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Review

Witchcraft as an intriguing phenomenon in Africa: The case of Tanzania

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Witchcraft is a topical subject and an intriguing phenomenon in Africa. Thriving on belief systems it baffles and confronts ruling elites with dilemmas on how to deal with it. Tanzania experiences grim consequences by the entrenchment of witchcraft in the country including social exclusion, expulsion and even murder of alleged witches. The legal system copes inadequately with the challenges of witchcraft because it does not accept the reality of witchcraft and the colonial inherited law is a blunt instrument in dealing with the problem. This article charts the history of the law on witchcraft in Tanzania and concludes that witchcraft beliefs are too strong to be driven out by legal methods and instead advocates for the removal of ignorance by introducing a scientific view of the world through [mass] education.

Key words: Witchcraft, bewitching, Tanzania, ordinance, law, commission.

INTRODUCTION

Witchcraft and related phenomena are not just topics of curious conversation and amusement but matters of great concern in Africa, a continent in which there has been a renewed interest on the topic which is however fraught with sensationalism and shoddy media reporting. Recent anthropological accounts have emphasised the continuing salience of ideas about witchcraft for understanding contemporary African societies (Abrahams, 1994; Geschiere, 1997; Sanders, 2003; Kohnert, 2007). From urban to rural, the elite to peasants, the rich to the poor, witchcraft remains an idiom through which life is experienced and acted upon, as manifested in everyday conversation, gossip or a way of speaking and means of handling day-to-day ambiguities or means of allocating responsibility, branding scapegoats for misfortunes, eliminating rivals and competitors etc. It also explains, rationalises and makes plausible accusations out of envy, jealousy, greed, hatred, rivalry, vengeance or misunderstanding or misinformation, strained relations, political and economic frustrations etc. The belief in magic and witchcraft in Africa is characterised by an increasing ambivalence of causes, intentions and effects (Mesaki, 1993).

Tanzania¹ offers an interesting case for analysing witchcraft (Kiswahili, *uchawi*) and its consequences. Dubbed a "land of superlatives" due to the innumerable spectacular features, the country prides itself of being a democratic state pursuing socialist policies. It is among the poorest countries in the world, but an "island of peace" in strife-torn continent and seemingly one of Africa's most harmonious societies. The country has a strong national culture nurtured through Kiswahili language and deliberate policies designed to stifle tribal and religious strife. Yet the antiquarian belief in witchcraft continues to be an accepted part of social reality and an established folk tradition, a component of indigenous belief systems and ritual practices. Discourses on witchcraft in Tanzania consistently address themes of envy, greed, consumption, get-rich-quick mentality and death (Sanders 2001; Green 2003; Abrahams (ed) 1994). Witchcraft (*uchawi*) transcends local and national culture and is part of daily life in all social settings and in all locations. Indeed there has been a rise in witchcraft hysteria epitomized by the ignominious phenomenon of killing

¹Tanzania resulted from the union of two former sovereign states, Tanganyika and Zanzibar which united on 26th April 1964.

alleged witches and albinos for “get-rich-quick concoctions” (Guardian, 2008; Duff, 2005). Despite opposition by Christian and Islamic religious authorities, widespread access to basic education and strong legal penalties witchcraft remains an embedded part of Tanzanian popular culture. The Government of Tanzania recognises the seriousness of the witchcraft problem in the country but despite this awareness of witchcraft as a social problem, the Government has yet to formulate an explicit strategy for dealing with witchcraft, relying as it does, like other governments in the region on colonial legal instruments in attempting to come to grips with the intriguing phenomenon. This paper delineates the development of the law against the phenomenon in Tanzania and its effectiveness in dealing with the scourge and begins with a historical backdrop to the anti-witchcraft measures.

WITCHCRAFT AND BRITISH JURISPRUDENCE

Before colonial rule, witchcraft formed an integral part of social structure in most traditional African societies (Iliffe, 1979:27; Feireman, 1986). In dealing with the problem, various tenets of customary law provided sanctions aimed at restitution as well as varying punishments depending on the severity of the witchcraft abuses. The major institution for control of witchcraft was divination and the ordeal. The identification of witches was in the hands of specialists who were part of the ruling establishment. Depending on the seriousness of the witch acts, punishment ranged from ostracism to compensation; from enslavement to execution of the culprit(s). Above all, there were provisions for “cleansing” individuals or whole communities to rid society of evil.

