
Summaries

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FRANCISZEK BOCHENSKI

SOCIO-CULTURAL BASIS OF THE RISE OF THE EGYPTIAN NATIONAL
MOVEMENT

FROM THE LATE 18TH CENTURY TILL THE FIRST WORLD WAR

According to a rather wide-spread view, the national movements in the countries subject to colonial expansion make a resultant of the liberation struggle and some European patterns exerting an impact upon the intellectual *élite* of the countries concerned. Such an approach to the question ignores the internal factors, highly essential in the author's opinion and accounting for the specific character of the said movements. An analysis of Arab sources from the turn of the 18th century points to a strong social struggle waged in Egypt at the time against the privileged Turkish-Mameluke stratum. The latter, wielding administrative and military power, used to combine it with usurping the largest profits from land and from labour of other strata. It was amidst that struggle that broader bonds have been formed uniting the masses of the rural population, urban paupers and the stratum of the traditional Muslim *élite* represented in Egypt by the milieu of scholars (*ulema*) of al-Azhar. Those bonds — strongly religious in their essence — and, namely, common struggle for justice which was a dictate of religion already incorporated a certain national aspect, i.e. that of the struggle against an alien ethnic group speaking a different language.

Bonaparte's social policy, pursued during his invasion of Egypt, aimed at taking advantage of linkages connecting the *ulema* with the popular masses. Nevertheless, in spite of correctness of some of its assumptions, Bonaparte's scheme failed. Irrespective of the causes of religious and traditional nature a significant part in intensification of the Egyptian people's resistance against the foreign invader was also played by the economic factor and, namely, greater exploitation with simultaneous preservation of the old system (*iltizam*). In the course of the struggle against the French invaders the alliance of the rural population (*the fellahin*) with the urban one and the *ulema* had been consolidated. On the other hand in spite of temporary community of interests with the Mamelukes — no alliance with the latter has been evolved. This was testified to by the uprising of the popular masses in Egypt against the Turkish-Mameluke stratum. The uprising, led by the *ulema* and Omar Makram, the Grand Master of the families of the descendants of Mohammed, broke out immediately after the French evacuated Egypt. It was only due to the support of the *ulema* — commanding of no military power — that Mohammed Ali — an officer of Albanian troops — succeeded to seize power and to be elected pasha by *vox populi*, as stated by Consul Dravetti. Apart from *ulema* — Mohammed Ali's choice — approved by the Sublime Porte clearly under coercion though he was an officer of the Ottoman army — was also in the interest

of the European powers and a certain part of Egyptian merchants and craftsmen deriving from ethnic and denominational minorities. All the above mentioned forces were interested in abolition of the military and feudal oligarchy of the Memelukes. The European powers and, especially, France — since this would facilitate their penetration into Egypt — the merchants who grew rich during the latter's invasion by Bonaparte and wanted to keep their, newly acquired status, and the *ulema* who hoped for a renaissance of their role and significance. And, indeed, like very fact of his accession to power, Mohammed Ali's later position was — to a large degree — a resultant of operation of the forces mentioned above.¹

As a consequence of numerous radical reforms, carried out in Egypt under the rule of Mohammed Ali, the country entered upon the road of modern development.

An analysis of the activities and works of Rafa Rifai at Tahtawi — the eminent modernist of the period — enables better understanding of the way the European influence became entwined with that of tradition and the impact exerted by internal factors.

Grasping as a whole the ideological guide-lines of at-Tahtawi's work, the latter may be described as striving for construction of a strong Muslim state due to assimilation of those attainments of the Western civilization which did not collide with the rules of Islam. The first generation of the intellectual *élite* — with Tahtawi, Ali Mubarak, an outstanding organizer of the educational system, and other activists, for the most part educated in France — was seized with patriotic zeal. They had not, however, any true bonds with the mass of people and, especially, with the stratum of peasants (*fellahin*) waging their bitter social struggle. The process of rapid Europeanization — under the rule of the followers of Mohammed Ali and, in particular, of Ismail, has resulted in a change of socio-economic structure. The new privileged class — also incorporating a large number of Europeans — was anational in its nature. Its only and supreme goal was attainment of the largest possible profits in the shortest possible time. Simultaneously, however, social contradictions were growing and the middle class rising — interested in making itself independent of European penetration. The interests of that class were to some extent, convergent with those of the mass of people. The final years of Khedive Ismail's rule saw the growth of a strong national movement. A few groupings of different orientation were to be found within its leadership and namely:

