

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

RFG - 12
Gorowa Tribe
II - Daily Life

c/o Barclays Bank (D.C. & O.)
Arusha, Tanganyika.
August 8, 1955.

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rogers:

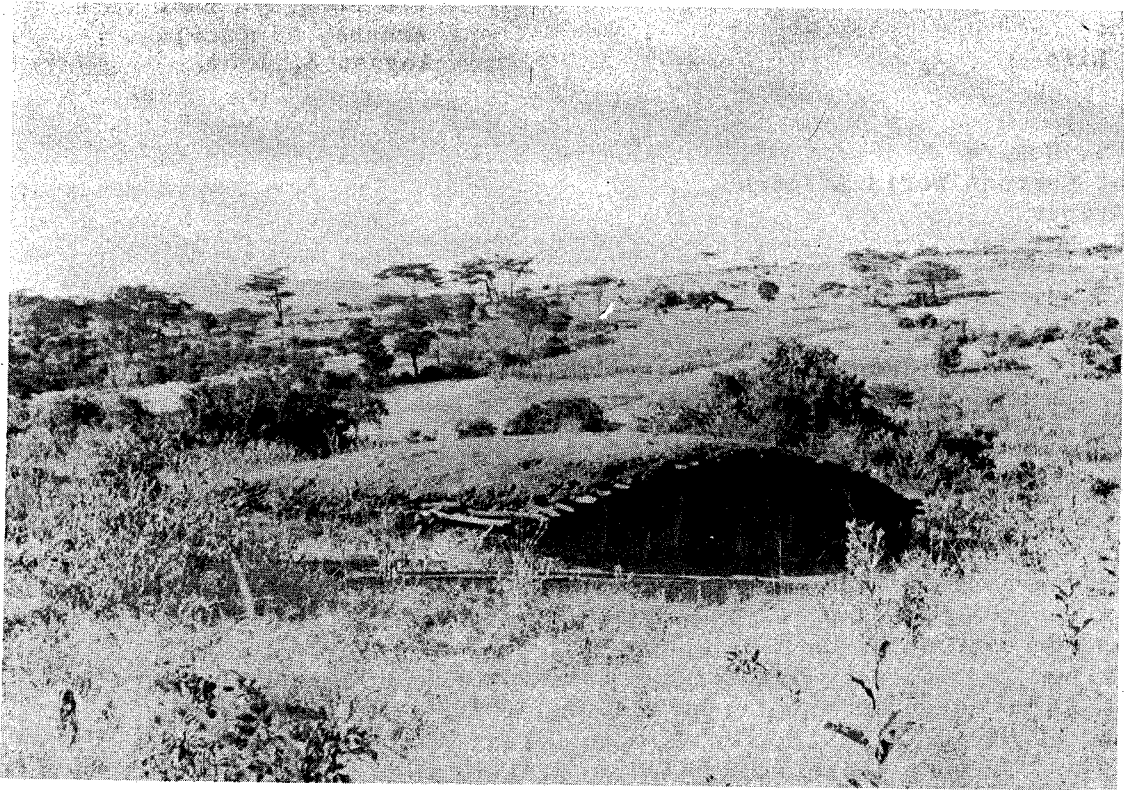
It is the usual custom among Tanganyika tribes to require the men to put in a period of communal labor each year on projects which will be of general benefit to the community. This work is planned for a season when the native farms need little attention. In Mbulu District most of the communal labor is applied to bush clearing for the purpose of controlling tsetse fly. But this year in the Gidas subchiefdom of the Gorowa Tribe the men spent their whole time on building and improving the roads of the area. Each man was obliged to give thirty days to this work, though they need not be consecutive days. Some 800 men were thus mobilized for the job of putting about thirty miles of road in excellent condition. When my wife and I first set up our camp at Gidas, the road was impassable and we had to walk the last five miles; but in the later part of our stay we were able to drive through the country at full speed in our car. As the men of the tribe were thus busy with road work during most of our visit, daily life in Gidas was not quite normal. This was to our advantage in that the elders had more leisure for telling about their traditions,

customs, and beliefs; but our observations were weighted strongly in favor of the activities of women and children. There was little work to be done in the fields during this time. The crops--maize and sorghum--had grown so tall that they no longer needed hoeing; as the grain started to ripen it only required guarding against the forages of birds. The recent rains had brought on fresh grass that was so lush and plentiful that the cattle could be herded near the houses. All of this work was done mainly by women and children.



