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**Coming Down the Mountain**  
**A History of Land Use Change in Kilimanjaro, ca. 1920 to 2000s**

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**DECLARATION**

This thesis is submitted to the University of Warwick in application for the award of a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD). It is an original research work by the author and has not at any point before and will never in the future be submitted anywhere for a similar purpose. As I am the author and owner of the copyright in the thesis, I have the authority to make this agreement. Reproduction of any part of this thesis for teaching or in academic or other forms of publication may be made subject to the normal limitations on the use of copyrighted materials and to the proper and full acknowledgement of its source.

## **ABSTRACT**

Studies on land use change have attracted relatively less attention from historians compared to other disciplines like human geography and anthropology. A history of land use change in Kilimanjaro is a study of how different actors interacted and shaped the whole process of land use on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro between 1920s and 2000s. It shows that land use change involved a myriad of complex interrelations that cut across a number of actors. The actors were government policies and plans, uses of a particular land, the social, economic and political construction and affiliation to a landscape. This study uses the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro to show how the Chagga have interacted with the challenges of population increase and market economy that had impact on land availability and use. It argues that while government plans were vital in determining land use, they were not enough to give directions towards particular forms and styles of land uses, it remained to be negotiated with other factors just mentioned above. Also the study shows that it is not always the case that only population pressure and economic motives influence the way people interact with their environment but a combination of population pressure, economic motives and social cultural motives.

By using documentary sources, oral histories and contemporary sources such as satellite imagery reading and interpretation, this study concludes that access to land use was diverse and varied across and within similar environments in the whole period of study from 1920s to 2000s. The variation resulted from the nature of the societies themselves, their environments and how authorities tended to regulate access and use. The thesis shows near the end that adaptation and resilience to both social-cultural, economic motives and pressures of societies moving from one area to another with somehow different characteristics was entwined in the challenges of struggling to re-establish in new environments and the social-cultural connections to land and resources. It was easier for the Chagga to maintain strong cultural ties with the highland but not to transfer knowledge and skills of highland cultivation, food habit and livestock domestication to the lowland. The reasons behind this were based on the presence of some relatives, social-cultural values and properties in terms of banana fields and houses on the highlands that could not be moved to the lowlands. The question of what type of economic activities and social interactions were to be established on the lowlands was determined by the suitability of the lowland and not necessarily the skills from the highland. For instance, cultivation of perennial crops could not be possible because the lowlands received seasonal rainfall and had no access to reliable irrigation furrows like the highlands.

**ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

ARC	Arusha Records Centre (TNA branch in Arusha)
BRALUP	Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning (UDSM)
CC	Chagga Council
CCU	Chagga Citizens Union
CDP	Chagga Democratic Party
CNA	Chagga Native Authority
CO	Colonial Office
Col(s).	Column(s)
CPP	Chagga Progressive Party
DC	District Commissioner
DO	District Officer
EAF	East Africana Collection (University of Dar es salaam research collection section)
ERB	Economic Research Bureau (at UDSM)
FCO	Foreign Colonial Office
FOS	Albert Fosbrooke Collection (EAF, UDSM)
GBP	Great Britain Pound
GRET	Groupe de Recherche et d'échanges Technologies
HC	United Kingdom Parliament, House of Commons
HMFR	Half Mile Forest Reserve
IASC	International Association for the Study of the Commons
IFRA	Institut François Recherché en Afrique
IRA	Institute of Resource Assessment (UDSM)
KCCU	Kilimanjaro Chagga Citizens Union
KFR	Kilimanjaro Forest Reserve
KJD	Kajiado District
KNA	Kenya National Archive
KNCU	Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union
KOT	Kilimanjaro Oral Text
KU	Kilimanjaro Union
LARRI	Land Rights Research and Resources Institute (also HAKIARDHI)

LUCID	Land use Change Impacts and Dynamics
MA	Master of Art
MRC	Mbeya Records Centre (TNA branch in Mbeya)
NA	Native Authority
NAFCO	National Food and Agricultural Corporation
NAFR	Native Authority Forest Reserve
NARCO	The National Ranch Cooperation
NCB	Native Coffee Board
NCU	Native Cooperative Union
PC	Provincial Commissioner
PELUM	Participatory Ecological Land Use Management – Tanzania
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
TNA	Tanzania National Archives
TNR	Tanganyika/Tanzania Notes and Records
TPC	Tanganyika Panting Company
TTA	Taveta
U.N.O	United Nations Organisation
UDSM	University of Dar es salaam
UKNA	United Kingdom National Archives (The National Archives, Kew London)
URT	United Republic of Tanzania

**DEDICATION**

My lovely daughter  
Elisie

You endured a lot to allow  
Me complete this study

It adds immeasurably to my unconditional love to you.

## Chapter One

### **Introduction: Environmental History and African History**

For a long time the population of Tanzania has been growing and cultivators have been spreading out over the country to occupy new land. Many parts of the country have been settled only quite recently. It is possible, therefore, to take a small area and ask the people when they or their ancestors moved into it, and why. Another question to ask is whether the people had to change their agriculture when they came to the new area perhaps adopting new crops or new methods of cultivation.<sup>1</sup>

This comment, from one of the most eminent historians of Tanzania, John Iliffe was made more than four decades ago. It raises important questions for the study of African environments and peoples. Iliffe suggests that the settlement and migration patterns of African populations need to be studied with a clear focus on production systems and population dynamics as driving forces for understanding mobility and innovation in different environments. Since Iliffe's pioneering work, students of African history increasingly aware of the dynamics of change in rural societies have conducted studies that take up the challenge of understanding shifting patterns of settlement and resettlement. Eight years later, Iliffe himself produced what stands as the most comprehensive history of Tanganyika, under the title *A Modern History of Tanganyika*.<sup>2</sup> In this work, Iliffe dealt with questions of rural transformation, setting these issues within a broadly-based social and economic history, and showing other historians how an environmental perspective on rural change in Africa can be

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<sup>1</sup> John Iliffe, *Agricultural Change in Modern Tanganyika: An Outline History*

<sup>2</sup> John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979).

integrated to provide a meaningful and compressive account of production and exchange.<sup>3</sup> The present study is not a direct response to Iliffe's call for a clearer understanding of settlement histories, but it does follow Iliffe in adopting a broad framework to examine histories of settlement, mobility, population change, production and colonial policies on land use changes in a rural environment. The specific case to be considered is northeastern Tanzania with emphasis on the slopes of mount Kilimanjaro. The slopes of Kilimanjaro have had some long histories of settlement thus making a study to understand land use dynamics over a period of time plausible.<sup>4</sup>

### 1.1 The Argument

This study examines the social and economic processes that have shaped the history of land use in Kilimanjaro in the colonial and postcolonial periods. It is specifically focused on the changing patterns of settlement and land use on the highlands and lowlands of a fertile and highly populated mount Kilimanjaro in northeastern Tanzania. It further examines the mobility of people from the highland to the lowland as an attempt to expand into new frontiers that in the end influenced change in various aspects of the society and production systems both on the highlands and lowlands. There was change in the agricultural systems, social relations and food preferences because on the lowlands the Chagga had to interact in an increased scale with pastoralist Maasai and had to produce crops suitable for the lowland

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<sup>3</sup> Other works by Ilife that however did not address the questions he raised in 1971 include, John Iliffe, *The Emergence of African Capitalism* (Basingtoke: Macmillan Press 1983), 114pp, John Iliffe, *The African Poor* (New York: Cambridge University Press 1987), 387pp, John Iliffe, *Africans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995), 323pp (reprinted 2000 & 2007), 386pp, and John Ilffe, *East African Doctors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998) (reprinted, 2002), 336pp.

<sup>4</sup> A detailed summary of the debates about Bantu expansion into East Africa can be found in Felix Chami, *The Unity of African Ancient History 3000 BC to AD 500* (Dar es Salaam: E & D Ltd 2006), 260pp.

environment. The movement to the lowlands also had impacts on the patterns of resource use, preservation, conservation, sustainability and management.

This study details how people accommodated change of settlement and production systems from that based on the highland to that based on the new environments of the lowlands. The type of social, economic and environmental adaptations had both meanings and impacts on the highland and lowland land use systems. Choice of the crops to be grown depended on the suitability of the environment. While the highland favoured banana farming and consumption, moving to the lowlands required adjustment on the choice of crops to be grown and food habits to be adapted. It was not a difficult thing to adapt the lowland maize farming system on the lowlands of Kilimanjaro because it was grown for years before as a seasonal crop but was not mainly for food. What changed from the 1950s was the establishment of permanent settlement and the production of maize primarily for food and not for the market as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This study links all these adjustments, mobility of people and crop preferences with their environmental impacts on the lowlands. It examines how agricultural and herding communities came to negotiate land use for agriculture and pasture and how such combined access to land use on the lowlands brought environmental impacts.

This study foregrounds social history and cultural factors, reflecting the strong cultural dynamics on the mountain land use systems. Land acquisition, ownership and use related closely to the social and cultural functions and these had greater influence in determining people's response to resettlement and its challenges. It was these factors that influenced people not to move into government coordinated settlements in the lowlands by 1940s but again, the same forces gave impetus for rapid movement to the lowlands starting from the 1950s and gaining momentum by

the 1970s. Land was everything a person could own in Kilimanjaro. It was a social as well as an economic space at the same time. Living on the mountain and later moving to the lowlands implied a necessity of maintaining both the socio-cultural and economic functions of land in the old and new settlements. Economic wise, enterprising Chagga people preferred the highland because it offered coffee farming that was an important cash crop on the slopes. Contrasted with the lowlands, the highlands had all the advantages needed by the Chagga people while the lowlands could only provide settlement and maize farming options.

The main argument of this study is that while we try to understand the economic motives for land use change, it is also opportune time to put equal weight in trying to understand the social and cultural motives for land use change. There might be a slight but yet important margin to understand that sometimes economic forces are secondary drivers for land use change in some societies especially when it comes to moving into new frontiers and when the old frontiers provided a lot of social and economic incentives altogether.<sup>5</sup> Throughout this study, it will be seen

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<sup>5</sup> There are several studies that link land use change only with economic motives and population growth. Some of these are P. J. M. Bailey, 'The Changing Economy of the Chagga Cultivators of Marangu, Kilimanjaro', *Geography* 53, No. 2 (1968), pp. 163 – 165, Paul S. Maro, 'Land use and Population Change: The Kilimanjaro Experience', in James E. Kocher (ed), *Social and Economic Development and Population Change in Tanzania* (University of Dar es Salaam: Research Paper No.36, Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning 1975), pp. 81 – 82, Paul S. Maro, 'Agricultural Land Management under Population Pressure: The Kilimanjaro Experience, Tanzania', *Mountain Research Development* 8, No. 4 (1988), pp. 280 – 281, Danstan Lucas Mallya, 'Population and Land Use Changes in Tanzania: A Case of Hai District' (University of Dar es Salaam: MA Dissertation 1996), pp.vi – vii, 22, Deborah Fahy Bryceson, 'Introduction: Deagrarianisation in Sub-Saharan Africa; Acknowledging the Inevitable', in Deborah Fahy Bryceson and Vali Jamal (eds), *Farewell to Farms: Deagrarianisation and Employment in Africa* (Leiden: African Studies Centre Research Series 1997/10), pp. 3 – 16, Ludger Wimmelbücker, 'Production and Living Conditions: The Kilimanjaro Region, c.1800 – 1920' (University of Hamburg: PhD Thesis 1999), pp.13 – 43, Sanna Ojalammii, 'Contested Lands: Land Disputes in Semi-Arid Parts of Northern Tanzania: Case

that, despite the economic advantages that prevailed on the slopes of the mountain, the highland and lowlands remained two sides of a coin that that never met. This was a result of how the Chagga perceived the differences and similarities embodied in the two landscapes. Government interventions during the colonial and postcolonial periods could do less to change the Chagga constructions of their environments.<sup>6</sup> From 1950 and 1960s the Chagga started massively to establish settlements on the lowlands without resorting to strong force and support from the government which shows that there were change of perceptions about the lowland environment that was pushed by social and economic motives. Mobility from the highland to the lowland in the last decade of colonial rule and in the postcolonial period was influenced by social requirements on the mountain in addition to economic motives that prevailed on the slopes since 1930s.

## 1.2 Situating the Study

African environmental history started in the last four decades by Africanist historians developing interest in the combined historical and ecological understanding of African past. One of the breakthroughs in African environmental history in a comprehensive piece was James McCann's *Green Land, Brown Land, Black Land* that present a synthesis on what he calls the misreading of African landscapes in the past two hundred years. The book is a comprehensive collection of case studies that demonstrate Africa's land use trajectories in the last two centuries. The argument of the book is that what existed in the past and what we can probably see in the twenty-

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Studies of the Loliondo and Sale Divisions in the Ngorongoro District' (University of Helsinki: Academic Dissertation), p. v.

<sup>6</sup> See also how peasants in Mozambique used their common knowledge and experience to respond to government and expatriate directives on how to use their land commercially by producing cotton. Allen Isaacman, 'Historical Amnesia, or the Logic of Capital Accumulation: Cotton Production in Colonial and Postcolonial Mozambique', *Environment and Planning Society and Space* 15, No. 757 (1997), pp.758.

first century on African environments have been shaped by human activities and dispels the proposition that at some point the environments of Africa were untouched Eden gardens. This view was a strong critique to the colonial environmental perceptions and the twenty-first century environmentalism campaigns of an Africa in environmental crisis, Africa in decline of its rural and urban landscapes that all resulted into treating herding and cultivation as threats to the sustainability of African environments.<sup>7</sup> Its publication resulted from the developments of research interests in understanding local peoples agency in shaping their environments and taking the opportunities from it. Some of the works published before McCann's book and which McCann relied on to some extent include, James Fairhead and Melissa Leach *Misreading the African Landscape* and Michael Mortimer, Mary Tiffen and Francis Gichuki *More People Less Erosion* hypothesis.<sup>8</sup> While Fairhead and Leach dealt with deconstructing the degradation narrative by using smallholder farmers in central Guinea, Mortimer, Tiffen and Gichuki used demographic change to argue against the degradation narrative posed by population growth in Machakosi Kenya.<sup>9</sup> Not only that, McCann's interest in agricultural and environmental histories of Africa and of course, his earlier publication of *People of the Plow* that examines the evolution and dynamic development of agricultural land uses in Ethiopia between 1880 and 1990 were significant epitomes in the production of his *Green land*. *Green Land* borrowed lots of materials and style from *People of the Plow* and more pivotal

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<sup>7</sup> James McCann, *Green Land, Brown Land, Black Land: An Environmental History of Africa, 1800-1990* (Portsmouth: Heinemann 1999), pp. 1 – 6.

<sup>8</sup> James Fairhead and Melissa Leach, *Misreading the African Landscape: Society and Ecology in a Forest Savanna Mosaic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), pp. 1 – 23, Michael Mortimer, Mary Tiffen and Francis Gichuki, *More People Less Erosion: Environmental Recovery in Kenya* (London: Wiley and Sons 1993).

<sup>9</sup> Mortimer, Tiffen and Gichuki, *More People Less Erosion*,

was the time span of the book that also was 1800 to 1990.<sup>10</sup> These studies in general are important to understand that there are always possibilities of misrepresentations of landscape narratives. Misrepresentations can result from but not limited to, factual and hypothetical generalisations or even the actual misreading of the physical landscapes that we deal with. Dealing with land use histories requires open minds in order to understand specific conditions that gave rise to specific land uses and prevented the others.

Apart from the general overtones in African environmental history there have been a considerable development of the discipline in the East African context. The ecological approach in East African history was first employed by a political scientist Helge Kjekshus in his seminal work on human nature relationship *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History: Case of Tanganyika, 1850-1950*, first published in 1977. His arguments covered two distinctive periods in the history of East Africa marked by noticeable ecological shifts based on 'harmonisation' and 'victimisation' of the people of East Africa with their immediate environments, ideas which came to be reviewed in later works by James McCann, Juhan Koponen, Isaria Kimambo, Gregory Maddox and James Giblin.<sup>11</sup> He viewed the pre-colonial period as a nice one where people lived in harmony with nature on one side and on the other side, he indicated, such relations were derailed after the onset of colonialism where people fell victims of their environments.<sup>12</sup> Needless to

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<sup>10</sup> See James C. McCann, *People of the Plow: An Agricultural History of Ethiopia, 1800 – 1900* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press 1995), pp. 3 - 20

<sup>11</sup> McCann, *Green Land* and James Giblin, Gregory Maddox and Isaria Kimambo (eds), *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania* (Oxford: James Currey 1996). The essays in this book are revisionist in outlook as they try to propose a more subtle way of looking at how East African peoples interacted with their environments

<sup>12</sup> Kjekshus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History: The Case of Tanganyika, 1850 – 1950* (London: James Currey 1996).

say, his work diverged from political centralisation as a marker of historical change and continuities into a growing plethora of ecological and environmental approaches in studying African history. Its focus came to be ecology and people. But it continued airing nationalist sentiments, by showing African initiatives in controlling their environments and less attention was paid as to how they failed in these initiatives. The importance of this volume in the study of African environments is indicated in the way it is cited in many publications that appeared from the 1980s onwards. Helge Kjekshus sparked interest and encouraged historians to rethink the way they approached African history.

Debates as to whether Africa had either a glorious past or was in a mess appeared in many studies of environmental history from the 1970s onwards.<sup>13</sup> It is indicated in such debates that there is no way we can generalize African past. Africans could control their environments in some cases, and nonetheless, they suffered from it because of limited capabilities in dealing with some environmental variables. Accordingly, such a past was neither good nor bad but a dynamic one combining both features in dissimilar environments. Different societies in East Africa devised different ways to deal with the challenges posed to them by their environments and such initiatives were specific and particular towards solving a practical problem. For example, John Sutton demonstrates with great energy how the people who lived in Engaruka dry lands in Tanzania used irrigation technology to facilitate cultivation 600 years ago in order to feed a large number of people in the area. These people could otherwise be victims of the dry environments. Irrigation furrows were constructed skilfully in a way that reduced soil erosion and at the same

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<sup>13</sup> See James Leonard Giblin and Gregory Maddox, 'Introduction', in James Giblin, Gregory Maddox and Isaria Kimambo (eds), *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania* (Oxford: James Currey 1996), pp. 1 – 12.

time maintained soil fertility to facilitate crop growing. Irrigation furrows and the cultivation of drought resistant crops like sorghum enabled people to live in a dry land environment that did not favour rain fed agriculture.<sup>14</sup> The practical problem of shortage of rainfall for crop growing in this area therefore was solved by irrigation. Irrigation was a necessity for livelihoods of people to continue. Sutton puts it clear that ‘with the spread and increasing variation of crops and domestic animals, cultivators and herdsman learnt by experience what would fail in particular environments’.<sup>15</sup>

Environmental characteristics were key factors in determining how societies interacted with their land and resources and influenced evolution of some complex relations between the environment and human activities. The type of land use practised does not necessarily indicate the differences in scientific and technological mastery of the environment but indicate the ability to devise mechanisms to control specific challenges.<sup>16</sup> The existence of the highland and lowland landscapes in Kilimanjaro was important to tell a story of land use preference and avoidance of some areas because of the presence or absence of some conditions that were perceived important for rural livelihoods. Detailed studies in Kilimanjaro has indicated that among other factors, the highland was preferred because it allowed irrigation agriculture as opposed to the lowlands that depended entirely on rain fed

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<sup>14</sup> John Sutton, *A Thousand Years of East Africa* (Nairobi: British Institute in Eastern Africa 1990), pp. 33 – 34.

<sup>15</sup> John Sutton, ‘The Settlement of East Africa’, in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds), *Zamani: A Survey of East African History* (Dar es Salaam: East Africa Publishing House 1969), p. 71.

<sup>16</sup> J. E. G. Sutton, ‘Towards a History of Cultivating the Fields’, *Azania* 24 (1989), pp. 98 – 112.

agriculture that was not reliable and forthcoming.<sup>17</sup> The only thread that is missing in the literature on irrigation in Kilimanjaro is the lack of detailed accounts of what else apart from presence or absence of irrigation potentialities influenced settlement on the highland and prevented expansion to the lowlands.

Generally, the study of environmental history in East Africa has since the 1970s been characterized by studying how East African societies have shaped and been shaped by the wider and specific environmental forces that operate locally or as connected to global networks.<sup>18</sup> Three major themes can be summarised in these studies. Firstly, there have been arguments and counter arguments on the encounters of African societies in the pre-colonial period divided between those looking the period as having African lives in harmony with nature and those looking at it as a period of decline. Secondly, local knowledge and agency in shaping environmental change, continuities and policy formulations by government authorities has also been a preoccupation of scholars in the past decades. The main concern here has been to understand the role of local knowledge in dealing with the challenges of production systems, disease control and so on. Finally, a large number of scholars have dealt with conflicts of the pre-colonial construction of the environment and the imposed

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<sup>17</sup> Some readings on irrigation in Kilimanjaro include, Alison Grove, 'Water Use by the Chagga on Kilimanjaro', *African Affairs* 92, No. 368 (1993), pp. 431 – 438, Mary Gillingham, 'Gaining Access to Water: Formal and Informal Rules of Indigenous Irrigation Management on Mount Kilimanjaro, Tanzania', *Natural Resources Journal* 39 (1999), pp. 419 – 425, Mattias Tagseth, 'The Expansion of Traditional Irrigation in Kilimanjaro, Tanzania', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, No. 3 (2008), pp. 461 – 462.

<sup>18</sup> See for example the discussion by Thomas Håkanson, 'Regional Political Ecology and Intensive Cultivation in Pre-Colonial South Pare, Tanzania', *The Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, No. 3 (2008), pp.439 – 445 and Gen Ueda 'Migration and Inter-village Livelihood Relationships Around Mount Meru Tanzania: An Essay on Social Networks and the Livelihood in the Sedentary Rural Society', *Science Reports of Tohoku University, 7<sup>th</sup> Series* 50, No.1 (2000), pp.1 – 2.

wisdoms of the colonial and post-colonial periods. The important aspect of environmental history in the last three decades has been painting up a new picture of what we understood earlier about the human-nature relationship.

In all these developments, environmental historians are of the opinion that pre-colonial African past experienced social, economic and political dynamics, which were mediated by their environments. It is nevertheless impossible to have a universal interpretation of such a past. Environmental historians of Africa have had contested and mediated debates on whether or not Africans' knowledge of their environments based on experience was useful to control their environments.<sup>19</sup> Caution needs to be taken when dealing with local knowledge. Notwithstanding the fact that it presents the past from within, through the eyes of the actors, it should not be presented as a fact by itself. There is a danger of taking history off track when local knowledge is presented unquestionably. For example, Michele Wagner presents an otherwise convincing narrative that focuses on environmental consciousness. The main problem with Wagner's analysis is placing the whole weight on and likewise presenting the Baha's articulation of their environments as facts by themselves.<sup>20</sup> These may end up being life histories that need triangulation with other sources to produce a concrete history of a particular society.

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<sup>19</sup> Christopher Conte, *Highland Sanctuary: Environmental History in the Tanzania's Usambara Mountains* (Athens: Ohio University Press 2004), pp. 1 – 16. Conte examines networks between the highlands and lowlands in east and west Usambara., Helge Kjekshus, *Ecology Control*, pp. 4 – 24, Shane Doyle, *Crisis and Decline in Bunyoro: Population and Environment in Western Uganda, 1860 – 1955* (Oxford: James Currey 2006), pp. 4 – 5, James L. Giblin, 'The Pre-colonial Politics of Disease Control in the Lowlands of Northeastern Tanzania' in Giblin, Kimambo and Maddox (eds), *Custodians of the Land*, pp. 127 – 148.

<sup>20</sup> Michele Wagner, 'Environment, Community and History 'Nature in the Mind' in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Buha, Tanzania', in James Giblin, Isaria Kimambo and Gregory Maddox (eds), *Custodians of the Land*, pp. 175 – 195.

Studies from different parts of East Africa have revealed that pre-colonial East African societies were not always at the mercy of their environments in their close proximities. Socio-economic and political relations that were established were the axis of human-environment interactions in some forms of sustained ways.<sup>21</sup> It is important to note that such patronage relations did not create a pre-colonial paradise in East Africa. There were incidences that fell out of control and caused social distress like famines, diseases, and droughts.<sup>22</sup> Contested discussions rose from the 1970s as to whether such relations warped on the onset of colonial rule and caused ecological collapse or not.<sup>23</sup> Koponen emphasizes that the pre-colonial period up to 1890s experienced problems such as wars, pestilence and famines, which reduced population until the colonial period when population started to stabilize again.<sup>24</sup> While population stabilised during the colonial period in Tanganyika, it was the reverse among the Banyoro people of Uganda. They suffered a distressing consequence of the introduction of colonial rule. Population decline in colonial Banyoro resulted from decline of environmental control and the crisis in the

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<sup>21</sup> Giblin, 'The Pre-colonial Politics', pp. 135 – 141, Doyle, *Crisis and Decline*, pp. 5, James Giblin, 'East Coast Fever in Social-Historical Context: A Case Study from Tanzania', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 23, No. 3 (1990), pp. 403 – 417, David Anderson, *Eroding the Commons: The Politics of Ecology in Baringo, Kenya 1890 – 1963* (Oxford: James Currey 2002), pp. 24 – 27.

<sup>22</sup> Juhani Koponen, 'Population: A Dependent Variable', in Giblin, Kimambo and Maddox, *Custodians of the Land*, pp. 21 – 22, Kjekshus, *Ecology Control*, pp. 126 – 145, Richard Waller, 'Ecology, Migration, and Expansion in East Africa', *African Affairs* 84, No. 336, (1985), pp. 347 – 354.

<sup>23</sup> See for example, Doyle, *Crisis and Decline*, p. 61, Kjekshus, *Ecology Control*, pp. 21 – 24, 126 – 145, Juhani Koponen, 'War, Famine, and Pestilence in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: A Case for A Heightened Mortality', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 21, No. 4 (1988), pp. 637 – 638.

<sup>24</sup> Koponen, 'War, Famine and Pestilence'.

livestock economy. Without stable livestock economy, food security, fertility rates and stability of population were great challenges.<sup>25</sup>

One of the issues that led to a lesser control of the environment during the colonial period was the introduction of new forms of production, which coincided with the paralysis of the rural subsistence economies or its restructuring to cope with the changes brought up by money economies. David Anderson and David Throup show how land appropriation coupled with demographic increase were responsible for the adjustment of traditional farming methods in colonial Kenya.<sup>26</sup> Traditional farming could not cope with the circumstances created by capital invested in production for the market and the competition of the product of labour in subsidizing families and at the same time being able to provide for the requirements of colonial governments in terms of paying tax or supplying labour in estate farms. In similar conditions of deflation of the rural economies in other areas, famines, malnutrition-related diseases and social collapse became common.<sup>27</sup> These are the standpoints of some historians who believe in a marked shift of people-nature relations during the colonial period.

Another interesting story of the adjustments made due to the new economic imperatives of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was in the Arusha and Meru agro-pastoral societies. After colonial conquest, the Arusha and Meru lands were taken for settlers' use while the Arusha and Meru had to turn into wage labour. For them wage labour was a

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<sup>25</sup> Doyle, *Crisis and Decline*, pp. 1 – 10.

<sup>26</sup> David Anderson and David Throup, 'Africans and Agricultural Production in Colonial Kenya: The Myths of the War as a Watershed', *Journal of African History* 26, No. 4 (1985), p. 343.

<sup>27</sup> Thaddeus Sunseri, *Vilimani: Labour Migration and Rural Change in Early Colonial Tanzania* (Portsmouth: Heinemann 2002), pp. 77 – 80, Meredith Turshen, *The Political Ecology of Disease in Tanzania* (Rutgers: Rutgers University Press 1984), p. 118.

temporal struggle to go back to their old practices of owning land and livestock for themselves. It was used to buy animals and return to cultivation, but this time expanding to areas formerly not preferred as their nice areas were under colonial production.<sup>28</sup> Here we understand that they were forced to adjust in order to cope with new circumstances introduced in their environments, that of money economy. But as more land was taken for colonial farming and ranching, the Meru became so furious and aggressive against the colonial government and made a remarkable protest that involved sending petitions to the United Nations, Trusteeship Council to challenge land use arrangements that were implemented on the slopes of mount Meru up to 1950s.<sup>29</sup> The Meru Land Case was a lesson to the British government who were required by the United Nations to undergo reforms on their land use policies in favour of African population in the territory and harness the diverse resource for the development of Tanganyika.<sup>30</sup>

Based on the pre-colonial knowledge on the construction of East African landscapes and land use practices, conflicts during the colonial and post-colonial periods over resource, use, control and management between government authorities and the local people could not be unexpected. Local knowledge gained in the pre-colonial period provided the means of dealing with environmental occurrences that considerably contradicted with the imposed wisdoms generated from western

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<sup>28</sup> Thomas Spear, 'Struggles for Land: The Political and Moral Economies of Land on Mount Meru' in Giblin, Kimambo and Maddox (eds), *Custodians of the Land*, pp. 218 – 219.

<sup>29</sup> There were many petitions submitted by the Meru people to the UNO. Some included T/PET.02/1.1: Petition from the Meru Citizens Union (1954) and T/PET.2/164: Petition of the Meru Citizens Union (1954).

<sup>30</sup> It is possible to find out how UNO put pressure on the British Colonial government to make reforms on land use. United Nations, *Report of the Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of Tanganyika under British Administration* (1948), pp. 71 – 79.

sciences during the colonial period. The assumptions of the colonial authorities that the 19<sup>th</sup> century East Africa was a pristine environment brought about ways of checking its destruction through restricting access of the local people. The subsequent measures taken were based on the notions of degradation narratives that were based on western environmental sciences.<sup>31</sup> Degradation narratives viewed Africans as threats to the sustainable use of resources, a hypothesis that was based on miscalculated assumptions.

Such perceptions brought strong campaigns on what David Anderson calls the ‘Depression Dust Bowl’ of 1930s in British East Africa. He points out how the American dust bowl of 1930s raised alarm in British colonies in East Africa after the Second World War.<sup>32</sup> This period was characterised by measures to ensure the preservation and protection of resources from destructions. Campaigns were on conservation mainly through control of soil erosion that threatened most parts of British Africa.<sup>33</sup> It is not the purpose here to provide a detailed discussion of what really happened during the period, but only to try to understand the divergences of environmental construction between local perceptions and colonial authorities. This understanding is important as it tells why some land use types became more common than others in the colonies. Also, it lays a base to understand how East African societies surfaced despite the newly imposed definitions of resources and its means of conservation or preservation in this period. The development of multidisciplinary

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<sup>31</sup> McCann, *Green Land, Brown Land, Black Land*, pp. 74 – 75.

<sup>32</sup> For the American dust bowl read, Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1982).

<sup>33</sup> David Anderson, ‘Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography, and Drought: The Colonial State and soil Conservation in East Africa During the 1930s’, *African Affairs* 83, No. 332 (1984), pp. 324 – 330, Richard Waller, ‘‘Clean’’ and ‘‘Dirty’’: Cattle Disease and Control Policy in Colonial Kenya, 1900 – 40’, *Journal of African History* 45, No. 1 (2004), pp. 47 – 48.

approaches has further challenged our previous assumptions of African environments and need shedding new light on. Some environmental problems that were associated with expansion of human activities have been recently proven to have been there even before human population and activities became intense.<sup>34</sup> Probably, this should serve as a wake up call to review most of our past understanding of African land uses and the ways through which recovery came about to the extent that early observers found no doubt that pristine landscapes existed in many parts of African environments.

At independence, East African societies experienced a little change on the way they could interact with their resources. While they were given free access to areas formerly restricted during the colonial period, protection in some areas increased and the nature of impacts of land use changed. Alienation of pastoral and arable lands in favour of wildlife and forest reserves continued and was done rapidly in the name of ‘protecting wildlife’ against careless herders and cultivators.<sup>35</sup> Legal enactments were made and continue to be made to fortify areas in favour of the aforementioned advantages. In many occasions, these developments were done without negotiations with people living surrounding the parks. The government in Tanzania alienated some land for the establishment of national parks and at the same time it conceived conservationist projects even in areas with strong opposition from local communities. It is not always the case that government plans will fail because

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<sup>34</sup> Refer to the case of Baringo settlement and human activities, in David Anderson, ‘The Beginning of Time? Evidence for Catastrophic Drought in Baringo in the Early Nineteenth Century’, *Journal of East African Studies* 10, No. 1 (2016), pp. 45 – 66.

<sup>35</sup> Dan Brockington, *Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania* (Oxford: James Currey 2002), pp. 2 – 3. The assumptions which were brought forth to legalize alienation and creation of a fortress conservation in Mkomazi were nothing but a continuation of the colonial views on the local people.

of lack of agreement with local communities. Sometimes the projects are implemented by force.<sup>36</sup>

The impact of post-colonial state policies, definitions and implementation of conservation and preservation projects is important to knowing the adjustments made by the affected populations and the subsequent impacts such adjustments may have posed on the environment. In all areas where evictions were preferred in the name of conservation, the evicted victims had to find the means to sustain their livelihoods. Such 'means' necessitated a redefinition of existing land uses. In many instances the redefinition of land use and movement from one place to another in search of potential areas for cultivation and livestock has tended, more generally, to cause discontents among users. In most cases, this has been a source of the endless conflicts between pastoral and agricultural societies on one hand and people with their government authorities on the other.

More specific to Kilimanjaro there exists some studies that relate human development with their surrounding environments. The first comprehensive analysis of the Chagga society was an anthropological study by Charles Dundas entitled *Kilimanjaro and its People* that was first published in 1924. The book provides the social, political and economic organisations of the Chagga people during the precolonial and colonial periods. Although, its usefulness has been revealed in the way subsequent publications in the area have used it, it does not stand as an academic monograph as it entirely based on observations recorded through experience of working with the Chagga and discussions with older members of the

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<sup>36</sup> Dan Brockington, 'Community Conservation, Inequality and Injustice: Myths of Power in Protected Area Management', *Conservation and Society* 2, No. 2 (2004), pp. 411 – 432. Brockington examines the failure of what he calls the 'Principal of local support'.

society. Several indications are found in the book that show it was a descriptive attempt of the Chagga people, but let us just use one example that which Dundas says ‘we came on a belt of coffee plantations beyond which we enter the Chagga country at about 4,000 feet above sea-level’.<sup>37</sup> He produced this book in a descriptive style that helps subsequent researchers in the region as they try to understand the Chagga society in the pre-colonial and colonial periods.

Subsequent works on Kilimanjaro included Kathleen Stahl’s *A History of the Chagga*, Sally Falk Moore *Social Facts and Fabrications*, Ludger Wimmelbucker *Productions and Living Conditions* and recently Robert Munson *The Nature of Christianity in Northeastern Tanzania*. These are not compressive lists on the historiography of Kilimanjaro but they have been picked because they have relevance to the current study. Stahl’s work was a commissioned history book by the Chagga themselves and was expected to provide the first detailed account of the history of the Chagga people but ended up providing some backdrop accounts in very general terms that did not stand the pressure of time. *Social Facts and Fabrications* is the most reliable source on the history of Kilimanjaro. Its use of various sources enabled the author to provide a detailed anthropological account of the people of Kilimanjaro by focusing on the political spectre as the centre of the entire analysis. The discussion in this book goes back and forth to argue and show how the political sphere evolved and dictated the entire relations between political centralisations and resource use in Kilimanjaro. Its approach can suitably be applied in the study of politically centralised societies like what was the case for Kilimanjaro but can rarely be used to study decentralised societies.

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<sup>37</sup> Charles Dundas, *Kilimanjaro and Its People: A History of the Wachagga, their Laws, Customs and Legends, Together with Some Account of the Highest Mountain in Africa*, (London: Frank Cass & Co Ltd 1968), p. 13.

This current study focuses on the analysis of land use in Kilimanjaro starting with the colonial period and ending in the postcolonial period. Land use change started to be noticed in Kilimanjaro during the colonial period and continued to take shape through the postcolonial period. The German period in Kilimanjaro experienced both change and continuity in the Chagga social and economic structures due to the introduction of cash crops, Christianity, education and new values on land. While the political arrangements that existed in the pre-colonial period were modified in favour of colonial interests, the new introductions in the society left enduring marks and defined the entire history of the Chagga people in the years to come.<sup>38</sup> The intensity of the spread of Christianity, education and coffee farming depended on the perceptions of the local people and the Mangiates system that administered clans across the ridges of Kilimanjaro who accepted or refused any new introductions in their societies.<sup>39</sup>

More change on land use systems was experienced during the British colonial period as a result of the charismatic leadership of Charles Dundas as the first British District Commissioner for Kilimanjaro. Dundas managed to build his popularity among the Chagga by withstanding the claims by white farmers who did not want peasant production of coffee on the propaganda that African coffee would spread diseases to the white farms. Their main precaution was not the spread of diseases but

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<sup>38</sup> See Robert Munson, *The Nature of Christianity in Northeastern Tanzania: Environmental and Social Change, 1890 – 1916* (New York: Lexington Books 2013), pp. 1 – 25, Robert Munson, ‘Continuity and Change in the Historical Landscape of Mount Kilimanjaro: The Rau Forest and Ashira Parish’, in Timothy A. Clack (ed), *Culture, History and Identity: Landscapes of Inhabitation in the Mount Kilimanjaro Area, Tanzania: Essays in Honour of Paramount Chief Thomas Mlenga Marealle II (1915 - 2007)*, (London: BAR International Series 2009), pp. 155 – 168.

<sup>39</sup> Sally Falk Moore, ‘The Chagga of Kilimanjaro’, in Sally Falk Moore and Paul Puritt, *The Chagga and Meru of Tanzania: Ethnographic Survey of East Central Africa*, No. 18 (International African Institute 1977), pp. 15 – 16.

rather protection of market privileges resulting from coffee farming. Settler's interests on sole ownership of coffee farming were learnt to what was happening in neighbouring Kenya colony where peasant cash cropping was not entertained. Dundas managed to assist the Chagga to establish a cooperative union for coffee growers that oversaw all the interests of peasant coffee cultivators in Kilimanjaro and ensured the prosperity of peasant coffee farming. This made Dundas a popular District Commissioner and encouraged a further peasant cash crop farming that had a direct impact on land use on the slopes of mount Kilimanjaro and due to this some observers remarked that the 1920s was a period where the 'Chagga coffee-growing spread like wildfire over the mountain and ultimately became universal'<sup>40</sup> throughout the mountain ridges that were suitable for coffee farming.

The above observation does not mean there was no coffee growing on the mountain slopes before the 1920s but indicates a period where the quantity and peasant commitment to coffee increased and brought direct consequences on land use systems and the rural economy of Kilimanjaro at large. 'The existence of coffee as a source of cash made it possible for the Chagga to pay their hut and poll taxes without working for European settlers on their plantations.'<sup>41</sup> This does not suggest that the Chagga had a smooth experience towards the transition from food crop growing to cash crop growing of coffee. European settlers always tried to impose strict measures to make sure peasant coffee goes to nowhere and that the Chagga remained a reliable source of labour for estate farming.<sup>42</sup> The outcome for peasant and settler productions of coffee was manifested in the availability of land in Kilimanjaro. The coffee farming period was a starting point for later land use

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, p. 18.

<sup>42</sup> Iliffe, *A Modern History*, read chapters 5 & 9.

adjustments that involved negotiating peasant's interests, settlers' and government's. On the peasant's side, population increase coupled with coffee farming led into shortage of land and a redefinition of the value as to where the Chagga wealth rested. While in the late nineteenth century a wealth Chagga would be recognised by the number of cattle he had, by the twentieth century it was the amount of land a person owned and used.<sup>43</sup>

### 1.3 Research Questions

Over the years, African societies have been able to define and create both physical and ecological landscapes. Physical landscapes provided them with options to select forms of resource use that reflected consciousness of particular ecological and environmental endowments. Ecologically, land and other environmental resources have always been involved in dynamic relationships with humans and their socio-economic undertakings.<sup>44</sup> Consciousness emanating from local knowledge was the key for the dynamic relation between humans and nature and rulers and the ruled in attempts to make use of available resources.<sup>45</sup> Interactions between human population and their immediate environment gave them power to shape and reshape their economic and political activities in a particular area.<sup>46</sup> The power resulted from

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<sup>43</sup> See Moore, *The Chagga of Kilimanjaro*, p. 22.

<sup>44</sup> See how guerrillas and peasants in Zimbabwe defined their landscape and used their environments intellectually to fight against colonial oppressions. The use of spirit mediums and belief in ancestral descents decided what food the fighters were to eat in order to be strong in the fight or what foods were not to be eaten. See David Lan, *Guns & Rain: Guerrillas & Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe* (London: James Currey Ltd. 1985), pp. xv – xix, Steven Feireman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press 1990), pp. 3 – 9.,

<sup>45</sup> Feireman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, pp. 3 – 13.

<sup>46</sup> Jan Bender Shetler, *Imagining Serengeti: A History of Landscape Memory in Tanzania from Earliest Times to the Present* (Athens: Ohio University Press 2007), pp. 4 – 5. Bender demonstrates that the popular western assumptions on African landscapes that regarded pristine environments in Africa were not correct when

the experience and assumptions that occupied the minds of those making use of that environment.

Kilimanjaro presents an example of landscape use that is a reflection of remnant features of the immigrants who settled on the mountain slopes some 500 to 600 years ago and who later came to be known as Chagga.<sup>47</sup> Earlier herder and farming immigrants to the highlands of mount Kilimanjaro found diverse plant and vegetation species that were important for hunters and gatherers who lived there. Clearing for cultivation and establishment of new settlements were prerequisites for establishing farming communities on the highlands. Settlement on the higher slopes was preferred due to its potential for cultivation and availability of reliable rainfall and possibilities for irrigation. Available studies from historians, anthropologists, geographers and ecologists provide an understanding of why some land use options were adapted more than others. Yet, it leaves some opportunities for further exploration on matters related to land use change in Kilimanjaro in relation to economic and socio-cultural milieus. Political development and connections of the slopes with other areas were among the important factors that determined what was taking place from the early days of Chagga settlement on the mountain to the present. Ludger Wimmelbücker provided a good analysis on the extent to which outside forces boosted production in Kilimanjaro. Less attention was paid to the

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applied to the Serengeti landscape. She argues that the Serengeti landscape was featured by people's habitation and activities from time immemorial.

<sup>47</sup> The dating for the formation of Chagga ethnic identity is not well known but the wars of the nineteenth century that involved clans from the slopes of Mountain Kilimanjaro were indications that these clans lived as separated entities. The wars ended after colonial occupation and the colonial period may well stand the possibility of being a time in history when the Chagga came together. Also see, Charles Dundas, *Asili na Habari za Wachagga: The Origin and History of the Chagga Tribe of Kilimanjaro, Tanganyika Territory-Swahili* (Transl. by R.K Watts and P. Mzaba London: The Sheldon Press 1932), p. 8.

strategies adopted by the people of Kilimanjaro in shaping their livelihood and survival out of the competitive and changing resources around them.<sup>48</sup> The forms of land use adopted on arrival on the mountain slopes have changed a great deal compared to contemporary usages. This change started after the introduction of coffee in Kilimanjaro that expanded in disadvantage of pastureland (*kibata*) and food cropland on the traditional land use system known as *Kihamba*.<sup>49</sup> Intensification on *Kihamba* continued in response to population increase and colonial policies and at the same time strengthened the cultural ties on the mountain.<sup>50</sup> The main task of this study therefore is to examine and understand how the people of Kilimanjaro have been adapting different land uses as a response to human (population increase and government policies), economic and natural induced forces (climate change, drought, famine e.t.c). We somehow know that after a period of settlement on the highland,

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<sup>48</sup> Refer to the two texts based on PhD thesis, Wimmelbulker, 'Production and Living Conditions, pp. 13 – 14, and Ludger Wimmelbulker, *Kilimanjaro: A Regional History Vol. 1, Production and Living Conditions c.1800 – 1920* (Hamburh: Lit Verlag 2002).

<sup>49</sup> The decline in the size of *kihamba* had both resource and social impact on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. On the social side, the traditional system of inheriting land by sons is on a continued decline and the fertility rate in Kilimanjaro seem to be a reflection of how much land parents own before deciding to enter into marriage or deciding on the number of children to have. Resource-wise, the lowland's pasture lands; wild animals, grazing areas and competition on water sites receive intensive human-nature interaction. The two traditional Chagga land use patterns; *kihamba* and *shamba* have in recent decades been used permanently rather than the seasonal use of the *shamba* land as in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Settlements also have been established on the lowlands. Likewise, in the same period, the use of *Kihamba* for food crops (bananas-Chagga traditional food) entered into competition with the production of cash crops particularly coffee. See Christine Noe, 'Impacts of Land Use Changes on Wildlife: A Case of Kilimanjaro – Amboseli Wildlife Corridor, Tanzania' (University of Dar es Salaam: M.A Dissertation 2002), p. vii, and Macha J.G. Meckary, 'Land Tenure Systems and Fertility in Rural Areas: The Case of Kilimanjaro Region' (University of Dar es Salaam: M.A Dissertation 1997), pp. vii – viii, 1 – 3.

<sup>50</sup> Fabian Lello Inyasi Masawe, 'The Penetration of Capital and the Coffee Economy in Kilimanjaro and Peasant Responses by seeking Alternative means to Earn Cash Incomes: The Case of Kifuni Village in Kibosho Division' (University of Dar es Salaam: M.A Dissertation 1982), pp. 83 – 93.

the Chagga started to move from the highland to the lowlands and established permanent settlements in places they previously used seasonally.<sup>51</sup> This alone is not enough and tells us less of the whole thing we need to understand in connection to their interaction with the slopes of the mountain. Was this transition smooth? Was it planned? Was it economic, social or politically motivated? What happened on the lowlands after the transition was complete, if at any point it became complete? This study provides some details on the evolution of land uses on the slopes of mount Kilimanjaro by focusing on the relationships maintained by highland and lowland landscapes.