Britain obtained a big chunk of the African continent from the Berlin conference of 1884/1885. It was also entrusted to govern Tanganyika after the defeat of Germany in the First World War in 1919. The British anti-witchcraft strategy in the colonies reflected its own legal history towards the problem. In 1735, Witchcraft Ordinance, witchcraft beliefs and practices were referred to as “pretended” offences and sought to punish those who pretended to engage in witchcraft and the offence was described as, “...pretence to witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment or conjuration” (Munday et al., 1951:5). Thus when colonial legislators were called upon to deal with the problem of witchcraft in Africa, the official view was the sceptical English one based on the 1735 law. As such they drafted laws which summarily dismissed the practitioner’s pretensions to occult powers and given divergent colonies certain anomalies and discrepancies are found in the early statutes on the issue. As Orde-Browne (1935) noted,

“...examination reveals a considerable divergence in practice; each country appears to have-worked out its own salvation and the variation in result is surprising. In some cases, the law is lengthy and detailed and the

punishments drastic, while in other instances the matter is dismissed with a few paragraphs and the penalties are comparatively mild. The Northern Rhodesia Ordinance of 1914 was detailed and severe. The Kenya provisions are milder. The Nigerian law seems to be directed mainly against ordeals. The Tanganyika Ordinance of 1928 is shorter and less detailed than the older examples. A man who poses as a witch-doctor was in Rhodesia liable to seven years’ imprisonment, a fine of one hundred pounds and twenty-four lashes; in Uganda he may be imprisoned for five years; in Nigeria he may receive six months only; while in Kenya or Tanganyika he is liable to one year, though in the latter he would formerly have got off scot-free. Other discrepancies exist as to the possession of charms; organization of, or presence at, a trial by ordeal; accusation of possession of occult powers; and the duties of chiefs in connection with such matters. Closer study of the various laws will indeed show a very wide measure of discordance. Perhaps the most noticeable is the lack of accurate definitions and the use of vague wording to a degree that must render this subject unique in British jurisprudence...”

In the remainder of this paper a detailed history of the legislation on witchcraft in Tanzania up to now is presented.

EARLY ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGAL DESIGNS

Anti-witchcraft measures began with Circular no. 15 of April 4, 1919 in which the subject was treated in a rather superficial tone. The circular stated that, “...from the legal aspect, it is considered inadvisable that the practice of witchcraft by natives in this country should be viewed as a crime in itself. To treat it as such involves the admission that witchcraft has a real force and can be effective to produce physical consequences”. A subsequent circular (no. 22) of the same year on the subject read as follows, “...witchcraft as such may not be regarded as a crime, unless the acts and consequences of the practice of witchcraft are in themselves crimes independently of witchcraft e.g. incitement to riot or revolt”. However, it added a note on fraudulent practices, by indicating that, “the acceptance of a reward by the witch-doctor in the practice of his pretended act is a sufficient ground on which to base a charge of cheating”. These circulars culminated with Ordinance 39 of 1922 viz: “An Ordinance to provide for the punishment of persons practicing or making use of so-called Witchcraft”, signed by Governor Byatt on 1 December, 1922. In many ways the 1922 Tanganyika Ordinance and subsequent versions remained true to the gist of the English law of 1735 and were modelled on similar witchcraft laws in other British colonies, but by colonial standards the Tanganyika law was considered a moderate piece of legislation, particularly with regard to punishment.

When Donald Cameron became Governor of Tanganyika in 1924, he declared that the colony's law on witchcraft was "useless" and he instituted measures of re-drafting it (TNA, 10207). As a result, the 1922 Ordinance was superseded by an enlarged piece of legislation of 28 December, 1928 which bore the imprint of Cameron himself who is said to have personally drafted some sections. Its scope was also widened and borrowed from other anti-witchcraft laws in the colonies such as Nigeria where Cameron had been governor previously. The objectives and reasons of the 1928 law were purportedly to make it more effective in suppressing witchcraft because the previous one had been found to be inadequate.