Making a Road with Hoes

The Gidas roads do not bear heavy traffic. Perhaps one or two vehicles a week--mostly government officials--pass over them. But due to the hilly nature of the country they become eroded and washed out during the rains. The District Officer of the region, Mr. Paul Marchand, planned this year to dig ditches on the upper slopes of the roads to prevent large scale washouts



Gidas Landscape

- - - - -

in future rainy seasons, and with the limited labor at his disposal he came very near to finishing the project. The Gidas hills are mostly covered with dark red laterite soil alternating with patches of black cotton soil and deposits of sand and gravel. Rocky outcroppings often present themselves on the shoulders of hills. Except in the swampy valley bottoms, the whole country is lightly mantled with bushes and trees. By far the most predominant tree is brachystegia microphylla which in Tanganyika is commonly called miombo. In favorable locations the miombo is capable of developing into a lofty noble tree, but in the semiarid stretches of the country it is stunted and monotonous. It is nearly always found widely spaced, so that plots of land can be easily cleared for cultivation. The typical landscape at Gidas consists of rolling hills which are sparsely wooded and spotted here and there with small fields of grain surrounding a low mound of raw earth which is the roof of a Gorowa house. For the homesteads are scattered diffusely over the land and are never concentrated in villages.

The Gorowa live in low square houses of the type which is known by the Swahili name tembe. They are always built on sloping ground so that the floor is partly excavated and the back of the house is but little elevated above ground level. They are midway in style between Iraqw houses, which are built on steeper slopes and have no back wall at all, and the Wambugwe style which are built on level ground with four equal walls. The house is supported by rows of stout forked posts planted firmly in the ground about four feet apart. The posts in the center are a foot or two higher than those at the eaves so that the ceiling has a curve. One can stand comfortably upright in the front and the center of

the house but must stoop sharply walking towards the edge. The roof is supported by stout beams laid across the forks of the posts from side to side, and the size of a house is commonly measured by counting the rows of beams. Reckoning in this way houses vary in size from three to ten rows of beams, the average house having seven rows or measuring thirty feet on a side. Across the beams are laid small poles quite close together. A thick mat of thatching grass is placed over these poles and the roof is finished with a layer of earth which is thicker in the center than at the eaves, giving the house the appearance of a shallow square dome. The outside walls, which are not weight bearing, are built of upright sticks plastered with cow dung.

The front wall of the house is built even with the second or third row of beams, leaving an open verandah protected by the overhanging roof. One end of the verandah is usually partitioned off, making a small room used as sleeping quarters by the older boys of the house. The interior is divided by partitioning walls into three main rooms. A large room at the front is set aside for the cattle and donkeys to sleep in at night. A small room is used for the goats and calves. The back of the house is reserved for the use of the family; here the parents and younger children sleep, the grain is stored, and the food is cooked. The roof top is also used in daily life. Grain and wild spinach are spread out on the roof to dry, and the people sometimes work or just sit on the roof to enjoy the sun. As the house is usually surrounded by grain fields, the house top may be used as a watch tower to guard against marauding birds. The person on duty is armed with a sling; the crack of the sling and the whistling of the pellet across the fields frightens away the birds. In front of the house the ground is kept cleared of weeds and swept, and on this smooth hard surface most of the household work is done. At a short distance from every house there is a pile of manure.

Most of the material possessions of the Gorowa are made by themselves from the resources of the fields and forests of their country. Until quite recently they were self-sufficient in their economy except for beads. Then cloth came to be more and more used, until nowadays practically every person possesses a cloth garment. Other goods which are now purchased from shops are steel axes, hoes, and pangas. The money for buying these trade goods, as well as for paying taxes and school fees, comes mainly from the sale of cattle at auctions. The Gorowa are not noted as blacksmiths and formerly acquired most of their iron weapons and tools from the Irangi Tribe. These included spears, arrow heads, hoes, axes, and knives. In the Gidas District there are now several Gorowa blacksmiths who specialize in making spear heads. However, they do not smelt ore; raw iron is obtained from the Irangi or, in some cases, discarded spring leafs of cars are used.



Musical Bow

The wood carving of the Gorowa is crude but serviceable. Low three legged stools are carved from logs, and also shallow square bowls for serving food. Every man carries a walking stick which is made of carefully selected tough wood. Other uses of wood are for kitchen utensils and the handles of spears, axes, and hoes. The drums are carved from large logs and covered with

skins at both ends. As our visit did not coincide with the season for beer drinking and dancing we saw the drums in action only once--at a wedding ceremony. The only other indigenous musical instrument is a musical bow. This has a single string which is struck with a baton. A gourd cup attached to the bow is placed against the chest to increase resonance. This is played as an accompaniment for singing. The Gorowa do not make toys for their children.