We explore the relations between peasants, settlers and government policies and the way these relations influenced land use change. It shows that options to expand to the lowlands were fraught with difficulty and embodied into the relations established in the aforementioned attributes. The highland meant more than a physical environment while the lowland meant less than a physical environment. Local environmental perceptions created the two landscapes as separate niches and one of which was a supplement to the one regarded as the main. Economic motives started to operate on the highlands and together with its fertile and suitable climate it created a small perceived Eden for the Chagga for many centuries. The opening of the lowlands for economic opportunities that intensified from the 1940s was not a driver by itself to swiftly pull the highland population to the lowlands. They continued to use it on seasonal basis and maintained the highland as their best option for settlement, social and cultural functions. Even when government initiatives tried

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<sup>51</sup> See Paul Maro, 'Population and Land Resources in Northern Tanzania: The Dynamics of Change, 1920 – 1970' (University of Minnesota: PhD Dissertation 1974), pp. 54 – 55, 74, Paul Maro, 'The Impact of Population Pressure on Land Management in Kilimanjaro' in Clack (ed), *Culture, History and Identity*, pp. 207 – 212.

to regulate and direct planned settlements and more economic activities, still the Chagga remained reluctant to move to the lowland. The social forces that operated on the highland were more than the lowland could provide. The same social forces, and of course, combined with the realization of the opportunities on the lowlands, made them expand probably willingly (without force of the government or coordinated movement). In the main, however, they were influenced by the same social and economic motives that sustained them on the highland.

Expansions into new frontiers come with a lot to be learnt and through practice, new culture was established. Human societies have been innovators when faced with environmental limitations in order to live well. This has never been a new tendency on the part of modern man, but history tells us that the development for instance from stone age, to iron age let alone to the current nuclear age, was an outcome of the struggles to control the environment in which they lived.<sup>52</sup> Innovation cannot be uniformly achieved across the board because there are different opportunities and challenges that are dictated by the environment and levels of sophistication of the type of innovation.<sup>53</sup> Innovation may come through the adoption of a new skill or enterprise that departs considerably or partially from a previously known one, but is needed in an environment to which the skill could not be applied. Societies can switch from agriculture to pastoralism or vice versa when they transition from one environmental constraint to another and to a level where they become able to manage further changes.<sup>54</sup> The case provided by David Anderson of

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<sup>52</sup> See the general trend of human – environment interaction in J. Donald Hughes, *An Environmental History of the World: Humankind's Changing Role in the Community of Life* (London and New York: Routledge 2004), pp. 1 – 11.

<sup>53</sup> See Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> See J. E. G. Sutton, 'The Peopling of Tanzania', in Isaria Kimambo and A. J. Temu (eds), *A History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House 1969),

the Maasai of Baringo lowland is interesting. Importantly, it tends to be applied to studies of similar rural land uses to see how access to resources and opportunities can act as bridges among people from different ethnic groups who face likely similar environmental hardships. The Maasai in Baringo welcomed the Tugen who in principle were enemies but later became interested in one another. Studies from other areas of East Africa have strongly suggested continuous but rather temporal, back and forth, relations between societies from different economic and ecological diversifications as means of survival under natural pressures (drought, famine, animal diseases etc.). The cases presented by the Il Chamus of Baringo<sup>55</sup> and that of the Pare and Usambara Mountains<sup>56</sup> are not unique and cannot likewise be generalized to apply to Kilimanjaro. Some studies find it out of date to associate land use change with population growth.<sup>57</sup> But the highlands and lowlands of Kilimanjaro sketch a combination of factors to understand why it happened the way it did. At the same time, it does not ignore the influence of population growth because it did a lot to influence the social side of the expansion. Adaptations and innovations on the new

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pp. 1 – 13, Sutton, ‘The Settlement of East Africa’ and B. G. McIntosh, ‘The Eastern African Bantu Peoples’, in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds), *Zamani: A Survey of East African History* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House 1968), pp. 198 – 213.

<sup>55</sup> Anderson, *Eroding the Commons*, David Anderson, ‘Cultivating Pastoralists: Ecology and Economy Among the Il Chamus of Baringo, 1840-1980’, in David M. Anderson and Douglas H. Johnson (eds), *The Ecology of Survival: Case Studies from Northeast African History* (London: Lester Crook Academic Publishing 1988), pp. 241 – 247.

<sup>56</sup> See Isaria Kimambo, ‘Environmental Control and Hunger in the Mountains and Plains of Nineteenth Century Northeastern Tanzania’, in Maddox, Giblin and Kimambo (eds), *Custodians of the Land*, pp. 71 – 73, Christopher Conte, ‘Nature Recognized: Ecological History in the Plateau Forests of the West Usambara Mountains, 1850 - 1935’, in Maddox, Giblin and Kimambo (eds), *Custodians of the Land*, pp. 96 – 116, and Giblin, ‘The Pre-colonial Politics of Disease Control’.

<sup>57</sup> Lowe Börjeson, *A History under Siege: Intensive Agriculture in the Mbulu Highlands, Tanzania, 19<sup>th</sup> Century to the Present* (Stockholm University: AUS-Stockholm Studies in Human Geography 12, 2004), pp. 11 – 13.

lowland frontier was limited by the long dry season, lowland land tenure habits and generally the necessitated change of social habits including what to eat.

Needless to say, the lowland environment could not support the adaptation of highland economy that was based on the production of bananas and coffee. Growing lowland favoured crops like maize and beans was not difficult as already the Chagga grew the same, even before they decided to settle permanently in the area. This was therefore not an adaptation but an intensification of the production of maize when nothing more could be grown. Only that the lowlands were used by pastoralists, it was to be negotiated to avoid clashes of interest. Clashes and negotiations are ongoing as each side claim, right of ownership and use in the long past and considers the other as a newcomer.<sup>58</sup> One remarkable outcome of the establishment of permanent settlement on the lowland has been a gradual conversion of arable and pastureland, water sources areas and natural vegetation into settlement. The change is not one directional. It may involve changing arable land into pasture, pasture into arable land or woodland, grassland and forest into arable land, pasture and settlement and so on.

Our understanding of the past land use trajectories not only helps us to predict future responses to similar forces, but also provides a picture of how societies are capable and innovative in interacting with changing environmental conditions.<sup>59</sup> This can be seen in the direction of subsistence, survival strategies or in other cases responding to market call. Kilimanjaro experienced forces from within and outside it

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<sup>58</sup> See some anthropological descriptions of land use for agriculture and herding in P. H. Gulliver, *Social Control in an African Society: A Study of the Arusha Agricultural Maasai of Northern Tanganyika* (London: Routledge 1963), pp. 7 – 9.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10 – 14, also see Thomas Spear, *Mountain Farmers: Moral Economies of Land and Agricultural Development in Arusha and Meru* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota 1997), pp. 1 – 13.

as push factors that necessitated land use change. While population growth was a major challenge to Kilimanjaro for decades, the colonial period witnessed new forces that combined with population increase to dictate the redefinition of land use. New forces were experienced through land alienation, introduction of money economy, introduction of coffee as an economic crop and the establishment of various colonial productions and projects. All these were contained in the same environment as that which existed before the introduction of colonial rule. Legal enactments, policies and plans came to regulate resource use and to show how some resources, mainly land, were to be used. At the end of this study one will be able to tell what impact such dynamics (internal and external) had on resources, and in which ways the people of the mountains have taken opportunities to adjust to the pressures they experienced.

#### **1.4 Approaching African History: Methodological Opportunities and Challenges**

This study used a mixed approach method to understand the dynamics of change and continuities in land use in northeastern Tanzania. All methods used were equally important and allowed a wider coverage of the thematic and spatial contents of the study. I used oral historical narratives, archival documentation and scientific evidence in unearthing qualitative and quantitative information on the physical appearances that resulted from land use change. These sources were used side by side and were triangulated to bring meanings to each other and provide a complete picture of the dynamics of land use on the slopes of mountain Kilimanjaro from 1920s to 2000s.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Historians have had considerable time discussing on approaching African history especially in the postcolonial period because of the limitations on the availability of archival sources. However, they have been divided between those who see this as an opportunity to use scanty available sources and those who argue for avoidance or being careful when writing African history in the postcolonial period. Some of such

A history of land use in Kilimanjaro was formerly a history of the lowlands of the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. After my first visit to the study area in August 2014, I came to realise that it was not possible to deal with the lowlands in isolation of the highlands. Lowlands were a creation of longer processes that developed in the highlands for centuries. Highlands represented an old, long history while the lowlands represented recent histories of migrations, settlement and productions. In this case, my research design changed its spatial scope from only dealing with the lowlands and decided to combine both, as it was difficult to understand the two landscapes in isolation from each other. Because the highlands were older than the lowlands, my first interviews were collected from the highlands then moved down to the lowlands in future fieldwork trips. The reasons for this was a quest to understand how the highland population was related to the lowlands and in what ways their lives on the highlands have influenced some people to move to the lowlands and whether they considered the lowland extension as part of the highland social and physical landscapes or not.

Informants were first identified through village leaders who introduced me to older members of the society who were considered knowledgeable on Chagga and Maasai histories. Later, the first informants introduced me to other informants who were age mates and were also regarded to have a good understanding of their histories. The general rule followed to identify informants was to identify members of the community ‘considered’ by other members to be knowledgeable on histories,

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methodological studies include, Michel R. Doormont et al, ‘Archives and Material Culture: Critiques and Reviews – Editors Introduction’, *History in Africa* 42 (2015), 1 – 6, Moses E. Ochonu, ‘Elusive History: Fractured Archives, Politicized Orality and Sensing the Postcolonial Past’, *History in Africa* 42 (2015), pp. 287 – 298, Dmitri van den Bersselaar et al, ‘The Politics of the Production and Reception of Sources – Editor’s Introduction’, *History in Africa* 43 (2016), pp. 1 – 5.

culture and traditions of the society however later it was discovered that some informants who were considered knowledgeable had less to be learnt from them. Age, education and gender were not considerations I looked at during this stage, as they were irrelevant because nothing so special had to be collected from those categories. However, older members of the Chagga communities were often identified to be the custodians of history and some of them were very knowledgeable. Oral histories of Kilimanjaro provided a depth of the social, cultural and economic relations between the highlands and the lowlands. It was possible to understand different land use options and the reasons behind such uses. Oral histories of Kilimanjaro had many accounts that resonated in agreement with other sources used especially on land distribution, ownership and use.

Locating and talking to informants was somehow challenging given the nature of the study. Land is historically a sensitive topic in the whole of northeastern Tanzania and discussing about it required a high level of caution. Dealing with questions directly related to land ownership, use and management risked silencing many social and cultural developments on the slopes as informants were not ready to share deep knowledge about land due to fear of losing it. Another challenge was the readiness of informants to spend a long time in the discussions. Many were busy with farm activities and wanted short discussions even when they were not on the farm. In two cases, informants (Maasai) refused to speak Kiswahili because the principal researcher was not a Maa speaker. All these challenges were solved by conducting as many interviews as possible. As for the language challenge, I used one Maasai research assistant who did all the transcriptions of the interviews for me.

At the end of the fieldwork I had collected a total of seventy-eight interviews that were collected between August 2014 and August 2015. I did not spend the

whole of this time for fieldwork in Kilimanjaro but had three separate visits that lasted from one to two months each. The interviews were collected in the rural areas of Rombo, Hai, Siha and Moshi Rural where the study was framed and included talking to farming and herding communities on the slopes of the mountain. With exception of three interviews, all others were conducted in Kiswahili and were not translated into English. The three interviews were recorded and transcribed by one of my research assistants who was fluent in Maa language. Otherwise, research assistants did not act as translators but directly assisted in collecting interviews after we had done some few sample interviews with me on the structure I wanted the interviews to be. It is hoped that, at some point after the end of this study, a manuscript on oral interviews will be deposited at the university of Dar es Salam library for future reference by researchers.

Apart from oral histories this study also employed archival sources. Archival documents by their nature represent changes and continuities of institutions and governments that are less directly related to what happens from below. The documents created from the daily administration of the colonies recorded aspects that seemed important to administrators. Archival documents provided a wide chance to situate the histories from below (oral histories) into the histories from administrators in Kilimanjaro. I used the United Kingdom National Archives (UKNA) – London, Tanzania National Archives (TNA) – Dar es Salaam and Kenya National Archives (KNA) – Nairobi to trace change and continuities in land and resource use in Kilimanjaro. UKNA contained documents from the colonial office whose information on government plans; policies and interventions on Chagga land use benefited the study. TNA on the other hand had a lot of secretarial files detailing correspondence between the Colonial Office (CO) London and the colony

(Tanganyika). These correspondence contained different aspects varying from government coordinated development projects in Kilimanjaro to assisting settlement and resettlements of the people of Kilimanjaro. It was easy to understand for instance, how the government resolved competing interests on land use when it concerned settlers, peasants and herders.

Other archival sources were found in other public and private Institutions in the United Kingdom and Tanzania. These included the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) – University of London that had archival documents and primary sources deposited by the Royal Geographical Society – UK. Also at SOAS there was an old and now defunct *East African Agricultural Journal* that in its early days of establishment it published primary reports from field officers on land use across East Africa. It was useful in tracing agricultural development in Eastern Africa in comparison to Kilimanjaro. The hard copy versions of the journal were digitised between January and March 2016 and are now available online. Bodleian Library – University of Oxford, apart from archival documents and defunct periodicals it had a collection of maps that were important in learning land use change in the colonial and post colonial periods. Also Makumira University College archival collection – Arusha Tanzania and the University of Dar es Salaam Main Library – East Africana (EAF) research section were used. With particular importance, the University of Dar es Salaam library had primary documents ranging from annual reports, newspapers and maps. Also there were collections of research work by postgraduate students since 1970s.

The study of land use on the Northeastern part of Tanzania brings us to a quest for knowledge on how intra and interborder resource use was negotiated and contrasted between users across geographical boundaries of Tanzania and Kenya.

This prompted the use of the Kenya National Archives (KNA) to unearth the connections, continuities and change of the relations between the societies on the border sides on the eastern part of Mount Kilimanjaro and the Kenyan side. Archival sources from Kenya and Tanzania helped to understand the nature of definitions over resources among border societies and how such definitions translated into use and change over time during the British period and soon after the independence of the two countries.

The overall challenge of archival research was the incompleteness of documents that I visited. The files lacked a sequential link and follow up from one file to another that limited having a complete picture of what happened to the end. For the UK national archives this was partly contributed by the fact that some of the files were to be located in the Tanzania National Archives where also they could not be found. Cases of incomplete file series were much common in the Tanzania and Kenya National Archives due to misallocation of the files.<sup>61</sup> These challenges limited a full follow up of some projects and plans that were conceived in favour of peasant, settler and pastoral land uses in Kilimanjaro. The gaps were partially covered by the use of other sources.

I understood that archival documents would pose a great challenge for access and reliability especially for the postcolonial period, and this would limit the evidence for this period. Also even if many postcolonial archival materials were available, they would not help to respond to physical indications of land use change

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<sup>61</sup> Other historians also faced difficulties in using postcolonial archives in different parts of Africa, Luise White, 'Introduction – Suitcases, Roads, and Archives: Writing the History of Africa After 1960', *History in Africa* 42 (2015), pp. 265 – 267, Florence Bernault, 'Suitcases and the Poetics of Oddities: Writing History from Disorderly Archives', *History in Africa* 42 (2015), pp. 269 – 277 and Gregory Mann, 'Experience as Evidence in Africanist Historiography', *History in Africa* 42 (2015), 279 – 286.

in Kilimanjaro. Physical indications were revealed through change of vegetation cover, functions of land, for example, farming, grazing, settlement and bush lands. In response to this challenge I used cartographic and GIS technologies as crucially important tools for complementing or filling the lacuna of other sources. Old maps from 1950s were identified, studied and interpreted to gain clue on changes in land use over the period of the study. GIS helped an analysis of satellite images on land use in Kilimanjaro divided into three-year groups, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. This method complemented other sources in writing about the postcolonial period and showing the physical land use changes on the ground. Data from GIS and Landsat imagery were prepared with assistance from Olipa Simon Ngeleja, who is a senior GIS laboratory expert at the Institute of Resource Assessment of the University of Dar es Salaam - Tanzania.

### **1.5 Structure of the Thesis**

This thesis is arranged in a back and forth style distributed in eight chapters. We understand that history is a chronological flow of events but this has not been taken to imprison the discussion of events that seemed to go across a specific period and that were to be discussed by a back and forth reference. A rather thematic approach is preferred and unfolds starting with the British period in the 1920s and ending in the 2000s. Chapter one, as have been seen, intended to provide the general statement and to situate the study into the broader discussions within and outside the discipline and the methodological orientation of this study. It helped to postulate an introduction to what follows in subsequent chapters.

The second chapter is about the study area. It provides histories of settlement, economic, social and political profiles of the study area. The importance of the second chapter lies in its coverage of geography, population, land distribution and

political development in Kilimanjaro that are important backdrops for the following discussion in subsequent chapters. It sets the benchmarks for understanding the dynamics of land use change in Kilimanjaro. For example, the discussion in chapter two on the land tenure system in Kilimanjaro foregrounds the discussion as to why settlement and production activities were preferred in one of the two tenure systems than the other that is detailed in chapters three and four of this thesis. It was the land tenure that influenced perception on land ownership and use on the slopes of mount Kilimanjaro. Population increase over time influenced intensive land use before some people started to move to other areas. After the discussion of land tenure, population and settlement characteristics in chapter two, chapter three provides a detailed account of the various meanings embodied in Kilimanjaro land use.

In chapters three and four though intended to sharply contrast each other, they still overlap in many ways. They provide a complete picture of how the Chagga were both affiliated to and affected by the old and new social and economic changes on the slopes of mount Kilimanjaro. Chapter three provides the social and economic importance of land use change showing that for the people of Kilimanjaro land was more than a physical space but a combination of several other functions that were carried out on that physical space. Presence of burial sites, ancestral connections and ritual functions were significant attributes to contain the Chagga on the highland than encourage them to move to the lowlands. The economic space that aided to the social functions of the highland further cemented preference of highland settlement and production than elsewhere on the lowlands or other parts of Tanzania. The main point in this chapter is that we need to understand both the socio-cultural and economic forces for us to be able to understand different land use options that were adapted by the people of Kilimanjaro.

In chapter four while its discussion is set in almost the same physical space as chapter three – the highland, its focus departs a little bit from chapter three to cross-examine how different actors approached the opportunities and challenges of land use in Kilimanjaro. We examine the influence of the introduction of coffee cash cropping and its influence on land availability and land use while maintaining former land uses. Coffee was introduced and grown on the same land that banana was grown. This meant that there was no challenge resulting from the introduction of peasant coffee farming in Kilimanjaro. However, the chapter shows that, the competition between peasant and settler farming created far more problems and resulted into land shortage in Kilimanjaro. Both peasant and settler farming expanded coffee acreages and for peasant farmers who could not expand into new land intensified the small plots they had. We argue in this chapter that land shortage in Kilimanjaro was not enough to proletarianise the Chagga or even force them to respond positively to government coordinated resettlement projects but rather made them to embark into intensive land use on the highlands to avoid moving to the lowlands.

Chapter five diverts from chapters three and four by looking at how two economic activities – pastoralism and agriculture – negotiated regional, national and transnational resource use by comparing land and resource use across the borders of Tanzania and Kenya. While the focus in chapter four was to understand how settler and peasant interests were mediated by government policies and plans, chapter five discusses how peasant and herders negotiated access to land use. It shows that sometimes the political administrative borders mean less to those who use resources across the borders. The Maasai and the Chagga defined their environments based on seasons and not administrative borders. Dry and wet seasons were used to move

livestock from one geographical area to another and allowed cultivation in different areas. The chapter shows that resource definition among herders and cultivators was a source of disputes towards its use. Pastoralists perceived resources in livestock while cultivators perceived resource in arable land. Resource perception brought disputes when for example herders invaded farms and grazed their livestock and when they raided animals that did not belong to them. This chapter responds to the main question that how capable are societies in adjusting to land use challenges when they are submitted to controls and environmental limitations. The chapter focused much on the eastern highlands and a little bit down the slopes. The way the challenges of land use between cultivators and herders were handled on the highland, prepared cultivators to handle similar challenges when they moved to the lowlands that is the subject of chapter six.

Chapters six discusses the impacts of the interactions of highland farming with lowland herding activities when the Chagga moved permanently to the lowlands. It shows that, given the differences between the highland and the lowlands, moving down the mountain and learning new ways of life were unavoidable. An important note needs to be made here on moving to the lowlands. Chapters three and four indicate that the Chagga were persistent to stay on the highlands even when it meant overcrowding on small plots of land or when the government devised some projects to resettle them. Chapter five apart from other things indicates that due to the challenge on the highlands the Chagga started to move to the lowlands where they collided with pastoral activities. Chapter six details the movement to the lowlands and the adjustments that were necessarily taken in order to live on the lowlands. Some of such adjustments included learning new agricultural skills that depended on rainfall different from the irrigation systems of the highlands. Also

there was a need to change crop preference and food habits. While the highland favoured banana farming and consumption for food, the lowlands favoured maize farming and consumption as staple food for a majority of the population. Another important adjustment was on the social relationship with pastoral Maasai. The chapter shows that the Maasai and Chagga redefined their relationship from that previously based on enmity to that of friendship and mutual cooperation among one another that also allowed sharing resources and intermarriage.

Chapter seven is the last substantive part of the thesis. It directly links to chapter six by showing the impacts resulting from the establishment of permanent settlement on the lowlands. It indicates that the movement of the highland population to the lowlands had both advantages and disadvantages. On the advantages, it involved transfer of ‘highland – *kihamba* culture’ that encouraged planting of different tree species around the house. This continued to be practised on the lowlands, although the rate of clearing of new areas for settlement and farming outpaced that of planting. This takes us to the disadvantages side of the establishment of permanent settlement on the lowlands. The chapter indicates that the complexity of forest, vegetation cover and the general environmental characteristics of the lowlands were threatened. Settlement and production activities expanded at the expense of other land use types like conservation and pastoralism. Continuous population increase on the lowlands show that more farmlands will be converted into built environments and it will adversely affect the sustainability of food production and livestock activities. Chapter eight provides a conclusion to the thesis by reviewing the main questions addressed in the thesis.

## Chapter Two

### **Kilimanjaro: The Land and People of Chaggaland**

History is about studying human interactions with the environment. Understanding the type of environment where such interactions took place provides not only the basis of what happened but surely indicates reasons for why and how something happened in a particular way and in a particular area. Geography and history are so important in studying change and continuities of human social, cultural and economic change in bringing what they anticipate in their livelihoods.<sup>1</sup> This chapter surveys, though in brief, some basic socio-geographical and political developments of Kilimanjaro. It is hoped that such a survey will enable readers unfamiliar with the Chaggaland to get a sense of it and help them to follow the foregoing discussion in the next chapters. It will also be important for understanding why some land uses discussed in later chapters were preferred by the Chagga over others and the ways being Mchagga and being on the highland were reflected in determining the relationships between various groups of land users and different land uses.

#### **2.1 Geography of Kilimanjaro**

Kilimanjaro is one of the smallest and yet highly populated regions of Tanzania. Its population density of 124 by the last national census of 2012 placed it third highly populated region after the capital Dar es Salaam with 3133 and Mwanza with 294 per

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<sup>1</sup> The importance of geographical knowledge for understanding history is discussed in Francis F. Ojany, 'The Geography of East Africa' in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds), *Zamani: A Survey of East African History* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House 1969), pp. 22 – 47, Akin L. Mabogunje, 'The Land and Peoples of West Africa,' in J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds), *History of West Africa* (London: Longman 1971), pp. 1 – 32.

square kilometre.<sup>2</sup> Population growth in Kilimanjaro has been rapid throughout censal and intercensal counts. The first population estimates for Kilimanjaro were made in the late nineteenth century, counting 100,000 people. This number more than doubled to 289,689 in the first census in the British period in 1948. Then it went to be 351,255 in 1957, 652,772 in 1967, 902,437 in 1978, 1,108,699 in 1988, 1,376,703 in 2002 and 1,640,087 by the recent census of 2012.<sup>3</sup> This statistical information demonstrates that population growth in Kilimanjaro was constantly increasing, an indication that expansion into new frontiers was not avoidable. Land is always a fixed asset and demands resulting from population growth are dynamic and always in constant increase. Understanding population growth in Kilimanjaro helps us understand reasons for the different ways in which land use evolved and developed on the highlands and the slopes of the mountain. The number of people has direct connection with the way a particular community affiliates itself to an environment and negotiates various ways of interaction with it.

The total land of Kilimanjaro amounts to 13,209 square kilometres of volcanic and alluvial soils. Major land uses include arable land 6,433, parkland 3,051, forest 1,403, pastoral land and 304 hills 2,185.<sup>4</sup> Cultivated land is distributed between high to medium fertility and low to medium fertility. Arable land again is distributed within ecological zones that receive an average rainfall of up to 958mm

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<sup>2</sup> United Republic of Tanzania (URT), *Population and Housing Census: Population Distribution by Administrative Areas* (Dar es Salaam: National Bureau of Statistics 2013), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> R. Henin and P. Egero, 'The 1967 Population Census of Tanzania: A Demographic Analysis' (University of Dar es Salaam: BRALUP Research Paper No. 19, 1972), cited in Paul S. Maro, 'Population and Land Resources in Northern Tanzania: The Dynamics of Change, 1920 – 1970' (University of Minnesota: PhD Thesis 1974), p. 7, United Republic of Tanzania, *Kilimanjaro Social Economic Profile* (1998), pp. 1 – 5, URT, *Population and Housing Census*, pp. 34 – 42.

<sup>4</sup> Ofisi ya Mkuu wa Mkoa, *Maadhimisho ya Miaka 50 ya Uhuru wa Tanzania Bara 1961 – 2011: Mkoa wa Kilimanjaro* (2011)

annually divided into two rain seasons. Annual average of rainfall includes a regional coverage of both the highlands and lowlands. Nonetheless, the highlands have greater rainfall than the lowlands, a factor very important for understanding the nature of distribution of production activities, organisation of rural economies and more so why some settlement patterns were preferred to others. There is only 24 per cent of arable land out of the total available land with an annual average rainfall of 570mm. This means that many people would prefer to live in areas that are favourable for agricultural activities and avoid those with little agricultural potentials. The drainage system of the highland and lowland also determined the nature of settlements. Areas that had a good drainage system offered potential for different production activities and attracted more people. (See figure three)

**Table 1: Regional Distribution of Arable land in some regions of Tanzania**

Region	Total land	Cultivated land %	Land type		Area with adequate rainfall % <sup>c</sup>	Annual rainfall (mm)	Consecutive rainfall with 100mm (months)
			Class % <sup>a</sup>	Class % <sup>b</sup>			
Arusha	8,210	2.1	7	3	3	941	2-3
Coast	3,380	7.5	-	27	10	1,178	2-3
Dodoma	4,130	6.4	10	15	2	556	4
Iringa	5,685	4.2	29	21	54	1,205	5
Kigoma	3,705	7.6	5	27	41	957	6
Kilimanjaro	1,320	13.3	13	18	24	958	3
Mara	2,175	9.4	4	-	19	1,209	2-4
Mbeya	8,315	3.1	16	36	24	1,444	5-6
Morogoro	7,310	5.2	20	33	61	1,217	5
Mtwara	8,275	4.4	3	34	5	1,059	5
Mwanza	1,965	20.9	4	19	16	926	6
Ruvuma	6,125	2.0	17	14	66	1,214	5
Shinyanga	5,075	6.7	-	9	-	862	6
Singida	4,935	3.2	8	11	-	648	4
Tabora	12,200	1.8	-	21	3	940	6
Tanga	2,680	12.7	11	34	30	1,112	2-3
West Lake	2,875	10.1	-	56	44	1,088	2-4
<b>Total</b>	<b>88,390</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>

Source: World Bank. 1974. Tanzania Agricultural and Rural Development Sector Study, Vol. 1, Report No. 54 1a, Washington, p. 23. Cited in Bank of Tanzania (n.d). Tanzania: Twenty Years of Independence 1961 – 1981, A Review of Political and Economic Performance, p. 90.

Key: <sup>a</sup> This is a class of soil with medium to high fertility potentials  
<sup>b</sup> Soil with low to medium fertility  
<sup>c</sup> Adequate rainfall that is more than 570

The table above indicates resource and weather potentials for Kilimanjaro in comparison with some regions of Tanzania. Expansion of arable land could hardly be progressive as the same total of available land was for all other forms of land uses that, though not necessarily uniformly undertaken, they competed with each other. Out of such competitions some land uses became dominant over others and the change continued to be steady starting from the early days of the introduction of coffee on the mountain slopes. The area under study was for obvious preference smaller than that of the entire region. This study excluded the Districts of Same, Mwanga and Moshi municipality that were considered to have different environmental and social compositions relevant to the study. In the studied area of Kilimanjaro, relative preference to forms of land use remained engrossed in intensive than extensive use for a longer time due to several reasons detailed in the fore coming chapters. Intensive use allowed small areas to be improved and produce higher while extensive use remained a limited and a spare option for highland population when seeking extra social and economic demands outside of what was conceived as the Chagga homeland proper.

During the British period, Kilimanjaro was divided into two administrative districts known as Moshi and Pare. It was not until 1927 that the Pare District was moved from the Northern Province and became part of Tanga District in Tanga Province. These divisions remained the same throughout the colonial period. After independence, Kilimanjaro became a region in 1963 at the time with two districts Moshi and Pare that were so to speak inherited from colonial administrative arrangements. These districts were further subdivided to simplify administrative functions and the provision of services to people. Up to 2005 Kilimanjaro region comprised of six districts including Moshi Municipal, Moshi Rural, Rombo, Hai,

Siha, Same and Mwanga. It should be noted however that, speaking of the highlands and lowlands of Kilimanjaro is not entirely equivalent to speaking of the former or present day administrative areas. The landscape of Kilimanjaro cuts across the administrative areas. One may find the lowlands and highlands in each of the districts juxtaposed with small or large rivers, forest and sometimes roads. It was no wonder that this study was enthralled in the spatial distribution of the landscape without paying much attention to administrative boundaries.

Research and fieldwork activities covered areas in the highlands and lowlands of Siha, Hai, Rombo and Moshi Rural. The clear divide between highland and lowland was the Arusha Moshi – Himo - Taveta road. Areas above the road were categorised as highlands and those below as lowlands. However, for the Chagga who were used to highland environments, there were some areas above the road that they regarded as lowlands due to what the environments offered them as compared to the highland proper. Another landmark was the Bomang'ombe Sanya Juu road where research was done involving villages adjacent to each other and lying on each side of the road. Both areas partially above and below Arusha – Taveta road and those on both sides of Bomang'ombe Sanya Juu road were the stretches where the most lowlands lay and were the newly inhabited belts after potential spaces started to be exhausted on the mountain slopes. Expansion to these belts and all other lowlands in the region started gradually as seasonally occupied areas but later more serious occupation started and still goes on today.

Figure 1: Map showing the study area



## 2.2 People and Settlement on Kilimanjaro Slopes

The nature of population settlement in the Chaggaland is far historical as it is their settlement on the mountain. They inhabit quite fertile and productive areas, which are surrounded by unique vegetation, crops, and stock sheds.<sup>5</sup> Stahl observed that ‘throughout the Chaggaland, even where population is heaviest, each single family

<sup>5</sup> T. L. Marealle, ‘The Wachagga of Kilimanjaro’, *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 32 (1952), p. 57.

lives within the seclusion of its own homestead, fenced in and private.<sup>6</sup> The kind of land tenure, which existed during the pre-colonial period and early colonial period, allowed families to observe a high level of resource management and adherence to conservation methods in order to maintain high levels of productivity for a long time. These lands were regarded ancestral and hereditary that all Chagga went back to offer sacrifices almost yearly even if they could be very far from Kilimanjaro.

Historiographical studies on the peopling of mount Kilimanjaro emphasise the peopling of Kilimanjaro to be a result of several waves of migrations from different areas of eastern Africa. Migrations, settlements and resettlements were common among East African communities by the early period of the nineteenth century. It was a period characterised by transformations in technological advancement, domestication of animals and tilling the soil. While cultivators' mobility was influenced by search for suitable land for agriculture, that of pastoralists was influenced by search of water sources and pastureland.<sup>7</sup> The Chagga are classified as a group of eastern Bantu that started moving into the highlands of Kilimanjaro from the southern parts of Kenya. However, classifying the Chagga as entirely a Bantu group may undermine the diverse history of settlement on the mountain that included a large number of Nilotic Maasai. The word Chagga itself cannot be found in any of the many Chagga dialects that are used on the slopes of the mountain. John Sutton classified the Chagga in the highland Bantu group among others. The classification also included the Kamba and Kikuyu who also formed the main origins of the present day Chagga people. Kikuyu and Kamba are Bantu groups

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<sup>6</sup> Kathleen M. Stahl, 'Outline of the Chagga History', *Tanzania Notes and Records* 64 (1964), p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> For settlement in East Africa, refer to Zoe Marsh and G. W. Kingsnorth, 'A History of East Africa: An Introductory Survey' (4<sup>th</sup> edn., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1972), pp. 1 – 16.

by themselves, but the Chagga group was formed out of unifications of several groups.<sup>8</sup> The Maasai formed a large proportion of the clans that later on formed the larger Chagga group. This classification suggests that Chagga dialects evolved from smaller groups that were dissolved during the later part of the nineteenth century when wars of conquest and absorption of smaller groups were common in Kilimanjaro. Existence of dialect variations in Chagga language, some of which with mutual intelligibilities with Maa, is an indication of historical connections between different language groups and cultures. Linguistic evidence in this case may suggest that the common generalisations of the Chagga as a Bantu group missed historical connections of the origins of the entire group. Current socio-economic practices among the Chagga may have been a result of a mixed adaptation to the highland environment that started as they settled in the highlands some centuries ago.

People who were themselves speakers of neither of the Chagga dialects introduced both words, Chagga as an ethnic denotation of the people of Kilimanjaro, and Kilimanjaro, as a geographical area where they lived, in the present day Chagga vocabularies from outside the borders of Kilimanjaro.<sup>9</sup> Much can be said about the origin of the words but let it suffice for now that the Chagga people of Kilimanjaro were named by other people especially caravan traders who ran from the coast to the interior in exchange of commodities reaching the coast from Europe and Asia through ocean routes. They were exchanged with natural resources from the interior including elephant tusks. Such trading activities had impacts on demographic change of Kilimanjaro by welcoming new settlers and also had some ecological

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<sup>8</sup> J. E. G. Sutton, 'The Settlement of East Africa,' in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds), *A Survey of East African History* (Dar es Salaam: East African Publishing House 1969), pp. 69 – 98.

<sup>9</sup> A. Hutchinson, 'The Meaning of Kilimanjaro' *Tanzania Notes and Records* 64 (1964), p. 65.

implications. Demographically, the Kamba who controlled the northern route of the long distance trade found suitable areas on the slopes and established permanent settlements. Their histories can be traced from the surviving histories of the origins of the Chagga people. Ecologically trade links had impacts on wild beast resources and agro practices on the slopes. While elephants were killed to get tusks, and war captives were sold as slaves, there was also a replacement of the pattern of farming in favour of crops needed by caravans. Caravan trade influenced the replacement of elusine crop with maize on the plains to meet food demand for caravan traders up until 1800.<sup>10</sup>

Waves of migration to the mountain slopes were neither massive and one directional nor were they uniform and influenced by similar forces across the slopes. Migration was accompanied by temporal stops in search of resources and areas for settlement before deciding on an ultimate area where a particular clan or group of migrants established settlements.<sup>11</sup> Spaces for settlement were determined after a considerable stay at an area to try out the suitability of soil, weather and availability of water and access to networks with neighbours. This is what made the establishment of temporal settlements inevitable until when the migrant group was satisfied with an area to establish permanent settlement. Kathleen Stahl points out that the forces for this migration were both pull and push factors relative to destination and originating areas, respectively. They partly included environmental constraints and economic pursuits in whichever side of the migration. On the

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<sup>10</sup> J. Christoph Winter, 'The Social History of the Chagga in Outline with Special Reference to the Evolution of the Homegardens,' in Timothy A.R Clark (ed), *Culture, History and Identity: Landscapes of Inhabitation in Mount Kilimanjaro Area, Tanzania: Essays in Honour of Paramount Chief Thomas Lenana Mlangi Marealle II, 1915 – 2007* (London: BAR Series 2009), pp. 273 – 74.

<sup>11</sup> Stahl, *Outline*, pp. 35 – 36.

environmental side, people ran away from drought, famine, diseases and depletion of pasture and water resources for their stock. Economically it included, those ethnic groups like the Kamba who participated in long distance trade and later decided to settle permanently on the slopes of the mountain.

**Table 2: Origins of the Chagga**

Clan Origin	Number of Clans
<b>Kamba</b>	113
<b>Taita</b>	106
<b>Maasai</b>	101
<b>Pare</b>	31
<b>Shambaa</b>	22
<b>Kahe &amp; Arusha</b>	16
<b>Kuafi</b>	6
<b>Dorobo</b>	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>397</b>

**Source: Modified from Charles Dundas, 1968, p. 44**

Archaeological evidence at least indicates that the settlement on the mountain traces its origin 2000 years back. This was the time, hunters and gatherers who are regarded as the first occupants of the mountain slopes occupied the mountain. These did not enjoy an everlasting freedom as migrant groups to the mountain slopes starting in 1400 and 1500 A.D later displaced them. There is however no reliable evidence that might suggest the directions taken by the displaced hunters and gatherers.<sup>12</sup> In this case, the first land uses of the mountain slopes were hunting and gathering typical of many new frontiers of human interaction with their environments. As the sophistication of the interaction increased and the need to use

<sup>12</sup> Andreas Hemp and Claudia Hemp, 'Environment and Worldview: The Chagga Homegardens: Part I Ethnobotany and Ethnozoology' in Timothy A.R. Clark (ed), *Culture, History and Identity*, p. 235, J. Christoph Winter, 'The Social History of the Chagga in Outline with Special Reference to the Evolution of the Homegardens' in Clark (ed), *Culture, History and Identity*, pp. 272 – 273.

more than what could be obtained by excursions into forest reserves, human populations started to engage with other activities through control of what they wanted to grow and consume.

When this point was reached is where domestication of animals and growing of crops started, allowing the second phase of land use to begin. The second phase of land use globally was maintained for so long in societies that were unable to transform subsistence production into large scale commercial production to allow a third phase of land use characterised by exploiting surplus and profit from land. The third phase is characterised by heavy mechanisation, application of artificial farm implements such as fertilisers, pesticides, and genetically modified crops and plants. The three phases did not operate so separately from one another and did not give chance for uniform transitions globally. We still have societies that are yet to transition from the first phase to the second and/or the second to the third. They all operate somewhere on planet earth.

The second and third stages of land use continue to exist side by side in Kilimanjaro until now. The first stage was replaced some three to four centuries ago when settled communities were established. The initiation of the second stage was marked by the waves of migration to the mountain slopes that were characterised by disputes and fighting among members of different clans. Fighting was not necessarily intended to conquer new lands, but rather an expression of clan superiority when one managed to conquer a weak clan. The intensity and frequency of disputes and wars changed radically starting with the colonial period. Change came as a result of the change of what caused the conflicts. For instance, the wars that were fought to get captives for slave trade ended as the campaigns against it continued to be strong and active. Also the type of local administrative structures

based on clan systems were weakened by colonial administrative arrangements starting with the Germans and later the British. Conflicts over resource ownership and power came under the arms of the colonial state and by no means fighting over resources could last long.

Until 1944, half a century after colonial occupation, colonial administrators could note the existence of some hatred stemming from the pre-colonial histories of power, politics and resource control. The colonial administrator for Moshi observed ‘the intensely bitter feeling between many neighbouring sub-tribes still remains however, and there is little doubt that they would go to war again where our rule to be in any way relaxed.’<sup>13</sup> The shortage of arable and pastureland during the colonial period was the decisive factor towards the need to encroach on a neighbour’s land. The reasons for the settlement on the mountain slopes varied from man made and natural factors including escape from famine, drought or lack of pastureland and running from bitter rivalries with neighbours in areas of origin. Nevertheless, we remain uncertain whether these inhabitants decided to settle on the mountain slopes or it came as an accident and they found themselves establishing permanent settlement in places where they only sought temporal resting before proceeding to other destinations.<sup>14</sup>

### **2.3 Kihamba vs Shamba, Traditional Land Tenure: Differences and Similarities**

Land use in Kilimanjaro was categorised into two traditional tenure systems, and each had its importance to the Chagga society and economy in general. They

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<sup>13</sup> UKNA CO 691/191/6.

<sup>14</sup> Kathleen Stahl, *History of the Chagga People of Kilimanjaro* (The Hague: Mouton and Company 1964), pp. 44 – 46.

included *kihamba*<sup>15</sup> and *shamba*<sup>16</sup>. The two forms of traditional land tenure were as significant to production as they were to the surrounding environments. The *kihamba* was the principal and the life stay of the Chagga family as it allowed an easy practice of an agrisilvipastoral economy on the highland that comprised the main rural activity for the people of Kilimanjaro.<sup>17</sup> *Kihamba* was hereditary in nature and its use observed both continuity by the preservation of the land and productivity by mixed kinds of farm activities on the small home gardens that subsisted throughout the Chaggaland on the upper slopes of the mountain. Early visitors to Kilimanjaro including Harry Johnston observed different kinds of economic activities that were taking place on the mountain slopes from the pre-colonial period. Needless to say, they included cultivation of different varieties of bananas, some for cattle, and some dried into flour while others were to be eaten with meat and others for local

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<sup>15</sup> This was the main homeland for the Chagga and was established on the highlands of Mount Kilimanjaro. It was used to grow the Chagga staple food, banana, and the main cash crop, coffee. It was an important possession for a Mchagga and meant a lot socially, culturally and economically.

<sup>16</sup> This was a farming land outside the homeland and was situated on the lowlands. It produced seasonal crops like maize, beans and finger millet. People from the highlands who came down the mountain seasonally used it.

<sup>17</sup> Agrisilvipastoral economy was a concept applied by Koichi Ikegani in an attempt to find a proper word to explain the economic complex of the Chagga society on the hills in one word. Otherwise, it could have been explained in three words i.e. an economy of agriculture, forestry and pastoralism. The characteristic features of the mountainside Chagga economy fit well in this one word. For further reference, see Koichi Ikegani, 'The Traditional Agrosilvipastoral Complex System in the Kilimanjaro Region, and its Implications for the Japanese Assisted Lower Moshi Irrigation Project', *African Study Monograph* 15, No. 4 (1994), pp. 193 – 196, Firmat Banzi, David Boerma and Grace Mwaigomole, 'Kihamba Agroforestry and Maasai Pastoral Systems', (GIAHS Tanzania n.d). This kind of land use was in operation from the precolonial period up until when population became unmanageable on the hills and movement to the lowlands started to be on its way.

brewing.<sup>18</sup> *Kihamba* provided most of what was required by the Chagga to live on the highlands

*Kihamba* comprised of a prime land that had permanent crop cultivation and settlement of the Chagga people with their domesticated animals including cows, goats and sheep. It was organized exclusively based on family relations and each family respected one's *kihamba* because of the spiritual and social functions that it embodied. No one could sell a *kihamba* plot because it was also used as a burial place for departing members of the families. *Kihamba*, so to say, had social, economic and political significances. *Kihamba*, as a property for inheritance and burial grounds, indicated a social tie between the living and departed members of the clans. Economically, it was a place where food crops were grown (bananas and beans). Moreover, commercial farming of crops like coffee took place.<sup>19</sup> As a socially valued asset *kihamba* was a measure of when a person had to get married and how many children he should have. Land ownership was a social requirement or a disentanglement for one to start a family. The earlier a person obtained land the earlier he got married and the reverse remained true; that if a person was unable to obtain land, he could forget about starting a family and being regarded as a grown up adult in the society. In some instances, families with large plots of land ended up having many children as opposed to those without enough land. Traditionally, in the Chagga society, children were regarded a potential and reliable source of family labour for domestic and income earning activities in the family and, though everyone wanted to have many children, the option was limited to few, those with enough

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<sup>18</sup> 'The Kilimanjaro Expedition', *Science* 5, No. 107 (1885), pp. 152, Theodore Morison, 'The Wachagga of Kilimanjaro: Reminiscence of a War Time', *Journal of the Royal African Society* 32, No. 127 (1933), pp. 140 – 141.

<sup>19</sup> Edwin S. Munger, 'African Coffee on Kilimanjaro: A Chagga Kihamba', *Economic Geography* 28, No. 2 (1952), pp. 181 – 185.

land. There was a close relationship between land ownership and fertility rates in Kilimanjaro since the pre-colonial period.<sup>20</sup> Families with large access to land had more children than those without.

Chagga men owned one *kihamba* for each wife they had. The larger the number of wives, the more likelihood a husband would be given or acquire many *Vihamba*, and thus was considered a potential rich person, as he owned large portions of land. Through their wives, they were able to get many children who became a reliable source of farm labour.<sup>21</sup> Sons from rich parents would have the potential to get more areas for *Vihamba*, while those from poor families were at a disadvantage. Alternatively, sons from poor families had to seek *Vihamba* from the chiefs that were allowed on the lowlands or were to move to other chiefdoms to get such land.<sup>22</sup> Traditional land tenure in Kilimanjaro helped to reduce frictions over land use among family members and in the society as whole. Everyone in the society knew who owned which part of land and no one could assume possession of a land already owned by another family or clan members.<sup>23</sup> Conflicts over land use were associated with the expansion to the lowlands where in the past they were like no man's land. The kind of tenure that existed on the highlands was not easily adopted on the lowlands as the lowlands were not thought of as potential areas to settle in the future or establish permanent economic activities. Conflicts over land use and ownership did not happen at individual levels on the highlands; the fact on the

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<sup>20</sup> Macha J. G Meckary, 'Land Tenure and Fertility Change in Rural Areas: The Case of Kilimanjaro Region' (University of Dar es salaam: M.A Dissertation 1997), pp. vii – viii, 1 – 3.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> P. H. Johnston, 'Some Notes of Land Tenure on Kilimanjaro and the Vihamba of the Wachagga', *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 21 (1946), pp. 1 – 2, KOT 3, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2014, Kelamfua Village, Mokala Ward

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

ground was different at chiefship levels. Chiefships conflicted over control of their borders or struggled to expand to areas owned by inferior chiefs.<sup>24</sup> These struggles were a result of the significance to chiefs of occupying a large area of land. To the Chagga chief land control was power and failure to conquer and occupy a large plot of land indicated inferiority in front of other chiefdoms. Also such inferior chief would not have a strong command over his subjects. Land was a symbolic capital.