- 1) moderate liberal parliamentary opposition;
- 2) Muslim modernists with Mohammed Abduh;
- 3) progressive and patriotic intelligentsia represented by journalists, cultural activists and lay-school youth with their leader, Abdullah Nadim, and

¹ His associates included the Frenchmen: Jormard — the initiator of education of Egyptian students in France, and Colonel Savé (Suleyman Pasha) organizer of the modern Egyptian army, some Saint-Simonists who exerted a particularly strong impact upon changes in the irrigation system, Jumel, the discoverer of a new variety of cotton, etc.; Ali's personal adviser Boghos Bey or Habib Efendi, chief of the Security Corps. As regards ulema circles, the strongest impact was exerted upon Mohammed Ali by his personal imam, Sheikh Hasan al-Attar — the advocate of adopting some patterns of European civilization which were not in conflict with the rules of Islam.

4) the group of Egyptian officers deriving from the middle strata of the society, directed by Ahmad Arabi.

Irrespective of their programmes which differed, above all, in the question of the road toward independence, beginning with that for moderate social reforms and ending with the one striving for an armed uprising — all the groupings mentioned above tended to establish contacts with the mass of people.

The activities of patriotic intelligentsia, especially of the group of officers, and the steadily growing resistance of the people resulted in the anti-British uprising under the leadership of Ahmad Arabi, in 1882.

An analysis of the press and other materials of the period, with special consideration of the activities conducted by Sami Barudi, Ahmad Arabi, Abdullah Nadim and Mohammed Abduh, the spiritual and factual leaders of the uprising, points to the significant part played in the rise of Egyptian national movement by internal factors of socio-economic nature, besides the external ones (i.e. the European influence in the broadest sense of the term inclusive of colonial expansion). Like the national liberation movement at the time of occupation and British protectorate, it simultaneously bore the character of social struggle. The latter was waged by the Egyptian masses, the rising national bourgeoisie and the milieu of the sheikhs of al-Azhar and was aimed not only against the English occupation forces, but also against the privileged class allied with the latter. In the beginning of the twentieth century the leadership of the Egyptian national movement was taken over by the intellectuals representing the petty and middle bourgeoisie (the Watan and Wafd Party respectively). The programme of that group was influenced, to a much larger degree by the liberal and constitutional European patterns. Hence the frequently drawn conclusion that the national movement led by Mustafa Kamil or, later, by Saad Zaghlul was, above all, an outcome of that European influence. And yet, if considered in terms of historical development — beginning even before Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt, it appears to be have been a consistent continuation of the economic social and cultural transformations which started at that time. Apart from the impact exerted by external European patterns, the most important factors which influenced the development of the Egyptian national movement were the following:

- 1) social struggle against the exploiting classes — whose class interests collided in Egypt with the national interest;
- 2) striving for a renewal of Islam, covering not only the sphere of culture but also that of social relations and politics; and
- 3) socio-economic transformations which led to the rise of the stratum of petty and middle bourgeoisie tending to become independent of the dominance of foreign capital.

TERESA STAJUDA

MUSTAFA KAMIL AND THE EGYPTIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The paper deals with the development of the Egyptian liberation movement on the turn of the 19th century and the activities of Mustafa Kamil — one of its eminent leaders.

The expansion of European capital in Egypt, which had started in the forties and fifties of the 19th century, resulted in the country's occupation by Great Britain. As the formal beginning of that occupation is considered the year 1882 which also marked the date of the great national uprising in Egypt, i.e. of Arabi's revolt.

The first years of the occupation saw a certain weakening of the national movement which was nevertheless to revive soon in somewhat different form. The direction of the movement was taken over by the cream of the new national intelligentsia with Mustafa Kamil, who became the leader of the movement discussed and imparted to it a new character and visage.

Born in Cairo, August 14, 1874, in the family of an engineer-officer of the royal army, Mustafa Kamil was brought up in a patriotic spirit. Upon graduation of a state school in Egypt, he took up studies at the Faculty of Law, University of Toulouse. The main field of his interests at school was history. Mustafa Kamil's turn of mind was largely shaped under the impact of such characters as Ali Mubarak, Ali al-Lajthi and Abdullah an-Nadim.

His anti-British activities may be divided into three stages corresponding roughly with those of the growth of the Egyptian national movement.