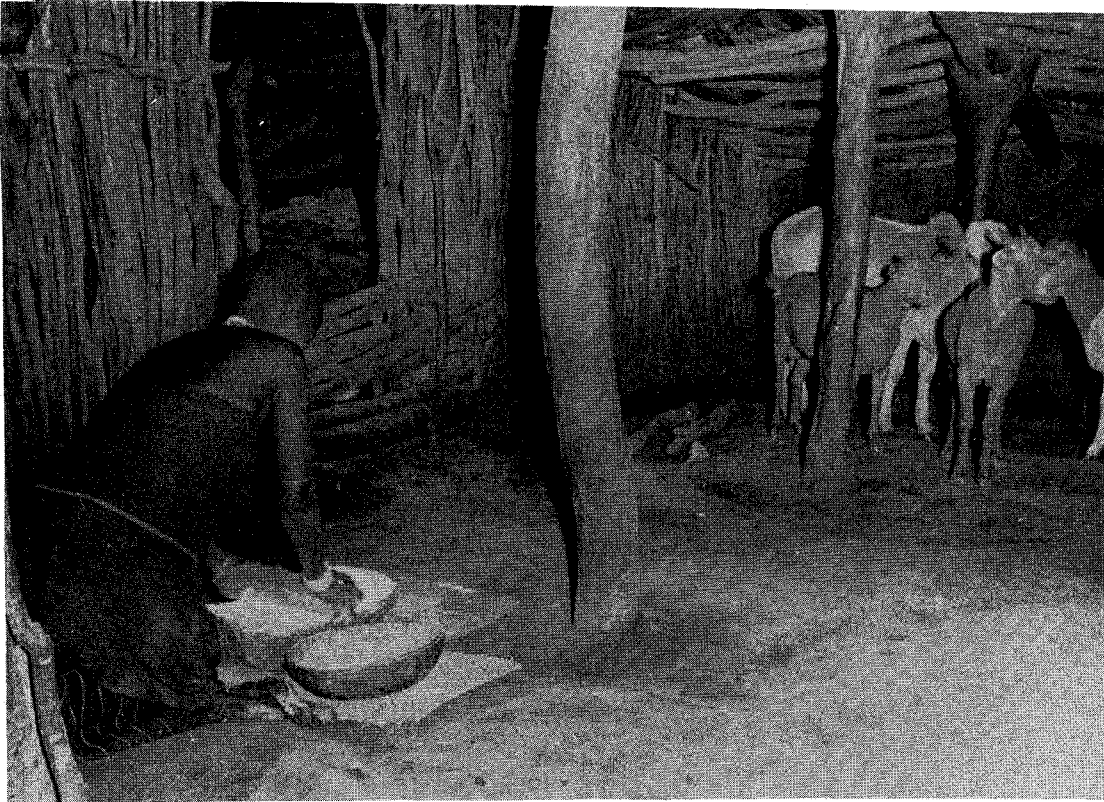
Gourds are used for storing food and sometimes water. They are also made into drinking cups and churns. These are all plain undecorated utensils. Cooking is done in clay pots of which there are several standard sizes. Clay is also used for water jars which hold about three gallons. Large earthen crocks are used for making beer, but as these are expensive and easily broken, only a few households possess them. Pottery is a hereditary craft carried on as part-time activity by certain women specialists.

Although cow dung is not used as manure in agriculture, it is not wasted. It finds a use as plaster for the walls and partitions of houses. Mixed with ashes it is used for making barrel shaped receptacles in a variety of sizes. The largest of these, five feet high by four feet in diameter, are used for storing grain. Most houses have two or three of these storage bins. A good cow-dung storage bin lasts for four or five years. New ones are built on the roof of the house. First the base is made of the wet mixture of dung and ashes. After it has dried in the sun the walls are built up layer by layer, each layer being thoroughly dried before the next is applied. In this way the container is finished in several weeks. Small barrels of the same material are used for storing dried vegetables, seed grain, crude salt, and lime. A few of the Gorowa at Gidas purchase storage bins made of bark from the Irangi. These are of the same size and shape as the native ones of cow dung, but are said to last for ever.

Stone furnishes the raw material for the flour grinding apparatus found in every house. This consists of a large flat stone which is laid on the ground and a smaller hand stone. Grain is ground to flour between the two stones by the same method which is used all over the world among primitive grain-eating people. In some homesteads we found small stone pestles and mortars for grinding tobacco.

Leather is used for clothing, sandals and sleeping skins. In the old days all clothing was made of leather, and most of the women still wear knee length leather skirts. A few of the older women wear an outer garment of leather but the younger generation now wear cotton cloths. The goat skins used for clothing are skilfully prepared until they are soft as chamois. For weddings and other ceremonial occasions special leather skirts liberally decorated with coloured beads along the hems are worn. The traditional sandals have a sole of soft leather attached to the foot with thongs, but nowadays pieces of tire casing are occasionally used for sandal soles.