For a person to be given a *kihamba* he had to pay a fee called *upata* to the chief as a form of appreciation for the offer of land. This was not regarded as a full compensation of the ownership rights on that *kihamba* but was a sign of confirmation that the owner valued what he received from the chief. To signify this, '*upata*' varied according to the economic capability of the recipient. It varied from a cow offered by a rich person to a goat or local beer offered by the poor. But regardless of what kind of *upata* was paid to the chief, the *mtaa* headman also received beer to install the new resident in his administrative area.<sup>25</sup> Due to population increase<sup>26</sup> and the diversification of the economy and production which were accepted in the Chagga society, it remained certain that *kihamba* could no longer contain the number of

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<sup>24</sup> TNA 5/44: Moshi Boundaries – General, see files, 44/2, 44/3, 44/4, 44/5, 44/6, 44/7, 44/8, 44/9, 44/10 and 44/11. In some situations, chiefdoms entered into blood alliances (*Mma*) where the stronger chief entered into alliance with the weaker one in order to stop fighting over resources. A ritual was held and each side was to respect it. Conflicting individuals in secrecy and great privacy also could do this. See Charles Dundas, 'History Before British Occupation', *Moshi District Book, Vol. I* (Sheets 4 & 5)

<sup>25</sup> Johnston, *Some Notes*, pp. 1 – 2, In other cases, land left under women after men went away in search of income earning activities were safe and remained under the hands of women as no one could take such lands from them. Traditional land tenure provided security to these women with migrant husbands. See also, Milline J. Mbonile, 'Migration Widows of Rombo District, Kilimanjaro Region' *Les Cahiers d'Afrique de l'Est*, 32, No. 33 (2006), p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Aichi Kitanyi and Eija Soini, 'Chagga Homegardens, a Threatened Ecosystem: Potential Development Options to Reverse the Trend' (International Centre for Research in Agroforestry: The Prunus Tribune 2004), pp. 2 – 5.

people and the kind of production needed to support the over increasing social and economic needs. Though it was not a form of land use most preferred to *Kihamba*, there was no way other than starting expansion to the plains/lowlands where the *shambas* existed.

The establishment and the size of *kihamba* varied as pointed out earlier. The Chagga used the *kihamba* on the highlands to plant crops from those of the lowlands above the Arusha – Taveta road. The first staple banana planted on a new *kihamba* was called *Mrarao* on the highland and *Mkonasi* on the lowlands. Different banana species were planted on the two landscapes because of the differences in the environmental requirements for them to grow. The two types of bananas were used for beer and animal fodder and during food shortage were used for food. Later on, in subsequent years, the favourite type for Chagga food *mshare* was planted be it on the highland or lowland *kihamba*. This was regarded as the most palatable and most liked food by the Chagga.<sup>27</sup>

Hut building on *vihamba* indicated histories of migration and environmental consciousness. The conical shaped huts were not only indications that some Chagga descended from the Maa-speakers but also indicated environmental adaptations on the part of the Chagga. The nature of the huts allowed preservation of heat which otherwise could have been intolerable for human habitation on the slopes of the mountain.<sup>28</sup> However, the use of dracaena leaves as a sign of peace and blessings in the new homes needs to be reconstructed environmentally. Dracaena plant carried social and cultural functions in different societies of tropical Africa. They were used

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<sup>27</sup> Johnston, ‘Some Notes’, pp. 2 – 3, KOT 3, KOT 4, Kelamfua Village, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2014, KOT 6, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2014.

<sup>28</sup> Charles Dundas, *History Before*, pp. 255 – 258, A.S. Hitchcock, ‘A Botanical Trip to South and East Africa’, *The Scientific Monthly* 31, No. 6 (1930), p. 500.

to mark boundaries, graves and indicated a sign of peace and authority when used to mediate long standing hatred between people of the same clan or community.<sup>29</sup>

It should also be noted that the houses built and the way they were positioned could tell either a history of migration or of hostility between clans. If the clans had engaged in a war against each other, it was not possible for either party to build a house with a door facing the enemy's hill. Likewise, some houses faced the direction where the earlier clan migrants came from as a mark of clan origin. For example, it was not possible to intermarry or to face the houses towards each other between the Chagga of Machame and Kibosho because of war histories.<sup>30</sup> This dispels some earlier observations that it was like a norm for a Chagga house to face Kibo because it was not true that all clans on the hills of the mountain descended from Kibo or that all fought with the clans which inhabited Kibo. The houses were divided into sections where the father slept and where women, children and cattle slept. When a couple had a child, the mother left her husband and started to sleep in the children's room and followed her husband at wish.<sup>31</sup> Another feature associated with a precolonial Chagga home was that houses were on the whole surrounded by greens. The presence of fenced homesteads with *masale* hedges indicated that the Chagga promoted individual family values more than communal values, but it also presented the preservation of homesteads be it accidentally or intentionally.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Michael Sheridan, 'Tanzanian Ritual Perimetries and African Landscapes: The Case of Dracaena', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, No. 3 (2008), pp. 491 – 521.

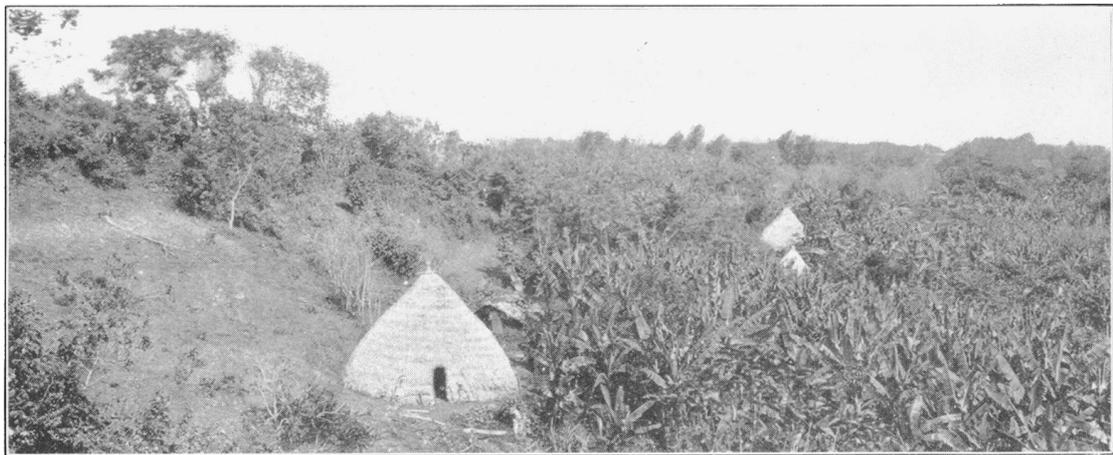
<sup>30</sup> KOT 1, 19<sup>th</sup> August 2014, Catholic Diocese of Moshi and KOT 3.

<sup>31</sup> Sally Falk Moore, 'The Chagga of Kilimanjaro,' in Sally Falk Moore and Paul Puritt (eds), *The Chagga and Meru of Tanzania: Ethnographic Survey of East Central Africa* No.18 (International African Institute 1977), pp. 2 – 4.

<sup>32</sup> Sheridan, 'Tanzania Ritual Perimetries and African Landscapes', pp. 491 – 493. Sheridan examines the symbolic and social dimensions of dracaena plants in northeastern Tanzania.

Oral narratives put it openly that the construction of full suit houses, meaning; houses made of dried grasses was only possible because the materials were available close to people's residences. This practice started to be uncommon as the grasses disappeared and the pressure of modernity came on the slopes. There are some houses in Kilimanjaro today built by using poles and mud but are still roofed with corrugated iron sheets.<sup>33</sup> The change in their environment has dictated adoption of modernity in the building of houses in Kilimanjaro.

**Figure 2: Chagga Hut in 1929 near Marangu**



**Source: A. S. Hitchcock, 1930, A Botanical Trip to South and East Africa, p. 500.**

It should be made clear that the allocation and ownership of *Kihamba* in Uchagga was a citizen's affair. Aliens to a particular Chagga clan were not given *vihamba* and were not allowed to settle on *Vihamba*. Yet, the expansion of the Chagga to the lowlands met with the aliens who were formerly allowed to settle on the marginalized land by the Chagga chiefs, as they had no rights to stay on the fertile and wet *Vihamba* on the hills but could be accommodated somewhere else on the slopes. It was significant that when somebody occupied/was given *kihamba*, he could only lose it for good when he moved to another chiefdom on permanent basis which made him lose his citizenship to the former chiefdom. Otherwise, if his

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<sup>33</sup> KOT 3.

*kihamba* was taken for public purposes, he was compensated. Compensation was made to transfer the graves to areas where the clan had graves and to compensate for any loss that the owner was going to incur.<sup>34</sup>

Unlike the *kihamba*, the *shamba* was considered a marginal land that was not suitable either for production or settlement by any individual who considered himself a pure Chagga. The *shamba* was located on the plains and was not suitable for perennial crops because it was dry, infested with tsetse flies, and human and animal diseases. In this regard, it was not unexpected that the *shamba* was only used sparingly and very seasonally. The lowlands could not offer all that was needed by the Wachagga. *Shamba* was of less value to the Chagga compared to *kihamba* on the highlands. Settlement and production relations on the two landscapes indicated the type of importance each had to the Chagga people, economically, socially and culturally. The *shamba* was used to produce seasonal crops like maize and beans that were not largely part of the Chagga staple diet until just recently when transformation has occurred to allow switching of cash crops and food crops in the Chagga culture. Most of the lowland areas could not support the growth of the crops that grew on the highlands such as bananas and coffee. Other crops such as cotton and sugarcane were also grown on the plains while a little bit further up on the mountain starting at approximately 7000 feet wheat, barley and pyrethrum were grown in large estates by white settlers.<sup>35</sup> The impact of population increase on the highlands of Kilimanjaro was not one that by itself forced people to the lowlands. Combination of population increase, the cultural construction of what it meant to be a grown up Mchagga and what was perceived to separate the highland from the

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<sup>34</sup> Johnston, 'Some Notes,' p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> Stahl, *History of the Chagga People*, pp. 26 – 27.

lowland landscape were catalysts for the stay on the highlands and likewise the expansion to the lowlands more than what population increase alone could provide.<sup>36</sup>

The highlands and lowlands of the two closest mountains, Kilimanjaro and Meru, experienced nearly similar pressures and were historically affected by each other in as far as the impacts of population increase and colonial land use policies were concerned. For example, Thomas Spear points out that Mount Meru was settled from Mount Kilimanjaro. Some people moved from Mount Kilimanjaro and decided to settle on the slopes of Mount Meru. The movements were carried out in an unorganised way and were mostly spreading on the rain shadows of the mountains where there existed more fragile ecosystems that allowed cultivation and settlements.<sup>37</sup> Two observations can be made from this narrative. The first being of population increase and the second of resource especially land depletion. The increasing population on the slopes of the mountain and the competition over traditional land are what made people encroach upon water and forest reserves in search of livelihood. The encroachments were gradual but posed a challenge to eliminate encroachers once they had permanence in those prohibited areas. The same pressure that existed on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro also existed on mount Meru.<sup>38</sup> The rate at which population increase was in proportion with the rate of conversion of grasslands into croplands and pastureland irrespective of which lowland was involved in the expansion is discussed in chapter seven of this thesis.

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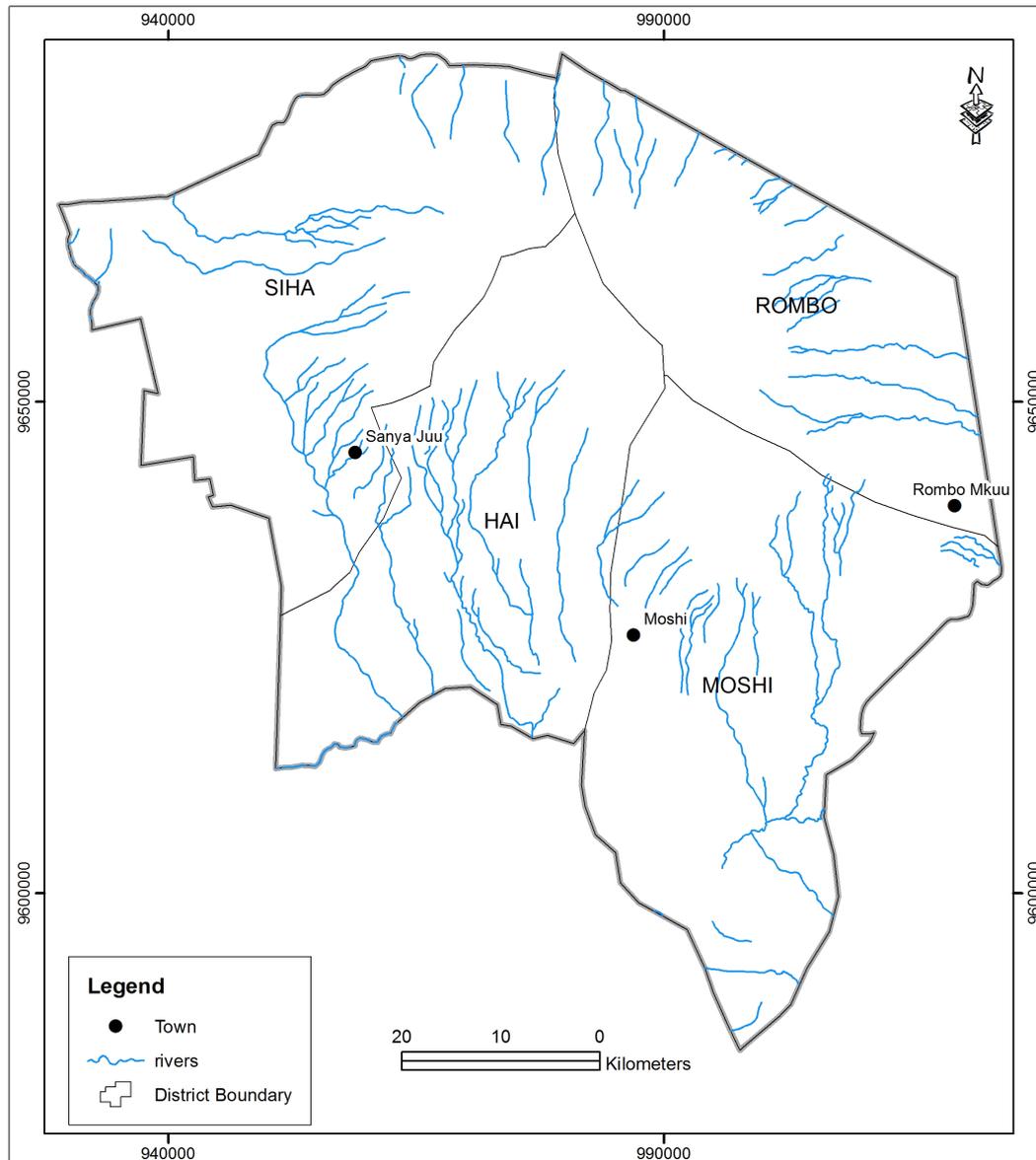
<sup>36</sup> Salome B. Misana et al, 'Linkages between Changes in Land Use, Biodiversity and Land Degradation on the Slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, Tanzania' (LUCID: Working Paper No. 38, 2003), pp. 1 – 6.

<sup>37</sup> Brian Hartley, 'The Mountains of Kilimanjaro, Meru and Monduli Threatened by an Ecological Disaster' (FOS M861 Notes, n.d), pp.1 – 2.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

All these happenings on the slopes were indications of possible expansions to the lowlands where pressure was not so high and indicated future competition over resources in the lowlands. The corridor between Mount Meru and Kilimanjaro in this case was prone to expansions of people who wanted to occupy the lowlands as chances to occupy and use land on the highland remained uncontained and almost quite impossible. We cannot assume that the corridor became a sanctuary for people driven by resource motives entirely, but probably they were under the influence of social, economic and environmental circumstances. During the British period this corridor was spared for large scale farming by white settlers. In this context, it is clear that the need for land had to serve two purposes, settlers on one side and African peasants and herders on the other. The frictions between these mixed land use options involving African peasants and white settlers will receive a detailed discussion in chapters three and four of this thesis.

**Figure 3: Drainage System in Kilimanjaro**



### 2.4 Socio-economic and Political History of Kilimanjaro

Precolonial African chiefs exercised control over power, wealth and politics to assert their authority in their societies. Participation of traditional rulers in the control of trade such as Machemba of the Yao, Milambo of the Nyamwezi, Mkwawa of the Hehe and Merere of the Sangu in local, regional and long distance trade, control of

labour and outputs of labour gave them both wealth and power in their societies.<sup>39</sup> To become a leader was also to become a wealthier person due to access to opportunities where wealth was accumulated. Social relations and the political economy of African pre-colonial societies are important intricacies if we really want to understand the dynamics of resource use and all other things related to land use and the general land tenure.<sup>40</sup> It owes to the fact that all resources were centrally controlled and distributed through channels established by chiefs and their delegates. What comprised a resource that in a way brought a need for central control by local political and social institutions varied through time. There was a time in Africa where human resource in terms of labour was more important than other resources such as land. The reason for this was that land was available while human resource to make use of that land with its resources was limited. Being a chief or a traditional ruler was a privilege given by a society and was subject to the exercise of the duties and responsibilities given to him by that society; those of leadership and protection of clan's or kingdom's sovereignty even when it involved raiding other sovereign entities. The duties also involved capturing weak clans and chiefdoms to be used as labourers.

Precolonial chiefs enjoyed control over their geographical chiefdoms. Their power came to be halted starting with German colonial rule that did not put trust in local political institutions by imposing their direct control by colonial officials.

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<sup>39</sup> In the nineteenth century during colonial incursions in the continent, organized polities in Africa resisted being under colonial rule. One of the reasons for this was fear of losing sovereignty and power to control trade. More about this can be found in A. Adu Boahen, 'Africa and the Colonial Challenge' in A. Adu Boahen (ed), *General History of Africa Vol. VII* (California: Heinemann 1985), pp.1 – 5.

<sup>40</sup> For a detailed discussion on land tenure in Africa in comparison with other forms of tenure globally, see the 'Introduction' by Lord Hailey in C.K. Meek, *Land Law and Custom in the Colonies* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn London: Oxford University Press 1949), pp. ix – xxvi.

Powers were reinstated during the British rule through imposition of political organisations that allowed local administration through use of African administrative institutions. For Kilimanjaro, for instance, land distribution came to be common during the colonial period when the value of land was higher and people started to expand to new areas. This was a point in the history of the Chagga where the need for centralised land allocation came into being. It was, though, centralised in parts while in others land users continued to expand uncontrolled that in the end it created fertile grounds for later land use disputes. Land distribution by chiefs reflected forms of royalty and appreciations to the ruling chief. Loyalty was indicated through gifts to the chief. When someone was privileged to have a plot of land, he was supposed to give more gifts to the ruling clan. Exercise of loyalty was metaphorical to the exercise of chiefly power over the ruled. While it was to be an expression of appreciation to the chief, it meant a lot in terms of the type of relationship developed between the chief and the person intending to be allocated a piece of land. If the gifts were not given or were in an amount not considered enough by the chief, then there was an impact on the way that subject was given a piece of land. He would be given a small plot or even be sent to poor soils where cultivation was hardly possible.<sup>41</sup> Understanding how this society was structured places us in a position to easily understand the dynamics and politics governing resource use.

The pre-colonial Chagga society was one that was based on a clan system backed up with a specialized kind of economic relations grounded in the division of labour. As already observed in the preceding section, there were several clans which all had independent freedom, leadership and boundaries. ‘The clan system was a strong organization and, within it, members performed their clan rites and

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<sup>41</sup> KOT 3.

ceremonies and rendered mutual aid as well as settled disputes. There were frequent wars between the clans, each trying to dominate the other, till at last the most powerful clans were able to subdue and absorb the lesser ones.<sup>42</sup> The leader of the conquering clan became a chief for the conquered clans. Fighting continued to expand the area of influence as control and ownership of a large area by certain chiefdom indicated the strength of such chiefdom.

Clan systems were superstructures different from one another in Kilimanjaro. They had a culture of their own as well as own ways of doing things. This was exemplified in marriage, inheritance, initiation, and circumcision; also they developed forms of constitutional allegiance to their clans. 'They had an elaborate kinship system, a system whereby everybody belonged to everybody else and in which a praise or blame was not an individual's affair but affected the whole group of people.'<sup>43</sup> This multiplicity of political units in Kilimanjaro justifies the earlier point that the Chagga came from different backgrounds and at this point they had different cultural and social orientations. Therefore, the clan/chiefdom struggle to control the weaker was a struggle to maintain and expand ethnic identities that the conquering group had over the other.

Precolonial social and political organisations existed until the onset of German colonial rule and continued throughout the British period. Despite the German direct rule system, the Chagga silently maintained their clan and chiefdom political organisations that came to be seen soon after the British took power after the First World War. The first challenge for the British colonial government was to establish overall control over clan systems. In this way, the British administration in

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<sup>42</sup> T. L. Marealle, *The Wachagga*, pp. 58 – 59.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

Kilimanjaro started with the deportation of some Chagga chiefs and other people on alleged conspiracy against the British government. These were allegations that targeted the Chagga and Maasai chiefs, aiming at deportation of chiefs and close acquaintances who were politically influential on the slopes. Some of them died in exile while others returned back home after the exile period. After return the next challenge was how to reinstate them as chiefs and how to dispose those who were appointed in their absence as chiefs. However, in some cases it was easy because the deported chiefs were popular among the people, which made it easier to reinstate them. Following popular opinions four of the deported chiefs were reinstated. These were chief Salema of Old Moshi, Kirita of Kilema, Tengia of Keni/Rombo and Kisarika of Uru who retired after a short while in favour of his son Laisser. Those who were not reinstated started to organise troubles with reinstated chiefs. This, in the end, complicated local administration in ways that colonial officials had not thought about.<sup>44</sup>

Local administration continued from the 1916 to the period after the Second World War when the first major reforms in the Chagga administration were made. In 1946 the Chagga made a new constitution that provided some revisions that impacted the whole system of leadership. Prior to the 1946, the Chagga had a constitution that comprised of headmen based on hereditary arrangements. The institution of the 1946 constitution affected the status of chiefs and also recognized further subdivisions in the hierarchy of Chagga administration. It was through the new constitution that the introduction of Divisional chiefs was possible and affected the

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<sup>44</sup> Moshi District Book 1.

status of previous chiefs (Mangi) because his power was reduced.<sup>45</sup> During this time small revisions were made to employ the village headmen (*mchili*) who also had a deputy called *Ngamini* who came from a clan different from that of the headman. All these were done in order to solidify unity among the amalgamated clans.<sup>46</sup>

Down the deputy *mchili* it followed a position for one or more assistant headmen called *Ngoviro*. Although it seems that this system of administrative structure was not applied throughout the Chaggaland, it is possible that these positions in similar or lightly different forms existed throughout Uchagga but with varying titles/names given the multiplicity of dialects of the Chagga language itself. For example some of these titles, which existed in the eastern side of the mountain, did not exist in Machame.<sup>47</sup> The Germans maintained this kind of pre-colonial administration and the *Wachili* came to be known as Akidas although they likely had similar functions as of the pre-colonial past. This position continued to hold dynamic titles as the introduction of British rule under indirect rule returned to the old system/name *Wachili*. The roles to control water furrows existed up to the post-colonial period when irrigation furrows came to be replaced by taped water.

### **2.5 A Decade of Rapid Political Development and Reforms, 1950 – 1960.**

Land availability and use were the axis for everything that was taking place in Kilimanjaro. Peasant participation in coffee farming gave them strength and courage that made them active participants in local and, to a lesser extent, national political

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<sup>45</sup> Henry A Fosbrooke, 'Interim Notes on Popular Representation in the Chagga Constitution' (Report No. 2, 1951) FOS F78 I 58, pp.1 – 3.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

spheres.<sup>48</sup> The politics of land use and distribution could not be ignored in any aspect of Chagga everyday life. After the 1946 Chagga constitutional reforms, a lot of changes continued to take place throughout the remaining British rule in Kilimanjaro. Headmen were to be paid. That meant more tax was to be collected by headmen and part of it used for subsidising local administration. Another method which was used to ensure payment of headmen was the amalgamation of the previous parishes which were as a result reduced from as high as 57 to as low as a manageable size of 34.<sup>49</sup> Headmen were the locally available representatives of the chiefs in their areas. They also had a direct role in association with the Wachili to find new areas with potentials for expansion of *kihamba* or *shamba* land to be distributed to the needy individuals from the highland slopes. They were in all five major chiefdoms, including Useri, Olele, Mamba, Marangu and Machame that no sooner were reduced to three main chiefdoms in the whole of Uchagga which included, Rombo (merged together Usseri, Olele and Mamba), Marangu and Machame that remained in their original forms.

Such reforms were accepted only for a short time before more reorganisations were needed from within the Chagga themselves and with assistance from colonial officials. The 1946 reforms created two main problems. The first was the reduction or near removal of all the pre-colonial structural political organisations that the Chagga Chiefs enjoyed in their different chiefdoms. They now became representatives of colonial orders in ways acceptable by the colonial government. More so, the Chagga remained vibrant all the time to try new forms of organising

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<sup>48</sup> Emma Hunter, *Political Thought and the Public Sphere in Tanzania: Freedom, Democracy and Citizenship in the Era of Decolonization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2015), pp. 108 – 113.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

local politics even when the government had preferred a certain form of local administration.<sup>50</sup> The second big challenge of the reforms was when the overall headmen decided to appoint a member from his clan or area to administer in a sub-village. He remained an umbrella of the appointing authority without the power to command or receive respect from the subjects. In principle, this system, instead of simplifying administrative issues among the Chagga, it complicated them and created hostility between the merged parishes. The parish that produced the over-all headmen considered itself superior to all others. The hostility not only remained at leader's level, but transcended down to their subjects and further stimulated anxieties for political and administrative reforms.<sup>51</sup>

The amalgamation of different areas, which fell under different hereditary chiefs, was practically impossible to administer. The chiefs who were given the power to take overall leadership of the merged political units could not efficiently administer in their areas. In some areas where the reigning headmen decided to make the chiefs of the merged parishes sub-chiefs would mean undermining their power and automatically, neither them nor their people accepted it. Constitutional developments among the Chagga were in one way coming from the pressures from the Chagga themselves and in the other, from the colonial government. The remarkable Chagga constitutional change of 1946 was a cornerstone for what came later in line of Chagga political development and reorganisation. The formation of the Chagga Citizens Union (CCU) in 1950s was much more instrumental and formed

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<sup>50</sup> Sally Falk Moore, 'Politics, Procedures, and Norms in Changing Chagga Law' *Africa: Journal of International African Institute* 40, No. 4 (1970), pp. 324 – 325, Andreas Eckert, 'A Showcase for Experiments: Local Governments Reforms in Colonial Tanzania, 1940s and 1950s', *Africa Spectrum* 34, No. 2 (1999), pp. 213 – 215.

<sup>51</sup> Fosbrooke, 'Interin Notes', p. 6.

the basis for what happened in the whole last decade of British rule in Kilimanjaro. Chagga Citizen's Union had three objectives, first, to unite the Chagga under a paramount chief who was to be elected by all Chagga to replace the hereditary chieftaincy arrangements. Second, all African members of the Chagga Council were to be elected by the people and not nominated by the chief. Third, the jurisdictional powers of the chief were reduced and their functions taken by appointed Chagga magistrates.<sup>52</sup> These were great reformist attempts that aimed to unite all slopes of the mountain and to forge an ethnically based unity that in practice remained problematic because a lot of emerging Chagga local politicians, who partly wanted power, continued to organise and reorganise to take up power from those already in power.

The Governor noted; 'in 1946 the numerous Mangi's or Chiefs areas were consolidated into three divisions, the objectives being to broaden the hitherto somewhat parochial basis of political organization of the Chagga tribe and to give adequate representation to the younger, more progressive, elements of the people.' The system of administration under divisional chiefdoms did not last for so long before it was seen that the Chagga wanted a more united administrative system that brought them together as one group. Instead, after several Barazas among the Chagga that were conducted across the slopes of the mountain, it was seen that the Chagga preferred a chief for the Chagga as a whole. The Barazas were held to test whether or not the Chagga Citizens Union represented the voice of a majority portion of population. As a result of many favoured a paramount chief, the office and the bearer were created in 1952 and Thomas Marealle became the first and last bearer for the

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<sup>52</sup> UKNA CO 691/217/6: The Chagga Citizens Union, 1951, Folio No. 3: Letter from the Governor of Tanganyika Territory to the Secretary of State, London, Dated 5<sup>th</sup> March 1951.

office.<sup>53</sup> However, this did not mark the end of political struggles and engagement on the Chagga slopes. The popularity of the paramount chief was short lived before challenges started to mount against him from the young Chagga generation.

Petro Njau was the man behind the excitements for a move towards a united ethnic group that ended up creating an office for the paramount chief. He championed the formation of a political platform to unite all the Chagga under the name of 'Kilimanjaro Union' (KU), later was renamed Kilimanjaro Chagga Citizens Union (KCCU). KCCU comprised of older members conservative to traditional ways of local administration and adamant for transition into modern ways of administration.<sup>54</sup> In itself, the first composition of the union planted a seed for more elaborate movements and unsettled local politics that continued to take shape throughout the decade through the formation of counter platforms. KCCU had the advantage of being one of the first political organisations in Kilimanjaro and had close interests in chief Thomas Marealle's administration. It supported the autocratic powers given to the paramount chief of the Chagga and was comfortable with the reduction of the powers of other divisional chiefs of the three chiefdoms formed after 1946 constitutional reforms.

The support for a paramount chief that was shown by many Chagga during the referendum that created the office was not intended to subdue the powers of divisional chiefs, but rather to unite the Chagga and maintain some powers of divisional chiefs. Divisional chiefs wanted to maintain their powers and the paramount chief was supposed to be there as a representative of the entire group of Wachagga while main decisions were preferred to be made through divisional chiefs

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<sup>53</sup> More details on why he was the first and the last are provided in later paragraphs of this section.

<sup>54</sup> Also see Hunter, *Political Thought*, pp. 117 – 133.

who more directly represented the people. Bad enough, Petro Njau wanted the abolition of Divisional chief's offices altogether, an agitation that was later abolished by himself in 1956 after negotiations that involved the Chagga Native Authority, District Commissioner and the Provincial Commissioner Northern Province. Up to 1957, the paramount Chief had almost only KCCU members in the Chagga Council (the main body of Chagga local administration) that made most of what he wanted to pass unopposed, an over exercise of power that Divisional chiefs thought was too much. 'The Chagga Council thus became one of the vehicles by which the paramount Chief has achieved his will.'<sup>55</sup> The chief faced strong opposition from Abdiel Shangali – Divisional chief for Marangu who later gained support from John Maruma – Divisional chief of Rombo.<sup>56</sup>

In another election to the Chagga Council in 1958, the KCCU old members were replaced by young generation who wanted modernization as opposed to conservative views of older members who then could not go back to the Chagga Council after the election. 'Marealle thus found himself with a Council unwilling to acquiesce to his will and desirous of taking a more active part in all affairs of the Chagga Local Government.'<sup>57</sup> The Councillors were led by Solomon Eliufo – son in law of Abdiel Shangali who had also previously and continuously opposed the autocratic power given to the Paramount Chief Thomas Marealle.<sup>58</sup> Inclusion of younger Chagga members in the Council was a new stimulus for further change and reorganisation of local government and administration starting by limiting the

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<sup>55</sup> UKNA FCO 141/1764: Chagga Tribe Political Affairs, Folio No. 55A: Supt. Of Police 'A Note on Chagga Tribal Politics Prior to Referendum in January 1960'.

<sup>56</sup> UKNA FCO 141/1764, Folio No. 55A: Supt. Of Police 'A Note on Chagga Tribal Politics Prior to Referendum in January 1960'

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

powers of the paramount chief. Eliufo formed the Chagga Democratic Party (CDP) in 1958 with ‘the main aim of democratization of the Chagga Local Government, mainly by seeking the abolition of the office of Paramount Chief and having, in its place, an elected President, the holder of which would have a limited period of office.’<sup>59</sup> However the colonial officials in London were not of the opinion that the democracy that the British colonial government had given to the Chagga through the constitutional changes of 1946 that allowed the election of a paramount chief in 1952 was not to be opposed through formation of counter political organizations.

In a meeting organised by CDP, at a time when the opposition movement to the chief was developing strongly, the main speaker Eliufo Solomon (then President of the party) directly attacked the paramount chief and the same was also done by Petro Njau ‘whose original organization, the Chagga Citizen’s Union’ (CCU) was the master planner of the movements and campaigns for the accentuation of Thomas Marealle as a paramount chief of the Chagga in the elections to the post in 1952.<sup>60</sup> It was less than ten years since the inauguration of the office of the paramount chief when the charismatic character of Marealle started to be challenged more openly even by those who supported him before. Although the British government was keen on supporting the chief, pressures from the people continued to make themselves felt, some expressing views through petitions. The newly formed CDP demanded the resignation of the paramount chief. Although colonial officials considered it ‘a small minority movement’, its pressure was enough to draw the attention of the

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> For details, see UKNA FCO 141/177226: Tanganyika Northern Province Provincial Commissioners Monthly Newsletters, Folio: Letter from Eliufo Solomoni to District Officer – Moshi, dated 12<sup>th</sup> October 1951, also Folio: Provincial Commissioner Monthly Newsletter for September 1951, dated 5<sup>th</sup> October 1951.

government in general and more closely of the Provincial and District Commissioners.<sup>61</sup>

The Editor of the Tanganyika Standard (then National Newspaper) took part in refusing publicity of opposition movements. He refused to publish a letter from CDP activists because of what was regarded as an attack on the chief and on the view that it would 'be most damaging to some most delicate and important negotiations'<sup>62</sup> that were going on to stabilise the situation. The DC likewise, did not support the publicity of the opposition to the chief but the CDP continued to organise meetings across the slopes to make it popular among the people. Because the popularity of CDP was an obvious threat to the power of the paramount chief, something the colonial government would not like to see, the main activist and organiser for CDP activities Mr. Eliufo was appointed to the position of a minister on July 1<sup>st</sup> 1959. The appointment did not come for free, it was with conditions and expectations that he should no longer take any part in organising or associating himself with the growing opposition of the paramount chief. His appointment did not mark the end of the opposition. More canvassing of supporters to the ideas of abolishing the title of the paramount chief continued to increase.

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<sup>61</sup> See correspondence between Chagga Democratic Party (CDP), District Officers and the Chief Secretary's office, Dar es Salaam in UKNA FCO 141/17864: Chagga Tribe Political Affairs, 1958 – 1960, Folio No. 1: Letter from Commissioner of Police to the Ministerial Secretary, Office of the Chief Secretary titled 'Chagga Affairs: Moshi District' dated 5<sup>th</sup> November 1958, Folio No. 3: Letter from Commissioner of Police to the Ministerial Secretary of the Chief Secretary titled 'Chagga Affairs, Moshi District Chagga Democratic Party' dated 8<sup>th</sup> November 1958, Folio No. 13: Titled 'Chagga Democratic Party' dated 20<sup>th</sup> May 1959, Folio No. 32: L.G.II to M.L.G.A dated 10<sup>th</sup> June 1959 and KOT 29, Usseri 27<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

<sup>62</sup> UKNA FCO 141/ 17864 Chagga Tribe: Political Affairs, Folio Letter from M.L.G.A to PC/LGA dated 4<sup>th</sup> June 1959.

The reforms advocated by CDP from 1958 attracted a wider audience including those who formerly and officially supported the chief. By 1959 they started to revive the camps in support of the chief's position to counter the CDP proposals for an elected president of the Chagga. In the same year Solomon Njau resuscitated the KCCU after some time of dormancy and the potential threat posed by the rapidly growing CDP that canvassed supporters every day. KCCU that fundamentally supported the idea of a paramount chief, after its resuscitation in 1959 found itself at loggerhead with CDP that favoured a tenure presidency instead of a paramount chief. KCCU remained conservative in outlook while CDP maintained a liberal view to decentralize powers to the Chagga local government authorities. It was obvious during this period that Njau himself had started to lose the support of the majority of the Chagga population. His meetings were attended by few people compared to what always happened years before when he campaigned for the office of a paramount Chief. The loss of supporters to the Chief under the auspices of KCCU prompted the pro-Marealle supporters to form a new party that aimed to bring back the support lost under KCCU and strengthen the power of the chief by countering the arguments raised by CDP. This was the point where the Chagga Progressive Party (CPP) was formed. CPP was a fresh wine in an old glass. It embraced what KCCU stood for and tried to continue with a struggle to achieve political ends and operated hand in hand with KCCU.

CPP was under the leadership of Meleksdeck Simon. 'It was felt by Simon that the formation of the CPP would attract large numbers of young people who favoured the retention of Paramountcy, but who, at the same time, were unwilling to align themselves with Njau, who has become an object of ridicule to the younger

Chagga people in recent years.’<sup>63</sup> Until this time, the struggle under local politics was the conservative KCCU and CPP against the reformist campaigns of CDP. Agitations for a referendum to ask the Chagga whether they favoured a lifetime paramount chief or a periodically elected president of the Chagga Council continued. The referendum was held on the 4<sup>th</sup> February 1960 where many Chagga preferred a periodically elected president in place of a lifetime paramount chief, and the office and title of the paramount chief was abolished on 5<sup>th</sup> May 1960. The office of the paramount chief was abolished on claims that it did not reflect the traditional administrative requirements and that it was an unnecessary burden to the Native Treasury.<sup>64</sup> Abolition of the office of the paramount chief was a success story for the CDP activists who led the campaigns from the beginning to the end. After its abolition subsequent reforms of political arrangements that were seen not inherently traditional and were costing the ‘Native Treasury’ unnecessarily continued from May 1960 to the end of the colonial rule.<sup>65</sup>

Just in the short period of a decade after the colonial government allowed some constitutional changes in the Chagga local administration, government and some sorts of democratic movements, the Chagga experienced the formation of five political organisations. Kilimanjaro Union (KU), Kilimanjaro Chagga Citizens Union (KCCU), Chagga Progressive Party (CPP), Chagga Democratic Party (CDP) and Chagga Citizens Union (CCU). They occupied local political development and thought despite the national political movement that were organised nationwide by

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., Folio: Letter from Tanganyika Police, Director of Security & Immigration, Titled ‘Chagga Tribal Affairs’, dated 13<sup>th</sup> April 1960.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> UKNA FCO 141/17864: Folio Letter from Tanganyika Police, Director Special Branch to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Security & Immigration, titled ‘Chagga Tribal Affairs’, Dated 25<sup>th</sup> April 1960.

Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). When Tanganyika National Union was campaigning for territorial independence for the local Chagga political platforms (parties), territorial independence was supplemental to local political reforms that were taking place on the mountain slopes. Some political campaigners who were associated with TANU's nationalist campaigns used TANU's offices to plan for local political movements instead of joining all hands in uniting the Chagga for national campaigns for independence.<sup>66</sup> Although the office of the paramount chief was abolished during the 1960s, the name of Thomas Marealle remains well painted in the history of Kilimanjaro and its contribution to national independence less articulated as the case for many other precolonial and colonial chiefs in Tanzania. Whether he opposed national independence in favour of internal Chagga developments or he stood side by side with other nationalist leaders to fight for independence may need some sort of a detailed study.<sup>67</sup>

## 2.6 Dynamics in the Chagga Society: A Snapshot

Kilimanjaro has remained dynamic in its history and development throughout time. Changes were seen in all aspects of the society. Early travellers to Kilimanjaro recorded remarkable precolonial socioeconomic developments that were taking place before the introduction of colonialism in the last decade of the nineteenth century. They recorded divisions of the Chagga based on clan systems, geographical areas,

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<sup>66</sup> See also John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979), pp. 490 – 503.

<sup>67</sup> Questions of the participation of chief Marealle in national independence have recently brought up discussions between the family of Marealle and some Chagga elites who were part of political developments on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. See for instance, articles published by member(s) of the family of chief Thomas Marealle, in *Mwananchi* 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2006, *Mtanzania* 19<sup>th</sup> August 2007, *The Guardian* 5<sup>th</sup> June 2008, *Nipashe* 14<sup>th</sup> February 2012, also 'Msimamo wa Nyerere, Marealle UN Ulikuwa Mmoja', *Mwananchi Jumatano* 25<sup>th</sup> December 2013, *Mwananchi* 25<sup>th</sup> December 2013 and a Special issue on remembering Chief Marealle, 'Kumbukumbu ya Mfalme Marealle', in *Jamhuri* 10<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> February 2015 and 17<sup>th</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2015.

linguistic differences and political organizations. Clan systems were maintained separately and were rooted in the everyday life of the Chagga because of the hatred and conflicts that existed against each other in the precolonial period.<sup>68</sup> Chagga people did not live in isolation from the wider regional networks that involved the exchange of agricultural and animal produce with neighbours.<sup>69</sup> These networks influenced certain types of land use and adaptations that occurred in the precolonial period. But major changes started during the colonial period and went through to the postcolonial period. The introduction of colonial rule at least signalled three important developments in Kilimanjaro that all contributed to land use change.

The first was the coming together of all Chagga clans and the stopping of hatred and conflicts among each other.<sup>70</sup> Peace and stability combined with the second development encouraged rapid change in the social and economic development through concentration on economic productions and reproductions. The second important addition during the colonial period that was connected to the first was the introduction of the coffee economy to the highland *kihamba* system and the establishment of large scale coffee farms on the slopes of the mountain. It will be seen in the next chapters how coffee played a pivotal role in the Chagga money

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<sup>68</sup> For details of precolonial Chagga society see J. Lewis Krapf, *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours During Eighteen Years Residence in Eastern Africa* (London and New York: Routledge 1968) (First published in 1860) and Hans Mayer, *Across East African Glaciers: An Account of the First Ascent of Kilimanjaro* (London: Forgotten Books 2015) (first published in 1891).

<sup>69</sup> Ludger Wimmelbücker 'Kilimanjaro, A Regional History, Vol. 1: Production and Living Conditions c. 1800 – 1920,' (Hamburg: Lit Verlag 002) (read chapters 1 & 2) and Thomas Håkanson, 'Regional Political Ecology and Intensive Cultivation in Precolonial South Pare, Tanzania', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, No. 3 (2008). Although Håkanson deals with precolonial Pare society, the connections that the Pare had with other neighbours in northeastern Tanzania were influential in land use change and adaptation.

<sup>70</sup> Some studies available on the formation of a single Chagga group though sometimes are repetitive of traveler's accounts are, Stahl, *History of the Chagga People*, Dundas, *Kilimanjaro and its People* and Sally Falk Moore, *Social Facts*.

economy and land use changes in Kilimanjaro. The third development was the rapid population increase that resulted partly from peace and stability that was maintained by the colonial government. The three factors, unification of all Chagga clans, the introduction of the money economy and rapid population growth were significant drivers for the adjustments and transformations that took place in Kilimanjaro throughout the colonial and postcolonial periods, as will be shown in the next chapters of this thesis.

There were many transformations and all influenced the general history, economy, and society of Kilimanjaro. In this study, we only focus on few of the changes that were introduced in Kilimanjaro and that have had lasting legacies on land and economic developments. We choose to deal with the political economy of land acquisition, distribution, ownership and use and the extent to which all these were related to social and economic motives on the slopes of mount Kilimanjaro. We understand that there have been other considerable changes on the mountain, but all these were used to strengthen our understanding of the dynamics of land use change.<sup>71</sup> The developments of the colonial period also had a direct impact on how the Chagga people continued to utilise whatever opportunity that came to them and remained the most advanced ethnic group in Tanzania. For example, the development in education has brought great changes in Kilimanjaro. It has helped to reduce the load on farm activities as educated young Chagga take up off-farm jobs elsewhere in nearby townships and other parts of Tanzania. Also, there has been rapid development in business that helps to reduce concentration on farming activities.

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<sup>71</sup> For details about changes in Kilimanjaro see the essays in Clack (ed), *Culture, History and Identity*.

Improvement of infrastructure networks has contributed greatly towards expansion to the lowlands during the postcolonial period. The presence of the main tarmac road, the Arusha – Moshi – Himo – Holili – Taveta, the tarmac and all weather roads that link all districts of Kilimanjaro region had a great impact on development and land use in Kilimanjaro. Those who did not want the lowlands because they were poorly connected to the highland are now using the opportunities of the existing infrastructure. Those who did not want the lowlands because they could not transport bananas for food to the lowlands can now easily do that. All these, when combined with other factors, as shall be detailed in the next chapters, contributed enormously to the redefinition of the lowlands and the perpetual settlement that continued to be established. As a general tendency, mobility and settlements on the lowlands started to occur following the main roads. As the number of people increased on the lowlands, the nuclei of earlier settlements along the roads expanded into small sub-townships and townships and continue to attract more people and expansion into areas further beyond the main roads.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

The geography, physical features, weather conditions, climate and the nature of resource availability were important factors that determined social, cultural and economic affiliations to the landscapes of Kilimanjaro. Formation of ethnic identity of the Chagga resulted from both struggles to establish themselves in the new land and the connections and relations they had with outsiders. The choice of the highland for settlement more than four centuries ago was accidental, unlike that of expansion to the *shamba* areas from 1950s that was a matter of necessity. It was accidental because different groups of people who were moving through the landscape found the area suitable and established settlements without having preplanning and

intensions to do so. This chapter is important as it explored social-political developments that not only influenced land use but also defined the entire political and economic involvements of the people of Kilimanjaro even after independence in 1961. Also, it presented why land remains so central in the everyday life of a Mchagga whenever they live, be it in Kilimanjaro or elsewhere. Experience taught them about the connections between land and adulthood, prosperity and ritual functions. Chapter three of this thesis will consider in greater details the social, cultural and economic functions of the highland landscape famously known as *kihamba* or homegarden.