The first of them — up to 1884 — was a time of preparation for further activity. The Egyptians believed at the time that the occupation would end soon. The information obtained then by Mustafa Kamil from Colonel Baring, Lord Cromer's brother, and published by the Egyptian press shook that faith.

The second period of Mustafa Kamil's activity, covered the years 1895—1904 and was connected with Europe where he used to spend a few months every year. The belief still reigned supreme that interference by other countries would accelerate evacuation of the British troops from Egypt. Mustafa Kamil organized meetings and gave parties in the course of which he explained to his audience or guests the problems involved in the occupation of the Nile Valley by Great Britain. Hence, too, his numerous articles published in the European and Egyptian press. That faith in assistance on the part of European countries was shaken by the developments in the Sudan in 1896—1899, the crucial point having been the signing of Entente Cordiale in the spring of 1904.

The third stage of Mustafa Kamil's activities, covering the years 1904—1908, was marked by the nationalists' movement having been based, above all, on Egyptian internal forces with a simultaneous maintenance of contacts with Europe.

The nationalists displayed an interest in the internal affairs of Egypt even previously, conducting vigorous propaganda campaign all over the country by the intermediary of the press. Now their efforts in the field have notably been intensified.

The Entente Cordiale signed, Mustafa Kamil's once close relations with the Khedive, lasting since 1882, have been broken. The problem of cooperation of those two men gives rise to many a controversy in the scientific circles. No less

controversial is that of the Egyptian nationalists' attitude toward Turkey. Nevertheless, there are numerous indications Mustafa Kamil and his collaborators regarded Turkey but as a natural ally in the struggle against the British occupation.

Among the set of problems connected with the British policies in Egypt it was the reform of judicature and the question of the Sudan that were focussing the attention of the Egyptian nationalists.

And yet, however essential those matters, Mustafa Kamil was interested, above all, in the problems of education. He devoted to them a large number of his articles, and consistently put his ideas into effect, to mention but the so-called Mustafa Kamil's private school grounded in Egypt in 1899. In 1906 Mustafa Kamil inaugurated a large-scale campaign in favour of foundation of the University of Egypt. He succeeded as well in winning the youth over to the national movement. It was also under his auspices that the High School Club — affiliating students and graduates — was set up in Cairo, 1906.

Mustafa Kamil's first articles were published in "Al Ahram", 1893. During his studies he was the editor of "Al Madrasa" — the first student paper in Egypt. The year 1895 marked his début in the French press and January 2, 1900 — publication of the first issue of his own paper "Al Liwa", the daily which soon had the largest circulation in the world of Islam. As a secondary school pupil, Mustafa Kamil set up a patriotic literary circle and, as a student, joined the literary salon of Latif Salim. It was the people connected with the salon that formed, in 1893—1894, a grouping which has become the nucleus of the Nationalist Party led by Mustafa Kamil. Its existence was formally proclaimed in 1907.

The aims laid down in its programme were: withdrawal of the British forces from the Nile Valley, formation of a constitutional government, discharging by Egypt of its financial obligations, development of education and economy, unification of the nation, etc. The first congress of the Party, held in December 1900, passed its statutes and elected Mustafa Kamil, for life, the Party's chairman.

Mustafa Kamil died on February 10, 1908. His activities are the subject of controversy. Some consider him to have been too extreme, others — too moderate, in his views and attitudes. He is censured for having sought assistance abroad and for religious fanaticism. And yet, it is the then situation of Egypt that should be taken into account in order properly to assess the significance of the work of Mustafa Kamil, recognized as the hero of the Egyptian nation.

MAŁGORZATA MAJCHRZAK

SOCIO-POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE KINGDOM OF BUGANDA AND THE IMPACT OF COLONIALISM

Compared with other parts of Africa, the areas situated between the Lake Victoria and Lake Albert and Lake Edward are privileged as regards both geographical and climatic conditions. They have been inhabited of old by settled agricultural or pastoral peoples and developing under the impact of Nilo-Hamitic culture. As a result of their social development, the said peoples have created complex state organizations resembling those of European feudal countries of the mediaeval period.

At the peak of its development — i. e. on the turn of the 18th century — Buganda was a kingdom with a strong centralized authority held by the *kabaka*. Its "feudal system" was based on enfeoffment. The resulting land use involved exercising of definite functions within the political system of the country. Enfeoffment was also applied as a reward for special merits in the service of the *kabaka* and, above all, in the defence of the kingdom. Nevertheless, land was not a private property — it could be neither sold nor bought. Its possession was a privilege of clans and not individuals. The only exceptions to this rule were the estates of the *kabaka*, queen-mother and the chiefs of clans.