The Gorowa consider that their proper staple food is sorghum, of which several varieties are raised. This is tall sorghum of the type known throughout Tanganyika as mtama. The varieties of sorghum are roughly classified by the Gorowa as white or red. White sorghum is the food crop par excellence; the red varieties are preferred for making beer but are also used for food, though they are somewhat more bitter than the white. Sorghum is planted just before or at



Grinding Flour in the Cattle Room

the beginning of the rains. A dozen or so seeds are planted in a hill; the hills are aligned in rows about four feet apart. When the plants are a foot high, the hills are reduced to three or four stalks. The eliminated plants are then transplanted in parts of the field where the seed failed to grow. During the growing period the fields are cultivated with hoes several times to remove weeds. All of this work is done mainly by the men though women and children occasionally help with field work. The sorghum often grows as high as ten or twelve feet. When the grain starts to head out, flocks of small birds descend on the fields and must be driven off to prevent serious loss of grain, particularly in fields adjacent to patches of bush and forest. During our stay at Gidas this bird watching was done mostly by women and older children. In order to see over the top of the field an elevated position was required, and for this purpose conveniently located anthills or house tops are commonly used. Sometimes a special tower is built of poles in the midst of sorghum fields. The birds are frightened from the fields by shouting and by shooting pellets with a sling. Bird guarding continues right up to the time of harvest. At harvest time, I was told, the grain is cut, thrashed, and transported to the houses to be stored in the large cow-dung bins. Then comes a time of plenty: there is beer drinking and dancing throughout the land. But we have not yet seen this happy season.

Although maize is regarded as inferior to sorghum as a food it is quite widely grown. I estimate that maize and sorghum are grown in about equal amounts. Maize produces more food from the same amount of labour and land. That it is held in such low regard is probably because maize beer is considered to be

tasteless. Maize is cultivated in much the same way as sorghum. It is less resistant to drought than sorghum and there is greater risk of crop loss in bad years. Except for a little tobacco planted around the houses, the Gorowa traditionally grow almost no other crops, but nowadays one sees a few fields of sweet potatoes and beans. There are several large communal fields of cassava in Gidas. These are grown at government demand as famine insurance for the country. There is considerable local variations in rainfall in this part of Tanganyika. Last year the Gorowa had a poor crop and travelled to Mbugwe and Irangi to buy and beg food. This year the Gorowa have a bumper crop and there is a crop failure in Mbugwe, so the Gorowa expect the Wambugwe to come begging for food before long.

Cattle and small stock (sheep and goats) are of about equal importance in the subsistency economy of the Gorowa, but cattle are far more important as a source of money for the people. Although I did not carry out an accurate cattle census I judged that the average household keeps six or seven head of cattle. In most cases these do not all belong to the householder but have been loaned to him by other owners. For it is customary among the Gorowa, as in many other African tribes, for a cattle owner to distribute a part of his herd to other men for safe keeping. This custom acts as a form of insurance against the complete loss of an owner's cattle should disaster strike his herd. In return for tending borrowed cattle a man is entitled to the use of their milk, but he may not sell them or kill them for food. Wealth, and to some extent social position, is reckoned in terms of cattle ownership among the Gorowa. The ambition of every man is to own a large herd. In order to achieve this goal he must possess female animals which will produce offspring. There are various forms of cattle trading among the natives, some of them quite complicated. The motives for most of these deals are on the one hand to acquire heifers for the purpose of increasing the size of a herd and on the other to obtain a fat bullock which may be needed for a feast or sacrifice. The ownership of cattle is unequal, but as people do not like to tell how many cattle they own I cannot say precisely what the distribution of this wealth is.

The importance of goat and sheep is in supplying skins for clothing and most of the meat which is eaten. At most ceremonial feasts such as celebrating a circumcision or a betrothal, goats or sheep are killed. Only the most important events call for the slaughter of a bullock. At ordinary purification rituals or sacrifices goats are slaughtered and the meat eaten by the people. Goats and sheep are also a medium of exchange and constitute a standard of value by which other goods are evaluated. A few goats are sold for cash at the cattle auctions, but this involves comparatively small sums of money. The great value placed on cattle is mainly the result of their tremendous prestige among African tribes, and is not strictly equated with the part they play in domestic economy.

The daily bread of the Gorowa consists of grain meal mixed with water and boiled to a doughy consistency. This is eaten at the three meals of the day. The other principle item on the menu is a relish which usually consists of spinach, though a few progressive families also eat bean, pigeon peas, or sweet potatoes. During the growing season the leaves of certain kinds of beans and pigeon peas may be picked and cooked fresh as spinach, but the most common spinach is picked from wild plants in the forest. These are dried in the sun and stored in cow-dung vessels to be used as needed during the dry season. Milk is eaten with most meals either fresh or clotted, sometimes by itself and sometimes mixed with spinach; but the most important dairy product is butter, for the making of which the bulk of the milk goes. Butter is made from sour whole milk which is churned in a gourd

suspended from the ceiling by a rope. It is added to the relish of spinach to enrich the meal. On a small scale it is sold as a cash product. Meat is eaten at meals whenever it is available—perhaps once a week. When an animal is slaughtered part of the meat is usually dried and stored for later use.