### Chapter Three

#### **Kihamba - Ancestral Land: The Social, Cultural and Economic Motives for Land Use Change in Kilimanjaro, Northeastern Tanzania.**

This chapter seeks to examine the connections between the physical and social landscapes that shaped and influenced each other on the slopes of Kilimanjaro. It shows that for the Chagga, the mountain was not only a physical landscape but also a social space created by cultural and social practices different from other ethnic groups in Tanzania. Planning for the use of the physical space was futile without incorporating the cultural aspects imbued with inhabiting the physical space. The chapter builds on and benefits from recent developments in historical and environmental resource studies that began strongly from the 1990s. Since then there has been a mushrooming of the literature that received the identity of raising the voice of the voiceless by capturing local knowledge and agency. This development was a result of several processes, among which is the denial of an active contribution of local knowledge and agency in shaping local wider environments, policy formulation and implementation in Africa and elsewhere in rural economies. Publication of research works like *Governing the Commons* by Elinor Ostrom 1991, *Misreading the African Landscape* by James Fairhead and Melisa Leach 1996, *Custodians of the Commons* edited by Charles Lane 1998, *Eroding the Commons* by David Anderson 2002, to mention as examples, in common indicated that there were some ways through which societies negotiated over the challenges in their local environments and that their local knowledge was equally important for any project that wanted to deal with planning of resource use and management.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion on how societies are able to define and use resources available in their environments in some sorts of sustainable ways, see, Elinor

They revealed voices that were formerly silenced and misunderstood by government authorities who tried to impose some assumed conversational knowledge regarding proper resource use and environmental management without proper considerations of local articulations of their environments. *Governing the Commons* for instance is an outspoken critique of the assumptions that ‘the commons’ were empty slates waiting to be fed by knowledgeable personnel from outside on how properly they could use their resources sustainably.<sup>2</sup> Authorities did not capture what the British anthropologist Tim Ingold called the aspect of ‘temporality’ when he described that the creation and affiliation to a landscape has aspects of ‘time’ and ‘space’ that are temporal in nature and were defined by societies themselves of ‘when’, ‘where’ and ‘how’ to interact with a particular environment. Temporality depended on a matrix of forces that operated in a given society.<sup>3</sup> Change and continuities on resource use depended much on this temporal aspect and not knowledge perceived from experts.

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Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1991), 298pp, James Fairhead and Melisa Leach, *Misreading the African Landscape: Society and Ecology in Forest – Savannah Mosaic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University 1996), 384pp, Charles R. Lane (ed), *Custodians of the Commons: Pastoral Land Tenure in East and West Africa* (London: Earthscan Publications 1998), 238pp, David Anderson, *Eroding the Commons: The Politics of Ecology in Baringo, Kenya 1890s – 1963* (London: James Currey), Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage Books 1995), pp. 2 – 22. Schama provides a nice narrative on the contrasts of environmental knowledge from ‘within’ and ‘outside’ the society. He points out that, sometimes even when the outside observers see some fascinating environments, it has been made so by some assumed destructive practices done from within. Also see Christopher A. Conte, *Highland Sanctuary: Environmental History in Tanzania’s Usambara Mountains* (Athens: Ohio University Press 2004), pp. 18 – 30.

<sup>2</sup> Also see the example of local environmental use by the Luo of Kenya in David William Cohen and A. S. Atieno Odhiambo, *Siaya: The Historical Anthropology of an African Landscape* (London: James Currey 1989), pp. 1 – 8.

<sup>3</sup> See Tim Ingold, ‘The Temporality of the Landscape’, *World Archaeology* 25 (1993), pp. 152 – 174.

By and large, government assumptions in most instances were proven wrong when imposed modern approaches failed to bring desired modernisations and the local knowledge remained victorious as they continued to negotiate affiliation and use of their surrounding environments despite some failures and challenges that faced them. Indeed, what happened in the minds of government authorities had its ramifications indicated in the way scholars of environmental studies approached their research before the 1990s. Barbara Bender criticised the different approaches that were used before the 1990s as cluttered in facile generalisations. ‘They fail[ed] to recognise that the way in which people engage with their worlds depends upon specific time and place and historical conditions; it depends upon gender, age, class and religion.’<sup>4</sup> This implied that government interventions could not necessarily succeed every time they were conceived and implemented to direct some ways of resource use and management.

The Chagga were among the many commons from rural economies who went through similar struggles between their environments and authorities that wanted to set some sort of rules to be followed on the slopes. Plans and development accentuated on two important aspects however, they were not the only ones for a successful implementation on the Chagga landscapes. The first aspect was population increase that was seen to threaten the prosperity of the slopes of the mountain. The second was land shortage. These two were obvious forces driving change on the mountain. Yet, a lot had to be understood and undertaken to understand what was vested in the minds of the people before attempts to embark on modern scientific land use planning and implementation. The highland physical

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<sup>4</sup> Barbara Bender, ‘Theorising Landscapes, and the Prehistoric Landscapes of Stonehenge’, *Man New Series* 27, No. 4 (1992), p. 735.

space was meaningful to a Mchagga only when it was understood within the complexities surrounding it. Those included understanding farming and herding practices, knowing its significance as an economic unit and also knowing that it was a social space within a physical landscape. Government authorities understood the first two aspects and ignored the last that had equal importance in figuring out changes and continuities on the mountain slopes.

This chapter attempts to show that the highland physical space was more than was imagined. It functioned within a web created based on local experience of inhabiting the landscape. All processes that were taking place were reflected in a social system that socially and culturally affiliated people to the mountain space and identified them differently from ‘others’ inhabiting other landscapes. This was one of the strong bonds that limited a swift implementation of several plans that wanted to alienate them from their local environments by establishing settlements or economic activities elsewhere. While the chapter does not go into any depth in terms of government land use plans, it provides a base for understanding the next chapter that deals with land use and resettlement projects in Kilimanjaro during the British period.

### **3.1 Kihamba: Origin and Development, Late Precolonial Period to 1930s**

The history of Kihamba as a form of tenurial land use cannot be understood to be as old as the Chagga’s settlements on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. The intensity of the practices that came to be seen later on this land was neither primarily intended, nor did it come by accident. Archaeological evidence has not yet established the exact dates when this kind of highland settlement and land use was established and

the way it developed through time.<sup>5</sup> Available studies on Kilimanjaro indicate that irrigation farming on the mountain slopes existed a long time before the assumed population outburst that could otherwise be seen to influence an intensive land use through application of irrigation technology.<sup>6</sup> Archaeological evidence on the timing of *kihamba* culture would broaden and respond to questions pertaining to our understanding on whether what we claim as land use intensification on the highland of mount Kilimanjaro is a recent phenomenon or it was a kind of land use that existed since the first days of the establishment of settlement on the slopes of the mountain.

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<sup>5</sup> Available archaeological studies on Northeastern Tanzania that intentionally or accidentally included some analysis of land use change include, J. E. G. Sutton, 'The Archaeology and Early Peoples of the Highlands of Kenya and Northern Tanzania', *Azania: The Archaeological Research in Africa* (later *Azania*) 1, No. 1 (1966), pp. 37 – 57, Robert Soper, 'Iron Age Sites in Northeastern Tanzania,' *Azania* 2, No. 1 (1967), pp.19 – 36, Knut Odner, 'Usangi Hospital and other Archaeological Sites in the North Pare Mountains, North-eastern Tanzania', *Azania* 6, No. 1 (1971a), pp. 89 – 130, Knut Oder, 'A Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey on the Slopes of Kilimanjaro', *Azania* 6, No. 1 (1971b), pp. 131 – 149, Amini A. Mturi, 'The Pastoral Neolithic of West Kilimanjaro', *Azania* 21, No. 1 (1986), pp. 53 – 63, J. E. G. Sutton, 'Towards a History of Cultivating the Fields', *Azania*, 24, No. 1 (1989), pp. 98 – 112.

<sup>6</sup> Many studies have been done on the history of irrigation in Kilimanjaro, some of them are, Roland Oliver, *Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa* (London: Chatto and Windus 1957), pp. 56 – 63, Mary E. Gillingham, 'Gaining Access to Water: Formal and Working Rules of Indigenous Irrigation Management on Mount Kilimanjaro' *Natural Resources Journal* 39 (1999), pp. 419 – 425, J. Christoph Winter, 'The Social History of the Chagga in Outline with Special Reference to the Evolution of Homegardens' in Timothy A. R. Clack (ed), *Culture, History and Identity: Landscapes of Inhabitation in Mount Kilimanjaro Area, Tanzania: Essays in Honour of Paramount Chief Thomas Lenana Mlangi Marealle II, 1915 – 2007* (London: BAR International Series 2009), pp. 273 – 277, Mathias Tagseth, 'The Expansion of Traditional Irrigation in Kilimanjaro, Tanzania', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, No. 3 (2008), pp. 461 – 462, Mathias Tagseth, 'Social and Cultural Dimensions of Irrigation Management in Kilimanjaro' in Clack (ed), *Culture, History and Identity*, pp. 89 – 102, Daryl Stump and Mathias Tagseth, 'The History of Precolonial and Early Colonial Agriculture on Mount Kilimanjaro: A Review' in Clack, *Culture, History and Identity*, pp. 107 – 118.

The late precolonial nineteenth century explorations on Kilimanjaro provided an estimation that population density was about ninety-two inhabitants per square mile but it was reported that the land could even support threefold of the existing population at that time. Most people lived in some few areas and left other areas fallow. Such concentration in small areas surrounded by huge empty lands during this period was not a result of land shortage but rather other motives operated in its favour. It is quite clear that some of these motives and other factors were the existence of hatred between clans and chiefdoms under different chiefs that were located sporadically across the mountain slopes. Clans and chiefdoms wanted to be identified with a certain area and struggled to prevent intruders.<sup>7</sup> Hans Meyer a German Geographer (1858 – 1929) in his accounts of the visit he made to Kilimanjaro by 1880s noted that; ‘the population is in the ratio of about ninety-two inhabitants to the square mile; but the fertility of the soil is so great that could double or triple that number, if the whole region were united under one capable ruler.’<sup>8</sup> In this way, irrigation farming was not a response to intensive land use practice but just a form of farming that was more suitable on the slopes than any other form of farming.

Settlement in the early days on the highland was not decided upon competition on a particular space but on grounds of who was able to clear and establish settlement on the forests and vegetation of the slopes. Some scholars approximate that by the seventeenth century there were some indications that the

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<sup>7</sup> Hans Meyer, *Across East African Glaciers: An Account of the First Ascent of Kilimanjaro* (Trans. From German by E. H. S. Calder) (London: George and Son, 1891), p. 114.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p. 114.

‘wilderness’<sup>9</sup> on the mountain slopes started to change into arable land.<sup>10</sup> This was the take-over time from parasitic (hunter-gatherer) economy into productive agrarian and herding economies. They cleared thick forest and vegetation that were left integral to the hunting and gathering communities that lived there for years before Bantu migration into the area.<sup>11</sup> For hunter-gatherer communities the forest and the vegetation cover meant a lot to their daily lives as they entirely depended on exploiting what nature provided them, unlike agricultural communities that saw forest and vegetation covers as barriers towards sustainable livelihood.

In the early days of the conception and later development of *kihamba*, it was divided into four categories, each with different values and functions. The first one was the *kihamba* proper. It had different names across different ridges but it entailed the home of the Chagga in whatever name was given to it. The second category was the *m/irabu* that was the abandoned *kihamba* but had a potential of reoccupation by the former owner or sometimes chiefs allocated it to others who wanted *vihamba*. The third was called *ma/iremu* that comprised a reserve land ready for allocation to any Mchagga on that area by a headman and the last category was the yearly

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<sup>9</sup> The concept of Africa of a wilderness was first used by early travellers in what they called ‘the dark continent’, meaning Africa, and was later adopted by colonial officials who came to assume that many areas in the continent were virgin, having never been touched by human settlements. This formed the base for future need to conserve the environment by thinking that practices of shifting cultivation for example were sources for degradation of the assumed ‘Eden.’

<sup>10</sup> Harald Lange, *Kilimanjaro: The White Roof of Africa* (Trans. By John Paul Roper, Washington: The Mountaineers 1985), pp. 97 – 98, also see ecological changes on the mountain following Chagga settlements in E. C. M. Fernandes, A. O’kting’ati and J. Maghembe, ‘The Chagga Homegardens: A Multistoried Agroforestry Cropping System on Mt. Kilimanjaro’, *Agroforestry Systems* 2 (1984), pp. 73 – 86, A. O’kting’ati et al, ‘Plant Species in the Kilimanjaro Agroforestry System’, *Agroforestry Systems* 2 (1984), pp. 177 – 186.

<sup>11</sup> Charles Dundas, *Asili na Habari za Wachagga: The Origin and History of the Chagga Tribe of Kilimanjaro, Tanganyika Territory* (Trans. by R.K. Watts and P. Mzaba, London: The Sheldon Press 1932), pp. 7 – 8.

seasonal tenure land; the *shamba* on the lowlands. The lowlands were allocated on annual basis to individuals who wanted them unlike *kihamba* on the highland that was occupied on permanent basis.<sup>12</sup> Expansion and land intensification followed a pattern starting with the *kihamba* proper then moving into *ma/iremu* before going to the *shamba*. Woodley noted that; ‘in time, with the advent of a cash economy and pressure on land these *maremu* were put under permanent crops by the *kihamba* owner, and for all purposes are now the same as ancestral *vihamba*, though they are more accurately described as houseless-*vihamba*.’<sup>13</sup> They were houseless in the first days because proper *vihamba* were still enough to offer settlements. As time went on, they became full and expansion to other categories became significant.

Clearing and establishing settlement on the new landscape of the highland was done following clan relations of where these people came from as they attracted relatives and friends to settle in the same areas.<sup>14</sup> In this case, in subsequent years it was clear that many small clan units established differentiated identities and found themselves as unique to others distinguished by culture, area of origin, language and traditions.<sup>15</sup> The dialects spoken in Kilimanjaro are not always mutually intelligible though in some areas like western slopes there are some dialects that are intelligible with neighbouring Meru people who inhabited the present day slopes of Mount Meru.<sup>16</sup> Land use involved clearing and burning that allowed abandonment of

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<sup>12</sup> Woodley F. J, *Notes on the Arusha District, Tanganyika* (n.d) (A manuscript is available at SOAS, archival collections).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Kathleen M. Stahl, *Tanganyika: Sail in the Wilderness* (Gravenhange: Mouton and Co 1961), p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> Figgis Report on the Present State Chagga Land Tenure Practice (SOAS PP MS 74).

<sup>16</sup> For detailed linguistic classifications on the Chagga and the neighbouring linguistic groups in northern Tanzania see, Derek Nurse, ‘Language and History on Kilimanjaro, The Pare Mountains, and the Taita Hills’ (University of Dar es Salaam:

exhausted land and expansion into new areas.<sup>17</sup> No one would have known that the land they occupied and abandoned would turn into a precious commodity some centuries later and no one would have expected this land will be intensified the way it was, just to avoid further extension, to accommodate new crops, and to adjust into the newly introduced colonial activities.

It should be made clear at least near this beginning of the discussion that *Kihamba* was not only a farmland and its prosperity depended on both economic and social aspects. It held clan identities and affiliations that later became very difficult to deal with when further land use arrangements on the mountain and other areas became unavoidable.<sup>18</sup> The long histories of settlement on the highlands created a wealth of culture, heritage and traditions that remained peculiar to the highland and the people inhabiting it. These culturally fabricated attributes became important factors even more than the physical landscape itself that determined and defined the Chagga when viewed in connection with neighbours closer to the mountain and far in the territory. The Chagga, so to speak, throughout the German and British colonial periods and during the post-colonial period have remained locked in a struggle between cultural forces and physical veracities over their landscape that are reconciled through policies and economic advantages of each time in their history of settlement.

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PhD Thesis Vols. I & II 1977), Derek Nurse, *Classification of the Chagga Dialects: Language and History on Kilimanjaro, the Taita Hills and the Pare Mountains* (Hamburg: Buske 1979).

<sup>17</sup> Early travellers in Kilimanjaro could only see established settlements on the highlands and forest on the lowlands. The reasons given by these travellers are that the Chagga did not want to enter into competition with rival Maasai who inhabited the lowlands. See A. F. Loftus, *Johnston on Kilimanjaro* (Early Travellers in East Africa 1952), pp. 8 – 9, C. G. Richards, *Krapf: Missionary and Explorer* (Early Travellers in Africa Series 1950), pp. 30 – 33.

<sup>18</sup> See Tanganyika Territory, *Review of Land Tenure Policy Part I: English and Swahili Versions* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1958), pp. 1 – 2.

When one visits the mountain slopes for the first time and asks its inhabitants what they thought of *kihamba*, they will simply get responses that regard *kihamba* as a farmland. To understand much of its several other corollaries that the *kihamba* carries, one needs to dig deep in oral accounts and records alike. This simplicity does not register the complexities embodied in the constructions and perceptions over what is comprised in a *kihamba* rather points at overt implication and silences the social side of it. An outsider needs to take time in order to come into glimpses of what really makes this highland landscape so interesting, attracting the attention of scholars and policy makers because of its perceived danger of extinction. In fact, *kihamba* presents a story of dynamism rather than linear development into a positive or negative direction. The system has remained so resilient in responding to new forces and adaptations without changing the principles that bind and associate its origin to a highland landscape. This landscape will outlive the pressures exerted by external forces due to its ability to deal with new challenges presented in the forms of production relations and waves of modernity backed by both local and global connections.

### **3.2 *Kihamba* as an Economic Space, 1920s to 1930s**

The economic space on *Kihamba* can be traced as far back as when the Chagga connected themselves into the networks of transactions. For example, the production of bananas, whose dating also contradicts the available sources on settlement on the slopes seem to have stimulated participation in trade.<sup>19</sup> The introduction of bananas

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<sup>19</sup> Ludger traces the introduction of banana on the slopes of Kilimanjaro to be the first century AD. That seems to be very far from the dates that point to the earlier migrations and settlements on the mountain. See Ludger Wimmelbücker, 'Production and Living Conditions: The Kilimanjaro Region, c.1800 – 1920' (University of Hamburg: PhD Thesis 1999), p. 43. While on the settlement Winter, 'The Social History', sees that it was during the 17<sup>th</sup> century when the Chagga

started to indicate the directions through which the highland ecology was later to be perceived and how that perception was significant in land use dynamics. It had to replace onion farming in some areas that had enjoyed a considerable commercial advantage with Indians before coffee came to replace.<sup>20</sup> Before the introduction of large scale coffee farming, Moshi District produced almost half of the total onions that were produced in the Northern Province.<sup>21</sup> During the early days of banana farming, the Chagga specialised in farming bananas and depended on grains from the networks with neighbours.<sup>22</sup> Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century the main economic activity of the Chagga was trade in some agricultural, wild products and also slaves.

Trade introduced the Chagga into the networks that operated globally connected links especially between the interior and the coast. During the late precolonial period commodities from the interior included honey, animal skins, ivory, rhinoceros horns, hippopotamus teeth, slaves, rubber, coffee, pepper to mention just a few. They were obtained and carried all the way through the caravans that moved from Arusha and Moshi to the coast and backwards.<sup>23</sup> Trade that involved beneficial transactions were organised and controlled by chiefs. Trade in slaves and ivory provided the chiefs with enough wealth that was used to run the daily activities in their chiefdoms and exposed them to contacts with Arabs and later Europeans who participated in trade. Introduction of colonialism in Kilimanjaro went

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moved into the slopes of the mountain. If both Wimmelbücker and Winter are correct, then these dates remain confusing.

<sup>20</sup> KOT 5, Moshi Lutheran Diocese, 1<sup>st</sup> September 2014.

<sup>21</sup> R. J. M. Swynnerton, 'Onion Cultivation on Kilimanjaro', *The East African Agricultural Journal* 12 (1947), pp. 176 – 179, R. J. M. Swynnerton, 'Further Note on Onion Experiments on Kilimanjaro', *The East African Agricultural Journal* 14 (1948), pp. 23 – 25.

<sup>22</sup> Wimmelbücker, 'Production and Living Conditions', p. 43.

<sup>23</sup> German East Africa: *Annual Reports, 1905 - 1906* (Translated into English by anonymous author and deposited at History Department, University of Dar es Salaam).

hand in hand with the abolition of slave trade and in a way destabilised a dependable source of income for chiefs and Chiefdoms that were organised based on it.<sup>24</sup> An alternative source of income had to be sought and, in one way or the other, this became one of the strong reasons to a quick adaptation to coffee economy on the highlands.

Introduction of coffee growing in Kilimanjaro in the 1850s interfered with the traditional land tenure system on aspects of allocation and use. Certainly, such interference was not always negative because it had both economic and social imperatives in the society and its impacts varied depending on the ability of individuals.<sup>25</sup> In cases where, in the pre-coffee period land was distributed and sometimes occupied by people following some rules, during the coffee period progressive coffee growers started to grab land without following the rules for land distribution on the slopes and left some peasants squeezed in small areas as their places were taken over by progressive farmers.<sup>26</sup> The reason for the change of tenure rules was that the value for land had changed, due to the high demand for growing coffee as a newly introduced crop on the highland landscape. When one compares the annual reports for the department of agriculture and the Provincial Commissioners reports between the years 1920s to 1940s they indicate a swift adaptation and developments on the mountain slopes with regard to the expansion of coffee arable land and the productivity resulting from such expansion.

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<sup>24</sup> Wimmelbücker, 'Production and Living Conditions', p. 37.

<sup>25</sup> See also how both government and peasants accepted to engage in production and the way its impacts spread in all spheres of peasants life and facilitated the introduction of commercial cotton growing. Peter F. B. Nayenga, 'Commercial Cotton Growing in Busoga District, Uganda, 1905 – 1925' *African Economic History* 10 (1981), pp. 175 – 195.

<sup>26</sup> Tanganyika, *Review of Land Tenure*, pp. 1 – 2.

The value added into land coincided with the buoyancy of entrepreneurial enthusiasm among the people stimulated and heightened, among other things, the emergence and development of land related conflicts in areas where the fore mentioned developments accentuated more than in those where less and sometimes no developments in that line took place.<sup>27</sup> Development of Coffee economy on the *kihamba* land was not highly contested and negotiated with the previously existing forms of land use and crop preferences because it did not require an extra land or total replacement of former crops to make space for coffee farming.<sup>28</sup> In turn coffee farming on the mountain slopes became successful due to its incorporation into the existing physical space. Coffee could grow well under the sheds of banana groves; hence the same space served a double purpose by providing a staple food and at the same time a commercial coffee crop.<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, the introduction of coffee had an impact on some minor types of crops and those that could be outsourced from elsewhere through trade and production on land different from the highlands. It was unfortunate for elusine and other grains that had to be moved to other areas to create space for coffee.<sup>30</sup> Although giving space for coffee was a disadvantage to elusine cultivation on one hand, on the other hand, there were pressures straddling from the government and its

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<sup>27</sup> Tanganyika Territory, Annual Report of the PC on Native Administration for the Year 1940 (1941), p. 33.

<sup>28</sup> For description of the minimum ecological requirements for coffee farming and how the banana, vegetable and tree economy of the homegarden favoured coffee farming, see T. W. Kirkpatrick, 'Ecology of Coffee Plantations: Climatic Conditions in East Africa Coffee Plantation', *The East African Agricultural Journal* 1 (1936), pp. 476 – 486.

<sup>29</sup> Discussion on the advantages of coffee interplanting with some crops see, S. M. Gilbert, 'The Mulching of Coffee Arabica', *The East African Agricultural Journal* 11 (1945), pp. 75 – 79.

<sup>30</sup> Wimmelbücker, 'Production and Living Conditions,' pp. 119 – 128.

bodies to discourage elusine cultivation on various allegations and few facts.<sup>31</sup> After the introduction of coffee, *kihamba* land acted as an economic unit where the Chagga economy was organised.<sup>32</sup> More people wanted to get ownership of *kihamba* land so as to produce more coffee. But peasant involvement in coffee cultivation did not pass unchallenged. Settlers who also produced coffee were not comfortable to see peasant production. They spread propaganda against local production but the British government endeavoured to create an environment where both local and settlers' cultivation could take place side by side.<sup>33</sup>

The government established mechanisms and policy formulations that allowed the production of coffee by both peasants and settlers. Although some British colonial agricultural policies affected the rural economy in Tanganyika, peasant farming in Kilimanjaro was quick to respond to the opportunities provided by the government through planting as much coffee trees as they could manage.<sup>34</sup> By the 1930s it was obvious that peasant production had posed a sizeable challenge to settlers by growing and harvesting coffee in large quantities. During this period, the total number of coffee produced and supplied for the market in the Northern Province of Tanganyika territory came from settlers followed by peasant farmers in Kilimanjaro. Development of settler coffee farming by 1930s resulted partly from government's commitment to support them. It was in the same period that the British colonial government established nine agricultural stations worth a total of British

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<sup>31</sup> Detailed discussion on reasons that made the government to pose the propaganda against elusine on the highlands, see Mathew V. Bender, 'Millet is Gone! Considering the Demise of Elusine Agriculture on Kilimanjaro', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 44, No. 2 (2011), pp. 191 – 214.

<sup>32</sup> Edwin S. Munger, 'African Coffee on Kilimanjaro: A Chagga Kihamba', *Economic Geography* 28, No. 2 (1952), pp. 182 – 185.

<sup>33</sup> Mathias A. Ogotu, 'The Cultivation of Coffee Among the Chagga of Tanzania 1919 – 1939', *Agricultural History* 46, No. 2 (1972), pp. 279 – 286.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, p. 287.

Pounds 118,000/=. The money was used for machinery and financial assistance to settlers and planters. Government assistance was revealed in experimentation of suitable crop varieties and how such varieties could be grown. Farmers were encouraged to use improved crop varieties and machinery to increase productivity in their farms. Of all the nine stations established by the time in Tanganyika, five were coffee stations spread in Arusha, Moshi and Usambara, while the remaining four were equally distributed for tea and sisal and were in different areas.<sup>35</sup> This indicated that the government had a vested interest in export of coffee regardless of who produced it.

The epitome of coffee production in Kilimanjaro was in a steady increase from 1920s where minor drop of yields seldom occurred. The whole first half of the 1920s decade witnessed peasant production of coffee in Kilimanjaro at an experimental stage, while peasants in Bukoba District produced major Arabica coffee. Peasant producers in Kilimanjaro used the opportunity to experiment with coffee farming rapidly. In cognizance of the enthusiasm by peasants to grow coffee in the region, the government appointed a Coffee Officer who worked with African instructors to supervise peasant production of coffee in the area. The views of the supervisors were sharply contrasted with those of producers. When supervisors aimed at minimising participation in coffee farming, the Chagga peasants struggled day and night to increase experimentation in coffee farming. For instance, the Coffee Officer and instructors on African growers in Kilimanjaro suggested that growers should only be allowed to limit the number of coffee trees owned only to 1,000 trees. But this was not possible. It was hard to stop the Chagga from planting more and

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<sup>35</sup> *The Tanganyika Standard*, Saturday, 1<sup>st</sup> February 1930, also see *Tanganyika Standard*, Friday 16<sup>th</sup> May 1930 and *Tanganyika Standard*, Friday 30<sup>th</sup> May 1930, 'Moshi Coffee Industry an Unhappy Future, need for Investigation and remedy.'

more coffee trees. The reasons for the suggestion to limit the number of trees for each smallholder were; first, to enable peasant producers to take proper care of the plants – to avoid spread of diseases to non-African estates. Second, to limit African producers into expanding their production into large scale. Just a smallholder production was preferred, as the government did not want to see a large scale African coffee producer, which also accounted for the first reason. Third, to allow a limited land to be used for cultivation of other crops like foodstuffs which, without control, it could be neglected.<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless, all these suggestions did not work for so long as they were no sooner started than they ceased to operate. What remained obvious in place of the three suggestions was to discourage African coffee production that also did not materialize as peasant farming increased their coffee cultivation and intensification of their small plots to respond to questions of availability of land for foodstuffs.

**Table 3: Coffee Production during the experimental stage in Kilimanjaro up to 1925**

NB: For obvious reasons no data were available for 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920 and 1921. It was a period of transition from German colonial rule to British rule. Germans prepared the 1916 data and British started to prepare theirs in 1922.

	1916	1922	1923	1924	1925
No. of planters		592	1,400	3,320	6,916
Bearing Trees	37,153	36,265	68,714	141,138	381,509
Immature trees	51,194	142,155	304,478	573,007	844,607
Total Trees	88,347	178,420	373,192	714,145	1,226,116

**Source: Report on Tanganyika Territory for the Year, 1925, p. 53.**

<sup>36</sup> UKNA CO 1071/366: Report on Tanganyika Territory Report of His Majesty's Britannic Government to the United Nations Trusteeship Council for the Year, 1925 (London: His Majesty's Stationery 1926), p. 53.

Between 1923 and 1935 major increases and improvements in production took place in both peasant and settler productions. The period of experimentation started to transition into a period of prosperity and coffee booming. This was experienced in the number of planters, acreages used for coffee farming and coffee output. The number of growers increased from 3,000 in 1923 to more than 18,000 in 1935. Crop productivity increased from less than one thousand tons in 1923 to more than 16,000 tons in 1935. Coffee trees jumped from less than a million in 1923 to more than seven million in 1935.<sup>37</sup> By 1926 peasant coffee farming had been established more in Bukoba than Kilimanjaro, as the former had passed the experimentation stage while the later was in a slow transition. In Bukoba 5,000 acres of coffee were by African growers against 500 European growers. At the same period Moshi had 5,000 acres African growers against 30,000 acres European growers. Other areas of northeastern Tanzania, for example, Arusha had 60 acres African and 9,000 acres European, Tanga 5 acres African 5,500 European and Usambara no African growers and 2,500 acres European growers.<sup>38</sup> The extent of land devoted to coffee farming reflected the amount of coffee yields resulting from these regions. In the Northern Province, unlike the Lake Province (Bukoba), settler estates owned large coffee farms while African peasants were struggling to establish theirs. A comparison of exported coffee between 1930 and 1933 indicates that African production from Kilimanjaro was a close competitor with settlers (African production in brackets) as in 1930 export coffee was 1918 tons (756), 1931 – 1,073

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<sup>37</sup> A. L. W. Bennet, 'A Short Account of the Work of the Kilimanjaro Co-operative Union Ltd', *The East African Agricultural Journal* 1 (1935), pp. 169 – 174.

<sup>38</sup> UKNA CO 1071/366: Report on the Tanganyika Territory of His Majesty's Britannic Government to the United Nation's Trusteeship Council for the Year, 1926, pp. 44 – 45. Also House of Commons (HC), 16<sup>th</sup> March 1925, Tanganyika (Coffee Production), Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 181, Col. 1833 and HC, 6<sup>th</sup> March 1929, Tanganyika (Coffee), Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 226, Col. 378.

(563), 1932 – 1,506 (1,033), 1933 – 1,378 (1,008). Likewise, Arusha exported (African in brackets) 1930 – 1,373 (45), 1931 – 805 (33), 1932 – 1,285 (44), 1933 – 2,123 (160). The least African participation into exported coffee during this period was by Usambara where also settler production was not so great as compared to Arusha and Moshi Districts in the Northern Province. Settlers exported in 1930 – 207, (no African production), 1931 – 188, (no African production), 1932 – 224, (15), 1933 – 151 (15).<sup>39</sup>

The preceding statistics indicate that settlers established more estates in Moshi and Kilimanjaro. This was a result of the failure of heavy capital investment in Usambara during the German period.<sup>40</sup> Later on in 1935 export coffee indicated that Kilimanjaro was second in Tanganyika Territory after Bukoba that produced much coffee in the year. The leading Bukoba exported a total of 10, 882 tons while both peasant and settler farms in Kilimanjaro exported 2,000 and 5, 234 tons, respectively. Other areas of the territory that were growing coffee contributed only 672 tons out of the total 18, 588 tons of annual coffee export for that year.<sup>41</sup> In the 1930s coffee production in Kilimanjaro moved from experimentation into an economic enterprise dependable by both peasants and the government. Successful peasant farming of coffee in Bukoba satisfied the government to allow the same on the slopes of mountain Kilimanjaro and Meru. Peasant coffee production by 1938

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<sup>39</sup> The details for these statistics can be found in annual reports. UKNA CO 736/12: Annual Reports: Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report for the Year 1933* (Department of Agriculture 1934), p. 40.

<sup>40</sup> Foreign Office, *Tanganyika: German East Africa, Handbook Prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, No. 113* (London: H. M. Stationery 1920), p. 63, N. R. Fughes-Couchman, *Agricultural Change in Tanganyika: 1945 – 1960* (Stanford University: Food Research Institute, 1964), p. 16.

<sup>41</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika Territory for the Year 1935* (London: H. M. Stationery Office 1936), p. 134.

comprised more than seventy per cent of export coffee while less than thirty percent was produced on estates. It was the same time also when coffee produced in Bukoba started to be treated as of low quality, the case which, in one way boosted and turned the attention of the government from Bukoba to the slopes of Mountain Kilimanjaro and Meru.<sup>42</sup>

Several conclusions can be made out of the statistics above. First, African production was relatively higher in Moshi District followed by Arusha while in Usambara all remained for the few estates' produced coffee that was also far less compared to the other two Districts of the same Northern Province. Second, the outcome for this expansion of coffee cultivation over land use by Africans could well be felt more in Kilimanjaro and somehow in Arusha than in other parts of the territory excluding Bukoba where not much land use concerns were reported during the time. Land use was entwined in vested interests of peasants and settler estate farming. Third, settlers were quite right when they put up pressure against peasant coffee farming in Kilimanjaro because peasants threatened their autonomous control over coffee farming and trade.<sup>43</sup> Claims on peasantry coffee farming that it could lead into the spread of diseases were more of propaganda than real threats posed on the quality of farming. The government and Chagga local authorities did more to supervise and control peasant coffee farming in Kilimanjaro. Also, the Chagga posed strong competition for fertile land and availability of reliable labour for estates. They

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<sup>42</sup> HC, 6<sup>th</sup> June 1924, Native Coffee Growing, Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 175, Col. 27, HC, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1938, Tanganyika (Coffee Export), Hansard Parliamentary Debates Vol. 332, Cols. 1129 – 1130.

<sup>43</sup> See the conflicting interests between settlers and Chagga in Kilimanjaro and the role of the government in mediating them. UKNA CO 691/102/7: Unrest in Kilimanjaro; Situations that has arisen among the Natives. Also for detailed reference on settler's affairs in Kilimanjaro see TNA 5/23/1: Moshi: Kilimanjaro West Farmers Association, 1938 – 1950.

competed with estates for getting labour from other ethnic communities who went to Kilimanjaro for wage labour as peasant farming also employed some wage labourers.<sup>44</sup> In this case, settler concerns over indigenous production of coffee were not linked with the carelessness of peasant coffee farming but rather with the challenges on labour, land and market of coffee.<sup>45</sup>

The above historical developments show active adaptation and engagement of peasant coffee farming in Kilimanjaro.<sup>46</sup> The introduction of coffee on the mountain totally influenced changes in the minds and ways through which land use was organised. Coffee cultivation increased the potential for *kihamba* land and similarly made use of areas formerly considered lightly marginal that were used for free grazing.<sup>47</sup>

### 3.3 The Politics of Peasant Coffee Farming in Kilimanjaro

The years 1920s and 1930s witnessed some structural establishments for the management of production and marketing of coffee through the Native Co-operative Union (NCU), later Native Coffee Board (NCB), Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association (KNPA) and Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union (KNCU).<sup>48</sup> These organs provided directives that to some extent reflected desires of the government

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<sup>44</sup> Bonaventura B. Swai, 'The Labour Shortage in 1930's Kilimanjaro and the Subsequent Employment of Child Labour,' *Utafiti: Journal of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences University of Dar es Salaam* IV, No. 2 (1979), pp. 123 – 125.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, see the deployment of child labour. Child labour was regarded by estates as reliable, easily controlled and cheap for estates to run at profits.

<sup>46</sup> Paul Maro, 'The Impact of Human Population on Land Management' in Clack, *Culture, History and Identity*, pp. 201 – 212.

<sup>47</sup> KOT 2, Ushiri Rombo, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2014, Woodley F. J, Notes on the Arusha District (n.d).

<sup>48</sup> See [http://www.kncutanzania.com/#!/page\\_story](http://www.kncutanzania.com/#!/page_story) date accessed 13th February 2016. Also see Suzan G. Rogers, 'The Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association: Administrative Responses to Chagga Initiatives in the 1920s', *Transafrica Journal of History* 4, No. 1 (1974), pp. 94 – 114, also see Report on the Administration of Tanganyika Territory for the Year 1934, pp. 115 – 116.

and responded to settlers' claims despite the fact that they were primarily established to assist peasant coffee farming. Due to the realisation that there was land hunger on the mountain slopes and that everyone on the mountain had started or was planning to start coffee farming, they began to encourage intensive rather than extensive land use.

In 1932, the Native Authorities in Kilimanjaro passed rules pertaining to a standard conception of coffee cultivation for peasant producers. In the same year 1,200 new coffee plots were planted by observing the new rules. Briefly, the rules contained the two-fold intentions of boosting productivity and conserving the land. Productivity of land was boosted through encouraging use of coffee seedlings provided by the Agricultural Department. Also, peasants intending to engage in coffee cultivation were required to plant no less than 250 coffee trees, and it was required that before any planting was done the agricultural department was to assure itself that the land was ready for planting. This meant that individual land preparations were to satisfy the agricultural department's standards.<sup>49</sup> On conservation side the rules were not so different from those intending to boost productivity, but only saw more elaboration to ensure high yield per small cultivable plot and sustaining the same for a longer time.

The Native Authorities and the Native Coffee Board supervised the implementation of the rules for proper coffee farming. The NCB after it became conscious of the threat of soil erosion and crop diseases improved these rules and included others not mentioned here in 1940s. In addition, the board stipulated ten

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<sup>49</sup> UKNA CO 691/159/6: Tanganyika Territory Annual Reports for 1937: Soil erosion; Refer to Appendix II Native Authorities Coffee Rules (1938).

points that were to be followed in boosting coffee productivity.<sup>50</sup> All activities towards tending coffee were undertaken by peasant labour including men, women and children. Unwittingly, women and children had nothing to say on what was obtained from coffee marketing, save only on the use of what was brought back home by men as part of share for their labour in coffee cultivation.<sup>51</sup> So the celebrations of the 1930s coffee prosperity lingered on; peasant acceptance of the crop and their decisions to intensify land use by including it in the traditional land used culturally and socially that was then to accept the introduction of economic use. Peasant readiness yielded material success because of the supervision they received from the colonial government and the Native Authorities. Lastly, peasant early realisation that they had shortage of fertile land for coffee production that was increasingly establishing on the mountain made them ready to adhere to rules that intensified land use.

It seems however that, the powers that the British government gave to Chagga authorities to control all matters on coffee production were not always successful in dealing with producers. There was concern by 1938 among government officials that the self-rule given to the Chagga on matters affecting them directly was

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<sup>50</sup> The Native Coffee Board stipulated ten points that included; strict supervision and inspection of coffee plots, 'replacing coffee which has become unthrifty owing to bad initial planting, lack of care, poor soils etc.', 'removal of coffee plots that are a menace to neighbouring plots owing to uncontrolled pests, diseases and noxious weeds', 'complete control of antestia and other pests and diseases,' insistency of cultural methods for management of coffee plants, supply of improved varieties of coffee from the boards nurseries, 'insistence on banana shade to ensure adequate food supplies, fodder for cattle and mulch for coffee,' new plantings should be done on plots which have had bananas for not less than three years, 'control of coffee pulpers and nurseries,' 'research into aspects of coffee cultivation which do not affect European growers.' Read UKNA/691/159/6: 1938 together with HIS DAR: Moshi Native Coffee Board, Annual Report for the Year 1945/46.

<sup>51</sup> Sally More, 'Past in the Present: Tradition, Land and 'Customary' Law on Kilimanjaro, 1880 – 1980,' in Clack (ed), *Culture, History and Identity*, pp. 39 – 74.

a cause for the common misunderstanding between them and the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union. More critique to the KNCU started in the Machame Kingdom/Division and Marangu where coffee was more grown by peasant farmers. The challenges posed to Chagga rule by producers ended up sending into exile fourteen Wachagga regarded as ringleaders for disobeying and critiquing their chiefs. KNCU management was criticized for observing a high level of secrecy to its members to an extent that some members had grievances that something wrong was going on in their co-operative and only the Chagga Council of Chiefs knew about it and benefited from this secrecy.<sup>52</sup> The Chagga who were sent into exile through deportation were Daud Ngamini, Asser Ephraim, Topia Masaki, N. Gadi Msue, Toma Bin Mafalu, Joshua Mwashuka, Mose Kirenga, Anderson Ananduni, Samuel Nderingo, Kimatare Seuta, Israel Mtunga, Anasa Masika, Toudor, Leonardi, Bernadi Kiwera, and Hans Ebenezer Reuben. Many of them came from Machame and Marangu. They were deported for one year from 1938 to October 1939. The government confirmed that the deportation of the 14 Wachagga was based on the advice given by the Acting Attorney General ‘who, writing of the sworn statements on which the decision to deport was taken wrote,’

The statements show that these ringleaders have been inciting members of the Chagga tribe to hold secret meetings in defiance of the Chief’s orders, to disobey the orders of the Chiefs and generally flout their authority, to close by force and subsequently break down the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union buildings on the mountain and to disregard the warnings on the Governor: some have gone further than this and advocated the killing of one or two of

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<sup>52</sup> CO 691/168/4: Coffee Industry, Chagga Rule, and Deportation of Fourteen Wachagga. Folio No. 41: Enclosure 4, Comment on the Memorial by A. L. Bennet – KNCU Supervising Manager, dated 10<sup>th</sup> October 1938.

their chiefs. Members of the tribe who have even supported the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union have been terrorized, threatened and attacked.<sup>53</sup>

The conflicts were partly a result of power struggle as most of the deported members were close associates to the chiefs and in one way they were envious to the seats and used discontents of mismanagement of KNCU as a platform to air their discontents. Disturbance in the local administration was one of the outcomes of British indirect rule system. Individuals struggled to get administrative positions and when they failed, they started to oppose those in power. There was a close linkage between Chagga rule and what was happening in the coffee industry. Chagga rule was the custodian of African coffee farming and could use that power to establish rules guiding farming and marketing. The source of the conflicts between coffee growers and chiefs started after the Chagga Council of Chiefs in 1934 passed a rule under the power vested in them by the Native Authority Ordinance, that required all coffee growers to market their coffee through the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union. Later in 1937 the government enacted the Native Coffee (Control and Marketing) Ordinance 1937 that further empowered the Chagga Native Authorities to supervise coffee marketing.<sup>54</sup> Also the government through the Marketing Ordinance gave itself power to regulate closely the Chagga coffee industry that was received with caution not only with suspicious Chagga producers but also by Indian coffee dealers in Dar es salaam who considered that, though it was a good idea for the government to have some sort of control on marketing of Chagga peasant coffee,

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<sup>53</sup> UKNA CO 691/168/4: See Folio No. 37: Wachagga Case, Memorandum, by Atkins, Bown, Morrison and Ainslie Advocates.

<sup>54</sup> UKNA CO 691/168/4: Folio No. 9: Lambert to Boyd, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1939.

its over stretch would restrict the flexibility of coffee trade.<sup>55</sup> Following the Native Coffee Ordinance in the same year, the Native Coffee Board was established in November 1937. ‘The Governor’s approval, with the consent of the Legislative Council, was given on the 9<sup>th</sup> December, 1937, for the Board to order that all producers of native coffee in the Moshi District shall sell such coffee through an agency appointed by the Board and it is proposed to make the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union the agency for this purpose in accordance with section 6 of the Ordinance.’<sup>56</sup> Chagga producers did not like control of coffee marketing. They wanted their coffee to be sold in an open market and not channelled through the KNCU as it was considered extravagant to employ many clerks who continued to be paid salaries even when the price for coffee dropped.<sup>57</sup> Mr. A. M. B. Hutt was posted to Kilimanjaro as District officer during this year when KNCU was facing challenges resulting from successful peasant coffee farming. He was aware of what was going on in Kilimanjaro coffee farming and understood the importance of government intervention in restoring peace and harmony in the Chagga Council of Chiefs. In his first speech to the Chagga, he pointed out; ‘I tell you again to trust the Government.

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<sup>55</sup> See, CO 691/168/1: Coffee Industry: Native Coffee (Control and marketing) Legislation, Folio No. 7: Extract from Minutes of the Thirty-Fourth Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, Held at Geneva from June 8<sup>th</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1938., also Folio: Letter from the Secretary General, League of nations to the Foreign Office, S.W.1, dated 4<sup>th</sup> April 1938., A. B. Cohen to Mr. Boyd, dated 31<sup>st</sup> March 1938, A.B. Cohen to A. M. B. Hutt, dated 31<sup>st</sup> March 1938.

<sup>56</sup> UKNA CO 691/168/4: Folio No. 1: Letter from Governor’s Deputy to the Secretary of State for the Colonies dated 7<sup>th</sup> February 1938.

<sup>57</sup> UKNA CO 691/168/3: Coffee Industry: Visit by Expert to Advice on Native Coffee Marketing. Folio No. 1: Letter from Acting Governor to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 6<sup>th</sup> April 1938. Also see UKNA CO 691/168/4: Folio No. 42: A.L.B. Bennet, Commentary on the Memorial, Enclosures Four and Five, Response to Messrs. Atkinson, Bown Morrison and Ainslie submission to the Secretary of State on deported Wachagga, dated 10<sup>th</sup> September 1938.

We know what is good for you because we are 1,000 years old in experience.’<sup>58</sup> This aimed at convincing the Chagga not to follow what he regarded as an unnecessary spread of lies about Chagga rule.

The announcement by the Chagga Council of Chiefs that all coffee growers should sell their coffee to KNCU was regarded as not benefiting growers who could otherwise get comparative higher prices when they sold their coffee to private coffee dealers instead of growing coffee to benefit the Chagga rule through KNCU. This caused general discontent and secret meetings were arranged in the Machame Chiefdom at which open sedition was preached and plans made for overt acts of violence against constituted authority. As fracas between the Native Authority and the ringleaders of the protests against discontents resulting from a force to market coffee to KNCU four ringleaders were first arrested and charged under the Native Law and Custom before the fourteen were deported in 1938. In the beginning of this conflict, it was an economic grievance against marketing of coffee. But as time went by, political influences started to loom large where ringleaders advocated for the overthrow of their chiefs.<sup>59</sup>

A small group of people that later the number increased to 200 in Machame and East Marangu initiated the protests. In September 1937 more obvious signs of overt protests occurred that a crowd of 200 people destroyed coffee stores and weighing devices in Machame chiefdom. The same happened at the same time in east Marangu. To the surprise of both colonial government officials and the Chagga Council of Chiefs, the number of supporters to the protest was growing and reached

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<sup>58</sup> CO 691/168/2: Coffee Industry: Disturbance in Machame Chiefdom, Moshi District.