"WHITE" VS. "BLACK" MAGIC

The 1928 ordinance was more holistic in that it incorporated all aspects of witchcraft whether malignant or not and the contrasts between the so-called "white" and "black" magic were reflected in the type of punishment for each category. For a crime with malignant intentions, the offending person could face imprisonment for 7 years or a fine not exceeding 4,000 shillings whereas offences without malignant designs carried a fine of 1000 shillings or a jail term of up to one year. But it was provided that the enforcement of any penalty on non-malevolent witchcraft would only proceed with the consent of the Governor. The 1928 ordinance retained the initial definition of witchcraft but added a clause which described "instruments of witchcraft" under section 2. This is a jumbled legal definition which referred to among other things the holding of beliefs in mediums and things/phenomenon such as charms. The "instruments of witchcraft", were purported to include, "anything used or intended to be used, or represented to possess the power, by supernatural means, to prevent or delay any person from doing any act which he may lawfully do, or to compel any person to do anything which he may lawfully refrain from doing, or to discover the person guilty of any alleged crime or other act of which complaint is made, or to cause injury to any person or property or to produce any natural phenomenon". Furthermore the 1928 Ordinance introduced an additional method of combating witchcraft by providing that a person suspected of practicing witchcraft, would be made to leave his/her area of domicile and be banished to a particular locality within the district, province or territory depending on who was giving the order. It was also provided that any person refusing or neglecting to obey such a lawful deportation order was liable to a fine not exceeding 150 shillings or imprisonment for up to two months. The ordinance was amended again in 1956 and two years later an ad hoc witchcraft committee was formed to assess and review the state of witchcraft in the territory and recommend methods of dealing with it.

THE WITCHCRAFT COMMITTEE OF 1958

In the 1956 revision, no substantial amendments were made to the previous ordinance except the reiteration that for offences punishable under the act, no trial could commence without the consent of the Governor being granted first. But following this Bill and as a result of debates in the Legislative Council (Legico) an ad hoc committee on witchcraft was formed in 1958 to assess and review the state of witchcraft in the territory. The report produced nothing neither new nor startling but it was remarkable in its admission that the colonial government was not well versed on the subject and conceded that,

"... the problem of witchcraft was, fundamentally one of ignorance...on the part of government as well as the ignorance...of those whose belief kept it alive".

It also admitted that the subject was too vast and too uncertain to be capable of proper study by an alien government. Moreover it cautioned that if witchcraft cases were to be tried in local courts an atmosphere of "witch hunt" would be encouraged.

PROPAGANDA!

The committee approved a number of measures and strategies to be employed.

These were educational, legal and "white magic" (benevolent) techniques. Education was rated as a long term solution whereas legal action depended on the enthusiasm of field officers' invocation of the Witchcraft Ordinance. The committee called for the vigorous implementation of the educational strategy by means of law and propaganda on the problem in affected areas. It was hoped that with education and the spread of modern ideas the future generations would be relieved of witchcraft beliefs and fears. It was recommended that investigations of alleged witchcraft begin at the lowest possible level under combined arrangements by the central and local governments. Yet another suggestion was for the High Court to hold its sessions connected with witchcraft in the districts where the case(s) originated.

Having considered the ambivalence of the judiciary on the niceties of the law, the majority of the committee was in favour of allowing anti-witchcraft experts to expunge witches in some areas, recommending that if it was not repugnant locally, use might also be made of "white magic" for detection and cleansing witchcraft. Actually unofficial action against witchcraft had been going on side by side with the institutionalized official drive. On the eve of independence, a number of outstanding anti-witchcraft experts (fundis) were allowed to practice; some with government approval and funding. For example, the activities of Nguvumali were so astounding that an important versed epic book² was written based on his

² Lienhardt, P (1968) *Swifa ya Nguvumali: The Medicine man*. Oxford.

successes in netting recalcitrant witch practitioners. Liebenow (1971) reports that

"...towards the end of colonial period many witch-finders were utilized by the administration to go through various districts collecting witchcraft para-phernalia and were actually paid for their services".

Feierman (1986) also confirms the erratic actions and ambivalence of the colonial administration. He notes that in certain circumstances, witch-finders, like Kabwere and Ngope, were allowed to "cleanse" witchcraft in Usambara and Mahenge districts respectively, at different times during colonial rule.