The work of a Gorowa housewife starts at dawn when she gets up, rekindles the dying hearth fire, and sets off for the nearest stream or well with a clay water jar. These are carried on the back in a special wicker frame supported by thongs over the shoulders. Other loads are carried by women in a similar fashion. After the water has been carried the housewife does the morning milking. She then puts a bowl of spinach on the fire to cook and applies herself to grinding enough meal for breakfast. By then the relish is cooked and set aside. A pot of water is set on the fire over three stones, which constitute the stove, and brought to a boil. The ground sorghum or maize meal is added to the boiling water a handful at a time, and as the mixture starts to thicken she stirs it with a primitive beater which is simply a long stick with cross pieces on the bottom which is twirled between the hands. When the batter becomes too heavy for twirling the beater a heavy wooden ladle is used to beat the mixture until it is done. The dough is then placed in a large serving platter to be eaten by the adult members of the household. When the food is ready she lays out water for the men to wash with. The technique of eating is for each person to break off a ball of cooked dough, dent it with the thumb, scoop up some of the relish, and pop it into the mouth. The housewife herself and the small children eat directly out of the cooking pot. If milk happens to be plentiful small gourd cups of fresh milk may be passed around and drunk with the meal. As Gorowa houses have no windows, the housework is performed in the murky light entering from the front door and perhaps from the odd chink in the wall.



Gorowa Kitchen. Last Years Crop Being Finished, Fresh Maize is Dried over the Fire for Grinding.

Breakfast being finished, the housewife then sets to work to take the manure out of the room where the cattle and goats have spent the night. She scrapes the ground clean with a small length of board, loads the manure on a small mat, and carries it to the manure pile. This is usually a lengthy job requiring many trips between the house and the manure pile. The fresh manure is spread out to dry in the sun. In the evening it is gathered up and returned to the house as bedding for the animals.

After washing her hands she takes a vessel and goes to gather enough vegetables for the remaining meals of the day, either in the fields or in the forest. By



Removing Manure from a House

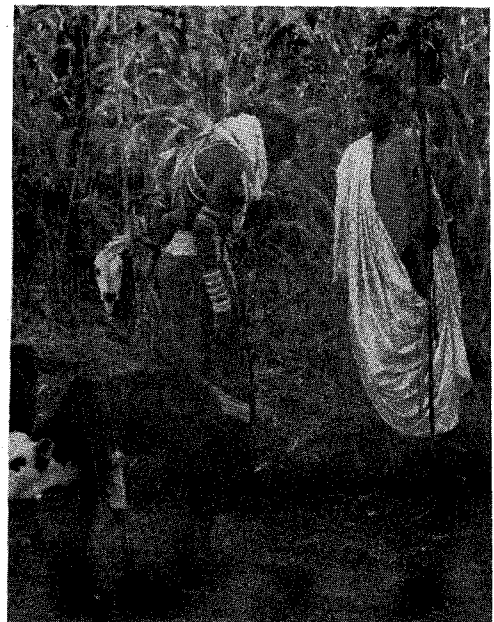
starts gathering up the manure and spreading it inside the house. Then she may make a second visit to the well for another jar of water, do the evening milking, and settle down to grinding flour and preparing the evening meal. If the house-keeper has young children she has to feed and tend them as she carries out her household tasks. If there are no older children in the family she may have to do a bit of bird guarding between household jobs. It is not exactly an idle life that she leads, but neither is it particularly rigorous. When we first asked people what the women did we were told that they only had to grind flour three times a day. It must be remembered that all the heavy field work is done by the men. Compared to many African tribes the Gorowa women lead a leisured life.

It is extremely difficult to compile statistics in regard to age among the native tribes of East Africa that I have dealt with. Very few Africans have any idea of their age after leaving childhood. They are rarely able to tell you at what age the important events of their life occurred, so I am not able to state with any precision the average age of marriage. I estimate it to be about eighteen for boys and sixteen for girls. According to the elders, childhood betrothal was practised in the old days, but this custom seems to have died out by itself even before it was prohibited by the government. Modern Gorowa marriages are similar to our own customs in that they are the result of the free choice of both partners. Pre-marital chastity is insisted upon in girls, and for an unmarried girl to become pregnant is an extremely serious matter, resulting in her being virtually ostracised from society. Young bachelors, if they must have love affairs, are expected to pursue married women rather than virgins. However, there is ample opportunity for boys and girls to meet in daily activities and at chaperoned dances. When a boy is sufficiently attracted to a girl of his acquaintance he tells his parents that he would like to marry her. The elders of the family then discuss the suitability of the match. First they determine that the girl is not related by blood to the boy—for the Gorowa observe a very wide range of incest prohibition. Marriage with a girl who is known to be related by blood in any way to the boy or who belongs to the same clan is not allowed. If the girl is of good moral character and ritually pure, and there is no serious quarrel between the two families, the boy's father gives his consent. There is usually an informal agreement between the two families. Then the boy's father makes a formal proposal by bringing a new hoe blade to the girl's home early one morning. The hoe is stuck into the ceiling above the door and is supposed to be