It was that principle that made the operational basis of the kingdom's political system, highly centralized and hierarchic. A guarantee of law and order and of the security of the population was the permanent army.

In the political system of Buganda administration was marked by a considerable degree of bureaucracy. Remuneration for exercising of the functions within it had the form of the right to land-use. And the latter was ascribed to the given office. Thus, for example, a Muganda who was obliged to leave his office simultaneously ceased to be a land-user. There was a strict interdependence between the respective ranks of offices which could be described as the relationship of clients — of mutual vertical dependence directed both up and down the social scale.

The social structure of Buganda was connected with its political system and, *vice versa*, the latter was reflected in the said structure. The patrilineal family with an absolute authority of man as its ruler made a duplicate of social organization of the kingdom, headed by the *kabaka*. In the first case as well as the second, the principle was binding of an absolute subordination to the father of the family or the superior — beginning from the lowest, and ending with the highest grade of the administrative hierarchy.

Social differentiation in Buganda was a result of clan affiliation — to mention but the privileged status of the members of the oldest clans with regard to the those of others — or of the relationship with the *kabaka*. Thus, the Buganda were divided into the class of *mukopi* — or subjects, and *balangira* — i.e. the princes. The *balangira* were entitled to compete in the struggle for the succession to the throne, however, only those being direct descendants of the grandfather of the *kabaka*. The others, called *balangira abakopi*, i.e. prince-peasants differed neither in their position nor way of living from an average Muganda.

The other factor deciding on the status of the individual was the possibility of wielding power. The latter could be held not only by the *mulangira*, i.e. the prince, but also by an average *mukopi* if the latter had adequate abilities. As regarded vertical social mobility, a part of great significance was played by the already mentioned institution of clients which were motivated by the idea of personal success, one of the highest social values among the Buganda. All posts of authority involved a high social status. Sex also made an essential factor of stratification, resulting from the patrilineal system of relationship.

In 1894, following a prolonged penetration into Africa and negotiations with other countries interested in colonial expansion, Great Britain established a formal protectorate over East Africa, inclusive of Buganda.

The signing of Uganda Agreement in 1900 marked a slow but inevitable process of colonial interference with the traditional social structures. This resulted from the necessity of creating conditions favouring colonial exploitation of the countries

concerned — of their infrastructure, commodity economy and the institution of private land ownership. The consequences of this fact were far-reaching. The foundations of social balance have changed destroying its main pillars and, namely, the social system of land tenure, religious beliefs and the authority of traditional chiefs sanctioned by them. All this could not but effect essential transformations of socio-political nature.

It is precisely the most important of them that make the subject-matter of the paper discussed.

ANDRZEJ K. PALUCH

URBANIZATION AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF AFRICAN SOCIAL STRUCTURES

The societies of contemporary Africa bear — apart from a few exceptions — the features of typical pluralistic communities. That pluralism — caused by incorporation, within the framework of the same communities, of a number of groups differing in their race and culture — is particularly manifest in socio-cultural processes occurring in towns. Moreover, it also acts as a factor influencing the rise of a type of society new to Africa and, namely, of the urban one.

The process of evolution of new social bonds, of a new type of economic, political and cultural integration, is taking place simultaneously with fundamental transformations of the old tribal structures. The traditional criteria of social stratification which were connected with age, lineage and tribal history find no justification in the new milieu of the contemporary African city. And, likewise, the traditional *élite* and tribal authorities yield to the pressure of new forces such as commodity economy, industry, modern forms of trade, dissemination of education, etc. Nevertheless, some of those traditional authorities and divisions persist transplanted to the new environment but only those of them have the chance to survive which coincide with the division of the new social structure.

The process of rise of that structure is particularly distinct in towns since it is the latter that make the entres of the most advanced transformations. What is to be noted there is, on the one hand, the operation of some elements of the European system of values and, on the other, persistence of numerous prestige criteria deriving from tribal culture. Moreover, there appear as well, elements specific of African cities which constitute the third factor of restructuring of the urban communities.