POST INDEPENDENCE

The revised edition of the witchcraft ordinance (Cap 8-Supp.66 - 70) of 1965 added definitions on "courts" (which included a local court as defined in the Magistrates Courts Act, 1963); "police force" (that is the Tanzania Police Force; and "public officer" (meaning any employee of Government or of a local authority). It also defined witchcraft as to, "include sorcery, enchantment, bewitching, the use of instruments of witchcraft, the purported exercise of any occult power and the purported possession of any occult knowledge". On the other hand, the penalty continued to be imprisonment for a period not exceeding seven years or a fine not exceeding 4,000 shillings or to both. However, the trial of a person for an offence under the ordinance could not begin unless the consent of the Attorney-General was obtained first, while previously it had been that of the Governor. The law also continued with the provision for a District Commissioner to determine the residence of a person suspected of practicing witchcraft. In addition however, the involvement of the Regional Commissioner (RC) and the President of the Republic was included. Thus according to the 1965 ordinance, the RC would,

"Suspend, reverse or vary any such order and shall report such order and action taken thereon to the President and any such order of the Area [District] Commissioner or Regional Commissioner may at any time be disallowed or varied by the President".

It also expanded the circumstances under which a person would be doing a witchcraft act, viz: Any person: 1) By his statement or actions represents himself to have the power of witchcraft; or 2) Makes, uses, has in his possession or represents himself to possess any instrument of witchcraft; or 3) Supplies to any other person any instrument of witchcraft; or 4) Advises any other person upon the use of witchcraft or any instrument of witchcraft; or 5) Threatens to use or resort to the use of witchcraft or any instrument of witchcraft upon or against any person or pro-property, shall be guilty of an offence against this Ordinance.

The section on accusing, naming or indicating a person

of being a witch was shortened and reference to the Indian Indian Penal code removed.

THE NYALALI COMMISSION³ VS. THE LAW REFORM COMMISSION

The witchcraft legislation became contentious in the 1990s. The Nyalali Commission (1992) whose recommendations led to the liberalization of Tanzania politics in the early 1990s, among other things delved into the laws of the country. On witchcraft it is observed,

"...this law dates back to colonial rule and it has remained to date. The law is useless; it should be repealed."

Citing the provision where a District Commissioner had powers to order a person suspected of practicing witchcraft to reside in any specified locality, within a district. The commission was concerned that such powers could be abused in arresting, detaining and deporting such people, arguing that in most cases there would be no valid reasons for such actions. It held that the powers given to the District Commissioners were "unnecessary and in fact gratuitous." Conversely, in its 1996 report to the Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs on designated legislations in the Nyalalai commission, the Law Review Commission had a completely different opinion on the phenomenon. It noted that in the entire United Republic of Tanzania notions of about witchcraft were widespread, the difference being a matter of degree and not of substance. It concluded that Tanzanians in general believed that witchcraft beliefs and attendant activities connected thereof existed within the society and the phenomenon cut across both educated and uneducated members of the society. Abhorring the negative impacts of such beliefs and practices including deaths, terror, threats which fostered disharmony and hatred among people, the LRC viewed witchcraft as an anti-development aspect amongst people, whose destructiveness arose from the inducement of fear and threat to tranquillity, maintaining that it was because of these reasons that the law must be retained.

It should be noted that the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, some how influenced the deliberations of the LRC in his key note address wherein he stated;

³The Nyalali Commission was a presidential commission multi partyism appointed on February, 27th 1991 comprising eminent and distinguished personalities in the Tanzania headed by Francis Nyalali, then chief justice. It submitted its report on 17th February 1992 in which not only did it recommend changes in both the union (Tanzania) and Zanzibar constitutions, but also identified forty (40) laws as being oppressive in nature, unconstitutional and in some cases outdated. One of such laws was that relating to witchcraft. The commission recommended that either the attorney general's chambers or the law reform commission of Tanzania should examine those legislations with a view to recommending their repeal, amendment or abolition.

"The Nyalali Commission, in part reckoned the repeal of the laws on ground of constitutionality, particularly on the issue of human rights. However, it is my duty to point out to you that some of these laws which were recommended for repeal cater for such matters as public tranquility and safety within the context of the conditions and circumstances prevailing in the country. I have in mind such laws as the Witchcraft Ordinance etc. The repeal of such laws without putting anything in place or without suggesting how the mischief for which the laws were enacted, will be taken care of, would leave a dangerous vacuum."