then the time for the midday meal is approaching and sorghum must be ground into meal again. An energetic woman at this time tries to grind enough grain for both the noon and evening meals, but in most of the households that we visited only enough flour was ground for one meal at a time. The noon and evening meals are more or less the same as breakfast. After luncheon is the time for gathering the day's supply of firewood. This again is a task for the women. A large bundle of faggots is cut in the forest, tied up with thongs, and carried on the back by shoulder straps. Perhaps after a short rest period, the lady of the house

left in that position as long as the marriage lasts wherever the girl lives. The two fathers then discuss the details of the bride price and the dates for the various ceremonies of the marriage. Four days later the boy's father brings a gourd of sorghum as a ceremonial gift. A few days later four young friends of the bridegroom—two girls and two boys—arrive at the future bride's house with two gourds of sorghum. These gifts are received by the girl's mother, who must not touch them with her own hands but calls a neighbour to carry them into her house. The four youths then bring two goats from the boy's father, one representing the betrothal fee and the second being a gift for the girl's mother. The boy's father then prepares a small brewing of beer for the purpose of cheering up the girl's relatives. This ends the betrothal proceedings and nothing happens for a period of from four months to a year. Then the bride price is paid, consisting of four bullocks, and following that the boy's father prepares a very large brewing of beer to which all the relatives of both families are invited. The actual marriage is completed with a wedding ceremony. The four young friends of the bridegroom bring the girl, dressed in her wedding finery, to the boy's house. The bridal dress consists of a leather skirt colourfully decorated with small beads. A high choker made of many strings of large coloured beads is worn round the neck, coiled wire bracelets on the arms and legs, and the bride wears her finest ear ornaments. On reaching her future husband's house she sits with the whole family in the cattle room on a special mat. A small ceremonial pot of food and one of butter are brought and also a small empty milk gourd. One of the young attendants, holding the empty milk jug in one hand, breaks off pieces of food, dips them in butter, and gives them to the members of the boy's family. Each relative as he receives his morsel of food promises a gift to the young couple; this may be a goat or sheep, or the loan of a milk cow, or something contingent on a future event, such as the first male calf to be born by a certain cow. After this the bridegroom puts on his sandals and grasping his walking stick, spear, shield, and bow and arrow, leaves the house and stands at the edge of the sorghum field bordering on the front yard where several calves have been placed. This tableau is supposed to represent a dutiful husband driving his herd of cattle home at evening. (In fact the ceremony is timed to take place at dusk—to the disappointment of photographers.) The bride is then led from the house by a female attendant. Her head deeply bowed, she walks with slow sad steps up to her future husband. She bends down and takes off his sandals, then takes the weapons from his hands, turns around, and with head still bowed is led slowly back to the house. This ends the wedding.

Divorce is said to have been very uncommon in the old days. At the present time divorces are granted at Gidas Baraza according to the judgement of the Elders and Subchief. It is difficult to force a woman to return to a husband whom she has left because she dislikes him, so the important question to be decided concerns the disposal of the bride price. The general rule is that after a child has been born the bride price need not be returned in the case of divorce. When



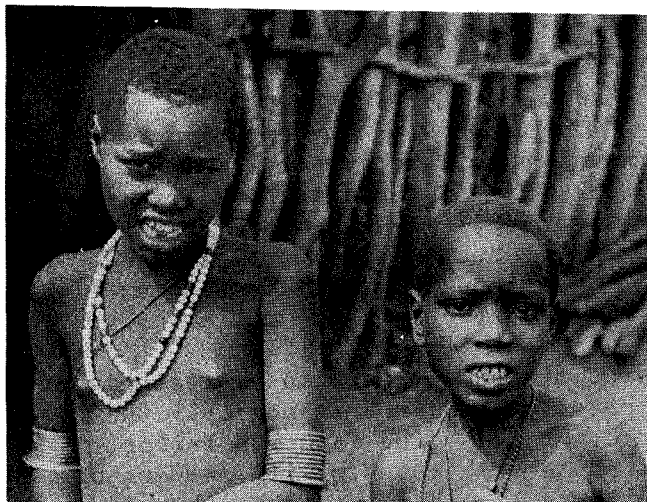
Wedding Ceremony

a husband died, a widow was traditionally inherited by his surviving brother. Nowadays a widow is allowed a free choice, but remarriage with a brother of the deceased husband is strongly preferred. The Gorowa practice polygamy, but on a modest scale, but the majority of men have only one wife. The Subchief of Gidas had two wives, and also some of the elders and rich men. I didn't actually meet any man at Gidas with more than two wives, though this may occur. There are no polygamous households. When a man has two or more wives, they are given separate houses a considerable distance apart. Extensive polygamy is discouraged by the fact that men do most of the agriculture work. Extra wives mean more children and prestige for a man, but economically they are liabilities rather than assets.

