gacaca Court of the Cell

The Cell Gacaca Court deals, at first level, with crimes of category 4. It also deals with objections filed against the sentence it has pronounced in the absence of the accused. The Cell Gacaca Court then categorises alleged perpetrators of genocide.

b. Gacaca Court of the Sector

The Sector Gacaca Court deals, at first level, with defendants whose offences fall in category 3. It also deals with opposition made against sentences pronounced in the absence of the accused.

c. Gacaca Court of the District or Town

The District or Town Gacaca Court deals with crimes of category 2. It also deals with appeals filed against judgements rendered at first level or on

opposition by Sector Gacaca Courts under its jurisdiction filed against the judgements that were rendered in absence of the accused.

d. Gacaca Court of the Province or Kigali City

The Gacaca Court of the Province or Kigali City deals with appeals of judgements rendered at the first level or on objection by Gacaca Courts of the District or Towns under its jurisdiction filed against the judgements that were rendered in absence of the accused.

2. Territorial Jurisdiction

It is the Gacaca Court of the area where a crime has been committed that is competent to deal with it:

- The jurisdiction for the Cell Gacaca Court is the administrative Cell.
- The jurisdiction for the Sector Gacaca Court is the administrative Sector.
- The jurisdiction for the District or Town Gacaca Court is the District or Town.
- The jurisdiction of the Province or Kigali City Gacaca Court is the Province or Kigali City.

Note: Where a suspect is charged with crimes committed in different areas, the trial is adjourned. The court to which a case has been filed will immediately inform the Department of Gacaca Courts in the Supreme Court, which will in turn inform the various concerned Cell Gacaca Courts instructing them to provide prosecution or defence elements of proof. The Department of Gacaca Courts in the Supreme Court transfers the received files to the concerned court to take action. The court proceeds to a new categorisation of suspects basing on supplementary elements gathered and, if necessary, transfers the file to the competent court.



Application Activity 12.1

1. Describe the competence of Gacaca Court.
2. Identify the duties of the Bureau of Abunzi Committee.

12.2. Role of Abunzi Committee and Gacaca Courts in conflict solving

Learning Activity 12.2

By using internet, visiting library or interviewing the resources personnel, discuss the the Role of Abunzi Committee and Gacaca Courts in conflict solving. Summarize your work in written document so that you will use it during class discussion.

12.2.1. Role of Abunzi in conflict solving and reconciliation in Rwanda

According to the law establishing the organ of Abunzi Committee play a big role in conflicts resolution where due to their competences they make trials of the problems that affect the Rwandans;

The abunzi committee in Rwanda is an illustrative example of the interactions between the state and the local processes of conflict resolution because the local mediators are mandated by the state as the conciliatory approach to resolve disputes, ensuring mutual acceptable solutions to the conflicts.

Abunzi reduced the number of the cases introduced in ordinary courts because many problems are resolved in local communities. According to the statistics given by Ministry of Justice; in 2013/2014, Abunzi committees received 45,285 cases Country wide. 36,441 cases were mediated and handled which represent 80.5%. Among them 36,940 were civil and 8,345 criminal cases.

As the problems are locally resolved, Abunzi pave a strong way to national reconciliation because the solutions are coming from the neighbours. The aim of Abunzi is to restore the broken relationships, reason why it involves the members of community and to build a sense of community.

The activities of Abunzi cement the national unity as well as all social categories are equally treated by these kinds of courts. This is due to that during abunzi sessions and meetings; there is often a great deal of

evocation of the notion of 'oneness' or the concept of *abanyarwanda* (Rwandan-ness). Therefore, Abunzi Committee's activities facilitate the reconciliation process among the Rwandans.

Economically, the Abunzi improve the economic conditions of the Rwandans because their economic activities are maintained live as the time spent in ordinary courts is reduced. Even the money needed in transport are no longer needed.

Role of Gacaca Courts in conflict solving and reconciliation in Rwanda

As Rwanda participative jurisdiction adopted after the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi, Gacaca Courts have achieved in conflict solving and national reconciliation as following:

The Gacaca process separated the truth from the lies and revealed the specific circumstances of deaths of the victims as well as the locations where their remains had been disposed of so that they could be buried with dignity.

The Gacaca process reduced the frustration of the survivors regarding the unknown fate of their loved ones; because they now knew the circumstances of the deaths of their family members and the atrocities they endured.

Access to the truth generally reduced the degree of suspicion and consequently led to the restoration of more or less normal social relations between the families of survivors and their innocent neighbours who had previously been suspected of betraying the victims.