<sup>59</sup> UKNA CO 691/168/4: Folio No. 15: Boyd to Lambert, dated 15<sup>th</sup> June 1939.

2,000 by end of September 1937.<sup>60</sup> Peasants were ready to produce coffee and market it independent of the Chiefs Council supervision, something that was not accepted by both the Chagga Rule and the government. This quarrel started as a small dispute but grew in scale and membership of supporters. Also the means to suppress it from the Chagga Council of Chiefs in close assistance with the government continued to grow as the problem amplified.<sup>61</sup>

### 3.4 Coffee Cultivation, Land Claims and Missionaries in Kilimanjaro

Court claims over land increased after the introduction of coffee and the ultimate acceptance of the crop by the Chagga who started to grow it in a progressive way. The annual report on Native Administration for the year 1939 noted that; ‘one interesting feature of the court work of the Moshi District is the great number of suits connected with claims for land. Prior to the introduction of coffee the issues in regard to such claims were fairly clear-cut, but the establishment of this valuable economic crop has resulted in considerable complications.’<sup>62</sup> While the traditional land use tenure of the Chagga did not allow loopholes for conflicts over land ownership, the introduction of cash agriculture had adverse impacts on the ways to acquire and use new land especially in areas not formerly covered by *kihamba* tenure.<sup>63</sup> Conceptions over land tenure and what customarily defined land ownership

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<sup>60</sup> UKNA CO 691/168/4: Folio No. 30: Mr. Lambert’s Memorandum dated 8<sup>th</sup> March 1939.

<sup>61</sup> UKNA CO 691/168/2: Rioting in the Machame Chiefdom Moshi District by the Chagga against the decision by the Native Coffee Board that all native grown coffee must be delivered to the agent, KNCU, 1938. Folio: Extract from *Manchester Guardian*, ‘Tanganyika Natives and Coffee Control’, date 24<sup>th</sup> February, 1938. Also Folio: Extract from *The Tanganyika Standard* ‘The Wachagga’ dated 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1938, Folio: Extract from *The East African Standard* ‘Native Authorities, Second Thought in Tanganyika’ dated 28<sup>th</sup> January 1938.

<sup>62</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the PC on Native Administration for the Year 1939* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1940), p.48

<sup>63</sup> *Kihamba* was a secure land tenure exercised on the mountain slopes where the government also paid due respect to it and could not interfere with its use. See TNA

were even matters of special attention when the British colonial government tried to introduce new land use habits on the slopes. For the Chagga when a person claimed a piece of land by planting bananas, coffee or other tree crops, that land became his own property. Their idea on land ownership contradicted with the British land use plans of the 1930s when they tried to introduce planting of exotic trees to prevent soil erosion along riverbanks. The Chagga rejected this not because they did not want to control soil erosion, but because they were groomed into a traditional understanding of land ownership. Allowing the British government to plant trees was bequeathing that land up to a foreign influence, an attempt they were not ready to allow. The government navigated through this by use of local authorities to explain the intention of the government that was quite different from that locally implied.<sup>64</sup>

By the 1950s, the British government wanted the District Commissioner, Mr. T. F Figgis, to carry out an investigation and try to ascertain the traditional land tenure customs where he also ended up concluding that, ‘the Chagga are gravely suspicious of undue interest by Europeans in their land traditions unless such interests is coupled with practical work of hearing appeals.’<sup>65</sup> By the 1950s when coffee on the mountain became an important life stay for the Chagga, it was also the same period that experienced rapid population growth. Due to these developments, coffee cultivation interests and population increase, incidences of contestations over and about land were to be expected. People started to acquire land without compliance with the traditional rules that oversaw land acquisition in the Chagga

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5/687: Moshi: Chagga Laws and Customs Regarding Vihamba Rights; Government Notice Ref.687/257, dated 15<sup>th</sup> February 1949 signed by M.G. Lewis – District Commissioner Moshi.

<sup>64</sup> TNA 19415, 1933:51, cited as a quotation in Sally Falk Moore, ‘Past in the Present’ in Clack (ed), *Culture, History and Identity*, pp. 59.

<sup>65</sup> Figgis Report, p. 3.

society since the precolonial period. This explains why the uncommon disputes over land allocation, ownership and use increased during this period.<sup>66</sup>

Christian Missions played a great role in transforming the Chagga landscape by transforming the social, cultural, economic and physical spheres of the mountain and leaving behind a living legacy that endures to date.<sup>67</sup> Apart from preaching the gospel, they also alienated land for coffee farming and also taught African converts to grow coffee and other food crops. John Rebman, a missionary considered the first European to enter Kilimanjaro by 1848, observed that; ‘in spite of the richness of the soil, from ignorance of agriculture and want of markets for their produce, the inhabitants are extremely poor.’<sup>68</sup> Rebman considered what existed as agricultural practices on the slopes of the mountain a ‘mere nothing’ when compared to what existed in Europe during that time. For him, one among, and probably the strongest of, the strategies to introduce Christianity in this area was to be styled into the ‘gospel and a hoe’, meaning teaching Christianity and good farming methods. On this strategy, the Chagga ‘must be led to see with their own eyes that the people who follow the[sic] Christ whom we preach to them, really understood better than they how to cultivate the soil, and can do a great deal else that is not less desirable for

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<sup>66</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the PC on Native Administration for the Year 1955* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1956), p. 76, Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the PC on Native Administration for the Year 1956* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1957), p. 91.

<sup>67</sup> Robert Munson argues that missionaries and colonial incursions in Kilimanjaro affected all spheres of life on the mountain through the introduction of new ideas and plants in the ecosystem. See Robert Munson, ‘Continuity and Change in the Historical Landscape of Mount Kilimanjaro: The Rau Forest and Shira Parish,’ in Clack (ed), *Culture, History and Identity*, pp. 155 – 168, Also same points on the introduction of new plants articulated by Andreas Hemp, ‘Introduced Plants on Kilimanjaro: Tourism and its Impacts’, *Plant Ecology* 197, No. 1 (2008), pp. 17 – 29.

<sup>68</sup> See part two of J. Lewis Krapf, *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours During Eighteen Years Residence in Eastern Africa* (London and New York: Routledge, 1968) (First published, 1860), p. 235.

them to know.’ In the same vein, in an attempt to get more Christian converts, ‘families, families-Christian families, really converted fathers and mothers, with well-nurtured children, are the tools which are chiefly needed for missionary work in Eastern Africa.’<sup>69</sup>

Church transformations took place in all levels of Chagga life when it came into a full swing following initial explorations of areas to establish mission stations by pioneer missionaries to the area.<sup>70</sup> The expansion on the *kihamba* land for agricultural activities had by 1950s shown obvious signs of land shortage on the highlands.<sup>71</sup> The colonial government by that time started campaigns to encourage the highland people to move to the lowlands however this was not an easy decision to be taken by the Chagga. It was seen that coffee could not grow well on an altitude below 3500ft and the Chagga had more reasons than just coffee cultivation to stay on the highlands. European settlers who alienated land and established coffee farms below this altitude were in the 1930s thinking about how to change the type of crop to be grown.

Whilst settlers were ready to try new areas especially on the lowlands, the Chagga were not ready to move elsewhere and leave the coffee belt behind.<sup>72</sup> The department of agriculture encouraged white settlers on the foothills of the mountain

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid, pp. 246 – 247. More descriptions on early European encounters in Kilimanjaro can be found in (Anonymous author), ‘The Kilimanjaro Expedition’, *Science* V, No. 107 (1885), pp. 151 – 152, R. Thornton, Expedition to Kilimanjaro (1862) (in company with the Baron Von der Decken), pp. 47 – 49.

<sup>70</sup> Mathew V. Bender, ‘Holy Ghost in the Highlands: The Spiritans on Kilimanjaro, 1892 – 1953’, *Spiritans Horizons: A Journal of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit* 3, (2008), pp. 69 -71.

<sup>71</sup> TNA 5/27/8: Moshi Veterinary: Destocking Scheme – Cattle Culling, Folio: Mangi Mwitori wa Vunjo, Report: Uharibifu wa Ardhi Nchi ya Chini ya Barabara Kutokana na Uchungaji wa Wanyama Wengi, dated 6<sup>th</sup> December 1950.

<sup>72</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the PC on Native Administration for the Year 1937* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1938)

to establish a kind of a diversified land use involving farming and livestock keeping. Farming in this case changed from the formerly expected growth of coffee to the growth of crops that the lowland environment favoured. Settlers started to grow maize and vegetable crops. To fully implement a mixed farming was difficult because of the challenge posed by tsetse infestation and poor transport networks linking the lowlands with the centres for processing harvests.<sup>73</sup> Lowland land use was determined by weather, soil, rainfall, transport networks and the presence or absence of tsetse fly. Coffee was tried in these areas but did not do well. It should be made clear that during this period the Chagga had put a total economic dependence on coffee produced on the highlands. While this formed one part of the explanations for their persistent stay on the highland, on the other side, they found it laborious and uneconomical opening up new land for settlement on the lowlands.

Moving to the lowlands for economic gains would not be a difficult decision for a Mchagga if he was to be assured of the advantages to obtain from the lowlands. The government seems to have had only plans on papers but its implementation was less successful, so the movement to the lowlands remained unregulated. The areas that formerly were '*pori*'; farming land, were converted into settlement areas without strong government supervision in allocating such areas. Native Authority Administration played its role to allocate areas for settlements but they remained unable to provide the necessary infrastructure, such as irrigation, domestic water supply and transportation to attract more settlers.

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<sup>73</sup> TNA 5/449: Moshi: Game and Tsetse, Tsetse fly Position in the Moshi Maize growing Area, 1927 – 1943, Folio No. 82: Some Notes on Tsetse in the Moshi District in relation to Agricultural development in the area, dated 31<sup>st</sup> October 1936.

### 3.5 Trading Centres and Expansion for Settlements

The Chagga did not always enclose themselves on the mountain because they had less reasons for doing so than interacting with other societies from other places of the mountain and neighbours from near and far through trade links. A necessity for exchange arose when the different mountain ridges produced different commodities from one another that could be circulated across ridges through established means of trading and exchange relations between and among people from different ecological landscapes.<sup>74</sup> They established trading centres all over the mountain ridges to cater for this purpose.<sup>75</sup> These centres served local, regional and interregional purposes.<sup>76</sup> Locally, families producing bananas could go to the market place and exchange or buy millet or other agricultural products.<sup>77</sup> Regionally, trade networks were more broad and involved communities from the mountain, plains and neighbours. The Pare of southeastern part of Mount Kilimanjaro were chief producers and suppliers of iron tools in the network.<sup>78</sup> The Maasai exchanged milk and meat with bananas. The

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<sup>74</sup> See how trading links facilitated connections and cooperation between and among members from the ridges and how such centres provided attractions for wider trade links with outsiders. N. Thomas Håkanson, 'Politics, Cattle and Ivory: Regional Interaction and Changing Land Use Prior to Colonialism' in Clack (ed), *Culture, History and Identity*, pp. 141 – 152.

<sup>75</sup> Figgis Report, p. 37.

<sup>76</sup> Sally Falk Moore, *Social Facts and Fabrications: Customary Law on Kilimanjaro, 1880 – 1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1986), pp. 21 – 23.

<sup>77</sup> For details of debates on whether precolonial Africa experienced market economy, see B. Turyahikayo Ruyema, 'Markets in Pre-colonial East Africa: The Case of the Bakiga', *Current Anthropology* 17, No. 2 (1976), pp. 286 – 290, and George Dalton, 'Traditional Productions in Primitive African Economies', *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 76, No. 3 (1962), pp. 360 – 378. They provide contrasting views on the existence of precolonial markets in Africa given the nature of the rural economies of the time. However, dependence on agriculture entirely did not mean that every society produced the same crop and that there was no need for exchange of crops as everyone had it. The faded notion of 'primitive societies' failed to understand African societies from within but compared notions of market as existing in Europe where a large per cent of the population is market dependent.

<sup>78</sup> Sally Falk Moore, 'The Chagga of Kilimanjaro,' in William M. O'barr (ed), *The Chagga and Meru of Tanzania* (London: International African Institute 1977), pp. 6 – 7.

Maasai from the plains wanted bananas that were used to prepare an admixture of bananas, ripe maize and milk.

Trade centres were running at intervals from one ridge to another. This was designed purposely to allow a wider audience to go through across the hills marketing places in search and supply of trade goods. Customers and sellers moved from one place to another, a habit that allowed participants in trade to get what they wanted at one time. Traditionally, bananas in the Chagga social, cultural and economic conceptions were not a market crop but only served the kitchen for families. This influenced a social construction of femininity and masculinity on how men and women interacted with the crops grown on the mountain ridges.<sup>79</sup>

As the kitchen was a space for women, marketing of banana, too, remained theirs.<sup>80</sup> Banana was not regarded something worth the attention of men, serve only in few masculine activities that involved taking care of the banana groves. Total care, harvesting and exchange of bananas were for women. Likewise, men did not question the income or anything gained by women through engagement with bananas.<sup>81</sup> Women with young female children took headloads of bananas to the market centres and back home when some remained.<sup>82</sup> Participation of Chagga women in transactions that involved care for and distribution of bananas during the precolonial and colonial periods, though men were unaware, may be viewed as a starting point for empowerment of Chagga women that transcended into contemporary society. They developed business skills that went up and continued to

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<sup>79</sup> Moore, *Social Facts*, p. 23.

<sup>80</sup> KOT 68, Kwasadala Village, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2015.

<sup>81</sup> See the participation of women and girls in marketing produces, Meyer, *Across East Africa*, pp. 115 – 117.

<sup>82</sup> Stahl, *Tanganyika*, p. 26.

hold roots on the mountain slopes. For Chagga women, doing business and having children are more important than having husbands.

A Chagga man was responsible for helping with manual tasks in making the banana garden healthy. He cleared groves and helped with planting while women were responsible for manuring, weeding and the general care for the garden. The division of labour and income in the banana groves did not happen fortuitously, it was based on the distribution of income and responsibilities too. Women were for the kitchen, while men were for the market. Women were in a good position to understand which amount of bananas the family required and what could be disposed off for exchange without starving the family. If the task for harvesting bananas for the market was left on men's hands then incidences of food insecurity should have been highly reported in families.

On the other side, men did not bother to ask what was happening with the banana gardens because they had no reasons for doing so. They controlled the market side of the family. They controlled production and marketing of coffee that had high lucrative value compared to bananas. Control over coffee at times when its market was high, gave financial power to men and control over families was unchallenged. Bananas were not primarily produced for the market. Exchange among women was not primarily 'a commerce' but a technique of food and necessary commodity distribution among peoples from different places. Early travellers' accounts, and early colonial records, did not observe commercial production and distribution of bananas. This should have been a result of the small scale exchange nature that involved banana production. It might be a little bit daunting and misreading to speak of commercial versus non-commercial distribution of commodities because there seems to be no difference in the case of Kilimanjaro as, at least, some forms of

values were involved in distribution of bananas. The values involved in this type of exchange aimed more at facilitating distribution of commodities than accruing profit out of it. Although, in the later colonial period, and massively after the colonial period the nature of farming and handling bananas changed drastically that also had repellent impact on gender roles, food security and income distribution within families. The main cause for this abrupt change was the decline of coffee market and the transformation of bananas from the kitchen to the market to replace and in some cases, supplement, the lacuna of a cash crop on the mountain.

Rotating markets in Kilimanjaro were numerous located in juxtaposition with the two landscapes; highlands and lowlands. Many local markets were located higher on the mountain and those intended to cater for a wider regional audience went further down to solve the problem of infrastructure going up on the mountain hills.<sup>83</sup> In due course, these rotating market centres especially those established on the lowlands became nuclei for springing up new settlements. Some mountain dwellers were interested in taking permanent control of trade networks that covered different ridges and sometimes were positioned well to cover wider regional trading activities. For example, the establishment of one of the most famous villages on the lowlands of Kilimanjaro; Kwasadala followed the migration of Mr. Sadala from the highland to the lowland formerly for trading activities then settlement, and later attracted relatives and many other people from the mountain. The movement from the highland to the lowland was a starting point for many land use changes that were to take place later. There were the establishment of permanent settlements,

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<sup>83</sup> Some of these market places continued to exist during the postcolonial period. Oxford E11: 2 (73): Map: Kilimanjaro District, produced in 1967, Scale 125,000 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition.

establishment of a large market centre that provided food supply (bananas) to several cities in Tanzania and neighbouring Kenya.<sup>84</sup>

Also the perceptions, myths and taboos that were infused in the Chagga culture sometimes operated in regard to the physical landscapes that surrounded them. The highland was regarded as a 'fertile' land whose inhabitants, crops, animals, traditions and norms were blessed, preserved and protected from any indication of destruction either from within or outside the society. Likewise, the lowlands were perceived as 'barren' landscapes where only non-Chagga could live, less important crops could be grown and all people from the Chagga that were identified not to fit on the highland landscape were pushed out and had to seek refuge on the lowlands. Market centres established, in one way or another, were also new homes for the 'socially excluded' members of the Chagga communities from the mountain. When they were chased, they sought solace in lowland areas that were used as market places. Social malpractices among the highland Chagga that could disqualify and occasionally push one to relocate to the lowlands were many. Women, for instance, were not supposed to give birth before marriage. If this happened then such a woman committed an abomination and had to be chased away from the 'fertile' environment to the 'barren' one for she was considered unscrupulous to live on such a fertile land.<sup>85</sup> Also sometimes when members of the community were accused of, or suspected that there was bewitchment involuntary or willingly, they

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<sup>84</sup> KOT 8, Kwasadala, 4<sup>th</sup> September 2014, KOT 9, Kwasadala, 4<sup>th</sup> September 2014, KOT 44, Kwasadala, 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2015 and KOT 45, Kwasadala, 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2015.

<sup>85</sup> Milline J. Mbonile, 'Population Mobility and Migration in Mount Kilimanjaro', *Mount Kilimanjaro: Land Use and Environmental Management* (Institut Français Recherche en Afrique, IFRA 1999)

moved far away from witches and the fertile land. These also chose the lowlands and started new settlements there near marketing centres.

### 3.6 *Kihamba* as a Social Space

The introduction of new plants, food crops and cash crops in Kilimanjaro especially from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century contributed largely to the social binding that created the *kihamba* culture. *Kihamba* was and still is more than a farm or a homegarden, and more than a settlement. It is a socially created and imagined space and differentiated from all other spaces on the mountain slopes or elsewhere in Tanzania.<sup>86</sup> Being Mchagga is having affiliation to the highland.<sup>87</sup> The environments outside the banana groves were for others; people of the wilderness or *kysaka*.<sup>88</sup> Such a conception of the two ecological landscapes made it increasingly difficult for the Chagga to accept permanent movement into the lowlands. Otherwise, an external pressure was to be applied.<sup>89</sup> This association of the Chagganess to the highland is maintained by a social and customary right to belong to the land when alive or dead.<sup>90</sup> Cash crop production alone could not make the reluctant Chagga to relocate the mountain but the social aspect of belonging was significant and more likely stronger than economic motives. If economic motives were stronger ties to the

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<sup>86</sup> For a detailed discussion of how ‘imagination’ over a landscape influenced ways through which societies interacted with their environments, see Guy Davenport, *The Geography of the Imagination* (San Francisco: North Point Press 1981), pp. 3 – 15 (This is a 17<sup>th</sup> reprint edition, first printed in 1954).

<sup>87</sup> Almost all interviews collected in Kilimanjaro, highland and lowland, recounted the social and economic significance of *kihamba* and the affiliations that people had developed to their landscape.

<sup>88</sup> KOT 19, Wandu Village, 17<sup>th</sup> February 2015 and KOT 51, Merela Sanya, 26<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

<sup>89</sup> Festo Mkenda, ‘Becoming Chagga: Population and Politics Around Kilimanjaro Before 1886’ in Clack, (ed), *Culture, History and Identity*, pp. 125 – 138.

<sup>90</sup> Jeffrey Durrant, ‘Global Adventure and Conservation Icon,’ in Clack, (ed), *Culture, History and Identity*, pp. 27 – 36, Päive Hasu, ‘People of the Banana Garden: Placing the Dead at the Ultimate Home in Kilimanjaro,’ in Clack, (ed), *Culture*, pp. 77 – 86.

mountain, then the decline of coffee economy would experience a massive and rapid move away from the highlands.

Not everybody who was born on the highland slopes had rights of ownership and affiliation to the social and physical space of the mountain. Burial for example was an entitlement reserved for clan members who also had reflective rights on inheritance of *kihamba* land upon fathers' wish or death. Otherwise it could not be done on *kihamba* if the deceased had no such righteous entitlements as defined socially and culturally.<sup>91</sup> There have been some transformations in handling dead relatives on the mountain. During the precolonial period, dead bodies were thrown in the forests and near rivers for them to decay, a tendency that started to change for converted Christians after the introduction of Christianity. However, Christian burial cemeteries acted as temporal reserves for Chagga bodies as they were removed after some period and the skull was re-buried on the *kihamba*, especially for the case of respected members of the clan.<sup>92</sup> This explains that ancestors' role in the family continued even when they were dead and that's why they were buried in family spaces.

It has been stated elsewhere that women had no rights over land; they could only be affiliated to it through marriage. They belonged to the land that their husbands belonged to and not otherwise. Marriage ensured sustainability of clans on one side and on the other it provided right of belonging to ancestral land for women

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<sup>91</sup> KOT 5, Moshi Lutheran Diocese date: 1<sup>st</sup> September 2014, KOT 6, Uswaa Village 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2014, KOT 73, Radio Kili FM Studio, Moshi District 25<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

<sup>92</sup> KOT 5 & 6.

who could not otherwise be entitled to belong to clan land.<sup>93</sup> This was also reflected when women died. Unmarried women were buried on the boundaries of their father's *kihamba* because they had no paternal right over it and no one on the mountain could allow his *kihamba* to be used for burial of a person from a different clan.<sup>94</sup> Also women without entitlement to fathers' land could secure a plot of land from brothers of their mothers who had no much pressure from their paternal relations with entitlements to inheritance.<sup>95</sup> Marriage also had some economic and social realities. While it was entered into to sustain continuity of clan members, parents with girl children regarded their children as economic assets as soon as they got married. Girls were married off to the highest bidder, even if the girl did not love him and this ended up causing problems when girls did not want to marry the highest bidders.<sup>96</sup> Polygamy was a common practice in Uchagga although this was not enough for men because they had concubines out of ordinary marriage for sexual satisfaction that was a culturally accepted tradition. They were allowed to have concubines out of widows, women above childbearing age and infertile women.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Miline J. Mbonile, Salome B. Misana and Cosmas Sokoni, 'Land Use Change Patterns and Root Causes on the Southern Slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, Tanzania' (LUCID Working Paper No. 25, 2003), pp. 1 – 34.

<sup>94</sup> Paul S. Maro, 'Population and Land Resources in Northern Tanzania: The Dynamics of Change, 1920 – 1970' (University of Minnesota: PhD Dissertation 1974), p. 101.

<sup>95</sup> Päive Hasu, 'People of the Banana Garden',

<sup>96</sup> Theodore Morrison, 'The Wachagga of Kilimanjaro: Reminiscences of a War – Time District Officer', *Journal of the Royal African Society* 32, No. 127 (1933), pp. 140 – 147. The author gives an account of a father who wanted the highest bidder to marry his girl child. The girl child was in deep love with a poor Chagga boy who decided to go for wage labour to gain some money to pay dowry price. On his return, his girlfriend was married off to an old man. The girl moved out continually between the old husband to her loved one until this case was settled by a District officer of Kilimanjaro.

<sup>97</sup> Sally Falk Moore, 'The Chagga', pp. 2 – 3.

*Kihamba* as a social space does not seem to foresee any future decline in Uchagga as it is fully embedded in people's ways of life. The social ties and relations that bind clans to the mountain remain strong although the inheritance of *kihamba* land on the slopes has progressively fallen into a lesser practice due to unavailability of large plots of land. The Chagga have established and maintained a new form of relationship with the mountain where they go back to the mountain when they face problems in their daily activities and as an annual visit to the land which other ethnic groups in Tanzania compare it as pilgrimage to the Chagga ancestral land. Although the allegiance to the mountain seems to be an old affair for old members of the society, young Chagga see it as an opportunity to go home and explore what it all means to be a Chagga from the banana grove. *Kihamba* can only decay on the economic roles it used to offer to the people due to the on going climatic and economic preferences change in response to market and production but will remain stable as a social space for a long time.

The reasons for such decline as a productive space are obvious; population increase, decline of the size of *kihamba* and most notable is the unpredictable price of coffee that fails to meet the costs of production.<sup>98</sup> The economic decline of the roles of *kihamba* has nothing to do with the social side. It remains unchallenged that relatives from different parts of the slopes or the country would go back to the mountain to see grandparents, attend burial ceremonies and so on. Inter-marriage

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<sup>98</sup> Alison Grove, 'Water Use by the Chagga on Kilimanjaro', *African Affairs* 92, No. 368 (1993), pp. 439 – 442. Aichi Kitayli and Eija Soini, 'Chagga Homegardens, A Threatened Ecosystem: Potential Development Options to Reverse the Trend' (International Centre for Research in Agroforestry: Prunus Tribune 2004), pp. 2 – 3, Christoph Winter, 'The Social History of the Chagga in Outline with Special Reference to the Evolution of the Homegardens,' in Clack, (ed), *Culture, History and Identity*, p. 282, Firmat Banzi, David Boerma and Grace Mwaigomole, 'Kihamba Agro-forestry and Maasai Pastoral Systems' (GIAHS Tanzania).

between the Chagga and non-Chagga can be a threat to the future of this allegiance to the highlands. Different cultures and beliefs about the mountain may end up ignoring going back to the mountain.

### **3.7 Livestock, Witchcraft and the Inhabitation of *Kihamba***

Animal keeping was one of the significant components of the Chagga rural economy from the pre-colonial period that went through the colonial period. Existing literature links animal economy, especially stall feeding, with land shortage on the hills of Kilimanjaro and have given less attention to other explanations surrounding animal economy in Kilimanjaro.<sup>99</sup> This section takes the current assumptions further by suggesting that livestock economy was organised and sustained through both overt and covert influences that came from peasants themselves and authorities administering the highlands. Indoor livestock keeping was not a new experience that came to be common in the nineteenth century but existed earlier than that and was surrounded by mythical and factual constructions of the physical landscape.

In the precolonial period, it was obvious that more land existed in the *kihamba* and almost each *kihamba* was surrounded by open spaces that were used for free grazing and expansion for a *kihamba* through inheritance to young clan members.<sup>100</sup> Despite that the highlands had many empty spaces during the early visits of missionaries and explorers, still the Chagga exercised stall-feeding of cattle. This somehow questions the assumptions underlying holistically that stall-feeding of cattle resulted from shortage of land and presents an opportunity to examine other

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<sup>99</sup> Charles Dundas, *Kilimanjaro and its People: A History of the Wachagga, their Laws, Customs and Legends, Together with Some Account of the Highest Mountain in Africa*. London: Frank Cass 1968) (New Impression, it was first published in 1924), pp. 265 – 266, Koichi Ikegami, ‘The Traditional Agrisilvipastoral Complex System in the Kilimanjaro Region, and its Implications for Japanese Irrigation Project’ *African Study Monograph* 15, No. 4 (1994), pp. 193 – 196.

<sup>100</sup> See Krapf, *Travels*, p. 244.

motives behind stall-feeding of cattle. Nonetheless, open spaces came to be limited during the twentieth century due to the values added to land by the introduction of new crops on the mountain ecosystem. Still, stall-feeding of cattle cannot be understood from one angle, but rather in light of a combination of factors.

In one way, what came to be seen as an intensified animal keeping that heightened from the twentieth century resulted mainly from competition over space over plant crops and animals that was stimulated by the change of values over both. The newly introduced crops were an important enterprise that started to occupy the Chagga, and keeping animals was an integral part for the newly introduced crops on the fields. But due to the change or rather added value to land, chiefs became much influential in deciding over distribution of land and had the overall power on subjects. Indoor livestock keeping was a response to the fear of chiefly power that could at any point decide any family with a fattened *ndafu*<sup>101</sup> to provide it to the chief for ceremonial and hospitality functions under the shed of chief's house. It was believed in the Chagga society that the chief's house had many mouths to feed and that it was the responsibility of every Mchagga to feed them. Although this was a revolving conception of paying tribute to the chief, not all Chagga were comfortable with offering their fattened *ndafu* to the chief. Chief's assistants could go around to find out where a fattened *ndafu* was and reported back to the chief and it was then when the owner was asked to surrender such a *ndafu* to the chief. This was supposed to be a voluntary act and a form of obedience and loyalty to the chief and everyone in the society was to be happy with it. But revoltingly, owners of cattle and goats on the mountain were not happy with it and went through forms of silent struggles that

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<sup>101</sup> This means a fattened goat that was slaughtered for family feasts on the highlands. It is a tradition that continues to date and involves the Chagga even those who are not in Kilimanjaro.

opposed the system though their voices remained low and inaudible to authorities.<sup>102</sup> Silent struggles involved hiding animals from the vicinity of the chief's assistants and the public so as to make them safe from serving public interests to the chief.

The impact of both silent and obvious attempts to prevent the chief from taking a *ndafu* was a confrontation between the chief and his subjects. In some cases, chief's assistants could take animals by force when owners refused to surrender willingly and in other cases, owners were punished. Loyalty to the chief was applied across the ridges and was expected from both inhabitants and migrants. For migrants it was even worse because they wanted land for settlement and some grazing plots. When the chief wanted a *ndafu* from them it was highly expected that they would provide it, for they wanted to be allocated a piece of land. When they refused to give it they were not given land and some were forced to go where they came from. One such case was experienced in Ngari Tati, west of Boma Sanya road when immigrant Maasai families in the area were evicted after being reluctant to give *ndafu* to the chief.<sup>103</sup> For Maasai it was difficult to exercise indoor livestock keeping because they had large herds of cattle.

Also there was a strong connection between livestock economy in the physical world and an imagined metaphysics that operated through witchcraft

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<sup>102</sup> James Scott when analysing how peasants and authorities could conflict with each other and the mechanisms through which peasants would struggle applied the concept of silent struggles. He points out that because the weak cannot struggle overtly, they remain with silent means of struggles that are rarely noticed by the state and can barely be understood and suppressed. For detailed discussion see, James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1985), pp. xv – xvii.

<sup>103</sup> KOT 64, Ngari Tati Village, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2015. This interview had three informants, one of whom was seen to be key informant because of his age and long memory; the remaining two helped the key informant. No prior arrangements were made to have three informants but the older one felt confident and secured speaking surrounded by other clan members.

practices. Witchcraft itself was not only an imagined belief as it seems to have existed in all areas of Kilimanjaro but whether witchcraft applied to animals and sometimes crops requires more attention.<sup>104</sup> The Chagga, in their traditional cosmology, held different beliefs on disease causation, healing and divination that enabled them to maintain relations with their departed ancestors. Modern science and modern means of disease and healing were astonished to see how the Wachagga used their natural environments to obtain everything for their lives. Their environments did not only provide land for agriculture and pasture plus sources of water but also provided important herbs for healing practices. Modern medical practitioners were surprised to see locally organized means to deal with ill health. It made them compare the services offered by traditional practices to that of St Thomas Hospital in London. The society was divided into three groups. Rainmakers were clans specialized with rain making rituals, fortune-tellers were specialists in telling the sources for problems including ill health while physicians and surgeons were responsible for providing treatment to sick patients. Treatments offered by the third group of specialists used herbs that were readily available in their local environments and combined them with some animal products. It is demanding to wonder how such locally prepared herbs helped, for example, to treat broken limbs. All these

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<sup>104</sup> Explorers and missionaries reported early witchcraft practices in Kilimanjaro. See Richards, *Krapf*, pp. 32 – 33, Rebman in 1848 got a first impression that the Chagga practiced witchcraft. This should however be treated with a second eye as he was a missionary who wanted to justify a need for the introduction of Christianity in Kilimanjaro. But if this is a predisposed conclusion later on Charles New encountered similar cases of witchcraft practices on the slopes of the mountain. New went to Kilimanjaro for the purpose of establishing mission stations and evangelise the Chagga but when he wanted to report to the chief and see him he was supposed to undergo some witchcraft and ritual processes before he was allowed. For details, refer to Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa, with an Account of the First Successful Ascent of the Equatorial Snow Mountain, Kilimanjaro and Remarks on East African Slave Trade* (London: Hodder and Stoughton 1873), pp. 367 – 375, 394.

treatments were provided through the mixture just explained in combination with fortune telling stage. Fortune-tellers were consulted first, then the physicians and surgeons came next.<sup>105</sup> The occurrences of diseases and other problems in the Chagga society were associated with superstition. That is why fortune-tellers occupied an important role in the society. The discovery of the causation of certain illness was a first important step towards devising the means to treat it or solve a particular problem.<sup>106</sup> Herbs were understood to cure different diseases and were not mixed up. Each herb was specific for a certain disease and there was no way it could be mixed otherwise when mixed herbs were required to treat one problem. The sciences needed to know the herbs remained a sacred secret of few members of the clans and were not even told to grown up sons in the families. Because of this, disease and healing practitioners remained must go places for the members of the society or clan. Due to this high level of secrecy, it is not known exactly how it was transferred from one generation to another but it seems to have been a continuous process among the Chagga.<sup>107</sup>

Chiefs recognised the importance of traditional healers in their societies and established close relations with them to maintain their legitimacy over the entire society and assist in protecting the chief's throne. This was something widely spread in many precolonial African societies. For example, neighbours to the Chagga, the Shambaa Kingdom in Northeastern Tanzania also sought to control their supremacy through use of witches.<sup>108</sup> Chagga witchcraft was divided into different sections.

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<sup>105</sup> P. P. Ibreck Eq., *Old Methods of Treatment Amongst Wachagga*, Moshi District Book, Vol. 1.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press 1990), p. 55.

Some were specialist in rain making and stopping it when it came in excess; others were concerned with human medicine and witchcraft practices.

Witchcraft could predict some important events that helped chiefs to prepare. Such events included shortage of rain, tsetse infestation, drought and invasions from neighbouring enemies. It was a society where *'kila mchagga aliamini kuwa maisha yake yalikuwa mikononi mwa waganga ambao walijua habari zote za miili yao*: every Mchagga believed that his life was under a traditional witchdoctor who knew everything about his body.<sup>109</sup> Such beliefs lived in the Chagga minds and they thought everyone in Tanganyika practiced witchcraft. They feared to go out of the mountain lest they should be bewitched. Notions of bewitchment elsewhere in the territory were created by the experience on the mountain where before and after the introduction of Christianity every happening in the society was associated with local beliefs and witchcraft practices.

Almost all early travellers' records in Kilimanjaro noted the practice of witchcraft and this was mostly revealed in almost all chiefdoms they visited. An interesting part of the story of missionaries in Kilimanjaro was that although the Chagga practiced witchcraft, they still had forms of religious beliefs over an almighty powerful being they called *ruwa*. The Chagga *ruwa* should have connoted the Christian God but the interpretation and practices with him were different from those associated with the Christian God. While missionaries believed everything practiced traditionally to be a form of lack of civilisation and faith to the almighty – Christian God, the Chagga believed all traditional practices had blessings from the supreme power – *ruwa*. John Rebman in 1848 experienced traditional practices,

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<sup>109</sup> About Chagga traditions and beliefs see S. N. Ntiro, *Desturi za Wachagga* (Dar es Salaam: The Eagle Press 1953)

which he described as sorcery that were undertaken to bring rainfall and the rainfall fell even before the ritual had ended.<sup>110</sup> Due to this experience, Rebman pointed out that, ‘in no country can the fall of rain be known beforehand more early than in jagga, where the whole process of cloud-formation can be daily perceived.’<sup>111</sup>

On a likely similar experience in the same area, Hans Meyer in the late 1880s encountered rites of passage to admit him into Machame chiefdom that he interpreted as witchcraft. As pointed earlier, witchcraft and magic were linked with the powers of the chiefs, chiefdoms and its people. Visitors and strangers to the chiefdom had to undergo some procedures that were assumed to cleanse them and to be assured that they were good people visiting their chiefdom. Rituals were made and involved invariably kinds of plant leaves and goats or sheep. The admission of Hans Meyer in Machame for instance was to be made by an oath administered by a representative of the chief who occupied almost the same position as that which Rebman described as a sorcerer. The rites of passage symbolically bound the taker to the chiefdom, ensuring that he was not an agent of another Chief on the slopes who was an enemy to the chief and the people of the chiefdom. The ritual specialist stated that ‘an *mzungu* has come into our land. He says that he is our friend. If he lies, may he utterly perish, he and all his caravan.’<sup>112</sup> These words were pronounced with some other ritual processes including spiting on the head of the goat. In response, the oath taker committed himself to the oath that, ‘if I practice any evil against Ngamine (chief), him or his people, his cattle or his land, may it so be that I utterly perish, I

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<sup>110</sup> See Krapf, *Travels*, p. 239, 252.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*, p. 252.

<sup>112</sup> Meyer, *Across East Africa*, p. 249.

and all my caravan.’<sup>113</sup> Each pronounced the oath while holding the horns of the ritual goat.

Due to the beliefs that went around in all aspects of Chagga life, divination and witchcraft had both good and bad outcomes. Sometimes people with ill intentions towards others used them to ill ends. Livestock keepers believed that their animals were not totally protected against witchcraft if left to graze outdoors and when animal sheds were outside human settlements. Indoor livestock economy provided trilateral advantages spanning from protecting them against the chief, hiding them against practices of witchcraft and also served to fatten bulls and *ndafu* for family functions. The social use of livestock partly included paying dowry prices and presiding over family ceremonies where drinks and meet was provided. For a well to do family it was a pride to have several of such social events at home where elders from different clans gathered, ate and drank *mbege*.<sup>114</sup>

### **3.8 Conservation or Intensification? *Kihamba* and the Politics of Land Use**

In the pre-colonial Chagga society the acquisition of land depended on who was the first to clear and either establish settlement or banana groves on that land. Because bananas were iconic and became synonymous with the Chagga livelihood, there was no member from the Chagga society who would otherwise invade a piece of land already under banana cultivation.<sup>115</sup> Such acquired land subsequently became a clan land and only people from that clan had the right to use it, inherit and perform all spiritual religious and social functions. It was possible to observe a high level of

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid, pp. 249 – 250.

<sup>114</sup> KOT 6, Uswaa Village, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2014, KOT 29, Mbomai Juu, 27<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

<sup>115</sup> Robert Munson, ‘The Landscape of German Colonialism: Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru ca. 1890 – 1916’ (University of Boston: PhD Dissertation 2005), pp. 30 – 31.

environmental preservation of the *kihamba* because it was easier to monitor clan land use than communal land use.

Clan members took care of their lands, as they wanted to observe continuity of such piece of land.<sup>116</sup> This became the origin of the traditional *kihamba* land tenure, because the owner of such self-acquired land was able to pass down ownership to his sons on hereditary basis.<sup>117</sup> This kind of land acquisition was possible in the early days of frontier settlement on the mountain slopes especially the highlands. As time went by, population increased, land started to be controlled by administrative units; it became not easy for more Chagga to expand into open fields on the fertile highlands without the permission from the administrative machinery. The emergence, in this case, of the royal obligation, subject-chief relations in the pre-colonial Chagga society among other factors, indicated a sign of resource diminution that needed some forms of control in its use.<sup>118</sup>

Traditional Chagga land tenure based on *kihamba* varied depending on the fertility of the soil and the amount of land that a parent owned. In areas like Rombo the *Kihamba* by 1940s was as greater as 10 acres while on Kibosho was small as a 1acres. This was provided from one's chief administrative area. Each *kihamba* belonged to the wife and was inherited by male offspring. When a husband married

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<sup>116</sup> Munson, 'The landscape,' pp. 30 – 31, Also read Robert Munson, *The Nature of Christianity in Northern Tanzania: Environmental and Social Change, 1890 – 1916*. (Boulder: Lexington Books 2013), pp. 1 – 25.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Also read Mathew V. Bender, 'Being 'Chagga': Natural resources, Political Activism, and Identity on Kilimanjaro', *Journal of African History* 54, No. 2 (2013), pp.199 – 200. Mathew Bender associates political centralization of the chieftaincy in Kilimanjaro by 1940 and 1950s as a result of the common struggles waged for regaining natural resources like water and land on the mountain. Political unity according to him resulted from that need to defend resources.

another woman he applied for another *kihamba*.<sup>119</sup> As by 1946, of the 45,000 Chagga taxpayers, 3,500 were polygamous despite the influence of Christianity that had taken root in the Chagga society. Wealthy Chagga obtained more land because they were able to give more gifts to the chief who distributed land. They were able to obtain extra *vihamba*.<sup>120</sup> Wealthy Chagga had rights and obligations to their society.<sup>121</sup> They assisted in providing food and equipment during wars and also were responsible for providing entertainments (drinks etc.) when visitors entered the Chagga society. Also they provided relief for the sick and the needy members of the society. These were duties endowed upon a rich person in the Chagga pre-colonial economy. This made the entire Chagga society accept that such important persons should be given an extra land/*kihamba*.<sup>122</sup>

The change from subsistence to cash economy also changed the kind of interaction between the rich and the poor people. The role of the rich changed, because almost everybody in the Chagga society was after entering the cash economy and hence the competition for land was on the increase. Justice Mark Wilson Arusha and Moshi Land Commission report<sup>123</sup> noted that if such greed for cash crop growing land was allowed to continue, there would be a group of people with no or less land while few members would have abundance. After the

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<sup>119</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Report of the Arusha Moshi Land Commission* (1947), p. 24

<sup>120</sup> *Kihamba and its inheritance in the Chagga society, Tanganyika, Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of the Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika for the Year, 1949* (London: H. M. Stationery 1950), pp. 74 – 75.

<sup>121</sup> For traditional land tenure in Kilimanjaro during this period see, Tanganyika, *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika for the Year, 1948* (London: H. M. Stationery 1949), pp. 98 – 101.

<sup>122</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Report of the Arusha Moshi Land Commission*, pp. 24 – 25.

<sup>123</sup> More details about this report are given in chapter four of this thesis.

introduction of coffee as a cash crop, Kilimanjaro experienced a high level of unprecedented expansion to new lands. Both Africans and Europeans went on to accumulate land and left a majority of the people landless.<sup>124</sup> The Chagga, who accumulated land, did not use it for the traditional subsistence economy but for coffee farming. Thus the extra land that was acquired was used for commercial purposes.<sup>125</sup>

*Kihamba* and *shamba* land operated side by side on the Chagga economy although they were assigned different roles to feed the rural economy. The *shamba* was regarded as a man's supplement to the higher slopes family/clan *kihamba*. *Shamba* land was given only seasonally and would be required by the chief when the crops were ready for harvest or when the *shamba* land was required to be given as a *kihamba* land to someone. The temporality of tenure on the lowlands made a sharp distinction between the highlands and lowlands. While on the highlands, owners of land planted trees and made good use of it for sustained clan inheritance, on the lowlands little attention was given to taking care of the land because there was no assured continued use over subsequent growing seasons.<sup>126</sup> The agroforestry culture of the Chagga that was on the highlands was delayed on the lowlands up until the 1950s when the government started to emphasise permanent ownership of pieces of land on the lowlands. Lowlands started to experience some new practices of what was taking place on the highlands in regard to forestry culture. The kind of afforestation on the lowlands was new in the sense that the traditional old grown up tree species were cleared during seasonal occupation of the areas and some new trees

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<sup>124</sup> Discussion on land alienation is provided in chapter four of this thesis

<sup>125</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Report of the Arusha Moshi Land Commission*, p. 25.

<sup>126</sup> C. K. Meek, *Land Law and Custom in the Colonies* (London: Oxford University Press 1949), pp. 1 – 13. The author provides a good discussion on how land tenure and land use can affect each other.

were planted on farm boundaries, while leaving large areas of the farms without trees. Forestry culture on the lowlands was not the same as that which existed on the highlands but at least it indicated a transfer of knowledge and experience from the highlands to the lowlands. In some few lowlands examples, Moshi rural, Siha and Hai, some home gardens may be seen though they are not exactly the same as those that existed three decades ago on the highlands.

Owners of *vihamba* were obliged to make sure that they developed their lands, otherwise it would be regarded as not used and the chief could allocate it to somebody else. The advent of colonialism and the subsequent introduction of cash economy in Kilimanjaro changed the entire way the Chagga interacted with their *Vihamba*.<sup>127</sup> There was a transformation in land tenure, from unrestricted expansion to an area where a person preferred to settle during the pioneer period of settlement on the mountain to a controlled one. 'Traditional land tenure customs date[d] from the period of patriarchal and unrestricted settlement and became adjusted in later times to meet the needs of guided settlement where allocations of land were made by the Mangi or the Mchili.'<sup>128</sup> They were no longer forced to cultivate or use their lands, nor were they restricted to sell their lands. Though, during this time they had freedom over their land, the value of *kihamba*-increased threshold due to cultivation of cash crops. Owners of pieces of land, from 1920s, would only prefer to buy new lands and not to sell some under possession. Hardly, it could be possible to leave the *kihamba* land unattended i.e. fallow whilst coffee beans had to be planted all over the mountain slopes.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Figgis Report, p. 20.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Report of the Arusha Moshi land Commission*, p. 26.

### 3.9 *Kihamba* in Relation to other forms of Conservation

*Kihamba* or home garden practices in Kilimanjaro have been considered as one among the many globally important agricultural systems remaining resilient in different places of Africa and outside the continent.<sup>130</sup> Some of these systems are to be found in East Africa while others are in other parts of the world. The origin and development of these systems might have different stories but what at least characterises them in general is their use of intensive and systematic techniques on land to ensure maximum production and sustainability.<sup>131</sup> Scholars have been divided as to why these systems emerge, develop and sustain despite changes in social and economic systems that preoccupy these societies. Yet, a common assumption among scholars have been that such systems develop as a result of the demands to obtain more from land to cater for increasing needs at family levels be it for subsistence or market forces.