The first important event after marriage is the birth of a child. The young mother's female relatives help her at childbirth and the husband stays away from the house. On the day of birth the child is given its first name. This is merely a temporary name for the purpose of identifying him. If anything of note happened that day the child may be named after the event. For instance, one of our guides was born during the annual period of bush clearing and he was given the name Mafieko, which is the native word for "bush clearing." It is considered an extremely bad omen for an infant to be born by breach or foot presentation. Such children are considered to be accursed. In the old days they were placed in the doorway when the cattle were brought into the house at night and were usually trampled to death. This brutal custom is no longer allowed, but the children who are born in this abnormal manner are not permitted to marry within the tribe—they must marry foreigners.

From the time of his birth until he starts to crawl on hands and knees, an infant is considered to be very susceptible to evil influences. To protect him against supernatural dangers he and the mother lead a very secluded life in the house. During this period no one outside of the immediate family is allowed to enter the house for fear he might be in a condition of ritual impurity and thus bring harm to the susceptible infant. As further protection the father does the mother's work of bringing water and cutting firewood during this time so that she may stay secluded in the house. The child is given its proper name when it cuts its first tooth. A little ceremony takes place early in the morning. The child is first bathed in cold water and then anointed with butter, and a string of new beads are placed around its neck. It is usually given the name of a grandparent, either paternal or maternal. As there is no sex distinction in Gorowa names, any child may be named either after a grandfather or a grandmother. There seems to be no definite rule determining which grandparent he will be named after. The general principle seems to be that every grandparent should have someone named after him so that his name does not die out. Sometimes when a child becomes ill and a diviner is consulted, it transpires that a dead ancestor has caused the illness to remind the people that his name has gone out of use. In this case the child may be given the dead ancestor's name. It is expected that a child will cut his lower incisor teeth first. To cut the upper incisors first is considered just as bad as to be born by breach presentation. Again the old custom was to submit the infant to the ordeal of being trampled by cattle. If he survived he could only marry another person who had cut the upper teeth first or a foreigner.

After the permanent teeth have appeared it is the custom, as with many African tribes, to remove the lower central incisors. It is said that a



Gorowa Children. The Older One Has Had the Lower Central Incisor Teeth Removed



Mother and Child

person would not be fully human if this were not done—he would resemble a donkey. Without having this operation done, a person would not be allowed to marry within the tribe—so the Gidas elders say—and when he died his body could not be removed through the door of the house but would have to be taken out through a hole in the wall. I noted, however, that Chief Amri Dodo, who has married several Gorowa girls and will no doubt be buried with full honours, still possesses all of his teeth. No other marks or mutilations of the face are obligatory for Gorowa children. However, the majority of children have scars of one kind or another on the face which are done purely as personal ornament. The ears are usually pierced with a small hole, but this is not absolutely required.

Although every boy and girl is circumcised, this does not constitute a very important ceremony in their lives. Whenever a group from twenty to thirty boys or girls are ready the permission of the chief is obtained and a professional operator is hired to do the job. A boy's maternal uncle presents him with a pair of new sandals at that time. There is a beer party and a purification rite because of the shedding of the blood, but there is no proper initiation ceremony and no camp for instructing the boys in tribal lore. Boys who are initiated together regard each other as brothers but have no formal organisations. The Gorowa do not recognise age sets.

The social institutions of the Gorowa are predominantly patrilineal. Children belong to the clan of their father, so that a mother always belongs

to a different clan from her children. At present clans are unimportant in the lives of the Gorowa. There are fifty-three clans, each with its own name. There seems to be little general lore about these clans, except that some of them observe special food taboos. The members of any one clan are scattered throughout the country and appear never to come together for ceremonies or for any business whatever. For this reason even an elder does not know all the members of his own clan. However, the clan mates of a neighborhood gather together to celebrate such events as circumcisions, marriages, and burials of their members. These groups do not constitute subclans or lineages, but simply represent the local chapter of a clan.

A person's relatives on both sides of the family seem to be recognised to about the same extent. In matters of property and inheritance only the people of the father's lineage are concerned, that is, the father's father, his brothers and his brothers' sons. But one's relationship with members of the mother's clan seem to be equally as intimate. The mother's brother is expected to be a reliable and an intimate friend of his sister's children. The other uncles and aunts are treated with the deference and respect which are due to parents. A father's sister is addressed by a term which may be translated as "aunt," a mother's brother as "uncle." A Gorowa addresses and refers to his father's brother as "father" and to his mother's sister as "mother." Paralell cousins (i.e. one's father's brother's children and mother's sister's children) are called "brother" and "sister." But paternal cross cousins (i.e. a father's sister's children) are called "father" and "mother"; while maternal cross cousins (i.e. a mother's brother's children) are called "son" and "daughter." Anthropologists call this system of kinship terms a "Crow System," as it was early discovered and analysed among the Crow Indians of the United States. It is often found in societies having matrilineal institutions. Its appearance among the Gorowa may indicate that the tribe was formerly matrilineal in its social organization.