Therefore, the Gacaca process prevented the generalization of guilt by distinguishing the innocent from the guilty.

Regarding the relations between families of the survivors and those known to be guilty of participating in the genocide, the reconciliation process depended on several factors, mainly; revelation of the truth about their role in the massacres, genuine repentance, preparing for face-to-face meetings by sending respected and credible messengers to request the survivors to be present during the confessions of guilt.

It is interesting to note that the guilty pleas and requests for forgiveness presented to victims (even through emissaries) before the detained suspects were informed of the advantages of this process in sentence reduction were better received by the survivors, this in itself was already an indication of genuine reconciliation.

At the practical point of view, the Gacaca process set the investigations in motion as soon as the confessions of the detainees were recorded.

In addition the process also ensured reduced sentences for those who voluntarily confessed within the window period provided for by the law.

Finally, the respondents also stated that the reimbursement for damaged property was another step towards reconciliation.

Another factor in favour of improving relations is that Rwandans have understood that even in a context of mass criminal activity that was sanctioned by the Government, not only are crimes against human beings punishable but also destruction of property is a punishable crime.

Refer to the official law governing the creation of Gacaca courts; the definitive contribution expected from these courts was to reveal the capacity of the Rwandan people to find solutions to national problems.

In view of the results achieved by the Gacaca process as regards access to the truth, the fight against impunity and the acceleration of trials as well as in terms of its contribution to national reconciliation, it is evident that it was the most adequate political solution given some problems brought by genocide against the Tutsi.

During the Gacaca activities, the Rwandan people were involved in finding solutions, while taking into account the fact that genocide is an immutable crime. One of the most significant contributions of Gacaca process was that it demonstrated that this most serious of crimes is now fully punishable, regardless of the number of people who participated in its perpetration or the scope of the killings and destruction that occurred.

The Gacaca process was a vivid illustration of the ability of the Rwandan people to overcome their pain and participate in seeking solutions to the critical problems facing their society.

The Gacaca process also gave the families of victims and those of convicted prisoners the opportunity to have face to face exchange in which discussed the evil that was poisoning the post-genocide Rwandan society through an open and direct dialogue.

According to the statistics given by National Service of Gacaca Courts, the Gacaca Courts were able to try 1, 958,634 cases of Genocide within a short time (trials began on 10/03/2005 in pilot Sectors). This is an irrefutable evidence of the collective will and ability of Rwandans to overcome huge challenges of their country and work for its faster development.

Application Activity 12.2

1. Briefly, discuss the contributions of Abunzi Committee in conflict resolution in Rwanda.
2. Summarize the role of Gacaca Court in conflict solving and reconciliation in Rwanda.

12.3. Problems face during operations of Abunzi Committee and Gacaca Courts and their solutions

Learning Activity 12.3

Through reseach, identify the main problems faced during operations of Abunzi Committee and Gacaca Courts.

12.3.1. Problems faced during the operations of Abunzi and proposed solutions

Problems faced

Lack of resources. The mediation committees do not always work in the best of conditions; basic materials are not always available and meeting rooms are unsuitable or non-existent. This often leads to the hearings being held in the Cell or Sector office or in the executive secretary's office.

Mediator absenteeism. This is more pronounced during the main agricultural season, when there is a greater need for labour in the fields. Moreover, these 'persons of integrity' well known for their mediation skills

often have many other responsibilities. They are actively involved in the community and are frequently called upon for other duties (agronomists, primary teachers, health committees, youth committees, etc.).

Inadequate access to laws, legal documentation and textbooks on mediation leads to a low level of expertise in mediation techniques and poorly reasoned decisions. It becomes more difficult, especially for the Ministry of Justice, to monitor the work of the mediation committees when their registers are not properly kept.

Lack of justification for mediation committee decisions. According to the parties interviewed, the mediation committees' decisions are not usually well reasoned out.

Neglect of the capacities of Abunzi: As well as they were coming from ordinary families and very nearest of their neigbhours, some do not trust in their capacities of carrying out a serious trial like the cases of genocide.

In some cases, because members of Abunzi Committes are not remunerated for their service rendered to the nation; some of them are less motivated.

To small extent, some members of Abunzi Committes are criticized for acting like judges and not as mediators.

Suggested solutions

In order to overcome the problems encountered during Abunzi Committees 'activities, the following solutions have been proposed and even others were implemented:

- Building capacities of Abunzi through continuous training about the laws in general;
- In order to avoid miscommunication between the Abunzi Committeess and local governmental institutions, it is important to enhance communication between Abunzi and the public and other legal aid providers to improve efficiency and effectiveness.
- It also important to reinforce Abunzi Committees supervision and coordination at the District level so that their work becomes more effective.