One of the fundamental issues is that of class differentiation of the African societies of today and, especially, of the urban communities. The problem is that none of the distinguishable social categories corresponds with the criteria of the definition of social class. However, parallel with progressing transformations, the respective groups of the urban population acquire ever more features typical of a social class. The African reality is characterized in this respect by existence of a number of class-generating processes. And though there is no question of class stratification of the present-day African societies the question of how far those processes are advanced is nevertheless justified.

What is to be noted in African cities is, in particular, an opposition between two social categories: the new African *élite* and workers. The basic factor distinguishing the *élite* is education giving access to modern sectors of social activity. In the situation where the patterns of behaviour and system of values and cultural norms have not been clearly defined yet, as is the case in the urban social milieu in Africa, the possibilities of the *élite* to influence the said patterns and system of values represented by the society at large, are particularly great. On the other hand, however, there exists a deep disparity between the *élite* and the remaining categories of urban communities. Against the background of the universal poverty of the urban population, the *élite* appears as a clearly privileged class. The divisions of this kind, resulting from the conditions of urban life, are overlapped by some tribal divisions and others, connected with traditional culture. As a consequence, social stratification in African cities is extremely complex and in flux. And this leads, in turn, to the rise of numerous controversial situations and a sharpening of contradiction of the interests of various groups of the urban population.

What is of special consequence to structural transformations of urban communities in Africa are those occurring in family and lineage structures in view of their dominant role in the structure of tribes. Generally speaking, those transformations are reduced to a restriction of the rights and obligations ensuing from incorporation with a definite lineage and decrease in the number of persons belonging to the family community. As a result, changes occur in the pattern and character of the social roles of the members of definite families and groups of relatives. The stability of the inhabitants of towns, poor as it is, becomes even more impaired by lack of a new pattern of the family.

Another characteristic feature of transformations of social structure in African cities is the development — proceeding almost on a mass-scale — of urban groupings bearing the character of associations. It is worth mentioning here both the tribal associations, linking on the traditional culture and traditional patterns of behaviour and, thus, as if bridging the gap between tribal culture and the new urban values, and the supra-tribal ones — being an expression of entirely new tendencies and patterns.

Irrespective of the approach to the problem an analysis of urban life in Africa reveals a picture of a dynamic, rapidly changing society. The multiplicity of operating factors renders that analysis even more difficult and gives rise to a research situation specific of the present-day socio-cultural reality in Africa. That is why the latter may be regarded today as a specific laboratory of social sciences, especially if the problems taken up by the latter are those of socio-cultural transformations and modernization.

LESZEK DZIĘGIEL

THE TRADITIONAL EAST-AFRICAN PEASANT FAMILY AS PRODUCTION TEAM

The present paper is an excerpt from the doctor's thesis entitled *Rolnictwo chłopskie w Afryce Wschodniej — Studium z dziedziny antropologii ekonomicznej* [Peasant Farming in East Africa — a Study into Economic Anthropology]. The the-

sis, written by the author under the direction of Professor Andrzej Waligórski, was presented to the Faculty of Philosophy and History, Jagiellonian University, Cracow. The fragment published herewith derives from the first part of the thesis, based on the materials collected by the late Professor Andrzej Waligórski in the course of his field studies in Kenya, 1946—1948.

An essential feature of the African peasant system has been, and continues to be, its linking of the more general, social aspects with the economic ones. In the primitive and peasant husbandry, the economic relations are mostly not separated from the social ones. The said features have been eliminated from modern industrial societies where the purely economic, and undoubtedly more impersonal, relations are to be observed in the process of production. Labour organized on the basis of family relationship or mutual neighbourly obligations is recognized by the author — whatever its advantageous aspects — as an indication of economic backwardness, detrimental to productivity.

And yet, work within the East-African peasant community of the Luo was basing just on family cooperation still in 1946—1948, that is on the labour of the wives and also of the sons, daughters-in-law and more distant relatives. No hired labour system was adopted there at the time though the Luo seasonally emigrated to neighbouring provinces and countries to work there as hired labour. Transformations were also obstructed by persisting primitive technology. Labor productivity of women tilling the little plots was poor and the living standards of Luo peasants — low.

And even if their old traditional culture incorporated some elements different from those of family organization of labour these did not in the least derive from the principles of hired labour. Their origins were inherent in the traditions of the rise — around an energetic chief of a squad of adventurers with whose aid the said chief conquered the territory concerned. Nevertheless, labour within the Luo community had, in most cases, the form deriving from family and lineage organization.