Inheritance also follows the patrilineal principle. That is, a man's property is normally inherited by his own sons. Daughters inherit nothing. A daughter lives with her parents, or, perhaps, part of the time with grandparents, until her marriage. Then her father gives her a few token presents when she leaves her home for good to live with her husband. Sons, as they reach the age of marriage, must somehow be provided with houses of their own to which they may bring their wives. A wealthy father may give his son a small house while he is still quite young, say twelve or fourteen years old. In that case the son will invite other boys of his age to live there with him until he is ready to marry. These young bachelors sleep at their friend's house but take their meals with their parents. The son of a poor man may have to build his own house, perhaps with the help of his father and his brothers. Sometimes a father will give a son his own house as a sort of wedding present and then build himself a new one in a different location. There is a tendency for the men of a family to disperse, and one rarely finds a homestead consisting of the adjacent houses of a father and several sons. This tendency, together with the abundance of unoccupied land and the liberal rules of land tenure, accounts for the fact that clans and lineages are not localised territorially. The proper inheritance of cattle does not occur till after a father's death, but in effect the bulk of a man's cattle are usually divided among the sons as they marry wives. These cattle are tended and milked by the sons, but they cannot be sold or killed without the father's permission. After his death the cattle are divided equally among the sons, but if the children are still

young the eldest son or a brother of the deceased holds the cattle in trust until the sons reach the age of marriage.

When his children are grown up, a man is usually recognised as one of the neighborhood elders and spends a good deal of his time discussing the welfare of the country with his fellow elders. The smallest territorial division of the Gorowa is a neighborhood group or ward called Mango Aya which comprises some thirty or so houses. The elders of a ward choose one of their members as a leader who bears the title of Kahusmo. They meet frequently with their leader to discuss the health and welfare of the people, the cattle, and the crops of the ward. Sickness or other misfortunes are held to be the result of ritual impurity. The job of the elders is to discover the source of this impurity and correct it. This matter occupies a good deal of their time. I plan to give some account of the nature and forms of ritual impurity in my final report on the Gorowa.

When an ordinary person dies he is buried just outside of the house near the cattle room. There is no special ceremony or ritual in connection with such a burial. In the case of old and honoured elders, the body is buried inside the cattle room of the house. Two bullocks are killed at the funeral. The first is to provide a skin in which the body is wrapped for burial. The second beast is supposed to accompany the deceased on his journey to the spirit world. The meat of both animals is eaten by the elders and relatives at a funeral feast.

The Gorowa are not a litigious people. The elders of a ward concern themselves almost entirely with supernatural dangers to the country. Legal problems are taken to the constituted native court at Gidas Baraza. The civil cases dealt with there are concerned mainly with the payment of debts. One category of cases which deserves special mention is personal injury. A definite scale of payment in compensation for personal injury follows old custom. Thus to assault a person in such a way as to draw blood or to break a lower tooth requires the payment of a heifer, but if an upper tooth is broken a bullock must be paid. A surprisingly large proportion of the civil cases have to do with personal injury. Provision has been made for classifying criminal cases according to one of three categories: tribal law, Tanganyika law, and special laws such as might involve Mohammedans or other aliens. According to the court records for the last year all criminal cases were judged under the category of Tanganyika law. Most of these involved breaking administrative regulations about forest preserves, required agricultural practices, or sending children to school regularly.

The way of life which has been sketched in this letter is followed by at least 90% of the Gorowa at Gidas. A very small elite has started to adopt European customs, but on a superficial scale. This group, mostly Christians, includes the school teacher, the court clerk, and two or three employees of the Medical and Veterinary Department. The wearing of Western style clothing and the drinking of tea are the most prominent deviations from native customs. These new wants are supplied by a cluster of dukas near Gidas Baraza, whose owners are all devoutly Mahomedan Somalis and have little social intercourse with the natives. A Native Authority school, started in 1948, employs two teachers and is filled to the capacity of its four grades with 100 children. It remains to be seen in what way widespread formal education will change the lives of the Gorowa.

The Gorowa who live at Babati, the tribal headquarters of the Tribe, are more sophisticated and have been strongly influenced by Islam. This community was described in RFG - 8. A Roman Catholic mission is located in the Galapo area and a large number of Gorowa there are said to have been converted to Christianity. I did not investigate Galapo. At Gidas the people still hold to their old pagan beliefs, some of which I shall describe in my next letter.

Sincerely,

Robert F. Gray

Robert F. Gray.

Received New York 8/16/55.