- In order to motivate the members of Abunzi Committees, there was provision with incentives such as transport facilitation, opportunities for income generation and paying for them health insurance.



Some of the mediators pose with their bicycles in Rwamagana District as one way of motivation.

Source: https://adrdaily.com/15000-rwandan-mediators-receive-bicycles/

The provisional of materials and resources to Abunzi was done in order to improve their operational capacity and record keeping.

12.3.2. Problems faced during the operations of Gacaca Courts and proposed solutions

Some of the prblems include the following:

- Persistence of the genocide ideology;
- Killing and intimidation of survivors of genocide, witnesses and *Inyangamugayo* judges;
- Destruction of equipment used in data collection (filing cabinets, books, forms);
- *Inyangamugayo* judges accused of participation in the crime of genocide (1,226 individuals identified);
- Leaders accused of genocide crimes;
- Refusal to testify;
- People moved to provinces where they were unknown;
- Refugees who fled Gacaca Courts;

- Partial confession of crimes causing re-categorisation or maximum penalties;
- Serious trauma cases (193 cases).
- Solutions to the problems faced during the operations of Gacaca Courts
- Mobilising people for active participation in the Gacaca Court processes.
- Ensuring that everybody participated in the judicial process regardless of their status in the Rwandan society.
- Continuous sensitisation of genocide suspects about the procedures of confession, repentance, apologies and reintegrating with the society.
- Stopping intimidation and killing of genocide survivors, witnesses and judges who presided over those cases.
- Setting up security measures to protect the equipment of the Gacaca Courts from being destroyed so as to enable cases to go on.
- Taking care of traumatised individuals medically, psychologically and materially.
- Building capacities of the *Inyangamugayo* judges through continuous training.
- Replacing the *Inyangamugayo* judges accused of genocide and those found culpable of other crimes such as corruption.



Application Activity 12.3

1. Identify the problems face by Inyangamugayo during their activities.
2. Suggest the solutions to some problems faced by Abunzi in their activities.

End of Unit Assessment 12

Q1. Describe the organizational structure of Abunzi Committee.

Q2. Evaluate the role played by Gacaca Courts n conflict solving and reconciliation in Rwanda.

Q3. Analyse some problems faced during Abunzi Committee's activities.

Q4. Suggest some solutions to the problems faced by Gacaca Courts during their daily activities.

UNIT 13 VARIOUS FORMS OF INTERDEPENDENCE

Key unit competence: The learner should be able to understand interdependence concept, analyse its causes, its effects and its various forms.



Introductory Activity 13.1

Using the Internet and textbooks;

1. Define interdependence
2. Discuss the importance of the interdependence. Write down your points in a notebook and Present your findings in class

13.1. Concept of interdependence



Learning Activity 13.1

Defines the concept of interdependence, explains how it works.

Write down your points in a notebook.

Present your findings in class.

Interdependence refers to mutual reliance between two or more parties. It could be between people, groups, organizations or nations. It is characterized by sharing, interaction agreement and desire for togetherness.

Interdependence involves co-operation. It is worth noting that the world is becoming increasingly interdependent.

Some areas of interdependence include

Trade activities: Different regions produce different items. Even if they produce same items they do not usually do it at the same time. This makes it necessary for exchange of such items from one region with different items from another region. This kind of activity is called trade.

Investment: This is dedicating money to an activity or buying an asset to generate profit in future. Different places or regions do not have the equal opportunities for investment. Where there is interdependence, people move to places with opportunities for investment that favour them. For example, people who are interested in agricultural investments will look for places with favourable conditions for agriculture such as fertile land, water supply and market for their produce among other factors. The same case housing investors will move to places where demand for housing is high such as cities and urban centers where human population is high.

Transport and communication network: These infrastructures are very necessary to enable interdependence of different regions. With reliable transport and communication network, people are able to easily move from one place to another and interrelate with others, and this helps to boost interdependence. Transport and communication networks makes it easy to connect people even if they are continents apart

Science and Technology: Some regions/countries are specialized in one area or another. Interdependence will be necessary to share these skills.

Tourism: Tourist attraction features are varied in different regions or countries. Some countries are endowed with attractive physical features such as beaches, mountains, lakes; plateaus etc, while others have various kinds of wildlife. Interdependence among countries creates chances for tourists to move from one country to another. This also avails foreign currency which is used in trade.