This section is about a brief comparison between *kihamba* and other forms of intensive land use on aspects of planned and sometimes unintended conservation and sustainability of land resources. The environmental advantages accrued from these systems may be accidental or planned. This is because they are not primarily intended for the sake of the environment but a combination of external and internal influences that needs to be negotiated by engagement with proper and sustainable use of land. The people of the small island of Ukara, for instance, who tried to make intensive use of their land that even astonished the colonial government officials who did not expect ‘local’ people to have knowledge of proper use of their surroundings,

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<sup>130</sup> FAO, Sustainable Diets and Biodiversity: Directions and Solutions for Policy Research and Action (Biodiversity International n.d), pp. 62 – 63.

<sup>131</sup> Aichi Kitalyi, Robert Wambugu and Deborah Kimaro, *FAO Characterisation of Global Heritage Systems in Tanzania and Kenya Agroforestry and Development Alternatives* (AFORED Tanzania 2013), pp. 13 – 25.

were echoed upon needs to maintain both farming and herding in advantage of both systems.<sup>132</sup> No one activity among the two could stand out without the existence of the other. Through this, it was possible to critique the generalised view that in areas where high population exists there must be resource depletion and no sustainability can be maintained.<sup>133</sup> Studies on local knowledge and agency in the control of local environments helped to establish and critique earlier views that generalised that wherever there was high population growth there was a danger of resource degradation and collapse of an ecological system.

Whereas other systems of land use in East African societies intentionally aimed at controlling and maintaining sustainable use, *kihamba* had an accidental conservation impact. Its combination of plant varieties on the ecosystem was a requirement for the sustainability of the economic activities on the homegarden and was not done with an intention to conserve those plant species for the sake of the immediate environment. The Sukuma of North western Tanzania practised a well-established land use systems controlled by clan elders and chiefs that allowed proper

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<sup>132</sup> D. Thornton and N. V. Rounce, 'Ukara Island and the Agricultural Practices of the Wakara' *TNR* 1 (1936), pp. 25 – 32. Ukara Island was preserved to the surprise of colonial authorities who always had negative attitudes regarding native use of their environments. They observed that 'the neighbouring tribes still practice the primitive and simple method of shifting cultivation, but as all available land on Ukara is already taken up, the people have been forced to adopt a system of maintaining soil fertility under almost continuous cropping.'

<sup>133</sup> The same experience was reported from Kigezi District in Uganda where 'received wisdom' from colonial officials viewed that Kigezi District was near to the decline because of population increase. This view did not consider how societies could respond to pressures in their environments. See Grace Carson, 'Farmers and Fallowing: Agricultural Change in Kigezi District, Uganda' *The Geographical Journal* 168, No. 2 (2000), pp. 130 – 140. The same scenario was observed in other East African societies by Mary Tiffen, Michael Mortimore and Francis Gichuki, *More People Less Erosion: Environmental Recovery in Kenya* (ACTS Press 1994), pp. 3 – 32, This study on Machakosi – Kenya was soon followed by another case study with likely similar conclusions from west Africa by James Fairhead and Melisa Leach, *Misreading the African Continent in a Savannah Mosaic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

use of arable and pasture land and through it sustainability was ensured. They also had different ways to control increase of cattle by redistributing risks of resource – pasture in this case, and risk management to relatives living in different places.

The thinking of what happened in the 1930s in the American Dust Bowl prevailed among colonial officials in different parts of Africa, and for Sukumaland, it was seen that a Sukumaland dust bowl was coming very soon.<sup>134</sup> D. W. Malcom, once a colonial official in Sukumaland, writing about the Sukuma land use worried that ‘in the southern Sukumaland dust storms at the end of dry season indicate the spread of desiccation.’<sup>135</sup> This was perceived by the colonial official to be a result of Sukuma growing herds of cattle that as a result the herds should be halved through propaganda of conservation and later war efforts campaign. Colonial officials did not consider the traditional system of herd management where herders divided their plots into seasons following dry and wet seasons and responding to availability of both pasture and water sources.<sup>136</sup>

For the *Sukuma* this was done through a system called *Ngitiri* where conservation of fallow and rangelands through regeneration of vegetation and control of access during some periods of the year were done. Sukuma also had likely similar land tenure like the Chagga called *tongo*.<sup>137</sup> The *tongo* was the home place for the

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<sup>134</sup> For further discussion on policy measures taken following the American dust bowl by British colonial government in East Africa, see David Anderson, ‘Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography, and Drought: The Colonial State and Soil Conservation in East Africa During the 1930s’, *African Affairs* 83, No. 332 (1984), pp. 321 – 331.

<sup>135</sup> For a detailed study of the Sukumaland during the 1930s concerning land acquisition, ownership and tenure rights on use, see D. W. Malcom, *Sukumaland: An African People and their Country, A Study of Land Use in Tanganyika* (London: Oxford University Press 1953) (first published 1938), pp. v – ix.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 73 – 75.

<sup>137</sup> B. J. Hartley, ‘Land Tenure in Usukuma: Tribal Aspect of Land Tenure as Affecting the Sukuma People’, *TNR* 5 (1936), pp. 17 – 24.

Sukuma where they built houses, cultivated and left fallow some small areas for grazing and when these were depleted they moved into communal land. Opening up new *tongo* areas depended on tsetse clearance.<sup>138</sup> All areas that were cleared from tsetse turned into settlements in short periods of time. *Ngitiri* allowed availability of pasture during scarcity and freed land up from continuous grazing.<sup>139</sup>

The adherence to *Kihamba* system for a large part led into conserving some plant species, replacing others and creating new environmental conditions that did not allow the growth of some formerly growing plant species.<sup>140</sup> Land uses under *kihamba* and the *Matengo* Pit systems were intensive, environmentally friendly and similar in many ways. They both involved intensifying small fields of their lands and were designed as solutions for problems facing their lands.<sup>141</sup> The *matengo* pit allowed cultivation of the slopes of the *Matengo* hills without posing a threat to the soil and the sustainability of the system. This originated from the awareness of the *Matengo* people of the importance of taking up measures to improve the productivity of their plots similar to what was happening among the Chagga.<sup>142</sup> By 1930s the colonial government was startled by the *Matengo* Pit system because it was carrying countrywide campaigns to prevent soil erosion and in 1944, the Senior Agricultural

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> R. M. Otsina, I. Essai and D. Assenga, 'Traditional Grassland and Fodder Management Systems in Tanzania and Potential for Improvement' (Session 28: Seed Production and Management n.d).

<sup>140</sup> Andreas Hemp and Claudia Hemp, 'Environment and Worldview: The Chagga Homegardens: Part I; Ethnobotany and Ethnozoology,' in Clack (ed), *Culture, History and Identity*, pp. 235 – 271.

<sup>141</sup> For Discussion on Matengo Pit farming see Kenneth Morgan and Henry W. Basehart, 'Concomitants of Matengo Cultivation Intensity: Discrete Multivariate Model' *Ethnology* 16, No. 2 (1977), pp. 185 – 190, Tanzania Natural Resource Forum, Tanzania's Policies and Laws in Support of Globally, Important Systems (Report, n.d).

<sup>142</sup> A. S. Stenhouse, 'Agriculture in the Matengo Highlands', *The East African Agricultural Journal* 10 (1944), pp. 22 – 24.

Officer in Tanganyika made the following comment about the *Matengo* system; ‘these hillside cultivations are of very striking appearance, showing an orderly layout, with straight-cut edges, and the surface of the fields is curiously pitted. The impression gathers force that this cannot be native cultivation.’<sup>143</sup> The *Matengo* should have been unaware of what happened in America and/or what was happening in other parts of the territory but necessity brought about methods to sustainably use their hillside land.<sup>144</sup> However the difference between *kihamba* and *matengo* pit lay in the perceptions that these two societies had of their environments. The *Matengo* believed the hillsides could sustain agriculture only when they applied the pit system while the *Chagga* intensified their small areas to avoid moving down to the lowlands and to produce more cash crops on the highlands.

### 3.10 Conclusion

The history of the *Chagga* of Kilimanjaro is incomplete without establishing a clear connection with the highland *kihamba* system with its various complexities. *Kihamba* as an ancestors’ land, blessed, fertile, social, cultural and economic space was the epicentre of *Chagga*’s livelihood and development in all aspects. This chapter has explored the matrices that affiliated all *Chagga* to the highland. If not influenced by one factor, the other among the many would have influence. Competition over various land use functions and opportunities was a springboard for the nature of interactions that developed in *Chaggaland* among the people and between people and their environment. Government officials required understanding these functions before embarking on different land use planning and coordinated projects. Plans that overlooked the matrices discussed in this chapter stood a greater

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> A. H. Pike, ‘Soil Conservation Among the *Matengo* Tribe’, *TNR* 6 (1936), pp. 76 – 81.

possibility of failure. The next chapter will examine the implementation of various land use developments and will show how their success and failure were connected to the misinformation about what affiliated the Chagga to the highland. The government supposed it was the land question only that could move the Chagga to other areas and disregarded the social and cultural aspects of the problem of concentration on the highland.

## Chapter Four

### **Peasant and Settler Production Vs. the Land Crisis in Kilimanjaro, 1920 – 1960**

During the 1950s, more than in any other decade of the twentieth century, the state in Africa was concerned with the ‘management’ of the rural environment—with the rehabilitation of ecologies, with conservation, with controlled improvements in agricultural production—and took a direct role in enforcing policies that would both protect the productive capacity of the land and bring about the social and economic reforms that were then considered desirable.

David M. Anderson, 2002:2

The above quote somewhat offers a synopsis of the entire chapter and points out what the government was thinking in relation to peasant and settler production, environment and the general modernisation of rural livelihoods and economic activities. Several attempts were taken by the government to solve the problems that faced land users in Kilimanjaro from the earliest days of British administration of Tanganyika, but the 1950s marked a climax. Nevertheless, the implementation of government plans on land use in Kilimanjaro throughout the colonial period remained thorny, obscured, politicised, frustrating and entangled into contested multidimensional attentions that required strenuous commitment and readiness to handle when it came to the implementation stage.<sup>1</sup> Tanganyika experienced several land settlement schemes during the British colonial period that had multiple motives that diverged and converged in some aspects across all actors involved in land use. Most schemes and plans in Tanganyika targeted at controlling the ‘native’ population

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<sup>1</sup> Detailed coverage of land use concerns in Kilimanjaro can be found in UKNA CO 691/200/2: Alienated and Tribal Land: Kilimanjaro and Meru Mountains (Arusha – Moshi Lands Commission Report 1947).

from assumed depletion of some natural resources and to prevent them from causing harm to natural ‘commercial’ resources like forestry and wildlife. Few of such colonial schemes included the Tanga Province Land Usage Scheme that targeted stopping grazing on steep slopes and planting of trees each year to control erosion. The Usambara Scheme that targeted the afforestation of steep slopes and planting trees for firewood and poles for natives.<sup>2</sup> Others were the Uluguru Land Usage Scheme that intended to control soil wash by preventing erosion on steep slopes by contour hedging and the Sukumaland Development Scheme that also included planting of trees by voluntary or paid individuals.<sup>3</sup> For the case of the Kilimanjaro the problem of land settlement went beyond what was taking place in other schemes in the Territory and inherently the complexities of dealing with it transcended into the post-colonial period. The complication was envisaged on the fact that land use planning in Kilimanjaro was also meant to address the problem of land shortage for African use and the competing interests of settler establishments. It was a disputed matter of concern that needed negotiation between and among all parties involved in it that included the government and the divided interests of users that were enthused by both market and livelihood needs.

This chapter tries to problematise the encounters embroiled in government efforts to solve land use challenges on the mountain slopes of Kilimanjaro and how the conflicted interests on land, those of settlers and peasants were handled. It also tries to show how the Chagga were not passive recipients of the challenges presented by land shortage and the advantages provided by money economy through both direct and indirect participation in making use of all available opportunities. It will

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<sup>2</sup> TNA 5/20/21: General: Land Usage Rehabilitation

<sup>3</sup> UKNA CO 736/34: Annual Reports: Tanganyika, Department of Agriculture, Annual Report for 1951, Part I and II.

be seen that there were several government attempts to address the challenges of land shortage in Kilimanjaro but they did not yield the desired outcomes at the end. Various small-scale development and settlement schemes were spread throughout the lowlands but none of them registered a big celebration. The chapter will provide a general overview of such plans and implementation because of the lack of complete sets of evidence to cover each of the schemes/projects separately. Archival documents provide a general overview of the developments taken but do not allow detailed follow up of specific schemes. Oral texts seem to be relatively silent on issues that are considered hot in relation to settlement, resettlement and land ownership. Land in northern Tanzania has had histories of contestations and struggles involving different actors.

#### **4.1 Land Alienation and Resettlements in Kilimanjaro, 1920 – 1930**

The pressures of what came to be known as land hunger in Kilimanjaro cannot be understood properly and sometimes can be underrated if Kilimanjaro is treated in isolation to what was happening broadly elsewhere in the Northern Province of Tanganyika Territory during the colonial period and after. The effects on land and resources that happened anywhere in the Northern Province landscapes outpoured into the Chagga society and had transformative outcomes. Peasants, pastoralists, labourers, and commercial farmers were equally affected by land use changes that were taking place in the Province. When most of the areas were occupied in Arusha District during the early German colonial period, the land was not entirely empty but also was not much inhabited by people.<sup>4</sup> Most settlements were established on the southern parts and Southwestern slopes of Mount Meru. This gave Germans a chance to expand to the unoccupied lands and establish their farms and ranches. Unaware of

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<sup>4</sup> Thomas Spear et al, 'Arusha and Meru Historical Traditions' (Department of History, Madison: University of Wisconsin 1996), pp. 2 – 3.

the expansion of African population in the future, German alienation of the most fertile lands and grazing areas became a springboard for what continued during the British period leading into intensive political agitations weaved under ‘the Meru Land Case’ in the 1950s and the parallel protests of the Pare.<sup>5</sup> What came to be seen in the 1950s was an outcome of land dispossessions that took place in Meru and Arusha areas from the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the determinations of African societies to participate in money economy through cash crops. The precolonial settlement of the Arusha and Meru took into consideration the possible raids that would come from the pastoral Maasai. When the Germans started to alienate land in the first days, they met with the nomadic Maasai who were around the Arusha District excluding the highly settled Meru and Arusha areas.<sup>6</sup> It seems it was relatively easier to dispossess pastoral Maasai of their grazing lands, because they still had some extensive areas to practice their nomadic pastoralism.<sup>7</sup> In some cases, when they moved to another area for grazing, in a normal pastoral transhumance, on return to their former areas they found new establishments by settlers, colonial government and cultivators. Pastoralists always and for the good reasons and purpose of reconditioning the pasture wanted large areas of land where they could exercise transhumance and controlled grazing. After their areas were reduced they could not be happy mixing with other forms of land uses like farming

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<sup>5</sup> Isaria N. Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest in Tanzania: The Impact of World Economy on the Pare 1860 – 1960* (London: James Currey 1991).

<sup>6</sup> KOT 64, Ngari Tati Village – Siha District, 18<sup>th</sup> August 2015 and 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2015.

<sup>7</sup> Legislative Council of Tanganyika, *The Arusha Land Problem* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1952) p. 1, KOT 64, KOT 78, Karansi, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2015, KOT 71, Ndalala Village, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2015.

on the same area. This became the base for their continued mobility from one area to another in search of new areas in the province and beyond.<sup>8</sup>

German colonial government delayed land alienation in the Northern Province as much interest was vested in obtaining land in Tanga Province on the fertile west Usambara Mountain plains that were deemed the most economically valuable part of German East Africa.<sup>9</sup> In this regard we can consider the land alienations and subsequent establishment of plantations in the Northern Province as extensions of settler farming curiosities that started in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and gained momentum in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Usambara. In Kilimanjaro, given the nature of land use that existed, the Germans found it difficult to alienate the fertile *Kihamba* land because Wachagga already occupied them. Alienation of the *kihamba* land could cause unnecessary fracas between the government and the Chagga people. Yet, by 1907, the Germans decided to start alienations of the Chagga *shamba* areas that were not by the time occupied.<sup>10</sup>

Occupation here recounts the permanent establishment of settlements but in terms of land use, peasants already used these areas although rarely because of fear of environmental hardships, lack of social and cultural attachments to the lowlands and the negative perceptions of the lowlands as opposed to the highlands. Lowlands were *porini* and suitable for non-Chagga communities. Highlands were suitable and were for the Chagga. Kilimanjaro was not just left to fall under land alienations by white men who had some economic enterprises to establish in the area without supervision from the government. The German government controlled the alienation

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<sup>8</sup> KOT 64.

<sup>9</sup> Frank R. Cana, 'Frontiers of German East Africa', *The Geographical Journal* 47, No. 4 (1916), p. 297.

<sup>10</sup> John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979), pp. 143 – 144.

of land in the hope of creating a Chagga labour supply to the new establishments in the region and more land for settlers.<sup>11</sup> However at the end of the day, as a later section of this chapter will show, it was not possible to create a reliable source of labour from within the Chagga population. Alternative sources from outside Kilimanjaro were deployed.

The integration of the Meru, Chagga and the Arusha into money economy through coffee cultivation that intensified from the 1930s and 1940s, marked the first signs of land shortage due to increased commercial competition over land on the mountains.<sup>12</sup> The coffee crop was tricky in that the more the coffee planted area becomes larger, the number of planted coffee trees increased and the more it was possible to get huge harvests and the most likely the producer would get more money out of it. This was one of the motives behind land use change and expansion on the slopes of the sister Mountains Kilimanjaro and Meru in the quest for more money and living standards.<sup>13</sup> In the event of this expansion, shortage of, and competition for land, both by settlers and peasant producers in these areas was a result of social and economic developments on the mountain slopes. On the social side, a remarked increase in population was experienced on the slopes following several improvements that took place in favour of demographic growth in Africa in general and Tanganyika in particular.<sup>14</sup> Demographic increase during the colonial period was

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>12</sup> By 1930s peasant production competed closely with estates production on exportable coffee from Tanganyika Territory. UKNA CO 736/12: Annual Reports; Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report for the Year 1933* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1934), p. 40.

<sup>13</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Report of the Arusha Moshi Land Commission* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1947), p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> Juhani Koponen, 'Population: A Dependent Variable' in Isaria Kimambo, Gregory Maddox and James Giblin (eds), *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania* (Oxford: James Currey 1996), pp. 20 – 30.

attributed to the availability of medical and surgical services, improvements of conditions that brought famines in the precolonial period, improvement of maternity and postnatal maternity services and ending wars between ethnic polities that were stimulated by slave trade before colonial rule. On the economic side, the introduced cash crop and cash economy culture increased interests for investments on land.<sup>15</sup>

Land alienation in Kilimanjaro and the Northern Province at large took place in a very short period ranging from 1907 to the 1930s but left behind disrupted social and economic systems on the mountain slopes of the Northern Province. Though in the first days of British rule, the government vowed not to alienate any further land in areas like Tanga District, Usambara District, Pangani North of the Pangani River, cultivated areas of Moshi and Arusha Districts, yet many applications were lodged to the government by settlers who wanted land in the Northern Province<sup>16</sup> and more

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Koponen strongly rejects earlier propositions by Helge Kjekshus, *Ecology Control*, that the colonial period was a mess in demographic growth of Tanzania. He alternatively points that the colonial period experienced population growth because the colonial government put to an end the factors that were at play in limiting population growth in the precolonial period such as wars and control of diseases and famines. Also see Gregory Maddox, 'Environment and Population Growth in Ugogo Central Tanzania,' in Giblin, Kimambo and Maddox (eds), *Custodians of the Land*, pp. 47 – 56. James Giblin who sees both the pre-colonial and colonial periods experienced environmental challenges provides another detailed discussion of how African societies in Tanganyika interacted with their environments. However, the ability to fight against the challenges by Africans was reduced during the colonial period due to the disruptions in the social and political structures established during the precolonial period, and as a result, more incidences of decline due to lack of environmental control were experienced. James Giblin, 'East Coast Fever in Social-Historical Context: A Case Study from Tanzania', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 23, No. 3 (1990), pp. 403 – 417.

<sup>15</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Report of the Arusha Moshi Land Commission*, p. 22, KOT 19, Wandu Village, 17<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 21, Wandu Village 17<sup>th</sup> February 2015 and KOT 24, Makuyuni, 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

<sup>16</sup> TNA 69/205/MB: Moshi: Application for Land: Mbulu District, 1923. Folio: Government Notes No. 74 of 1923. For more reference of the application for land in the Northern Province, especially Mbulu District see TNA 69: Regional Office – Box No. 34.

others were advertised in other areas of the territory.<sup>17</sup> This was a contradiction within the government. Finding solutions for land shortage for peasant population and encouraging settlers to come in the northern province were incompatible approaches to solving the problem given the scarcity of land that already existed in the province. Most lands were taken for settler's use and missionary activities and at the same time less allocation was made for peasant production. Alienation deprived right to land by peasants but also changed the socio-economic structures of the societies affected. The Chagga were then required to go to European estates and mission stations to ask for grasses to thatch their houses or for their animals and areas for squatter cultivation.

This situation, to the view of the Chagga Council of Chiefs, was disappointing. Worse enough, European settlers and Missions exchanged grasses with animal manure. Manure was a reciprocal part of the Chagga-home based economy. Draining manure from the Chagga in exchange with a head load of grasses for animals and for thatching their huts was a new encounter that came with the introduction of European activities in Kilimanjaro. Its outcomes replicated on the ability of the Chagga to manage their home based economies and enhance productivity. Manure supply for banana groves decreased. That, in turn, threatened production. For instance, in Rombo, most of the alienated lands were owned by

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<sup>17</sup> The Land Ordinance cap. 68 allowed Land alienation in Tanganyika. It required that the right of occupancy to be disposed through public auction except for public purposes. During the reporting year, 1933, areas suitable were surveyed and some were in the process of survey in areas like Mbulu District, Iringa Province, Songea Province, Mahenge District, Kibondo and Kasulu Districts and Ufipa Plateau. Applications for provision of rights of occupancy by non-natives were open. See UKNA CO 736/12: *Annual Reports: Annual Report of the Land Department for the Year 1933*, pp. 1 – 3.

missionary societies and were not fully used but peasant activities were not allowed on the fallow lands.

Some mission lands in Rombo and elsewhere in Kilimanjaro were utilized for missionary works while a large part of it continued to grow wild grasses. Unattended missionary lands added disappointments to the Chagga, because the wild grasses grown on it were sold back to them for roofing their huts at Shs.40/= a head load. In a memorandum to the Commissioner of the Arusha – Moshi Land Commission (1946), the Chagga Council of Chiefs expressed their disappointments; ‘the Natives buy this grass with very sad feeling, since for time immemorial before the advent of the Europeans the Natives of Kilimanjaro never had to buy wild grass for thatching their huts.’<sup>18</sup> Additionally, some of the areas formerly used for grazing in Rombo were alienated during the German times and went to Kenyan side and limited pasture availability in Rombo. Increasing land shortage culminated into the 1940s and 1950s scuffles between Tanganyika and Kenya pastoralists who struggled over right of ownership and use of grazing fields on the border between the two countries amid existence of alienated and unattended land in several localities in Kilimanjaro.<sup>19</sup> A detailed discussion on interborder resource use experiences is provided in the next chapter of this thesis.

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<sup>18</sup> UKNA CO 691/200/2: Alienated and Tribal Land: Kilimanjaro and Meru Mountains (Arusha – Moshi Lands Commission Report, 1948), Folio: A Memorandum to the Commissioner, Moshi – Arusha Land Commission, by A Committee Appointed by the Chagga Chiefs, Moshi.

<sup>19</sup> TNA 69/51/3: Moshi: Affrays, Disputes, Disturbances (Provincial Commissioners Office), Folio: Letter from the District Officer – Moshi to the Provincial Commissioner Northern Province, dated 19<sup>th</sup> April 1943. Also see Charles Dundas, *Kilimanjaro and its People: A History of the Wachagga, their Laws, Customs and Legends, Together with some Account of the Highest Mountain in Africa* (London: Frank Cass 1968), p. 266.

Land alienation gained momentum during the British time, extending to the areas formerly initiated by Germans. The British occupied Kilimanjaro at a time when population was already showing up on the mountains and the demands for land were higher than during the German period. The enclosures done on the mountain slopes due to land alienation and forest protection created an island that limited future expansion by the Chagga population. They remained to compete for the mountain land and resources and with no alternatives for extensive use. The Chagga belt was encircled with the Native Authority Forest Reserve on the upper boundary, that prevented the Forest Reserve from encroachment by African population, and soon after the Chagga belt, plantations and settler farms bounded them as one goes downslopes. Further down, the dry, tsetse infested and Maasai occupied plains were not of interest for Chagga settlement.<sup>20</sup>

Much of the lands on the lowlands that were until 1930s considered marginal by native Chagga were subjected to applications for growth of sugar cane and continued to limit potential expansions of the highland population. Taping or constructing modern irrigation furrows under the auspices of the sugarcane scheme could facilitate the establishment of sugar cane plantation by Tanganyika Planting Company (TPC). Investment in this dry land required heavy capital outlay and machinery that Mr. A. Bursell, then TPC official, seemed ready to start the project upon government's assurance to the company of support on issues outside the company's control. The company was already in parts of the Moshi District and by 1932 it owned two plots of 5,000 acres each. This time, applications intended 15,000 acres of land in Arusha Chini for the sugar-cane plantation project. These areas that the scheme was to be established were already under large-scale cultivation of maize

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<sup>20</sup> UKNA CO 691/191/6: Forest Reserves

and sisal. Introduction of irrigation facilities turned the area from a wasteful land into an important land that allowed irrigated farming and welcomed contract sugar cane farming between TPC and peasant farmers who wanted to use the land provided by TPC sugar cane project. The government was required to assure the company that it would restrict the importation of sugar from outside East Africa so as to boost the productivity of the large scale sugar plantation established in Arusha Chini for the project to become economically worthwhile.<sup>21</sup> Success of the sugar cane project would also mean success to squatter peasants working to produce sugarcane for TPC industry.

A letter cited from Tanganyika Planting Company Ltd. to the Provincial Commissioner – Northern Province, apart from other things, noted ‘you will realize that my company by the construction of these irrigation works have transformed the land from waterless desert into good agricultural land, which already now gives work to several hundreds of natives.’ The letter also appealed for assistance from the government to implement the scheme in a more efficacious way. Provision of land for TPC project was a snapshot of how land alienation continued in Kilimanjaro during the British period despite the government’s commitment to stop it. Nonetheless, in the beginning of colonial rule, land alienation had no noticeable impact as the land on the lowlands was of no use value to the Chagga and they did not like going to the lowlands. This made the alienation process in the lowlands not a contested enterprise as was later experienced when the Chagga realised the value of

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<sup>21</sup> TNA 21050: Application for Land in Northern Province for Sugar – Growing, Folio No. 2: Letter from Land Officer to the Honourable Chief Secretary dated 29<sup>th</sup> July 1932, Folio No. 3: Letter from the Government House Dar es Salaam to the Land Officer – Dar es Salaam, Dated 27<sup>th</sup> July 1932, Folio No. 5: Letter from Tanganyika Planting Company to the Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province, Titled ‘Arusha Chini Tanganyika Planting Co.Ltd,’ dated July 1932.

the lowlands. Though, in the long run, as the Chagga permanently settled on the lowlands, all areas established by sugar plantation were enviously eyed by the Chagga people for expansion of their highland networks into the lowland.

To implement the sugar-growing scheme on the wasteful lands of Kilimanjaro, the government assistance to settlers was central. Government was asked to extend the Company's present holding of land by 15,000 acres. This would allow the company to have more land for plantation and this gain would help peasant producers. Peasants were allowed to squatty on the plantation on the condition that they cultivated food crops for their food and cultivated sugar cane that could only be sold to the Company. While helping the peasants, the company would also get a reliable supply of sugar for its sugar industry. Another important ingredient for the success of the sugar project was the permission to use more water for irrigation. TPC asked the government to allow the company to extend the permit for irrigation water from Weru Weru River from 30 cusecs to 300 cusecs.<sup>22</sup> This was solved by the Water Board in November 1932 and provided smoother conditions for running the project. The Board issued the permit to the company to use up to 200 cusecs of water or lesser as would be available during the dry season and up to 600 cusecs of water or lesser as may be available during the wet season.<sup>23</sup> The permit was a celebration of the development of the scheme that depended on water from Weru Weru River for the plantation. Since its inception the TPC sugar project in the lowlands of Kilimanjaro has grown immensely and continues to provide some land use arrangements with surrounding populations.

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<sup>22</sup> TNA 21050: Folio No. 30: Letter from the Tanganyika Planting Company to the Provincial Commissioner – Northern Province, dated 6<sup>th</sup> October 1932.

<sup>23</sup> TNA 21050: Folio No. 72: Chairman of Moshi Water Board, Permit, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1932.

#### **4.2 African Settlement, Resettlements and Colonial Productions, 1930 – 1950s**

Pressing needs from African population and European settlers were matters under government's considerations in northeastern Tanzania throughout the entire colonial period. When the government struggled to provide more land for settler agriculture by 1930s and 1940s, it was also the same period that a planned land use change was implemented through taking huge portions of land for wheat production in the Northern Province. As a consequence, the whole process of reorganising production side-lined African peasant producers and pastoralists' interests. The Kisongo Maasai in Arusha District on Ardai plains initially used some of the areas that were later taken for the wheat scheme in the province. Such areas were easily alienated from Kisongo Maasai under the pretext of assisting with the war efforts by turning them to produce wheat on a large scale. A total of 22,800 acres were taken out of grazing and converted into the wheat farming. Our issue and interest here is neither to get the number of acres alienated nor the details of the wheat scheme itself but to gain an understanding of how the wheat scheme dictated the change of land use in the Northern Province of Tanganyika Territory. As pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, what was happening in the Northern Province did not affect a single area in the Province but the entire Province. The alienation of Maasai lands forced them to permanently seek settlements on the lowlands of the two sister mountains that is Meru and Kilimanjaro.<sup>24</sup> Pastoral mobility dictated by these changes in the ways of organising farming and livestock herding had direct impact on the areas of destinations.

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<sup>24</sup> Tanganyika Territory, Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners on Native Administration for the Year 1942 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1943), pp. 40 – 41.

During the same period 1930 to 1940s there was also increased concentration by natives who took the opportunity to grow wheat under the Northern Province Wheat Scheme that was under the supervision of Wheat Production Board. The introduction of wheat production added to coffee and maize farming that already were taking place in various areas of the province. It was lucky enough that these crops did not compete over space because they were produced in different ecological zones.<sup>25</sup> Changes occurred in the type of the processes integral to access and use of land. The change demonstrated the extent to which land use was expanded for market imperatives and the need of production diversifications. Again there was the establishment of cotton production in Moshi District although it did not do so well in this area as its productivity was always low.<sup>26</sup> Coffee, wheat, sisal, cotton and maize farming were instrumental in the way the government, settlers, peasant and pastoralist interests were negotiated in as far as access and use of land were concerned in the Northern Province.

The Second World War and its aftermath in the 1940s started with much emphasis on food crops production and the wheat boom in the world market stimulated its farming interest more than other food crops like maize and rice. Existence of lucrative market for wheat encouraged its production more than it was produced before. In the Northern Province, some land use plans were postponed, changed or cancelled altogether to give way for the production of wheat. During the same time large-scale groundnut schemes were envisaged in different parts of

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<sup>25</sup> Coffee was mainly produced on the highland *Kihamba* land, although at some points, white estates went a little bit down slopes for coffee production. Maize and wheat were lowland crops, in some cases, earlier maize areas were converted into wheat farms by estates but the Chagga produced these crops on different fields.

<sup>26</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners on Native Administration for the Year 1942* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1943), p. 46.

Tanganyika territory to provide for the demands of oil in British kitchens.<sup>27</sup> Wheat projects were successful but the groundnut schemes realised little success because of its poor conception. Some lands were changed into wheat farms in Arusha and Maasai Districts. The Mbulumbulu Scheme that was a planned settlement scheme for the Mbulu people was postponed and its place taken by the implementation of the Northern Province Wheat Scheme that was so important to be produced at that time than the implementation of a settlement scheme. The provincial annual report for the year 1943 indicated;

This was intended originally to give space to accommodate natives from congested lands in Iraqw, but it became necessary to use some of the land for a part of the wheat scheme. In 1943 when Iraqw natives were required for that scheme and were thus taken away from their own cultivation, the Wheat Scheme undertook in exchange to plough as much land, up to 1,000, as was found suitable in that area, in order to assist Iraqw migrants.<sup>28</sup>

The importance of food during the wartime was given priority. Some areas in the wheat scheme were made to produce maize especially when wheat farming could not do well due to environmental or technical problems. One farm in the Northern Province was converted into maize farming as it revealed a considerable decrease in productivity from 9,641 bags in 1944 to 6,253 bags in 1945 and 800 bags in 1946. The decline was an intolerable trend given the pressures of the post war period that is

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<sup>27</sup> Details on the groundnut scheme can be found in Iliffe, *A Modern History*, pp. 436 – 484, also Jan S. Hogendorn and K. M. Scott, 'Very Large Scale Agricultural Projects: The Lessons of the East African Groundnut Scheme' in Robert I. Rotberg (ed), *Imperialism, Colonialism and Hunger: East and Central Africa* (Massachusetts: Lexington Books 1983), pp. 167 – 192.

<sup>28</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners on Native Administration for the Year 1943*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1944), pp. 49 – 50.

variously referred to by historians as an epoch that witnessed ‘a new colonialism,’<sup>29</sup> ‘second colonial occupation,’<sup>30</sup> or ‘the beginning of the end of the great colonial epoch.’<sup>31</sup> Generally, it was a period of struggle against environmental, political and economic constraints to realise greater hopes for recovery from the ravages of the war. No loss was to be left unchecked and no opportunity was to be left unattended. All these matrices explain why some land in the Northern Province changed its plans of use to capture a more cost effective advantage obtained through readjustments of farming.

Mbulumbulu was included in the large-scale maize scheme because the established wheat scheme had enough machinery that were less used for wheat farming as wheat did not do well. The maize scheme was conceived out of a rush, immediacy and with no prior planning and preparation of machinery equipment.<sup>32</sup> Other areas in the maize scheme of the Northern Province included irrigated land at Wahoga Chini, an area located between Moshi and Sanya, south of the main Arusha – Moshi road and the area between Moshi and Himo. The area between Moshi and Himo was previously alienated for settler purposes but it remained fallow for many years and thereby welcomed the implementation of the maize growing scheme. The maize scheme was just to be on temporal basis and the lands would be returned to owners (settlers) after five years of the scheme development. Maize scheme did not only target rain fed agricultural zones but, importantly, areas that allowed irrigation

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<sup>29</sup> Ilife, *A Modern History*, pp. 436 – 484.

<sup>30</sup> D. A. Low and J. M. Lonsdale, 1976, as Cited in *Ibid*, p. 436.

<sup>31</sup> N.R. Fughes-Couchman, *Agricultural Change in Tanganyika: 1945 – 1960* (Stanford University: Food Research Institute 1964), p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> TNA 34949, Folio No. 6: Letter from the Department of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam to the Honourable the Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, dated 8<sup>th</sup> August 1946. The letter shows acknowledgements for the importance of using the wheat scheme tractors to the new maize scheme program. Planting waited the supply of rubber tyres to the wheat scheme tractors for it to commence in October 1946.

husbandry on the Chagga land. It included lands that were open, privately owned or where peasant and settler farming were taking place. Where the Chagga purchased land for future use, the maize-farming project helped them to clear it and make it suitable for instantaneous occupation of farming and settlement.<sup>33</sup>

It should, however, be noted that the maize scheme received a lot of constraints even before its first days of implementation and, like any other overambitious schemes conceived in the time, ended up with little to celebrate. Land was not a big deal because the government had the power through the land ordinance of 1923 to amass any land it wanted for a justifiable so called public purpose. But on the side of machinery and labour power, leave alone environmental constraints, it was a matter of negotiation with the established wheat scheme. Again, private growers of maize and wheat in the Northern Province saw the establishment of this scheme as a threat to their labour supply and market for maize produced privately. They wanted the maize scheme also to be under their control.<sup>34</sup> The Director of Agricultural Production noted in a letter to the chief secretary;

During my recent tour in the Northern Province I discussed the proposed scheme for the increased production of maize by Government with the Production Committees at Moshi and Arusha. Both Committees are adamant that the undertaking of any such scheme would certainly interfere with their

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<sup>33</sup> TNA 34949: Folio No. 3: Letter from the Department of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam to the Honourable the Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, Titled 'Maize Production' dated 17<sup>th</sup> June 1946, Folio No. 6A: Letter from the Northern Province Wheat Scheme, Arusha to the Director of Agricultural Production, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1946. (The second was a clarification letter to the Director of Agricultural Production who asked how the scheme would go through; possible losses accrued from conversion of wheat farm into maize plot, and the losses for using wheat scheme machinery to the maize scheme).

<sup>34</sup> TNA 34949: Folio No. 16: Letter from the Department of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam to the Honourable the Chief Secretary Titled 'Government Maize Scheme Northern Province', dated 8<sup>th</sup> October 1946.

own labour supply. Further they are of the opinion that an equivalent production can be realized by private farms if means can be found to clear heavy bush on their estates.<sup>35</sup>

This was a hurdle to the scheme and was to be settled if the scheme was to proceed and yield success. Due to this impediment, the Chief Secretary wrote a letter to the Director of Agricultural Production in December 1946 to express that the Northern Province Maize Scheme should be postponed and accepted the 8<sup>th</sup> August 1946 letter that opined that more areas should be cleared and left for private producers of maize.<sup>36</sup> The chief secretary's letter marked the end to the Maize Scheme as an initiative by the Government but gave chance to private farms producing wheat and maize in the Province. How all formerly alienated lands for the government controlled maize farming were disposed could not be unearthed from the sources we consulted. But the evidence that shows increase in maize farming after the second world war may attract a generalisation for possibilities that all such land was made available for large-scale maize producers than peasant producers. Large-scale farmers were the priority of the government after the war and small scale farmers could not produce in the large quantities required to run the colony.

While all the above outlined attempts were done to encourage white settlers and individuals with capital to produce commercially, nothing so obvious was done to assist the Chagga who also had commercial imperatives similar to white settlers. For instance, in a period of ten years 1942 to 1952 there seems to be no land that was, in large quantity, allocated for Chagga use. Only an exchange of 6000 acres Chagga land with 5000 acres Tanganyika Planting Company land took place. During

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> TNA 34949, Folio No. 24: Letter from the Chief Secretary to the Director of Agricultural Production, Dar es Salaam dated 20<sup>th</sup> December 1946.

this period the government was aware of the difficulties that faced most Chagga in relation to access to land and its use but it did not allocate any land for them as peasant farmers and for pastoralist purposes. The interests of the few white settlers who wanted to invest in large-scale production were upheld as if they were in oblivion of what faced the Chagga people at large. Consequently, most Chagga fell into desperation and had to struggle out of that challenge in other ways than waiting for assistance from the government.<sup>37</sup> Given the fact that there were no rooms for expansion in the highlands, and that they had to produce out of necessity, expansion to the lowlands, engaging in different production activities and outmigration started to be common during the decade.

The government understood that the Chagga faced land shortage. Nevertheless, the solutions to the problem were seen not possible or otherwise conflict of interests between assisting peasants and encouraging large scale production by estate producers were obvious. In all circumstances, the arrangements made were not impartial enough as they bent more towards settler farmers than peasant farmers. In his letter to the Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province, the Chief Secretary of state in Dar es Salaam refused to guarantee the Provincial Commissioner that stopping further alienations or reversing the open lands to the Chagga Council for African peasantry would not solve the problem of the shortage of land for peasant use.<sup>38</sup> This happened at a time when many acres of fertile land of former German settlers were still available in different places of the territory including west and south of the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. Earlier in the 1920s noting on land alienation, a report prepared for submission to the UN Mandated and

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<sup>37</sup> TNA 69/205/MO, Vol. II: Moshi Alienation of Land and Land Matters, Moshi District, Folio Nos. 313 & 397

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, Folio No. 217.

Trusteeship Council of the British government in Tanganyika pointed out, 'it is not intended to dispose of any further land in the Kilimanjaro and Usambara highlands or north of the Pangani River where there is a large native population and where excessive alienation to German settlers left little room for tribal expansion.' This was a nice observation. Its implementation would take the problem of land shortage in Kilimanjaro some years forward before it caused serious concerns. Despite this noble statement that German land alienation 'left little room for tribal expansion' in the Usambara highlands and Moshi District, the enemy properties that were under the custody of the enemy property were sold off to British settlers and not distributed to African population to provide for 'a room for expansion.'<sup>39</sup> This ended up leaving the African population concentrated in small areas.

The government seem to have been keen on allocating former enemy properties to British settlers and not African peasants. Government plans to allocate densely populated areas with some land elsewhere in the territory would somehow reduce concentration and encourage resettlement of African population who would have wanted to take opportunity of new fertile lands. Densely populated areas like Kilimanjaro, Ukara and Bukoba would benefit.<sup>40</sup> Bukoba had dense population in some areas that were surrounded by large infertile portions of land. Though, the crisis over land availability was obvious, to stop alienation would interfere with the

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<sup>39</sup> CO 1071/366: Tanganyika Colonial Reports, 1920 – 1926. See Reports on the Mandated Territory for the Year 1923 p. 42, Year 1924 pp. 52 – 53 and Year 1925, pp. 58 – 59. NB: Several other government reports starting from the 1920s and the parliamentary debates in the United Kingdom parliament indicated the same trend. They spoke of ensuring the best interests of the people but in reality, less was done in that line.

<sup>40</sup> See discussion about ex-German properties in House of Commons (later HC), 13<sup>th</sup> April 1949, Ex-German Estates (Allocation), Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 463, Col. 2813.

post Second World War reparations that were going on not only in Kilimanjaro or Tanganyika but throughout the British empire.<sup>41</sup>

What was interesting during this time was the implementation of the mandated territory regulations that the United Nations stipulated to colonial masters with mandate territories that required primacy of the interest of the subjects. The British in Tanganyika were keen to assure the UN that the mandated territories rules were in implementation but the fact on the ground remained not to be the case. Shortly after the outbreak of the WWII the government in Tanganyika prohibited any further alienation of land for agricultural or pastoral purposes on long term purposes, alienation was allowed when special demands came into play. Revocation of former rights of occupancy that some settlers had was pushed forward from 1945 to 1<sup>st</sup> December 1950 to allow what was seen a post war recovery effort. Short rights of occupancies were issued for the production of food crops in large scales.<sup>42</sup> These were developments in response to the 1946 agreement between the British government and the UN that pushed the regard of African/colonised interests before any other interests. Article eight of the agreement reads;

In framing laws relating to the holding or transfer of land and natural resources, the Administering Authority shall take into consideration native laws and customs, and shall respect the rights and safeguard the interests;

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<sup>41</sup> HC, 25<sup>th</sup> June 1947, Tanganyika (German Settlers), Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 439, Cols. 407 – 410.

<sup>42</sup> For detailed information on land use planning, revocation and granting of rights of occupancy see Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report for the Department of Lands and Mines, for the Year, 1946* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1950), pp. 61 – 65, Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report for the Department of Lands and Mines for the Year 1947* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1950), pp. 71 – 75, Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the Department of Lands and Mines for the Year 1948* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1950), pp. 51 – 55, Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report for the Department of Lands and Mines for the Year 1949* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1951), pp. 96 – 98.

both present and future, of the native population. No native land or natural resources may be transferred, except between natives, save with the previous consent of the competent public authority. No real rights over native land or natural resources in favour of non-natives may be created except the same consent.<sup>43</sup>

The article ironically prevented further alienations of land and agreed to observe the interest of African peasants and herders. To assure the UN that enough was done to implement the agreement in the same year the agreement was reached, the colonial government formed a Land Commission to investigate and propose measures to solve the problems related to African land use and ownership in the Northern Province. This was in response to the fact that the province had experienced conflict of interest between settler and African production in as far as cash crop was concerned and had high population growth that concentrated African peasants in small enclaves compared to other areas in the colony. The agreement however was less useful for territorial areas that had intense shortage of land because more alienations had taken place before 1940s and the agreement mentioned nothing on formerly alienated land but put a loophole of possible further alienation by ‘the consent of the competent public authority’ that also did not specify the type of public interests that would allow transfer of land and other resources from and for the African population.<sup>44</sup> Also, this agreement was useless without an amendment of the

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<sup>43</sup> Tanganyika, *Text of Trusteeship Agreement as Approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 13<sup>th</sup> December 1946, Treaty Series No. 19* (London: His Majesty Stationary Office 1947).

<sup>44</sup> Ideally the intention of this legislation was to allow the government to alienate settler land for public ‘African’ interests. But this remained an intention or in cases, where it was exercised, it received stiff opposition from settlers who wanted high compensations and the areas taken for African use in Kilimanjaro were just drops of water in the ocean when with the high demand of land that existed.

1923 Land Ordinance Act that defined occupancy of land through proof of lease or customary tenure that many Africans could not make it.<sup>45</sup> In view of the Land Ordinance, the land and resources mentioned in the agreement for Africans use was narrowed down to imply squatting on areas that had intensive occupation through settlement, permanent agriculture and grazing while leaving all other areas potentially defined as unoccupied and subject to alienation by the 'consent of a competent authority' for any other public interest defined by the government. Occupation of land that was recognised by the government through continued presence and use of that land was the customary land tenure that still limited expansion to new areas especially for transhumant Maasai populations.<sup>46</sup>

Like what was happening to the Chagga of Kilimanjaro, most Meru and Arusha settled somehow higher into the slope of the mountain just narrowly down the forest reserve. New German farms were then to be established down slopes where Africans did not settle. Due to population increase, by 1920 it was already clear that land was falling short of the increasing Africans' demands and they found themselves surrounded by tracts of land alienated and belonging to the Germans. By 1925, the British government handed over eight farms of the ex-enemy property to the Meru and Arusha. This, rather than serving as a long lasting solution, remained only a palliative measure to the problem as the demand was greater than what the government was able to offer. Following this realisation, a commission under

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<sup>45</sup> See Tanganyika Territory, *An Ordinance to Define and Regulate the Tenure of Land within the Territory No. 3 of 1923 (Land Ordinance, 1923)* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1923) also Tanganyika Territory, *Land (Amendment) Ordinance, 1930* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1930). The later amended section 14 of the 1923 Ordinance.