No doubt this guidance influenced the LRC which in its report opined that there was validity and justification for the continued existence of the law on Witchcraft because fears arising from beliefs in witchcraft among the people persisted. It countered the misgivings raised by the Nyalali Commission claiming that they were taken care of by the following provisions: (i) There was enough protection for suspects and that it was almost impossible for the District Commissioners to misuse the powers; (ii) The DC was obliged to show the enquiry record to the RC who would do the needful; (iii) In the final analysis, the President would assist such an affected person to be set free; (iv) Had the Nyalali Commission looked closely into the law, it would have found out that the DC's powers entailed enough safeguards to curtail his/her misuse of power, maintaining that the power of the DC was not gratuitous and could coexist with the power of the courts. In any case it argued the High Court under its powers was duty bound to check any misuse of the powers of the administrative personnel.

MAJORITY AND MINORITY VIEWPOINTS

The LRC criticized the Nyalali Commission for not addressing the existence (sic) of witchcraft and its consequences on the life of Tanzanians arguing that witchcraft was an anti-development element among people and destructive as it induced fear and threatened people's tranquillity and for these reasons the law must be retained, "People of this country should have laws which enable them to coexist peacefully with one another".

It was the considered opinion of the majority of the commissioners that the validity of the legislation was justified and it should be retained but recommended amendments on definitions, penalty and role of Director of Prosecutions (DPP).

In addition it called on the Government to do research into the science (sic) of witchcraft, identify the magnitude of the problem and determine how it can be utilized positively for the benefit of the society. On the other hand, a minority view expressed that witchcraft was only a belief which could not be eradicated through legislative measures. This view recommended for the repeal of the Ordinance as it contended that witchcraft would die a natural death as society developed.

THE WITCHCRAFT ACT OF 2002

The current legislation on witchcraft matters is that of 2002 a revised edition of the law which now reads "Witchcraft Act" instead of "Ordinance" a direct product of the recommendations of the Law Review Commission (LRC). The act refers to the various previous versions/editions (1928, 1935, 1956 and 1998) denoting the numerous amendments it had to go through.

To be sure there is not much divergence of the former ordinances and stipulations. For example Section 2 still delineates

"Instruments of witchcraft" as, "...anything which is used or intended to be used or is commonly used, or which is represented or generally believed to possess the power, to prevent or delay any person from doing any act which he may lawfully do, or to compel any person to do any act which he may lawfully refrain from doing, or to discover the person guilty of any alleged crime or other act of which complainant is made, or to cause death, injury or disease to any person or damage to any property, or to put any person in fear, or by supernatural means to produce any natural phenomenon and includes charms and medicines commonly used for any of the purposes aforesaid".

Also witchcraft is still said to include sorcery, enchantment, bewitching, the use of instruments of witchcraft, the purported exercise of any occult power and the purported possession of any occult knowledge", a legal lingo which has persisted throughout the history of the legislation as shown hereunder.

1922

In this Ordinance the expression "witchcraft" includes sorcery, enchantment, bewitching or the purported exercise of any supernatural power.

1928

"Witchcraft" includes sorcery, enchantment, bewitching, or the purported exercise of any occult power, or the purported possession of any occult knowledge.

1965

"Witchcraft" includes sorcery, enchantment, bewitching, the use of instruments of witchcraft, the purported exercise of any occult power and the purported possession of any occult knowledge.

Indeed as a former colonial chief justice observed, the definition of witchcraft, like the rest of the Ordinance was "not remarkable for its lucidity" (Abrahams C.J. (in Crimi-

nal Revisions case No. 265 of 1934). The 2002 law still retains the provision for deporting a person suspected to engage in witchcraft activities a factor pointed out by the Nyalali Commission and many a human rights advocate to be contrary to the constitution and a contravention of ones human rights. The act continues to differentiate between “benevolent” and “malevolent” intentions of perpetrators of witchcraft which are differently penalized. A noticeable amendment is the inclusion of the Zonal State Attorney (on behalf of the Attorney General) to decide on whether to go ahead with a case involving a witchcraft case which has no malignant intentions. Another development is the increased penalties such as fines to reflect the existing economic and financial realities in the country.