Political affairs this involves defense, security, international relations and diplomacy are facilitated by presence of interdependence among countries. An example is International Criminal Police Organisation (Interpol), which is an international police organization to fight crime among nations.

Roles played by United Nations and some international organisations are as a result of interdependence.

Application Activity 13.1

1. What do you understand by interdependence?
2. List at least six areas of interdependence.

13.2. Different forms of interdependence

Learning Activity 13.2

Using textbooks and the Internet;

1. Research on the forms of interdependence.
2. Write down your findings and present them in class

Economic interdependence

Economic interdependence of national economies is observed across the world through a rapid increase in cross-border movement of goods, service, technology and capital.

Economic interdependence can be viewed as either a positive or a negative phenomenon. Economic comprises the globalization of production, markets, competition, technology, and corporations and industries. Current interdependence trends can be largely accounted for by developed economies integrating with less developed economies by means of foreign direct investment, the reduction of trade barriers as well as other economic reforms and, in many cases, immigration.

Economic development drive interdependence; trade grows quickly while production and finance have broken free of national restraints. A global economy in which capital and knowledge are the key resources poses enormous questions for states defined by their control over territory.

As advocates of economic liberalism tirelessly point out, trade allows countries to specialize in areas where they are relatively efficient, thus enabling all participants to benefit. That trade can be "win – win "game.

The growth of intercompany trade reflects an explosion of foreign direct investment which refers to a directly – owned investment made by a firm outside its home country, typically by establishing manufacturing plant overseas.

In this international trade, there is the exchange of capital, goods, and services across international borders or territories. In most countries, such trade represents a significant share of gross domestic product (GDP). Industrialization, advanced transportation, multinational corporations, off shoring and outsourcing all have a major impact on world trade. The growth of international trade is a fundamental component of globalization.

Political interdependence

In general, interdependence may ultimately reduce the importance of nation states. Supranational institutions such as the European Union, the WTO, the G8 or the International Criminal Court replace or extend national functions to facilitate international agreement. Some observers attribute the relative decline in US power to interdependence between countries, particularly due to the country's high trade deficit. This led to a global power shift towards Asian states, particularly China, which unleashed market forces and achieved tremendous growth rates. As of 2011, the Chinese economy was on track to overtake the United States by 2025.

Increasingly, non-governmental organizations influence public policy across national boundaries, including humanitarian aid and developmental efforts. Philanthropic organizations with global missions are also coming to the forefront of humanitarian efforts; charities, giving rise to business organizations and new associations of philanthropists. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation projects include a current multi-billion-dollar commitment to funding immunizations in some of the world's more impoverished but rapidly growing countries and hundreds of millions of dollars in the next few years to programs aimed at encouraging saving by the world's poor. The Hudson Institute estimates total private philanthropic flows to developing countries at US$59 billion in 2010.

As a response to interdependence, some countries have embraced isolationist policies. For example, the North Korean government makes it very difficult for foreigners to enter the country and strictly monitors their activities when they do. Aid workers are subject to considerable scrutiny and excluded from places and regions the government does not wish them to enter. Citizens cannot freely leave the country.

Throughout the history of the interstate system, the relationships between nations have been structured in various ways, depending on how power was distributed among them. For example, power may be concentrated in one or two nations, which then set and enforce the rules for other countries. The predominance of one nation is called hegemony. Historical examples of hegemony include Great Britain after 1815 and the United States after 1945—periods when these nations were the most powerful in the world, dominating trade and military relationships.

Power may also be distributed more equally among half-dozen great powers and other somewhat weaker nations. In this case, alliances between nations play a crucial role in structuring their interactions. Power can also be distributed relatively equally among nations or alliances of nations. This is called a balance of power. Some scholars and political leaders believe that peace is best preserved this way because no one nation can win a war easily. The evidence for this theory, however, is not strong. The opposite proposition, called power transition theory, has more support. This theory suggests that peace is most likely when one nation predominates, or when two opposing but equally powerful nations do. In this theory, major wars are likely when a challenger starts to surpass a dominant nation in power.

Cultural interdependence

Cultural interdependence has increased cross-cultural contacts but may be accompanied by a decrease in the uniqueness of once-isolated communities.

Interdependence's contribution to the alienation of individuals from their traditions may be modest compared to the impact of modernity itself. Interdependence has expanded recreational opportunities by spreading pop culture, particularly via the Internet and satellite television.