<sup>46</sup> HC, 14<sup>th</sup> March 1927, Tanganyika (Native Lands), Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 203, Col. 1650 and HC, 14<sup>th</sup> July 1958, Tanganyika (Land Tenure), Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 591, Col. 72.

Commissioner Gillman was formed in 1929/30 to try to investigate and propose long lasting solutions to the problem of land shortage in the area but also ended up yielding less impactful outcomes because the proposals could not be implemented.<sup>47</sup> Out of the Commission, only two farms were ‘sold back’ and not ‘given back’ to the Meru. The quotes show how insignificant the exercise was compared to the out bursting needs of land on the slopes of the mountain. We can assume how many Meru/Arusha had enough money to buy back the farms and how many farms were made available to all Meru/Arusha people who had money to get them.<sup>48</sup>

Following the failure of the Commission’s recommendations, in 1939 a more detailed study on the measures to be taken was set in place to be investigated. Unfortunately, it could not be done because of the outbreak of the Second World War. The outbreak of the Second World War made the government to turn its concentration on production and projects that helped the war efforts. British East Africa was targeted to produce food for the war, whereas Kenya had to produce rice on the Taveta rice scheme while schemes on maize and wheat farming were in Tanganyika.<sup>49</sup>

The crisis over land use was commonly shared between the enclaves of the two mountain slopes, Meru and Kilimanjaro.<sup>50</sup> The pressing needs for land and the

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<sup>47</sup> TNA 5/499: Moshi: Game and Tsetse, Tsetse fly Position in the Moshi Maize Growing Area, 1927 – 1943, Folio. No. 82: Some Notes on the Tsetse in the Moshi District in Relation to Agricultural Development in the Area, dated 31<sup>st</sup> October 1936.

<sup>48</sup> Legislative Council of Tanganyika, *The Arusha Land Problem* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1952), pp. 1 – 2.

<sup>49</sup> TNA 32487: Taveta Rice Scheme; Folio: Letter from the Department of Agriculture, Dar Es Salaam to the Honourable the Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, Titled ‘Assistance to Taveta Rice Scheme’ dated 1<sup>st</sup> March 1944, also see its appendix, Titled ‘Taveta Rice Scheme’.

<sup>50</sup> TNA 5/39/20: Moshi: Development Commission, Arusha District Map, Scale 1:125,000 – Department of Lands and Surveys, 1959. The map shows how much

ongoing struggle over land by the Meru, Chagga, and Arusha made the government try a second Commission in 1946 under Justice Mark Wilson. This was a more authoritative Commission compared to the first one formed in 1930. It also covered the two mountain slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru different from the previous one that focused only on Meru land. Justice Wilson's Commission was formed as an authoritative body to investigate and try to formulate the best ways through which alienated land on the two mountain slopes would be redistributed to Africans and henceforth reduce the cry from African population over land ownership and use.<sup>51</sup>

The publication of the report waited until 1947 when everybody in the government, local administration and the people were eager to know the outcomes of it. It proposed several things including roughly; the redistribution of 11,000 acres of land for both Meru and Chagga sides, the unoccupied area amounting to 130,000 acres lying between Kilimanjaro and Meru Mountains was to be given to whites to establish some ranching and dairying activities. These areas adjoined pieces of land alienated from Arusha and Moshi and were made a homogeneous block for white settlers. In this case, the areas like Ngare Nanyuki – Arusha and Ngare Nairobi were linked and came to form the so called the 'Sanya Corridor' (a homogeneous single farm). The 130,000 acres just added to an already existing 78,000 acres of land demarcated by the Germans as farms. Lastly the Commission proposed that most of the other areas in the Sanya Corridor should be used 'for seasonal grazing by the

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land was alienated in Arusha and some parts of Moshi by 1959. It also shows other developments like infrastructure.

<sup>51</sup> Legislative Council of Tanganyika, *The Arusha Land Problem*, p. 1 – 2.

Maasai and a few others and was almost uninhabited.’<sup>52</sup> The recommendations put forth by the Commission did not seem to be in favour of the Meru, Arusha and Chagga people as they were supposed to be.

Allocation of only 22,000 acres for peasant use as compared to 130,000 acres for settlers’ enterprises was not intended to solve the problem of land shortage but rather some kind of creating buffer zones where native and European land uses could not meet. Though the proposals were not accepted as they were, the minor modifications that were done still were not enough to make it an enduring solution to the problem.<sup>53</sup> A sub-committee was formed to review the proposals and suggest the most practical ways to implement the Commission’s recommendations. Partial and complete implementation did not mean a recess from land hungry Northern Province but indicated an initiative taken by the government to provide for the requirements of land by the Chagga, Meru, Arusha, and Maasai in the Province. While the Commission wanted to solve land related problems in the commissioned areas, it found itself ending up providing proposals that in fact created new challenges over land use.

Before the establishment of the farms in the province, the Maasai were scattered and moved around in search of water and pasture for their livestock. They were able to exercise a form of transhumance and allowed the recovery of pasture due to sectional and rotational grazing. This made it difficult for exhaustion of pasture resources and also made it difficult for depletion of resources. Following the Commission’s report, the Maasai were to be squeezed into a small area that

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid, pp. 1 – 2, also see Tanganyika Territory, *Report of the Arusha Moshi Land Commission*, pp. 5 – 10.

<sup>53</sup> TNA 37154: Implementation of Wilson Report; Folio SMP: 16528: Report of a Sub-Committee of the Land Settlement Board, Appointed to Consider the Recommendation, and to Submit Observations and Comments.

concentrated all their animals in just a small area and the establishment of European Settlement in West Kilimanjaro limited livestock movements. The original recommendation was ‘Maasai to be concentrated in smaller area and excluded from “Sanya Corridor” and northwest of Lelatema mountains. Engare Nairobi, Sanya Juu and Engare Nanyuki areas should be made into one homogeneous block of non-native settlement.’ Surprisingly, the sub-committee only with very minor adjustments that were made on boundaries endorsed all these recommendations; instead of ending at Lelatema Mountain, it was adjusted to end at Kikuletwa River.<sup>54</sup>

Policy makers and implementers in Africa have never acknowledged the wealth of the pastoral economy in positive ways although they stand to exploit the benefits from it. Governments consider pastoralism as destructive and devise stringent measures to control it.<sup>55</sup> It is considered only as a stressful, stubborn and an economic activity advancing improper use of natural resources rather than an equally important activity that deserves recognition and support backed by government policies. In cases where pastoralists were in conflict with cultivators be they small or large scale, local or foreign investors, agricultural interests endured the pressure over livestock interests. When this happened, the interests of livestock had to be moved to somewhere else, within a closer environment or far from their areas of origin in the hope to assist them and sometimes stop them from exhausting resources. But contrary to policy makers and popular expectations, externally coordinated readjustments in the pastoral economy created more problems than those

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<sup>54</sup> TNA 37154: Implementation of Wilson Report, Folio No. SMP 16528: Report of a Sub-Committee of the Land Settlement Board, Appointed to Consider the Recommendations Made in the Report on the Arusha – Moshi Lands Commission, and to Submit Observations and Comments.

<sup>55</sup> Dorothy L. Hodgson, ‘Taking Stock: State Control, Ethnic Identity and Pastoralist Development in Tanganyika, 1948 – 1958’, *Journal of African History* 41, No. 1 (2008), pp. 55 – 73.

traditionally exercised by the pastoralists themselves.<sup>56</sup> The failure of government plans on livestock management hinged upon concentration of livestock in small areas that allowed exhaustion of resources so easily.

The implementation of land use plans following Wilson's report could not be taken the way they were proposed, but rather a soft way to implement them was designed. A committee comprising of Europeans and Chagga representatives was formed and came up with some few practical recommendations as part of simplifying Wilson's report into implementation. For example, the Chagga who were to be evicted from farm No. 329 remained in the area and an additional land was provided to them and they agreed to move to the new areas allocated to them. This was on the eastern side of the Sanya Corridor where settlers established ranching and dairy ranching units.<sup>57</sup> On the western side of the corridor a similar adjustment was made in respect of the Meru country Luguruki at farm 328. On this side, unlike what happened for the Chagga people, the Meru were partly to be reduced and partly settled in the area, which again softened Wilson's proposal that recommended the eviction of a total of 500 Meru families in this area. The reduction of the Meru to be removed from the farm from 500 to 350 was like a drop of water in the ocean. Its impact could negligibly be seen when Meru population of 6,800 families settled in a farm comprising only 5,800 hectares. Apart from the agricultural Meru people, a

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<sup>56</sup> Land users in Africa can negotiate and contest land use based on utility values assigned to it and government policies backed by social and economic development. Parker Shipton, 'How Private Property Emerges in Africa: Directed and Undirected Land Tenure Reforms in Densely Settled Areas South of the Sahara', *A Report to the Bureau of Program and Policy Coordination, US Agency for International Development* (1989), J. T. Mwaikusa, 'Community Rights and Land Use Policies in Tanzania: The Case of Pastoral Communities', *Journal of African Law* 37, No. 2 (1993), pp. 146 – 151, 157 – 158.

<sup>57</sup> TNA 5/20/31: Moshi: Sanya Corridor Farms, 1952 – 1959, see Folio No. 3: Sanya Corridor Farms, Dc – Report.

number of Maasai were seen scattered all around the corridor that could be detrimental to peasant and settler farmers if Maasai pastoralists were left uncontrolled in Arusha District. Arusha District and Moshi were close that land use planning on one side had implications for the other side. The pastoral Maasai were given an area that formerly belonged to white farmers and were named farms number, 325, 326 and partly farms number 324 and 327 were released to Maasai pastoralists. The area covering all these farms was commonly known as 'King'ori'.<sup>58</sup>

When all land use arrangements were made already, and some farms were to be reverted as part of implementing Wilson's recommendations, it was obvious that just few farms would be acquired as some of them were already acquired under the Land Acquisitions Ordinance (1923). Some owners refused to sell or to voluntarily surrender to the government for the planned settlement scheme. The movement to resettle people was not a simple one. Both Africans and Europeans were reluctant to give up their lands to further the settlement scheme. For the Meru for instance, the areas that they were to be resettled at first were far from the areas of origin and were not suitable for agricultural activities (Ongadongishu-Chai) and Ngare Nanyuki area. All these were then to remain in the King'ori area.<sup>59</sup>

Likewise, it was not easy to move people in Arusha district. The British government used all diplomatic means to persuade them to move voluntarily, a technique that did not work. The government too promised to provide social amenities to the new areas, tax exemptions for the year 1953 and free transport to all who were willing to move from the Commission's Land before the deadline of 17<sup>th</sup> November 1952. All these incentives did not encourage the Meru to move

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<sup>58</sup> TNA 5/20/31/3: DC Report, p. 3.

<sup>59</sup> UKNA CO 691/209/1: Alienated and Tribal Land, Kilimanjaro and Meru Mountains (1949).

voluntarily to the newly allocated areas. Resettlement exercise was not much complicated but nor was it a totally simple one. Only state's force but not people's readiness to move facilitated the whole process of relocation of the Meru families. Force was used in the movement of foodstuff, crops and people from Arusha District to the newly planned areas of King'ori. Little and sometimes unnoticed destructions to properties occurred at the expense of the movement. By mid December 1953, the exercise was completed with the government winning the race by resettling 330 tax payers comprising of the demolition of 492 households.<sup>60</sup>

In a short period of time between the years 1950 and 1954, a total of 117,689 acres were alienated in various places of the Northern Province. Settlers were allocated land for various purposes and no Mchagga appeared on the list. It was not until the year 1957 when Mr. Gedion Nasuwa Mushi of Kibong'oto was given a right of occupancy over 1,950 acres that he was unable to develop for pastoral or agriculture purposes, as he had no capital.<sup>61</sup> The 1947 Land Commission recommendations on returning some alienated lands for Africans were not implemented in full swing. The alienations that continued to take place in the last decade of British colonialism indicate how the government was not determined in solving the problem but was only attempting as a part of government's responsibility to its subjects.

The history of British colonial rule in the colonies by 1950s<sup>62</sup> is well known and needs no introduction. The eviction of pastoral Maasai and agricultural Chagga<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> TNA 5/20/31/3: DC Report, pp.4 – 6.

<sup>61</sup> TNA 5/20/31: Moshi Sanya Corridor Farms, 1952 – 1959.

<sup>62</sup> Ian Michael Wright, 'The Meru Land Case', *Tanzania Notes and Records* 66 (1966), pp. 137 – 146.

<sup>63</sup> Some of those who used to come to Tanganyika from Kenya seasonally could not continue with their habit and the few who tried were caught trespassing on settlers'

for example, following the recommendations of Wilson's report created uneconomical spaces. Uneconomical spaces came when settlers who were given the farms that formerly were pasture, farmlands, and conveyor belts for animals failed to develop them. Maasai pastoralists and Chagga, Meru and Arusha cultivators were moved or concentrated in other areas.<sup>64</sup> The removal of the Maasai disturbed their local ecological knowledge that they exercised following seasons of the year to release pressure over pasture.<sup>65</sup> As a result of this, they were to keep moving into different places and graze their animals in small areas before they were seen overgrazing. Barabaig's grazing rotation system for example was an adaptation suitable to sustain livestock economy in a semi-arid environment. It went through the pre-colonial to the late colonial period when the Bassotu plains wheat farms were established in 1960s in the commonly known Bassotu-Barabaig plains.<sup>66</sup>

In 1955 the government formed a small committee to investigate and advise on how to deal with the uneconomical spaces remaining following the implementation of Wilson's report. The committee ended up proposing a reduction

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farms. See TNA 5/16/3: Moshi cattle Thefts, Folio: Letter from Assistant Veterinary officer to the District Officer Moshi, Titled 'Illegal Movement of Cattle from Kajiado to Sanya,' dated 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1958, Folio: Letter from District Commissioner to Public Relations Officer, Titled 'Cattle Trespass' dated 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1959., Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the PC on Native Administration for the Year 1951* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1952), p. 93.

<sup>64</sup> TNA 5/27/7: Moshi: Veterinary, Cattle Movements, Permits, Grazing, Trespass etc, Folio No. 69: Letter from the District Commissioner, Maasai – Monduli to the Provincial Veterinary Officer – Northern Province, Arusha, dated 31<sup>st</sup> March 1954, Folio No. 70: Letter from the District Commissioner Moshi to the District Commissioner Maasai – Monduli dated 30<sup>th</sup> April 1954 also Folio No. 71: Letter from the Provincial Veterinary Officer to the District Commissioners – Moshi and Monduli, Titled 'Movement of Maasai Cattle from Sanya, Tingatinga, Ngare Nanyuki to Sanya and Laipili Areas' dated 8<sup>th</sup> April 1954.

<sup>65</sup> See the example of neighbour barbaig pastoral community. H. Sosovele and K. Kulindwa, 'Change and Adaptation: Lessons from Barbaig Pastoralists', *Tanzania Journal of Population Studies and Development* 9, Nos. 1 & 2 (2002), pp. 34 – 36.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 34 – 36.

of the Sanya Corridor farms earlier distribution and redistribution to European farmers and some spaces were given to the Meru and Chagga Councils for African use.<sup>67</sup> In realisation of the fact that the Sanya Corridor was meant for white settlers dealing with wheat farming,<sup>68</sup> and not peasant producers, the government established a minor settlement scheme for white settlers. Up to August 1954 a total of 23 plots were surveyed and distributed for different purposes, including trading activities and residential purposes.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> TNA 5/20/31: Moshi Sanya Corridor Farms, 1952 – 1959, Folio No. 135: Tanganyika Sanya Corridor, Maelezo Juu ya Mashamba Yaliyomo Sanya kwa Kufuata Toleo Maalumu la Serikali Kuu. Following the decision to redistribute land to the Chagga, the Chagga Council was on 7<sup>th</sup> August 1956 given a right of occupancy to 1,120 acres. The land was to be used for agriculture and pastoral activities. See Folio No. 173: Right of occupancy Over 1,120 acres in the Sanya Corridor in Moshi District – The Chief of the Chagga acting with his Tribal Council, signed on behalf of the Land Officer, dated 15<sup>th</sup> November 1956.

<sup>68</sup> TNA 5/23/1: Moshi: Kilimanjaro West farmers Association, 1928 – 1950, TNA 5/26/7: Moshi: Agriculture, Wheat and Pyrethrum Growing.

<sup>69</sup> TNA 5/20/23: Moshi: Sanya Minor Settlement, Folio No. 83: Letter from the Department of Lands and Surveys, Dar es Salaam, to the District Commissioner – Moshi, Titled ‘Sanya Juu Trading Centre’ dated 10<sup>th</sup> August 1954. The file contains correspondence between the District Officer, Lands Department on applications for land allocation on the planned Sanya Juu Trade Centre and the upgrading to a Sanya Minor Settlement Schemes. The correspondence covers 1953 – 1956.

**Table 4: Land alienations, 1950 – 1954**

No.	Name of owner	Location/area	Category of use	Acres
1.	Endarugai Ltd		Pastoral	4,340
2.	Rongai Ranches	Moshi District	Pastoral	22,058
3.	F.A. Viser Esq		Pastoral	5,320
4.	Thomas S. Bower Esq	Engare Nairobi – Moshi District	Pastoral	4,100
5.	John Leigh Esq	Moshi District	Pastoral & Mixed agriculture	2,111
6.	Clive Charles		Pastoral & Mixed agriculture	2,000
7.	Harold Morton Struchbery		Pastoral & Mixed agriculture	2,000
8.	Rongai Ranches Ltd.	Moshi District	Pastoral	21,760
9.	Mr. B. J. Hartley		Pastoral	16,500
10.	Mr. J.J Malan		Pastoral	8,220
11.	Mr. A. I Brown	Sanya Corridor	Agriculture & Pastoral	2,080
12.	Mr. P.A Barrington	Sanya Corridor	Agriculture & pastoral	4,160
13.	Mr. A Dimitzas	Sanya Corridor	Pastoral activities	1,930
14.	Messrs T. S		Pastoral activities	4,100
15.	Bower Estates	Moshi District	Pastoral activities	13,900
<b>TOTAL LAND</b>				<b>117,000</b>

**Source:** Compiled from TNA Acc. No.5/20/31 Rights of occupancy of such land

All attempts to find out ways of providing the Chagga with land were seen not to materialize. The problem of land shortage for agricultural activities of the Chagga people during the 1944 received a new dimension, as the government ought to establish industries to employ many Chagga. It was seen that moving some

Chagga to other areas would not be a lasting solution and thus a decision to establish industries was reached although it was not fully implemented.<sup>70</sup>

### 4.3 Peasant Production and the Labour Question in Kilimanjaro, 1930 to 1950

The introduction of colonial economy in Africa had far reaching impacts on African societies in all spheres of their livelihoods.<sup>71</sup> Rural traditional economies<sup>72</sup> were reshaped to respond to the demands of the newly established and globally connected economy that could not gain from the structures and functionalities running in the pre-capitalist, pre-market orientations.<sup>73</sup> Experiences from different parts of Africa were the high demand of land and labour that were important intricacies in the colonial economy. Africans were to provide labour in estates, mining, construction works, infrastructural development and many more other related activities. Labour

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<sup>70</sup> UKNA CO 691/191/6: Forest Reserves, 1944.

<sup>71</sup> Politically, the Tswana entered into wage labour to gain money to buy more guns to defend themselves against neighbours. Wazda G. Morapedi, 'Migrant Labour and the Peasantry in Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1930 – Bechuanaland', *Journal of African Studies* 25, No. 2 (1999), p. 213. Economically, colonial Swaziland rural economies were de-stabilized and the society was badly affected because every member of the community wanted to participate in migrant labour into South Africa. Hamilton Siphon Simelane, 'The State, The Chief and the Colonial Control of Female Migration in Colonial Swaziland, c.1930s – 1950s', *Journal of African History* 45, No. 1 (2004), pp. 109 – 111. Health wise, labour migration was a catalyst for the spread of diseases in participating societies. K. David Patterson, 'Health in Colonial Ghana: Disease, Medicine and Socio-Economic Change 1900 – 1955', African Studies Association (1981), pp.1 – 5, Oswald Masebo, 'The Impact of Labour Migration on the Spread of Tuberculosis in Rungwe District, Southern Tanzania 1920 – 1950s,' in Yusufu Q. Lawi & Betram Mapunda (eds), *History of Disease and Healing in Africa: Proceedings of a Workshop Held at the University of Dar es Salaam on 20<sup>th</sup> December 2003* (Institute of Kiswahili Research 2003), p. 111.

<sup>72</sup> Among the Sukuma people the reorientation of traditional production and commercialisation of traditional food such as peanut and sesame that were a good source of protein, and discouragement of production of millet and sorghum had impact on the health of the people. See a detailed discussion in Marilyn Little, 'Colonial Policy and Subsistence in Tanganyika, 1925 – 1945', *Geographical Review* 81, No. 4 (1991), pp. 375 – 388.

<sup>73</sup> Bongani J. Nsibandze, 'Historical Perspectives on the Proletarianisation Process in Swaziland,' in Nomthetho Simelane (ed), *Social Transformation: The Swaziland Case*. (CODESRIA 1995), pp. 2 – 18, Randal Parkard, 'Maize, Cattle and Mosquitoes: The Political Economy of Malaria Epidemics in Colonial Swaziland', *Journal of African History* 25 (1984), p. 207.

was either motivated or forced both directly and indirectly. Direct forced labour included enactment of laws that required old able-bodied members of the society to provide free labour in a specified number of days a week, month and year. Indirect forced labour varied from one area to another and depended on how a particular society was socially and economically organized. One of the indirect forces was the introduction of different kinds of taxes paid in cash that only came from money economy controlled by white settlers. Africans had to participate in cash economy to generate enough for tax and other daily uses at household levels. Participation was through selling of labour or involvement in the economy through other ways. The first option that of selling labour was most preferred by settlers than any other way of participation because it helped the prosperity of colonial economic projects. In cases where Africans could do other businesses and get money for tax through individual reorganization of rural production, the rural sector became an enemy for the development of settlers' interests and had to be deteriorated in various ways in trying to create a proletariat class.

Proletarianism in Africa was difficult to be employed successfully as compared to the British working class (proletariat class) during the industrial revolution period because of the availability of alternatives in colonial Africa.<sup>74</sup> In Africa, given the geographic expanses, people had a chance to switch from one occupation to another by moving from one locality to the next without much suffering. Massive land alienations discussed in the preceding section played

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<sup>74</sup> Lack of proper control of Africans' access to their land and production had side effects on the supply and sustainability of labour on settlers' farms. To ensure labour supply, Africans were deprived access and use of their traditional means of livelihoods. David Johnston, 'Settler Farmers and Coerced African Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1936 – 1946', *Journal of African History* 33, No.1 (1992), pp. 112 – 115.

multiple roles in sustaining settler interests in the continent. It provided them with land to which plantations, estates, ranches, mining, settlements and reserve areas were established and created a class of landless people in areas where large scale land alienation took place like in the Kikuyu Highlands of Kenya<sup>75</sup> and settlerdom economy of Zimbabwe.<sup>76</sup> Also in Rhodesia and Kenya, peasants were reduced and sometimes prohibited from engaging in cash crop production.<sup>77</sup> In such areas, the landless victims had nothing to depend on other than selling their labour in colonial projects. In southern Africa, for instance, when settlers alienated land in Bechuanaland (Botswana), Swaziland, Lesotho, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, landless Africans were to migrate into South Africa for wage labour as they had no alternative means of survival while others took the advantages of wage labour.<sup>78</sup> Contrary to what was happening in Kenya and Rhodesia, in Tanganyika peasant commodity production was promoted and caused concerns over the labour question. The Chagga and the Haya who occupied similar environmental

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<sup>75</sup> Tabitha Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau 1905 - 1963* (London: James Currey 1987), pp. 1 – 27.

<sup>76</sup> Christopher You, 'Black Squatters on White Farms: Segregation and Agrarian Change in Kenya, South Africa and Rhodesia, 1902 – 1923', *The International History Review* 24, No. 3 (2002), pp. 558 – 560, Landless Africans subjected themselves into squatting labour. Allison K. Shutt, 'Squatters, Land Sales and Intensification in Marirangwe Purchase Area, Colonial Zimbabwe', *The Journal of African History* 43, No. 3 (2002), pp. 491 – 493. Christopher You and Allison Shutt discusses the relevance, nature and advantages of squatter labour in colonial enterprises in southern Africa.

<sup>77</sup> Werner Beirmann and Reinhart Kosler, 'The Settler Mode of Production: The Rhodesian Case', *Review of African Political Economy* 18 (1980), pp. 107 – 108, Johnston, 'Settler Farmers'.

<sup>78</sup> Roger Leys, 'South African Gold Mining in 1874: The Gold of Migrant Labour', *African Affairs* 74, No. 295 (1975), pp. 196 – 208, J.S. Harrington, 'Migrant Workers and Cancer Patterns in Southern Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 3, No. 1 (1976), pp. 92 – 94, Ruth First, 'The Gold of Migrant Labour', *Review of African Political Economy* 25, (1982), p. 8 -10, Wapulumuka Oliver Mulwafu, 'Soil Erosion and State Intervention into Estates in the Shire Highlands of Colonial Malawi, 1891 – 1964', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28, No. 1 (2002), p. 28, Roderick P. Neuman, 'The Postwar Boom in British Colonial Africa', *Environmental History* 7, No. 1, (2002), pp. 39 – 40.

advantages were allowed to grow coffee on peasant basis that allowed them to benefit from market economy as active and direct participants, advantages that could not be gained by those selling labour.<sup>79</sup>

The labour question in colonial Tanganyika was slightly different from other areas because small scale alienation of land took place and the peasant economy only adjusted their rural economies to feed and benefit from money economy but did not take a direct involvement in wage labour.<sup>80</sup> In turn, colonial Tanganyika witnessed the definition of natives in different names including lazy natives, people with no want and who waste their time under trees without engaging in various productive activities.<sup>81</sup> The descriptions were correct in the eye of the observer but were not in the eyes of Africans themselves who worked on their own and took time to rest after manual labour on their fields. Up to 1957 the total land area suitable for agriculture and pastoral activities in Tanganyika was approximated to 219.3 million acres, out of which only 45.4 million acres were used.

Total land used for agriculture and pastoralism was divided between plantation and large scale farming and ranching occupied by Europeans that counted five per cent of the total land used while Africans had access to use on over ninety four per cent.<sup>82</sup> Africans in Tanganyika were in a better position not to engage in wage labour and engage in some alternative cash generating incomes. This was happening in Tanganyika at the same time when in other colonies peasant

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<sup>79</sup> Iliffe, *A Modern History*, pp. 144 – 145.

<sup>80</sup> Juhani Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania 1884 – 1914* (Hamburg: Helsinki 1994), pp. 348 – 349, Thadeus Sunseri, 'Dispersing the Fields: Railway Labour and Rural Change in Early Colonial Tanzania', *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 32, No. 2 (1998), pp. 5 – 6.

<sup>81</sup> G. St. J. Orde Browne, 'Native Labour in Tanganyika', *Journal of the Royal African Society* 26, No. 102 (1927), pp. 112 – 116.

<sup>82</sup> HC, 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1957, Tanganyika (Cultivated Land), Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 574, Cols. 270 – 280.

commodity production was discouraged until later in the twentieth century.<sup>83</sup> In 1935 the colonial administrative office in Tanganyika reported that Africans in Tanganyika were at a position of comparative advantage to other African colonies because they engaged in home-based production rather than wage earning activities. Employers had to give extra payments to attract them into wage labour.<sup>84</sup> Less labour migration took place within the territory while immigrant labour from other parts of East Africa was much common. Migration took place including those areas in the territory that could not readjust their production systems to rhyme with money economy because of environmental limitations. The Kara of Ukerewe for instance, despite the fact that they had controlled their farming methods in a small area that had a lot of people, during the colonial period had to engage in wage labour as they could not produce enough commercial crops to get extra pay for tax from the small holdings they had.<sup>85</sup> The Nyamwezi<sup>86</sup> who were used in portering labour seemed active participants in migrant labour while other ethnic groups followed behind.

The wage labour situation that was happening in Tanganyika was not derived from uniform forces throughout the colony, but rather regional differences

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<sup>83</sup> Peasant commodity production in Kenya for instance was discouraged until after the First World War. For a detailed discussion see David W Throup, 'The Origins of the Mau Mau', *African Affairs* 84, No. 336 (1985), pp. 399 – 433, see also after the failure of all trials on coffee, cocoa and rubber in Uganda the British colonial government decided to allow peasant production of cotton, Peter F. B. Nayenga, 'Commercial Cotton Growing in Busoga District, Uganda, 1905 – 1925', *African Economic History* 10 (1981), pp. 175 – 195.

<sup>84</sup> Tanganyika Territory, 'Annual Reports of Provincial Commissioners on Native Administration for the Year 1935', *Journal of the Royal African Society* 35, No. 141 (1936), pp. 444 – 446.

<sup>85</sup> D. Thornton and N. V. Rounce, 'Ukara Island and the Agricultural Practices of the Wakara', *TNR* 1 (1936), pp. 25 – 32.

<sup>86</sup> The Nyamwezi were famous porters in East Africa and helped in all activities that required porters for early European visitors in East Africa. Others were the coastal Swahili. See S.C. Landen, 'Some Aspects of Portering in East Africa', *TNR* 61 (1963), pp. 155 – 164.

determined by potentialities of the areas, earlier history of money economy and demographic factors influenced what was to be expected on wage labour in the territory. Land alienation on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro during both the German and British colonial periods, that was coupled with desires for market production and high rate of population increase, tempts one to arrive at the conclusion that the area should have experienced a higher level of local people's participation in wage labour due to land shortage.<sup>87</sup> While economically, the Chagga were highly celebrated as 'natives' with entrepreneurial skills in Tanganyika, less or no effort has been made to understand their attitude and involvement in wage labour.

In many colonial African countries, local rural population participated in colonial production through selling their labour and direct engagement in production for the new market. Participation took the forms of passive and active involvement. Passively, they were unwilling, but sold their labour with targets in minds like to accumulate wealth and experience to establish their own enterprises. While actively the rural transformations that took place during the colonial period equated modernity with the ability to acquire money and money became a measure of a responsible adult. Some young people entered into wage labour because they expected bright futures to come out of it<sup>88</sup> or exercised what Robin Cohen calls 'target working.'<sup>89</sup> The Chagga did not consider wage labour as a lifelong and a

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<sup>87</sup> Frederick Cooper who examines the relationship between African loss of resource control, marginalization from cash crop outlets and the way they entered into wage labour. Frederick Cooper, *Decolonisation and African Society: The Labour Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), pp. 27 – 29.

<sup>88</sup> Walter Elkana, 'Migrant Labour in Africa: An Economic Approach,' *The American Economic Review* 49 No. 2 (1959), pp. 192 – 195.

<sup>89</sup> Africans worked just to reach some targets they had set before moving into wage labour. After they obtained enough money, they stopped working and sometimes worked lazily, below standard, and sabotaged employers. Colonial officials noticed

dependable economic endeavour but a temporal, and a stage towards self-engineered establishments.<sup>90</sup> Their participation in colonial economy was premised upon attitudes on progressive engagement in cash enterprises. Participation in coffee farming as labourers gave them a chance to prepare and learn how sustainable coffee growing was practiced rather than acquiring money as a primary objective. After a time in wage labour, they moved away with skills and established their own coffee farms rapidly on the mountain. Due to the challenge they had over land, land use in the small plots was adjusted to accommodate new demands and interests without compromise to old forms of land use and interests that existed prior to the pressures of market advantages. Even when they would wish to fully participate in wage labour, the wages paid and the conditions of labour in labour camps in mining centres and estates for instance did not motivate them, rather they acted as a direct push for them to engage in their own farming.<sup>91</sup>

Wonders, wealth and economic recovery,<sup>92</sup> were equally important internal forces for Chagga's participation in wage labour and were determined by willingness to participate or force from the environment. Areas that faced environmental hardships in production were more prone to supplying much labour than areas favoured by fertile soil, rainfall availability and access to colonial market outlets.

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this and as a result they embarked on paying low wages to delay realization of 'targets' and 'sustain' labour supply. Robin Cohen, 'Resistance and Hidden Forms of African Workers', *Review of African Political Economy* 18 (1980), pp. 15 – 20.

<sup>90</sup> KOT 20, Wandu Kati village, 17<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

<sup>91</sup> For conditions of labour in Tanganyika see HC, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1935, Tanganyika (Native Labour), Hansard Parliamentary Debates Vol. 307, Cols. 897 – 898 and HC, 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1936, Tanganyika (Labour Conditions), Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 318, Cols. 1237 – 1238.

<sup>92</sup> KOT 21, Kibong'oto, 17<sup>th</sup> February 2015. This informant pointed that the Chagga who went into wage labour in west Kilimanjaro came back with good clothing and built houses. 'Most Chagga did not want to work on settlers farms because they wanted to run own businesses'.

Dry areas of Rombo on the eastern slopes of the mountain were more likely to seek wage labour on farms established on the western end of the mountain slopes commonly known as West Kilimanjaro. They sometimes crossed borders to seek wage labour in Kenya. For example the drought of 1921 forced many Chagga from Rombo to cross border to Taita District for wage labour<sup>93</sup> at a time when also wakamba crossed the Taita border some for labour in the mining industry and most for pastoral activities in Holili – Himo side of Tanganyika.<sup>94</sup> This was a common movement of people from either side of the border where many Taita also moved into Kilimanjaro through Rombo when they faced shortage of wage labour especially after the closure of the East African Estates early in 1923.<sup>95</sup> Others went into wage labour just to try how it worked and some had intentions to gain money for other economic activities including establishment of businesses.

It should have been expected that due to land shortage in Kilimanjaro from 1930s onwards, the Chagga would take up opportunities for wage labour but instead and contrary to this assumption, the period experienced more diversified land use than any other period before as an alternative to submitting themselves into wage labour. Western Kilimanjaro wheat farms, Himo cotton, pawpaw and later sisal estates depended much on labour imported from outside Kilimanjaro and Tanganyika than Wachagga from the congested highlands. The ethnic composition of villages like Ngare Nairobi sub-village and Himo sub-township tells stories of labour supply on colonial plantations in Kilimanjaro. Migrant labourers remained in those areas after independence while others moved back to their areas of origin.<sup>96</sup> Kathleen Stahl

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<sup>93</sup> DC/TTA/1/1: Annual Reports on the Taita District: Report for 1922.

<sup>94</sup> KOT 25, Holili, 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 26, Holili Shuleni, 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

<sup>95</sup> DC/TTA/1/1: Report for 1923

<sup>96</sup> KOT 24, Makuyuni Himo, 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

pointing out about Chagga participation in wage labour observed ‘they excel as coffee growers, but they do not like going as labourers on coffee estates elsewhere and the European estates in nearby Arusha must rely for their labour on the poor ill-fed tribes of the dry Central Province.’<sup>97</sup> This was one of the factors that made the multiplicity of ethnic compositions on the slopes of mount Kilimanjaro possible.

Land shortage did not proletarianise the Chagga, but gave them a thrust on and new thinking about its ownership, distribution and use. The British government always faced challenges when it came to dependence on Chagga labour. Forestry and Agricultural departments for instance were uncertain of labour availability for things like forest works and tsetse clearing campaigns, respectively.<sup>98</sup> Tsetse clearance was only possible by following Native Authority’s (NA) rules that forced local people in their areas to provide communal labour, without which, no Mchagga was willing to provide his labour towards communal activities even when their communal labour was motivated through payment. Similarly, the forestry department did both push and pull labour techniques for forestry activities to attract African labour and it was unfortunate that both tactics were stumbled by lack of willingness to participate from the Chagga including in the Half Mile Forest Reserve (HMFR) that was set aside by the government in 1941 for African use.<sup>99</sup> On the push NAs were required to supply

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<sup>97</sup> Kathleen Stahl, *Tanganyika Sail in the Wilderness* (Mouton & Co 1961), p. 27.

<sup>98</sup> Details for this can be found in TNA 207/449: Game and Tsetse Fly Position in the Moshi Maize Growing Area, specifically Folio No. 5: Letter from Kibohehe Estate to the District Officer – Moshi, dated 8<sup>th</sup> February 1927, Letter from the Manager – Kibohehe Estate to the Administrative Officer – Moshi, dated 7<sup>th</sup> February 1927, Letter from Major R.G Bellairs – Kikafu Estate to the District Officer – Moshi, dated 8<sup>th</sup> February 1927. All these letters and many others in this file indicate Chagga’s slackness, tricks and unwillingness to see wage labour a dependable economic activity.

<sup>99</sup> R. R. Baldwin, ‘Native Authority Afforestation on Kilimanjaro’, *TNR* 21 (1946), pp. 81 – 84.

labour on demand by the forestry department for forestry works that included fire fighting and preparation of new lands for planting trees.

By the enactments of the NAs every Mchagga was to make sure that the forest and the extension reserves were safe and free from fire. When fire occurred everybody was responsible to fight against it and those who were engaged in fighting fire were paid ‘posho’ by the forestry department. In 1949, the NAs through the chief and the government were at loggerheads on the supply and remunerations of labour for forestry activities.<sup>100</sup> The chief applied for payment of the Chagga who participated in fire fighting but the forest department complained that the Chagga were not cooperative to put the fire off and seemed like they went for that activity just to seek the *posho* provided and not with enthusiasm for fire fighting. Also the Chagga completely refused to work at night when practically it was the good time for extinguishing fire despite promises of payment as remuneration to their service. The department pointed to have paid a total of shillings 1,500 during the activity and was not ready to accept payment for additional 648 shillings. Lastly the letter from the department of forestry noted; ‘I suggest, therefore, that the Wachagga be requested to withdraw the present excessively high claims for additional *posho* at a time when the forests of Kilimanjaro were on fire and were threatening water supplies and the good well-being of the whole tribe.’<sup>101</sup> They did not want to participate in organised labour

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<sup>100</sup> TNA 5//22/2: Moshi Forest Fires, Folio No. 1: Letter from Mangi Mwitori of Rombo to the Forest Officer and District Commissioner Moshi dated 19<sup>th</sup> January 1950. Also see how the Chagga were reluctant to participate in fire fighting on forest reserves or farms especially when fire was burning of white settlers’ farms, Folio No. 23: Letter from Mangi Mkuu wa Wachagga to Watawala Wote Kilimanjaro, Titled ‘Moto Unaochoma Majani au Mwituu’, dated 24<sup>th</sup> September 1952.

<sup>101</sup> TNA 5/22/2: Moshi Forest Fires, Folio No. 2: Letter from Forest Department, Northern Province to the District Commissioner Moshi, Titled ‘Fire at Rongai’, Forest fires were many in Kilimanjaro Forest Reserve (KFR) and were variably caused by hunters, pastoralists – who wanted new grasses for their animals to start

supply but did not get tired to look for opportunities of income generation including emphasis on payment when they performed small tasks.

Pulling the Chagga into wage and communal labour supply was not easy as the government initially thought it would be. It was for example assumed that because there was land scarcity in Kilimanjaro, allowing the Chagga to have access to land as squatters and henceforth provide squatter labour on the forest under *taungya*<sup>102</sup> system would attract many of them, as they would want to crack the hardships over land availability and use. To the surprise of the forestry department, the Chagga remained reluctant to take up the assumed opportunity and continued to concentrate in their small plots on the highlands or applied for the forestland to be allocated for their *vihamba*.<sup>103</sup> In the long run, Chagga's applications were wishes that remained so because the forestry department could not allow reversion of NAFRs into Chagga farms despite the District Commissioner's (Moshi District) intervention on the matter in support of the Chagga.<sup>104</sup> The Chagga perceived the

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germinating, and cultivators who cultivated closer to the forest reserves and lit fire for burning the stubbles/trashes when preparing their farms for the next farming season.

<sup>102</sup> Taungya system of farming is an arrangement reached between forest management and people around or close to it where they both cultivate food crops and at the same time allow trees to grow. To understand how this was practiced in Kilimanjaro see S. A. O. Chamshama et al, 'Suitability of Taungya System at North Kilimanjaro Forest Plantation', *Agroforestry Systems* 17, No. 1 (1992), pp. 1 – 7. This study indicated the contemporary use of taungya system in Kilimanjaro that seems to be celebrated different from the 1930s to 1960s during the colonial wage labour. What happened to influence their active participation now is not part of the current study.

<sup>103</sup> TNA 5/22/3: Moshi Forest Produce, Transfer of Part of Kilimanjaro Forest Reserve to the Native Authority; Wattle Bark, Folio: Letter from Mangi of Mashati, Rombo Division to the DC – Moshi, Titled 'Yah: Maombi ya Vihamba Katika sehemu inayokatwa misanduku hivi sasa Mashati Rombo' dated 9<sup>th</sup> September 1952.

<sup>104</sup> TNA 5/22/2: Moshi Forest Produce, Folio No. 101: Letter from the Assistant Conservator of Forests to Mangi Mwitoni of Rombo, dated 4<sup>th</sup> December 1952, Also see Folio No. 108: Letter from Divisional Forest Officer, Northern Province to the DC – Moshi, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1953, Titled 'Wattle Plantations Outside the Half-

forest and squatting arrangements as more barriers than opportunities for personal developments. In some areas, the forest department did not get applications for squatting even when they advertised and re-advertised the availability of land on the reserves. Most of them wanted illegal squatting as it allowed them freedom and did not oblige them to supply labour in return to the forestry department.

Unfortunately, they turned into doing unfriendly things against the forest that included, cutting young trees and slashing them with *pangas* unnecessarily. Because of this observation, the forester, Moshi decided that the reserve in Rombo be closed and squatters removed after harvesting their annual crops.<sup>105</sup> While squatting in other colonial activities in Kenya and South Africa was accepted by Africans, and they improved participation to an extent that they started to depend on their own,<sup>106</sup> squatting for the Chagga remained uncelebrated throughout the colonial period and was characterised by silent struggles to ascertain self managed activities to free themselves from wage labour.

Those who took up farms on reserves produced seasonal crops including tomatoes, sweet and Irish potatoes and maize that were mainly used for food. The tenure for forestry squatting was determined by the needs of the forestry department and ranged from one to two years before trees were planted, for land preparation, and

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Mile Strip on Kilimanjaro', Folio: Letter from DC – Moshi to the Assistant Conservator of Forests, Moshi, Titled 'Land Planted with Wattle Bark Below the Half Mile Strip in Rombo Division' dated 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1958.

<sup>105</sup> TNA 5/22/3: Moshi Forest Produce, Transfer of Part of Kilimanjaro Forest Reserve to the Native Authority; Wattle Bark, Folio No. 9: Letter from Forester Moshi to the DC – Moshi dated 1<sup>st</sup> March 1950.

<sup>106</sup> Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, 'Crisis of Accumulation, Coercion and the Colonial State: The Development of the Labour Control System 1919 – 1929' in Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale (eds), *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (London: James Currey 1992), p. 109 – 113.

then at least two more years after trees were planted, for care of young trees.<sup>107</sup> Two years after planting trees was regarded as a period of time that young trees needed special squatter labour and its young leaves did not pose difficulties to cultivators. The Chagga have not been the people of wage labour but the people to create or engage directly in income earning activities. This was indicated by the difficulties that the Native Authority Forest Reserve (NAFR) suffered to get sufficient labour to run forest activities under its control and supervision. For example, the harvest of wattle and boundary (fire buffer lines) clearance activities for the NAFR suffered much from labour shortage. The Mangi's were not able to recruit enough numbers of labourers each time they were required to do so and ended up forcing people or performing NAFR activities below expectations.<sup>108</sup> Occasionally the Wachili – Chief's Assistants who failed to supply the number of labour power required were fined, a penalty that did not improve labour availability.<sup>109</sup> In order to solve the problem of labour shortage and the squatting challenge, the government allowed the Kikuyu from Kenya to squat on the reserves especially on the eastern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro in Rongai area.<sup>110</sup> By the 1940s there were more than 170

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<sup>107</sup> TNA 5/22/4: Moshi: Forest, Working Plan for Kilimanjaro Native Authority Forest Reserve, 1947 – 1956 and 1958 – 1965, KOT 30, Tarakea, 27<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 32, Kitang'ati, 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

<sup>108</sup> TNA 5/22/3: Moshi Forest Produce... Folio: Letter from Divisional Forest Officer, Northern Province to the DC – Moshi, Titled 'Wattle Bark', dated 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1952, Folio: Letter from Divisional Forest Officer Northern Province to the DC – Moshi, Titled 'Labour', dated 21<sup>st</sup> March 1952 and Folio: Letter from Assistant Conservator of Forests, Moshi District to the DC – Moshi, dated 1<sup>st</sup> November 1952. The last letter partly reads; 'I am having reports from the Mkuu area that labour is not forthcoming for wattle bark cutting. It is essential that as much bark as possible is cut before the rains set in, and I would be grateful if you write to the Mangi about this.'

<sup>109</sup> TNA 5/22/5: Moshi: Native Authority Forest Reserve Monthly Reports, Folio No. 9: Kilimanjaro Native Forest Reserve Monthly Report for November 1947.

<sup>110</sup> TNA 5/22/7: Moshi: Forests, Cultivation in Rau Forest Reserve, Letter from the Divisional Forest Officer, Northern Province to the District Commissioner, Moshi, Titled 'Employment of Wachagga as Forest Squatters', dated 18<sup>th</sup> August 1952.

Kikuyu families on Rongai against 130 Chagga families.<sup>111</sup> The presence of Kikuyu was vital, as the forest required more labour power and also production of food crops like maize, potatoes and white haricot beans.<sup>112</sup>

Therefore, Chagga participation in cash economy can be understood with special emphasis on how they perceived wage labour, what forces were at operation during that time, how far the attempts at proletarianising them were successful or not and how they negotiated participation in money economy. Of special interest was an awareness to get involved in the cash economy through selling labour or engaging in direct production. The British colonial government seems to have willingly or otherwise enhanced the later. When the government in 1930s interfered in the disputes and claims rose by white settlers over coffee farming concerns against peasant producers, the government gave impetus to the peasant full engagement with production in their small but valuable and diversified land on the highland slopes.