A telling example were in that case the principles of formation of family working teams — observed within the community of the Luo some twenty years ago, though the East-African peasants had for a number of years been tornaway from the traditional closed system of natural tribal economy. On a Luo farm, called *dala*, work was organized and divided between the following teams:

(a) Men's team, led by the "farmer" (*wuon dala*), organized on lineage basis and consisting of his sons and younger brothers. The tasks of the team were: clearing land of bush, construction of huts and transferring of the *dala* to a new place. Occasionally, the team discussed was enlarged by that of the farmer's wives — led by the first of them i.e. the *mikaye* — who tilled the field of their common husband — the patriarch;

(b) Women's teams — huts of the wives. Each of those teams operated under the leadership of the housewife — i.e. *wuon odwa* and was composed of sons, daughters-in-law, and daughters of the woman concerned. Those women's teams were the most regular farming units executing the cycle of field work;

(c) The teams of married women's sisters. The latter helped the young married women in farming yet they did not operate as a regular institution but on social and entertainment basis;

(d) Emergency teams organized as those of neighbourly assistance e.g. on the occasion of building a new hut and used for such jobs as carrying of water, prep-

aration of clay for pugging, etc. They were remunerated for their services in a repast or food.

Thus the economic organization of the Luo — like the family one, made a system of mutual services and benefits. It was a balanced system the unifying factor of which was the consciousness of joint aims and advantages. The roles and advantages were shared in common. Such a community was more uniform and less exposed to shocks than the East African polygynic family as such. And, indeed, the Luo family made a number of individual marriages with a common husband.

The leading role of the Luo farmer resulted from the superior position of the *wuon dala* as man, member of the lineage, husband and ruler of the polygynic family. He was an economic leader and organizer of the whole of production work on the farmstead. Moreover, he had an absolute hold not only over his wives but also the rest of the inhabitants of the peasant *dala*. At the moments calling for particularly great collective effort, the ruler of the family could appeal for assistance of the whole lineage and also revert to sanctions of ritualistic nature, as and additional support.

The most important person, after the ruler of the family was his first wife i.e. the *mikaye*. This resulted not only from her special legal status but, also, from the specific part she played in the life of the *wuon dala* and as the leader of production team on the farm. As the first wife, and mother of the continuator of the father's lineage i.e. his heir, the *mikaye* had to have some specific traits. Her position on the farm was accentuated by a larger number of granaries, and larger area of arable land allocated to her for cultivation. And, like the hut of the *wuon dala* was a kind of men's club that of the *mikaye* made the centre of social meetings of all women of the Luo farmstead. The first wife took care of the younger, still childless, wives, and of their harmonious entering into the community of the farmstead. The respective wives worked for their own sake, that of their children and, of course, of the common husband. What would be inadmissible, however, was forcing of any of them to work for the benefit of another.

Generally speaking, the women's working teams on the Luo farm were of permanent character, while the men's ones operated on emergency basis.

Apart from the farmer's wives and their children, the working teams discussed included many other inhabitants of the *dala*, namely, the older, unmarried women remaining under the care of the *wuon dala*. The latter's sisters and daughters who returned home after a divorce from their husbands and, finally, the young wives of his absent sons, employed as seasonal workers in other provinces or countries. Among men there were to be found not only the sons of the *wuon dala* but, also, those of his relatives and kinsmen and the poor members of other lineages, called *yodak* and allowed to use a small portion of his land in return for their help in farming.

What was binding in inheritance system within the peasant community of the Luo was the strictly patrilinear principle of descent and family affiliation. It was men only — as members of the lineage — that had the right to land and cattle, having inherited those rights from their father. The same applied later to money, previously unknown in the traditional culture of the Luo. The woman — after marriage — joined the lineage of her husband. She could not dispose freely the property kept in her hut within the farmstead and used by herself and her children. Thus, for example, she had no right to convey a part of it to her daughters married off to other lineages. According to the traditional principle of the Luo inherit-

ance system—the property could not be conveyed to other lineages. Upon the woman's death her property devolved upon the wives of her sons. Under those circumstances, the woman of the Luo community was an important link of social transmission. It was the woman, too, who tilling land—increased the volume of products and controlled their distribution. And it was by her that land title deed was conveyed to her sons.

The sons of the *wuon dala* received a plot of their father's land and of that once allocated to their mother for cultivation. The eldest son obtained more land. Nevertheless, the patrimony devolved, as a rule, upon the youngest son. The distribution of cattle was carried out on the same basis.