Religious movements were among the earliest cultural elements to globalize, being spread by force, migration, evangelists, imperialists and traders. Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and more recently sects have taken root and influenced endemic cultures in places far from their origins.

Music has an important role in economic and cultural development during globalization. Music genres such as jazz and reggae began locally and later became international phenomena. Globalization gave support to the World Music phenomenon by allowing music from developing countries to reach broader audiences. The term "World Music" was originally intended for ethnic-specific music. Now, globalization is expanding its scope such that the term often includes hybrid sub-genres such as World fusion, Global fusion, Ethnic fusion and World beat.

Local culture and social structure are now shaped by large and powerful commercial interests in ways that earlier anthropologists could not have imagined. Early anthropologists thought of societies and their cultures as fully independent systems. But today, many nations are multicultural societies, composed of numerous smaller subcultures. Cultures also cross national boundaries.

Many anthropologists have become interested in how dominant societies can shape the culture of less powerful societies, a process some researchers call cultural hegemony. Today, many anthropologists openly oppose efforts by dominant world powers, such as the US government and large corporations, to make unique smaller societies adopt Western commercial culture.



Application Activity 13.2

Discuss the various forms of interdependence.

13.3. Causes and effects of interdependence

Learning Activity 13.3

Use the Internet and textbooks to:

1. Find out the causes and effects of interdependence.
2. Write down your findings and present them in a class discussion

Causes of interdependence

- *Need for goods and products that are not found locally*. Some countries for example, import oil while the export other minerals such as gold, diamond copper etc.
- *Need to supplement what is locally produced*. One country may be producing maize in plenty but needs beans or rice, for instance, to supplement their staple food. If they are not able to supplement these supplements; they turn to other countries which produce them to buy or to exchange with what they have.
- *Security makes it necessary for interdependence among countries*. A country ges into a situation where it gets into serious security challenges and feels the need for help from other countries. An example here in Africa is Nigeria which is struggling to fight terrorist militants Boko Haram. It needs military assistance from the neighbours to be able to deal with the terrorists thoroughly.
- *Humanitarian needs*. This kind of needs is required to save human lives who are under threat from various factors for example a disease outbreak or a natural disaster caused by floods or earthquakes. Such countries need help from others, therefore the need for interdependence. An example is when there was outbreak of Ebola, a deadly infectious viral disease in West African countries of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Countries with high medical abilities like France and the United States of America (USA) came in to help.
- *Transport and communication*. Countries need to interact with each other for them to grow. This interconnection raises the need for good means of transport and communication. Our country

which is landlocked for instance, needs port services from countries such as Tanzania and Kenya to ship in equipments such as farming machinery.

Effects of interdependence

- ***Interdependence nurtures peace among people and countries***. It brings people together and they are able to interact and cooperate in understanding with each other. People with disabilities and those living with HIV and AIDS are embraced also. Interdependence creates a conflict-free environment.
- ***It brings about economic advancement***. This is characterized by factors such as; infrastructural development. This is building of roads, railways, hospitals schools etc. Secondly, there is economic growth as a result of increased trade. Goods and services are easily exchanged. Another aspect of economy that is boosted by interdependence is exchange of skills in the area of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), improved healthcare etc.
- ***Interdependence has resulted to formation of regional and international organizations.*** These organizations are formed to advocate for the welfare of member states in trade, military cooperation, peace building, education etc. Our country, for instance is a member to regional trade organizations such as Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the East African Community (EAC). Other regional organizations are such as South African Development Community (SADC) and African Union (AU). International organizations are such as the United Nations Organisation (UN) and Commonwealth.
- ***It has led to improved control and response to calamities such as draughts, disease outbreaks, floods, earthquakes etc***. With interdependence, countries have come together and managed to help each other in times of need when calamities strike.
- ***Interdependence has helped boost industrialization around the globe***. Inventions and innovations in science and technology have been shared and this has led to development in many sectors among them industrialization. This has resulted to creation of more employment opportunities especially for the youth.

- ***It has resulted to formation of organizations that press for the welfare of human beings***. Examples in our country are National Union of Disabilities Association of Rwanda (NUDOR), which promotes and strengthens the voice and welfare of disabled people. Another one is the Association of People Living with HIV/AIDS which has the purpose of social support and encouraging positive living among members.



Application Activity 13.3

1. Explain the causes of interdependence among nations.
2. Analyse the effects of interdependence at national and international level.



End of Unit Assessment 13

1. What do you understand by interdependence?
2. List at least six areas of interdependence.
3. Discuss the various forms of interdependence.
4. Explain the causes of interdependence among nations

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