DISCUSSION

The Government of Tanzania recognises the seriousness of the witchcraft problem, considering it to be a stumbling block in national development. In its current national poverty eradication strategy, the government argues that the incidence of witchcraft is closely associated with poverty and therefore poverty reduction will reduce the incidence of witchcraft. Despite such correlation the Government has yet to formulate an explicit strategy for dealing with witchcraft, relying like other governments in the region on legal instruments dating to the colonial period in attempting to limit the social consequences of the phenomenon, an approach fraught with limitations and dilemmas. Legislating against the practice of witchcraft raises the problem of evidence which is intriguing in legal parlance. On the other hand legislation against accusing others of witchcraft provokes criticism that the state protects witches, rather than the victims of witchcraft.

Current instruments in Tanzania against witchcraft focus solely on the law as the means of controlling witchcraft beliefs and practices, rather than on a wider portfolio of responses which could potentially address their negative social impacts. These impacts are generally not a result of witchcraft beliefs, but of the institutional context in which accusations of witchcraft become socially legitimated and which enable accusations to lead to negative outcomes for certain social categories. As pointed above, the legislation on witchcraft has gone through intermittently amendments to cater for changed circumstances such as interpretation, penalties, coverage and jurisdiction of courts and administrators. A closer look at these legislations reveals a number of short-comings that have impinged on their implementation and achievement of the envisaged objectives. The Witchcraft Act is just as controversial as the subject it is intended to address. Detailed discussion on how this legal relic of our colonial past and its jargoned language has continued to be the main juridical instrument dealing with witchcraft but fail to describe the crime properly is presented in this

study. The 2002 revision to the ordinance alters the severity of the punishment but leave the ambiguity about occult power (etc...) intact.

There are conceptual and definitional inadequacies of the witchcraft law and apparently this applies also to the other East African counties. For example it pointedly denies the existence of the very subject matter of the crime to be controlled by referring to the “so-called” craft (cf. Exercise of any purported occult power and the purported possession of any occult knowledge). The law defines witchcraft in terms of the occult and exercise of power rather than the effects. In the same vein:

“Instrument of witchcraft” are meant to be “anything which is used or intended to be used or is commonly used, or which is represented or generally believed to possess the power, to prevent or delay any person from doing any act which he may lawfully do, or to compel any person to do any act which he may lawfully refrain from doing, or to discover the person guilty of any alleged crime or other act of which complainant is made, or to cause death, injury or disease to any person or damage to any property, or to put any person in fear, or by supernatural means to produce any natural phenomenon, and includes charms and medicines commonly used for any of the purposes aforesaid”.

A vague law will be useless as it lacks in precision and does not give sufficient guidance for legal arguments.

In summary the following limitations are inherent in the prevailing witchcraft act: 1) Practical and popular definitions of witchcraft harm usually differ from the formal state legal definition of witchcraft. 2) Current penalties for practicing witchcraft are low, 7 years plus 150, 000 fine. 3) The law has preceded any policy formulation on witchcraft, which is the wrong order. Instead the law should serve policy. 4) The vocabulary of witchcraft gives it a linguistic reality as a category with which people think. It cannot simply disappear. 5) The normal system of justice does not deal with witchcraft problems and in its place mob justice fills the gap. 6) Poverty and hopelessness may be important drivers of witchcraft. 7) Limited and difficult choices available to authorities on how to deal with the problem: denying or accepting reality of such beliefs-law provides for deportation of witches but also contrary to constitution and creation of witches villages untenable.

CONCLUSION: PROSECUTION VS. EDUCATION

In its 2008 human rights report, the Tanzania Legal and Human Rights Centre (2009) concludes that belief in witchcraft in the country is reinforced and legitimized by the existence of the Witchcraft Act which is a reflection of the societal perception that witchcraft is undesirable and it is necessary to punish those who practice witchcraft. It goes on to point out that ironically, most actions com-

commenced under this Act have been initiated against a person who has accused another person of practicing witchcraft, rather than a person being charged with the practice of witchcraft. It concludes that the Witchcraft Act is an outdated act that should be repealed and that the continued existence of the Act only serves to reinforce beliefs in witchcraft. It recommends that the government should educate people about the fallacy of believing in witchcraft and persecuting people on suspicions of witchcraft. Indeed Reynolds (1963:165) has long advised that witchcraft, like belief in religion or racism, "...may not be eradicated by the stroke of the pen or fortuitous prosecutions...the cure, if this is appropriate expression, is the removal of ignorance by introducing a scientific view of the world through educating the masses".

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