The above described system of mutual obligations and services which was binding in the peasant families of the Luo in the middle of this century created but a temporary balance. It was characteristic of a certain development stage of peasant communities in East Africa. And, indeed, it was already at that time that the tendencies to further changes were to be observed as well as manifestations of maladjustment to the new situation. The growing overpopulation called into question the extensive plant cultivation system applied until that time. Moreover, lack of possibilities of new farms being set up by the young Luo, their enhanced interest in agricultural occupations due to new prospects for cultivation of marketable crops, and the agricultural policy pursued first by the colonial authorities and, then, by those of the independent African countries, have all made the traditional model of family production teams of the Luo become obsolete. There are good grounds to assume it is subject today to further, and maybe even fundamental, transformations.

RYSZARD DOBROWOLSKI

AFRICA IN THE LIGHT OF CATHOLIC MISSIONARY PERIODICALS AND ARTICLES ON COLONIES PUBLISHED IN POLAND BETWEEN WORLD WAR I AND II

The proceedings of the Academic Missionary Congress, held in Poznań, 1927, were connected with the relevant provisions of the encyclics of the Popes Benedict XV and Pius XI. The mentioned encyclics gave new forms to missionary activities conducted by the Catholic Church. Their basis was the extensively propagated idea of cooperation in the field by laymen and clergy. It was that spirit, too, that prevailed over the debates of the Congress. Its aftermath was a continued popularization of both, missionary activities and the overseas countries being their subject. In the Polish periodicals of that days, dealing with the problem of missions, a prominent place was taken by the African territories what reflected some tendencies of the missionary movement at large. The growth of interest in Africa was connected with new political configuration on the Black Continent (mandated territories). Now, what was of particular interest to the Polish reader was, however, the fact of the Apostolic Prefecture, set up at Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia, having been entrusted by Pius XI to the care of the Polish Jesuits.

The articles on Africa, inserted in "Misje Katolickie" [Catholic Missions], the monthly published by the latter Order, constitute the subject of an analysis carried out by the author for the purpose of reconstructing the picture of Africa as presented by the missionary records mentioned above.

The proceedings of the Congress coincided with the promulgation of its programme by the Maritime and Colonial League. The said organization, the main propagator of maritime problems in the Second Republic, incorporated colonial slogans with its programme after 1928. That colonial programme was initially striving for solution of the problem of large-scale economic emigration. In the period discussed, some 150,000 persons used to emigrate from Poland every year in search of gainful employment abroad. The active members of the League were mobilizing social efforts and initiatives for the purpose of obtaining in Africa some territories for Polish settlers. Such a territory could have been acquired in the case of a new distribution of mandates in respect of the former German colonies. If this were the case, under favourable conditions, Poland — as a member of the League of Nations — would have been given a mandate over the territory of a former German colony. Moreover, possibilities were examined of a condominium in definite colonial French territories in Africa. Finally, attempts were also made at organizing collective settlement in Portuguese colonies. Those endeavours were accompanied by propagation of Africa in the columns of the monthly "Morze" [The Sea], the organ of the Maritime and Colonial League. An analysis of the African materials inserted therein makes it possible to grasp some elements of the picture of that continent as presented by the monthly discussed. Concurrence of the two events — the Missionary Congress in Poznań and formulation by the League of its colonial programme — has resulted in an overlapping between two propaganda tendencies. As follows from an analysis of the periodicals concerned, though both the parties, i.e. the League and missionaries, repeatedly declared their readiness for cooperation, the essence of propaganda activities carried on by them differed basically. For the missionaries, the only justification of the presence and proceedings of the colonial powers in Africa was Christianization of the peoples of the Black Continent and not utilization of its natural resources. The League took an opposite stand treating colonial exploitation of Africa as a possibility of finding means for safeguarding Poland's development. Yet, in spite of the differences in the sphere of propaganda, the information on Africa furnished, respectively, by the missionaries and the League were not at variance but, on the contrary, complementing each other. The contributors to "Misje Katolickie" dealt extensively with the problems of the traditional African culture and customs of the peoples of that continent, disregarding those involved in its industrialization and urbanization. The journalists connected with the League, however penetrating their analysis of the question of Europeanization of Africa, did not present any vision of the traditional Africa and Africans. The study of the materials published by the missionaries and the League leads to the conclusion that both these sources enabled the rise of some convergent notions of that continent.