#### **4.4 Arusha – Moshi Land Commission and the Challenge of Implementation, 1950 to 1960**

In response to the broadening need for land by peasant producers and the pressure on land by settlers who owned estates in Kilimanjaro, the government decided to implement a scheme that would relieve the crisis over land. Arusha – Moshi Land Commission was set in 1946 and its results were published in 1947. Implementation of the recommendations from the commission started in the 1950s. the commission

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<sup>111</sup> TNA 5/67/7: Moshi: Squatters in Forest Reserves (1947 - 1950) Folio: Letter from the Assistant Conservator of Forest to the Secretary Arusha – Moshi Lands Commission, Titled ‘Kikuyu Squatters Rongai Reference SLC 5.12.1946’, dated 11<sup>th</sup> December 1946.

<sup>112</sup> TNA 5/67/7: Moshi: Squatters in Forest Reserves (1947 – 1950), Folio: Letter from Forest Department to the DC – Moshi, Titled ‘Kikuyu Squatters Rongai’, dated 15 April 1947 also Folio: Letter from Agricultural Officer to the Secretary Arusha Moshi Land Commission, Titled ‘Kikuyu Squatters at Rongai’, dated 18<sup>th</sup> November 1946.

was headed by Justice Wilson and the report is variously referred to by scholars as Wilson's report. The main task of the commission was to investigate and propose ways on African peasant producer's access to and use of land in accordance with the recommendations of the several UN visiting Missions to Tanganyika.<sup>113</sup> Wilson's report was a blueprint for land use planning, policy formulation and implementation in the entire last decade of colonial administration in Tanganyika.

The problem over land in Kilimanjaro was entangled in twin demands posed by peasants and settlers that exacerbated after World War II. Settlers wanted more land at a time when formerly alienated acreages were seen not enough for economical production. As for peasants, they became more enthusiastic to participate in cash economy to capture the post war market. It should be noted that during this period, the coffee economy was deeply rooted in the minds of a majority of peasant producers and its price was promising.<sup>114</sup> Wilson proposed the implementation of various settlement schemes and land use arrangements in Arusha and Kilimanjaro. This section deals with peasant settlement and the development of irrigation facilities and farming on the lowlands. Special emphasis is placed on the settlement and irrigation project because the two were the largest attempts sought for peasant purposes.

Implementation of peasant settlement and production projects was to be on land owned by settlers or by opening new lands elsewhere on the lowlands. Both options had challenges and were costly. It was not easy to implement any of the

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<sup>113</sup> Details about Justice Wilson Commission have been provided in earlier sections of this chapter.

<sup>114</sup> Changing values of land increased competition over land ownership and use. The competition led into conflicts over land use and ownership as both settlers and peasants wanted more land for the production of commercial crops. Reginald Elias, 'Land Conflicts in Moshi – Rural District, 1930 – 2000' (University of Dar es Salaam: M.A History Dissertation), pp. vi, 40 – 41.

projects given that estates owned most fertile lands on the slopes and peasant producers concentrated on the highlands. The Commission thus proposed the re-alienation of some estates and redistribution of the same for peasant production. It proposed that the ex-enemy property should be made available for the projects. The governor decided that some farms including farm No. 177/1 that was owned by a German was to be redistributed into the Arusha-Moshi land use scheme. The suggestion by Wilson's report that ex-enemy property had to be allocated for the Chagga use was a necessary effort but not enough to hold the crisis over Chagga's need for additional land. The governor of Tanganyika provided a list of more farms and estates to be taken for peasant occupation. The farms provided by the governor were Th. Von Kalekstein farm No. 171/1 that was in Moshi, Th. Thomasius farm No. 127 in Arusha, Th. Papadopoulas farm No. 164 in Moshi and Th. Thomas farms Nos. 87 and 88 in Moshi.<sup>115</sup>

Following the acquisition of estates owned land there arose some petitions from Tanganyika European Council in Tanganyika who regarded the process as a form of injustice against them and a peanut attempt to solving a bigger problem of overcrowding of natives. In a letter to the secretary of state, European settlers lamented; 'not only are these decisions (to redistribute their farms to the Chagga) bad in themselves, for various reasons, but they really do nothing to solve the problem of congestion of tribal populations.'<sup>116</sup> This was also a view shared by the District Commissioner Moshi. Instead, European settlers viewed that 'what is(was) required is(was) urgent action by the Tanganyika government to open up and develop lands

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<sup>115</sup> UKNA CO 691/209/2: Alienated and Tribal Land: Kilimanjaro and Meru Mountains

<sup>116</sup> UKNA CO 691/209/2: Folio: Letter from the Tanganyika European Council to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated 20<sup>th</sup> November 1950.

down in the plains'<sup>117</sup> for Chagga settlements, agriculture and herding activities. Petitions were lodged to challenge valuations for the acquired lands more than oppositions to surrender their holdings. For example, the valuation of farm No. 172/1 in Moshi District, which was owned by Mrs. Aslanis, brought a much-contested dispute between the government, the owner and the European Council in Tanganyika. Although the governor intervened in this matter, it was not settled until a court ruling was made in favour of Mrs. Aslanis' claims. The same applied to Mr. Monnas whose farms Nos. 87 and 88 had to be paid GBP 8,500 instead of the previous offer by the government of GBP 7,000.<sup>118</sup> Mr. Monnas' farms were acquired on the basis that he had farms elsewhere in the Northern Province and did not live on these two farms. While all these were happening, some Europeans owned land that never fell into any economic utility, left them fallow for a long time and did not want to relinquish them.<sup>119</sup> On the peasants' side, through the Chagga Council (CC) believed and put much pressure that any reversion of land for *vihamba* was important for that they were at a critical time of land voraciousness and yearnings for self-progress through engagements in land.<sup>120</sup> These contrasted attentions and ascendancies by all parties on establishing impartial means of land use on the slopes contributed much to a delayed and later failed implementation of a sustainable plan to accommodate the diversities.

In the 1950s the government decided to embark on a large-scale resettlement program by establishing various schemes to attract the mountain population to the

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> UKNA CO 691/209/2.

<sup>119</sup> *African Standard*, Friday 17 November 1950, 'Farmers to be Evicted'

<sup>120</sup> UKNA CO 691/200/2: Alienated and Tribal Land: Kilimanjaro and Meru Mountains (Arusha – Moshi Land Commission Report, 1947), Folio: Memorandum to be Placed before U.N.O Trusteeship Mission by the Chagga Council, dated 8<sup>th</sup> September 1948, received by U.N.O on 10<sup>th</sup> September 1948.

lowlands. It aimed at providing space of contested landscapes on the upper zones for whites, and making the Chagga reduce concentration and pressure on the smallholdings they had on the slopes. One of these schemes was the Uru Chini Irrigation Scheme that aimed to launch irrigated agriculture but also encourage settlement on these lowland areas.<sup>121</sup> Areas were surveyed and applications were welcome from the Chagga, but what is noted in government correspondence is that the land demarcated was not so big compared to the demands from the Chagga. This would mean that an intensive scramble of applicants was anticipated following the curiosity of the Chagga on gaining access to land use. But, the reality on the ground is that this was not what happened following the establishment. Only few Chagga applied to be given farms on these lowland areas. Out of the thousand acres set aside for this Scheme, as by 1954 only 200 acres were cleared for the purpose, as few peasant producers were ready to take this as an opportunity. Due to this low turnout of Chagga peasants, government bodies did not know what to do. At first they thought if the area was not enough for the purpose, more areas would be added to the scheme in another scheme called the Chagga Resettlement Scheme that depended on the success of the Uru Chini Pilot Scheme. Low turnout by the Chagga was also aided by another difficulty that embodied the technical aspect of the scheme. Little progress was made from one year to another and little signs of success were showing up.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> TNA 5/20/16, Vol. II: Expansion of the Chagga Lands: Uru – Rau – Himo Areas, Folio No. 82: Letter from Provincial Commissioner Northern Province to the District Commissioner, dated 25<sup>th</sup> January 1954.

<sup>122</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners on Native Administration for the Year 1954* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1955), p. 89, Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the Provincial Commissioner on Native Administration for the Year 1955* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1956), p. 79.

Lower Uru Chini Pilot Scheme was divided into three sections that in total comprised of 573 acres. The first section comprised of such land to be used for settlement. The second category of land was to be for irrigated agriculture where 201 acres in extent were demarcated. This was to attract more Chagga people used of irrigated agriculture on the highlands to move to the lowlands and in turn reduce the pressure over land on the highlands. The 201 acres of irrigated land was divided into 22 lots of 10 acres each to facilitate distribution to people. The third plot of land demarcated was made available for grazing or dry farming and was divided again into 22 lots that corresponded to the 22 lots of the land demarcated for irrigated agriculture. These lower areas were to be run by the Chagga Council.<sup>123</sup> (Also refer Figure 4)

The first phase of the Uru Chini Irrigation Scheme if fully implemented would cost the Chagga Native Authority (CNA) shillings 88, 710.99 and the government shillings 25, 723.45 to its completion. The farms on this scheme would be administered by the CNA under terms and conditions agreed between the CNA and the tenants who wanted to lease the farms. The first phase encompassed the development of 2,500 acres that included some areas already under traditional irrigation furrows that occupied 1,388 acres of the total land. The terms for renting these farms included not building a permanent house in the farms, cultivating only seasonal crops and the tenant was not supposed to transfer his ownership to anybody else including selling or re-renting the farm.<sup>124</sup> In April 1957, the Provincial Commissioner indicated worries about the success of this scheme. It seemed that few

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<sup>123</sup> TNA 5/20/16, Vol. III: Expansion of the Chagga Lands: Uru – Rau – Himo Areas, Folio No. 96: Letter from Mangi of Uru to the Agricultural Officer, Moshi, dated 15<sup>th</sup> February 1954, Titled ‘Uru Chini 200 acres.’

<sup>124</sup> TNA 5/20/16, Vol. III: Folio No. 279: Masharti ya Mashamba kwa Ardhi ya Chini.

Wachagga were willing to sign contracts with the landlords (CNA) or other private owners to be given land on the lowlands because of the terms and conditions embodied in the agreements with landholders. Unexpectedly, this was a great challenge to the progress of the project as few people turned out and all investment in it would be a wasted effort. Since the whole effort aimed at the furtherance of the Chagga people from the mountain, if they could not turn up for this project it would be a vitiate to the entire development of the project. Also the financial implications incurred by the CNA and the government would be a lost investment.<sup>125</sup>

As pointed out earlier, inhabitants of the highland landscape regarded the lowlands unsuitable for settlement and agriculture. The establishment of a project of this nature would probably act as an enticement towards changing the perceptions held by the local people against the lowlands and make them believe that life was conceivable on the lowland landscape as was on the highland. Their rejection to relocate hinged upon perception on the environment and the practical side of the scheme that was labour intensive and cost unfriendly. The costs that they had to pay as land rents were higher than the adjustments they could make in their small plots on the highland. Apart from land rents they were in addition supposed to pay water rates to use water for irrigation purposes. The District Commissioner – Moshi indicated disinclination of the Chagga by pointing;

The gist of their objection to paying land rent (Shs.10/50 per annum) and water rates (Shs.250/= per annum) was that long before the scheme was brought off they were promised land at Uru Chini on condition that they cleared the bush, that they did in/clear the bush, and that the furrow taking

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<sup>125</sup> TNA 5/20/16, Vol. III: Folio No. 285: Letter from the Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province to the District Commissioner – Moshi, dated 16<sup>th</sup> April 1957.

water to the plots was originally dug by them. There appears to be some truth in what they say about the land in the furrow, but none in their claim that the terms of their sub-leases were not explained to them.<sup>126</sup>

For the Chagga going *porini* (lowlands) was both risking their lives and investments and also losing and lessening connections with ancestral spirits and heritage of the highlands. The labour they had invested in clearing the areas before and for the scheme was considered enough for them to take the risks of moving to the lowlands without extra land tenure arrangements and cost implications. They still considered this as a trial and error kind of an attempt. Again, the areas that were irrigated by traditional furrows before the coming of this scheme functioned without such conditions posed through CNA and the government. The Chagga Council was then required to sit and rule out the fate of plot holders, either by altering the terms and conditions or by letting go all plot holders who did not want to abide by the terms and conditions.

The CNA and the government were at disagreement with plot holders on the scheme on the terms governing distribution and use of plots in the scheme land. Meetings, discussions and negotiations between these parties did not seem to yield success as each part stood for its interests and there was no chance of getting into a mid-way agreement. Even the proposals that the plots given to the Chagga be reduced into half in order to half the amount of irrigated water to the plots and to reduce the amount to pay annually for water were not enough to convince the mountain people to agree to the terms and to move from the highland to the

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<sup>126</sup> TNA 5/20/16, Vol. III: Folio No. 288: Letter from the District Commissioner – Moshi to the Provincial Commissioner – Northern Province, dated 13<sup>th</sup> May 1957, Titled ‘Uru Chini Pilot Irrigation Scheme’.

lowlands.<sup>127</sup> Retrospectively, the number of applicants lowered and the future of the project remained a hard nut to crack through government plans. This meant that the pressure on the mountainside sustained and copious struggles on intensification were taking place internally without supervision from any established authorities.

Uru Chini Pilot Scheme was difficult to implement because of the resistance that prevailed between plot holders and the Chagga Council on one side and the availability of water on the second side. The number of plot holders who signed the new terms and conditions of leasehold were few compared to the anticipated number of tenants to render the project cost effective and operational.<sup>128</sup> On 30<sup>th</sup> November 1957, during a Baraza held at Uru Chini, only six plot holders had signed the agreement containing the new terms and conditions of ownership. Could such big pilot scheme be successful only with six plot holders? Not at any measure. In a letter from the District Agricultural Officer, Moshi to the Mangi Mkuu of the Wachagga, the District Officer wanted to know whether there were more plot holders who signed the new agreements so that he could inform the water Development and Irrigation Department to supply more field channels for irrigation of the fields. He was astonished that only few holders were ready to sign and the scheme could not continue if only few people were using it. It would remain unsustainable because the management and supervision costs would not be met by water rates paid by few plot holders.<sup>129</sup> The failure of the Uru Chini Pilot Irrigation Scheme was a lesson and a

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<sup>127</sup> TNA 5/20/16, Vol. III: Folio No. 307: Notes of a Meeting Held in the District Office – Moshi on Tuesday 30<sup>th</sup> July 1957 to Discuss Future Irrigation Policy, Folio No. 314: Saving Telegram, From the Divisional Engineer to the Sub-Tribe, Moshi, Titled: Uru Chini Irrigation Scheme Water Rights, dated 19<sup>th</sup> September 1957.

<sup>128</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the Provincial Commissioner on Native Administration for the Year 1957* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1958), p. 76

<sup>129</sup> TNA 5/20/16, Vol. III: Folio: Letter from District Agricultural Officer to The Mangi Mkuu of the Wachagga, Titled ‘Uru Chini’, dated 31<sup>st</sup> December 1957.

barrier to the formerly projected schemes on the adjacent areas. If this scheme could succeed, more irrigation and settlement schemes were planned on an area covering about 20,000 acres on its adjacent areas of the lowlands.<sup>130</sup>

The shortage of water for irrigation should not be underestimated as an important contributor to the failure of the Uru Chini Pilot Irrigation Scheme. The construction of the project was completed in 1956 but it was suffering from shortage of water.<sup>131</sup> It was clear that not enough water could easily reach to all planned areas let alone only small areas adjacent or closer to the demonstration plots. There were some farmers who had occupied the plots prior to the official inception of the scheme, these benefited from access to watering points but not those who were far from the channels. Because it was not easy to remove these early occupiers at once, or because not a large area was required for the Scheme at once they remained on those areas as squatters because they used the land without leases or without signing the new terms and conditions governing the use of that land. At last, in the last meeting to discuss the fate of the scheme, it was decided that it was impossible to implement this scheme in its original shape and in this regard it was agreed that the scheme was a failure.<sup>132</sup>

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

The government did a lot to provide an environment that was suitable for both settler and peasant settlement and production in Kilimanjaro. Success and failure of such attempts were determined by the government failure to understand the wider

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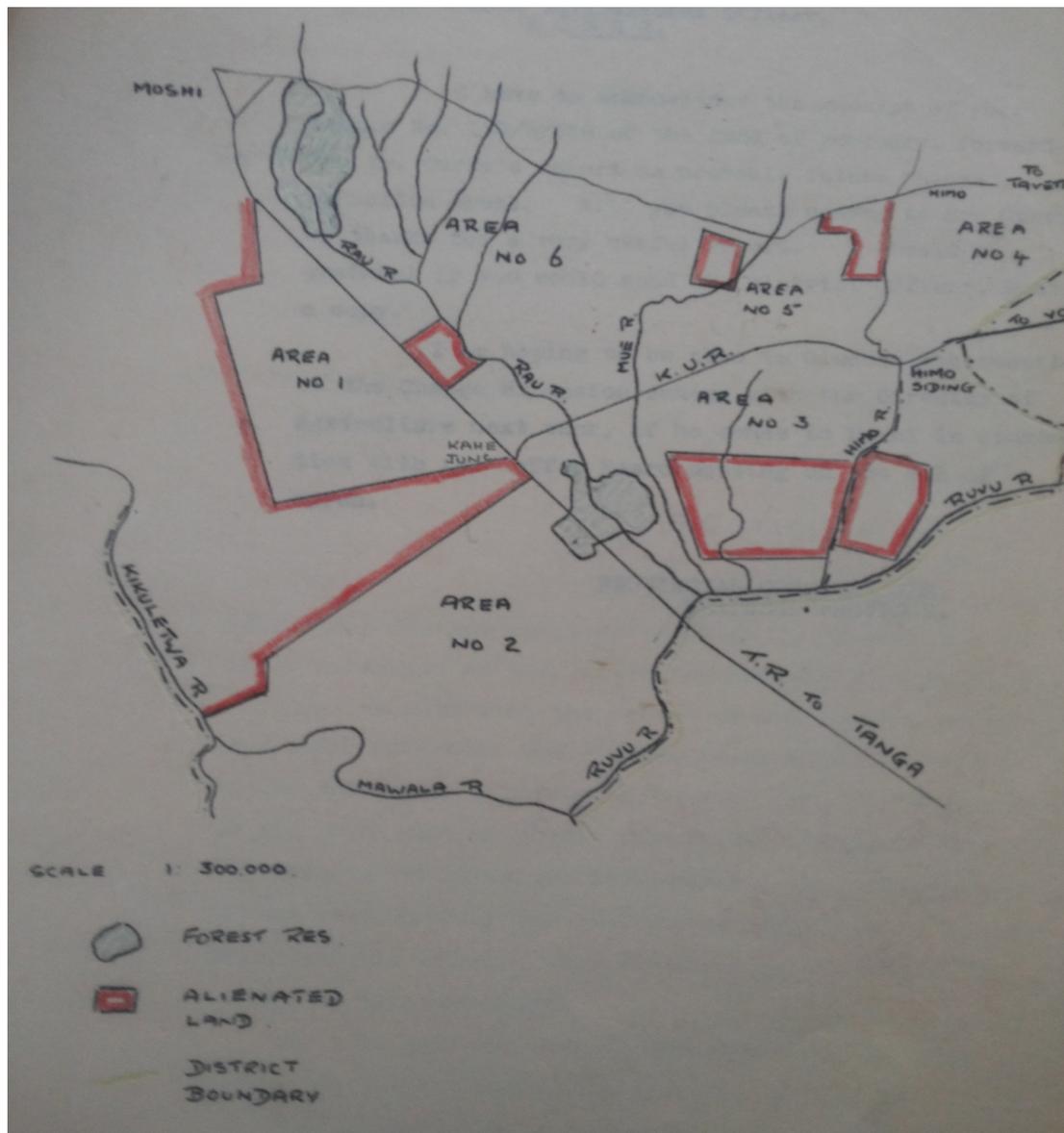
<sup>130</sup> TNA 5/20/16, Vol. III: Folio: Record of a Meeting Held in the Office of the Provincial Commissioner, Arusha on Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> November 1958 at 9.00A.M to discuss the Uru Chini Pilot Scheme.

<sup>131</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the Provincial Commissioner on Native Administration for the Year 1956* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1957), p. 102.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

complexities that involved a combination of direct and indirect factors on the part of both settlers and peasants. Earlier in the 1920s the government decided to make Tanganyika a peasant economy colony by allowing peasant cash crop production side by side with large-scale producers. Territorial wise, this had no impact but on areas with land shortage and large population like Kilimanjaro it posed a considerable challenge. Large involvement and development of peasant cash crop production created potential grounds for land shortage. Preference for peasant production in Kilimanjaro did not rule out the existence of estate farming that had histories in the German period. Land alienation up to the 1950s in favour of settler farming in Kilimanjaro aided on the problem that was already building up rapidly on the side of peasant cash cropping and the crisis of population increase and shortage of land to expand new farming. The crisis of land shortage by peasant producers on the highlands could not be solved only by reversions of all estates for peasant purposes but an emphasis on lowlands development and change of people's negative attitudes towards the lowlands would work. Developing the lowlands was expensive because it involved clearing and technical aspects of constructing irrigation channels to turn the dry lands' potential for agriculture. Because of cost implications and the technicalities involved few attempts were made to develop the lowlands but enough emphasis was made to encourage resettlement from the highland to the lowland. The next chapter shifts the discussion from this chapter that contrasted land uses between peasant and settler productions and concentrates on examining how the Chagga negotiated access to resource use with pastoral land use within and outside the borders.

Figure 4: Sketch map of land use plan on the lowlands of Kilimanjaro, 1930s



Source: TNA 450/70/2: Moshi: Tuberculosis Kilimanjaro including Audit and Inspection of Stores and Accounts.

#### Notes about the Map

**Area No. 1:** This was a newly settled area by migrants who were not Chagga. It had fertile soil but was dry and without domestic water, apart from that coming from Rau River. It was regarded that only if domestic water was available, would more migrants have settled in this area.

**Area No. 2:** This was also an area settled in by non-Chagga people. Pastoralist communities settled in this area. These struggled to control cattle death out of trypanosomiasis infections. The government considered pastoralists as temporal settlers as they would move anytime when all their livestock died. Unlike area one, this area had several spring water sources that allowed the growth of crops.

**Area No. 3:** This was the Wakahe settlement area. It had a sparse population and had a lot of unoccupied land. The area was full of forest and thicket vegetation that allowed bee keeping and to a lesser extent cultivation of maize. The Kahe also were interested in cotton farming. The soil in this area was regarded as highly fertile and the only barrier to its full development was the establishment of irrigation infrastructures to allow many people to settle in this area and engage in production of cotton, maize, bananas and sharply below it production of sugarcane in Arusha Chini area. The presence of Kenya Uganda railway line was another motivation for people to settle along the line. The only problem with settlement in this area in the 1930s was that it was not used to settle the Chagga from the highlands but other African migrants who came from different neighbouring areas.

**Area No. 4:** An entirely waterless area except for areas adjacent to Himo River. It was a dry area under heavy bush and its development was to involve expensive projects of clearing the bush, developing irrigation infrastructure and motivating settlers from the highlands. Until the end of British rule in Tanganyika, there were no measures taken to a greater extent to solve the problems of this area. It remained with

negative perception from the Chagga people and few of them waited until 1950s to start moving into the area on permanent basis.

**Area No. 5:** This was between Mue and Himo Rivers. It was suitable for the production of cotton, maize and groundnuts. The area also required an irrigation scheme to tap water from the two rivers into the fields to encourage settlers to move into it. Also it was not developed until the end of colonial rule.

**Area No. 6:** This was an area with fertile soil, link to Kenya Uganda railway line and the presence of Rau and Mue Rivers. It was the only area that had many Chagga settlers mixed up with migrants from other areas. This also was an area where the Rau settlement scheme was tried but failed because of administrative, financial and practical reasons. At least the area was preferred by the highland Chagga who would probably like to settle in the area if the aforementioned challenges were considered in advance. The scheme failed even before it was fully implemented.

## Chapter Five

### **Negotiating Pastoral and Arable Land Uses: Trans Border Experiences**

This chapter diverts somehow from the two previous chapters. While the preceding chapters were concerned with a discussion on how Africans in Kilimanjaro were able to define and position themselves within the introduction of money economy by negotiating access to land use with white settler establishments, the current discussion focuses on the negotiations among African societies. It attempts to show the way cultivators and pastoralists mediated both colonial government's and local authorities rules and provisions to access and use land that was available for them. Though it is not intended to be a comparative discussion, yet the discussion captures some of the dynamics of land use change that were influenced by developments taking place in Kenya and Tanzania across the north eastern Tanzanian border. It shows that while it was important for colonial governments to maintain sovereign borders of their colonies, African land users were not bound to observe these borders even when they were required to do so by the governments. The interaction across the borders resulted in a series of disputes over resources use and ownership coming from the failure to establish a clear divide between different interest groups. In this chapter Maasai represents pastoralists and the two terms Maasai and pastoralists will appear interchangeably unless when a different group is referred to. There are complexities involved in understanding Maasai ethnic identity but the chapter makes an intentional oversight by simplifying the Maasai into pastoral people and ignoring other groups of Maasai who engaged in activities different from pastoralism.<sup>1</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> See the discussion on Maasai identity and groups in Thomas Spear, 'Introduction,' in Thomas Spear and Richard Waller (eds), *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa* (London: Eastern African Studies 1993), pp. 1 – 16, J. E. G. Sutton, 'Becoming Maasailand' in Waller and Spear (eds), pp. 38 – 59. Also see recent and

reason for this oversight is to allow a discussion on pastoral and arable land use changes that involved pastoral Maasai with non-pastoral Chagga. Also the chapter avoids the discussion on the groups of Maasai who interacted with cultivators because such a topic has been well documented and more importantly, it is not central to the current study.<sup>2</sup> It ends up by the conclusion that disputes on land use involving pastoralists and cultivators were partly a result of competing landscape definition and the re-invention of the resources among these two groups and how each group made use of such understanding for their own advantages.

### 5.1 Highland Pastoral and Agricultural Land uses

The environmental catastrophes of the last decade of the nineteenth century that swept East African environments caused serious losses and marked new adaptations in pastoral societies. It was a period in history where the pastoral economy had to undergo a recovery for years to come following great losses in both human and animal populations. Its recovery and the time taken to recover partially or in full, differed depending on specific surrounding environments and the relations that pastoral societies had established with neighbouring non-pastoral societies. Loss of cattle meant poverty in pastoral societies that called for a quick recovery.<sup>3</sup> Pastoral adjustment to other economic activities meant a struggle to return to pastoral culture to maintain their identity and ‘imagery of wealth in flocks and herds’, without which,

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more contemporary interpretation of Maasai identity in Dorothy L. Hodgson, *Being Maasai, Becoming Indigenous: Postcolonial Politics in a Neoliberal World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2011), pp. 1 – 23.

<sup>2</sup> John G. Galaty, ‘Maasai Expansion and the New East African Pastoralism,’ in Waller and Spear (eds), *Being Maasai*, pp. 61 – 85, and Thomas Spear, ‘Being ‘Maasai’ but not ‘People of Cattle:’ Arusha Agricultural Maasai in the Nineteenth Century’ in Waller and Spear (eds), *Being Maasai*, pp. 120 – 133.

<sup>3</sup> Vidgis Broch-Due and David Anderson, ‘Poverty and the Pastoralist: Deconstructing Myths, Reconstructing Realities’ in David M. Anderson and Vidgis Broch-Due (eds), *The Poor Are Not Us: Poverty and Pastoralism* (Oxford: James Currey 1999), pp. 3 – 19.

the society perceived itself or those without cattle as poor.<sup>4</sup> Emphasis on pastoral diversification of rural economy through engaging in agricultural activities was encouraged by the colonial government as a way to deal with cattle losses either suffered in the last decade of the precolonial period or during the colonial period.<sup>5</sup> Such wide spread losses can be attributed to several factors integral to the livestock economy, the introduction of colonial rule and the environment. Precolonial East African environment was not always a paradise. It was subject to control and failures by human population. Control was only possible in relationships established in local institutions, politics and economy and in how societies defined interactions with their environments.<sup>6</sup> But the introduction of colonial rule seem responsible for many failures of human effort to control the environment, an outcome that led into famines, diseases and pests and demographic changes in the whole process of transitioning into a new period.<sup>7</sup> Social and economic groups were temporal and

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<sup>4</sup> Richard Waller, 'Pastoral Poverty in Historical Perspective' in David Anderson and Vidgis Broch-Due (eds), *The Poor Are Not Us*, pp. 21 – 25.

<sup>5</sup> David M. Anderson, 'Cultivating Pastoralists Among the Il Chamus of Baringo, 1840 – 1980' in Douglas H. Johnson and David M. Anderson (eds), *The Ecology of Survival: Case Studies from Northeast African History* (London: Lester Crook Academic Publishing 1988), pp. 241 – 260, also David M. Anderson and Douglas H. Johnson, 'Introduction: Ecology and Society in Northeast African History' in Johnston and Anderson (eds), *The Ecology of Survival*, pp. 1 – 24.

<sup>6</sup> James L. Giblin, 'The Precolonial Politics of Disease Control in the Lowlands of Northeastern Tanzania' in Gregory Maddox, James L. Giblin and Isaria Kimambo (eds), *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania* (Oxford: James Currey 1996), pp. 129 – 145, Michele Wagner, 'Environment, Community and History 'Nature in the Mind' in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth – Century Buha, Tanzania' in Giblin, Maddox and Kimambo (eds), *Custodians of the Land*, pp. 175 – 195.

<sup>7</sup> James L. Giblin, 'Famine and Social Change During the Transition to Colonial Rule in Northeastern Tanzania, 1880 – 1896', *African Economic History* 15 (1986), pp. 85 – 105, James L. Giblin, 'East Coast Fever in Social – Historical Context: A Case Study from Tanzania', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 23, No. 3 (1990), pp. 401 – 421, Helge Kjekhus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History: The Case of Tanganyika, 1850 – 1950* (London: James Currey 1996), pp. 1 – 5, for population change see Shane Doyle, *Crisis and Decline in Bunyoro: Population and Environment in Western Uganda*,

interaction with one another common in providing safety beds in time when any among the groups faced crisis.<sup>8</sup> The extent and rate of recovery may not have been uniformly at a fast speed to recolonize all areas that were formerly occupied by pastoralists before they lost cattle. However, the recovery was both successful and unsuccessful in different areas of Eastern Africa. In areas where success was recorded, fracas between colonial governments, settler ranching economy and local livestock keeping were also obvious.<sup>9</sup>

In the case of the Northern Province of Tanganyika, the catastrophe of the nineteenth century paved the way for Chagga's later expansion into the lowlands as the areas that were otherwise fully occupied by pastoral activities started to be free. Expansion was made possible because of three factors. First, reoccupation by pastoral activities was slow, they could not take over all former areas in a short time. Second, there was an increased need to have different landscapes for different purposes (coffee – highland, maize, beans, elusine - lowlands) among the Chagga. Pressures of money economy were becoming greatly influential on how to engage with different options of land use. Third, the government did not support pastoralists to have a rapid recovery of their stock and re-establish their pastoral culture and

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1860 – 1955 (Kampala: James Currey and Athens: Ohio University Press 2006), pp. 1 - 5, and Juhani Koponen, 'Population: A Dependant Variable' in Gregory Maddox, James Giblin and Isaria Kimambo (eds), *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania* (Oxford: James Currey 1996), pp. 20 – 37, Gregory Maddox, 'Environment and Population Growth in Ugogo Central Tanzania' in Maddox, Giblin and Kimambo (eds), *Custodians of the Land*, pp. 43 – 60.

<sup>8</sup> John L. Bentsen, 'Maasai and their Neighbours: Variables of Interaction' *African Economic History* 2 (1976), pp. 1 – 11.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., also David M. Anderson, 'Rehabilitation, Resettlement and Restocking: Ideology and Practice in Pastoral Development', in David Anderson and Vidgis Broch-Due (eds), *The Poor Are Not Us*, pp. 240 – 256, and David M. Anderson, *Eroding the Commons: The Politics of Ecology in Baringo, Kenya, 1890 – 1963* (Oxford: James Currey 2002), pp. 1 – 22 and KOT 64, KOT 45.

development.<sup>10</sup> At first, expansion was made through establishing seasonal crop cultivation but not permanent settlement and at the same time maintaining their highland farms and settlements. The decade witnessed diseases that caused deaths of animals and pastoral Maasai who otherwise used the lowlands for pastoralism. Maasai human and livestock population would from the middle of the twentieth century be multiplied in large numbers and therefore make it hard for expansion of arable land by highland population who were mainly cultivators. The remaining Maasai had to seek sanctuary in neighbouring populations like the Waarusha and Wachagga in a struggle for their livelihood and recovery from the loss suffered.<sup>11</sup>

Apart from the natural causes that limited expansion of pastoral economy in East Africa and Tanganyika in particular, the Northern Province experienced controlled free grazing in the colonial period. This again reduced the interest of pastoralism in the area in favour of agriculture and large-scale farming. The majority of pastoralists preferred to have large areas to feed their cattle unlike the Chagga who were ready to work on any size of land available at their disposal.<sup>12</sup> Demand for large areas of land prompted pastoralists to keep moving into other areas in the territory to have access to plenty of pastureland. Movements of this type presented chances for expansion of arable land and reduction of pastoral land as a consequence. One pastoralist recalled how Maasai lost their land to the Chagga in the following words: *Wakati ule ambao wamasai wanakuwa wamehama na mifugo yao, wachagga ndipo walipata nafasi ya kuingia katika maeneo haya. Ilikuwa (Maasai) wakirudi*

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<sup>10</sup> Also see Thomas Spear, *Mountain Farmers: Moral Economies of Land and Agricultural Development in Arusha and Meru* (Dar es salaam: Mkuki na Nyota), pp. 1 – 5.

<sup>11</sup> John Illife, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979), pp. 124 – 125, 163 – 167.

<sup>12</sup> KOT 65, KOT 74.

*wanakuta yale maeneo yao waliyoyaacha yamechukuliwa na wakulima ambao tuliwaita ni Wachagga.* During the time when the Maasai have moved to other areas with their livestock, it was when the Chagga established themselves in those areas. When the Maasai came back, the Chagga had taken all their areas for arable purposes'.<sup>13</sup> After agricultural activities were established in former pasturelands, pastoralists could not claim back the areas but had to find other alternatives. It remained a struggle for pastoral Maasai to find new areas for settlement and at the same time avoid government policies and plans to reduce their herds on demands of environmental preservation.

The 1930s experienced wide spread campaigns against soil erosion in the British colonies. Many of such campaigns failed because of two main reasons. They included the failure to take into account the local knowledge on dealing with the problem and the failure to educate Africans on the pros and cons of conservation programmes. Peasants ended up viewing the campaigns as laborious and incommensurate to what they got at the end.<sup>14</sup> Measures taken to control soil erosion included the reduction of cattle herds through culling and motivated selling of animals and imposition of harsh mechanisms all leading to discouraging accumulation of wealth by keeping large herds of cattle.<sup>15</sup> Such campaigns cut

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<sup>13</sup> KOT 64.

<sup>14</sup> For discussion on the origin and failure of colonial soil erosion control campaigns and the protests resulting from the campaigns in East Africa, see David Anderson, 'Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography, and Drought: The Colonial State and Soil Conservation in East Africa During the 1930s', *African Affairs* 83, No. 332 (1984), pp. 321 – 343, Isaria Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest: The Impact of the World Economy on the Pare 1860 – 1960* London: James Currey 1991), pp. 1 – 13, and Pamela A. Maack, 'We Don't Want Terraces: Protest and Identity Under Uluguru Land Usage Scheme' in Maddox, Giblin and Kimambo (eds), *Custodians of the Land*, pp. 152 – 168.

<sup>15</sup> See David Anderson, 'Cow Power and the Pastoralist in Africa', *African Affairs* 92, No. 366 (1993), pp. 121 – 133, Richard Waller, "'Clean' and 'Dirty:' Cattle

across the territory and emphasised maintaining certain productive levels of the soil by limiting excessive arable and pastoral activities.

The Chagga stall-feeding of cattle was regarded as a good method of maintaining soil fertility. Unfortunately, this was only a highland practice because it involved keeping a small number of animals than those who preferred free range keeping because they had a large number of animals not possible to stall feed. Stall-feeding was possible only for cattle herders with few livestock. Its application to large-scale livestock owners was a challenge and pastoralists would find it easier to move from these restrictions and controls to other places than to abide by the rules. Chagga Native Authority and the government cooperated to control soil erosion on Africans' lands on highland arable land and lowland arable and pastoral lands. For example, in areas where coffee was grown that land intended to be planted with coffee was cleared and inspected by the agricultural department and the Native Authority to see whether there was compliance with land conservation measures. The areas on the highlands were terraced or contoured before the department offered them a planting permit. Terracing and contouring helped to control soil erosion on the highlands of Kilimanjaro through preventing rapid surface run off of water flowing from high altitudes.<sup>16</sup>

Stall-feeding could be easily adapted to mixed farmers but would be difficult for the typical pastoralists like the Maasai. Studies on pastoralist behaviours have shown that pastoralists can accept and engage in agricultural activities temporarily

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Disease and Control Policy in Colonial Kenya, 1900 – 40', *Journal of African History* 45, No. 1 (2004), pp. 45 – 80.

<sup>16</sup> TNA 22446: Reports on Soil Erosion Measures Taken in the Territory. Folio No. 22446/30: Letter from Provincial Office – Arusha to the Honourable the Chief Secretary – Dar es salaam, dated 15<sup>th</sup> October 1934, and Folio No. 22446/30: Soil Erosion: Memorandum on Measures Taken in Various Provinces in 1933 and 1934. p. 3.

while looking for capital to invest back in livestock economy. Their wealth is invested in the herds of cattle and not farmland. Wealth in cattle is shown by the extent to which one is able to own as many heads as possible, that will neither allow indoor keeping nor concentration in a fixed environment for pasture and water all the time.<sup>17</sup> For example, the shrinkage of pastoral land in the Maasai District – Monduli in the Northern Province made the Maasai to adopt crop farming as an adaptation to the declining pastoral economy and as a strategy to accumulate money and buy cattle to return into pastoral life.<sup>18</sup> In this case crop farming would be sustained to a level where the pastoral economy has recovered. The recovery of the full pastoral economy would not allow stall-feeding of cattle and thus stall-feeding of cattle was relevant to mixed farmers and not typical pastoralists.

Measures to control soil erosion and resource depletion in Tanganyika Territory were published by the government in a circular in 1938 and were set to apply territorial wise. The circular informed all departments concerned with soil erosion control to make sure that control of soil erosion was an integral part of government's actions. The letter noted that:

It should be impressed upon all officers that the adoption of planned anti-erosion measures is an integral part of Government's policy which they are bound to implement in so far as they can. Efforts in this direction will

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<sup>17</sup> See Anderson & Broch-Due, 'Poverty and the Pastoralist', pp. 1 – 19. When it came to land ownership the Maasai considered it as a valueless asset and could not be inherited. Movement from one place to another enabled them to get enough pastureland to feed livestock that were socially and culturally valuable. One informant when asked about land ownership and their movement from one area to another said: '*Wamasai hawakuwa na shida na ardhi au udongo kwasababu sio urithi*: Maasai had no interest with land or soil as it could not be inherited,' Ref. KOT 75, Ewasi Village, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

<sup>18</sup> Andrew Bernard Conroy, 'Maasai Oxen, Agriculture and Land Use Change in Monduli District, Tanzania' (University of New Hampshire: PhD Dissertation 2001), pp. xxiv, 45 – 48.

ordinarily be made under the aegis of the Provincial Commissioners, who will themselves keep in touch with the Director of Agriculture.<sup>19</sup>

It also urged District Officers to include in their annual reports to the Provincial Commissioners the progress made on the control of soil erosion. Following the Chief Secretary's circular letter, the Native Authority rules were made in effect to control soil erosion in different parts of the territory. Some of these rules stated that land users could be directed by the Native Authorities to take some measures to control soil erosion on their farms, there was no new land for farming that was to be opened without the permission of the Native Authorities. Regulations were also made by Native Authorities to prevent setting fires on grass, forest and farms during farm preparations.<sup>20</sup> The power given to district Commissioners to design different ways to control soil erosion is what brought the conception of different schemes across the country that aimed at maintaining soil productivity and controlling erosion caused by cultivation and livestock keeping.<sup>21</sup>

For the Chagga, the 1938 government directive for measures to control soil erosion had its precedent in the Native Authorities. They were not entirely new in the minds of the people. In 1931, the Chagga Native Authority passed some by-laws that were strict on the management of their agricultural and livestock practices on the slopes. After a long period of correspondence between the Provincial Commissioners Office, the Chief Secretary and the District Commissioner - Moshi on whether or not the rules adopted by the Chagga Council should be applied in full, it was at last

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<sup>19</sup> TNA 25754: Anti-Erosion Measures by Native Authorities, Folio No. 1: Circular Letter No. 19685/309 From the Chief Secretary to the Government – Dar es Salaam, dated 27<sup>th</sup> January 1938.

<sup>20</sup> TNA 25754: see Folio No. 5: Letter from Ag. Director of Agriculture – Morogoro to the Provincial Commissioners, dated 20<sup>th</sup> April 1938 (Also see folios 4 and 5 in the same series), and Folio No. 6 – 13: Native Authority Anti-Erosion Rules.

<sup>21</sup> See TNA 5/20/21: General: Land Usage Rehabilitation

agreed that the rules should be applied fully without any compromise. But the Chief Secretary remained with worries that the rules would bring impacts on the Chagga land tenure and cause fracas between the government and the Chagga.<sup>22</sup> But he was assured that the matter started during the German colonial period where 30 metres away from water sources were not subjected to cultivation. Only that leniency happened during the British colonial rule and started to allow encroachment on water sources. The Chagga Chiefs were in support of the rules' full implementation, as they understood the impact and danger of unchecked soil erosion. Unlike what happened in other areas of the territory like Uluguru and Pare Mountains where guided land use schemes posed complications and discontents from African population, the precedence of conservation in Kilimanjaro that traced itself to the German period made the schemes less controversial.<sup>23</sup> Another difference was that schemes in Kilimanjaro were left to be conceived by the Chagga Council which made it unknown whether the government had directed the council or not. In other parts of the territory where schemes failed, they were planned and implemented from above that made them be looked as something imposed from the government. Also a very important aspect not to be overlooked on the slopes of Kilimanjaro was the

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<sup>22</sup> See correspondence Letters in TNA 19542: Elusine: Cultivation on the Slopes of Mountain Kilimanjaro, Folio No. 2: Letter from the Senior Agricultural Officer – North-Eastern Circle Moshi to the Honourable, the Director of Agriculture, Morogoro, Titled 'Elusine on the Slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro' dated 26<sup>th</sup> January 1931, Folio No. 9: Letter from the Chief Secretary to the Provincial Commissioner – Northern Province, dated 8<sup>th</sup> June 1931, Folio No. 10: Letter from Provincial Commissioner – Northern Province to the Hon. The Chief Secretary of the Government, Dar es Salaam, dated 24<sup>th</sup> July 1931, and Folio: Letter from the District Officer – Moshi, to the Provincial Commissioner – Northern Province Titled 'Restriction of Elusine on Kilimanjaro' dated 26<sup>th</sup> June 1931.

<sup>23</sup> For Uluguru see Maack, 'We Don't Want Terraces', pp. 152 – 168, Pare see Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest*, chapters 1, 2 & 9 also Isaria Kimambo, 'Environmental Control and Hunger in the Mountains and Plains of Nineteenth Century Northeastern Tanzania', in Maddox, Giblin and Kimambo (eds), *Custodians of the Land*, pp. 71 – 93.

nature of land use itself. Adherence to soil conservation measures on the mountain slopes kept the soil more productive to contain more population and delay expansion to the lowlands. It was easier to conserve the highlands than to move to the lowlands (*porini*). Whatever labour would be required to manage the highlands at productive levels was rather a better option than opening up new areas on the lowlands.

The cultivation of elusine on the slopes of the mountain was one among the negatively perceived practices together with free grazing livestock keeping. It brought a contentious relationships with the government and settlers who alienated pieces of land on the slopes of the mountain. The government regarded cultivation of elusine as wasteful and unnecessary agricultural practice on the slopes. It wasted land and water that would remain available for the production of other crops more economically important to elusine. Also the government saw that the Chagga wasted a lot of their time tending elusine *shambas* instead of doing the same for coffee that was most important to elusine for the export trade. Elusine was regarded to cause soil wash on the native *shambas* that carried away soil into furrows carrying water to settlers' farms. Government conceived elusine farming based on economic and environmental spectra and left the social side that pushed its farming. Elusine was important in the Chagga culture due to its being a requirement for making local brew *mbege*. To discourage the Chagga from farming elusine – *mbege*, the government started a propaganda campaign with special focus on the side effects of its farming and use. Also the Native Liquor Ordinance of 1923 came into full operation in the fight against *mbege* and other African brewed and distributed alcohol. Government departments dealing with agriculture, livestock and control of soil erosion waged the

campaigns against elusine farming in the whole of colonial Moshi District.<sup>24</sup> One of the letters from the Provincial Commissioner to the Chief Secretary of state pointed;

There are two other factors which must be considered, the first that Elusine produces certain toxic effects in the soil which are seriously detrimental to all other crops, and thus restricts the area available for food crops and accentuates the shortage of land on the mountain, and secondly, the irrigation of this crop is unnecessary, and a total wastage of water which could be better utilized in other ways. Further maize gives a much greater yield of food per unit area than does Elusine.<sup>25</sup>

Elusine farming was dangerous to the soil and threatened the availability of suitable land for African food crops. Cognizance of this, three measures were put in place to prevent or reduce elusine farming in Kilimanjaro. First, land under elusine farming was reduced per family. No family was allowed to farm elusine/*mbege* in an area more than that specified in the directives guiding its farming. Second, peasants were prevented from using portions of alienated lands for the cultivation of elusine. Some alienated lands that were not yet opened for large scale farming were left for smallholders in few areas. To discourage *mbege*, such areas were allowed to grow food crops and not *mbege*. Third, there was a strident application of beer-drinking regulations to discourage the Wachagga from beer brewing and consumption. Harsh measures against farming and consumption of *mbege* came in realization that the Chagga used much of their time producing elusine for beer brewing and also men spent more time drinking local beers than working on coffee farms to produce more

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<sup>24</sup> See files in TNA 12542: Elusine: Cultivation on the Slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro

<sup>25</sup> TNA 12452: see Folio No. 7: Letter from the Provincial Commissioner to the Honourable the Chief Secretary to the Government – Dar es Salaam, dated 14<sup>th</sup> April 1931, p. 3.

for export market. Men using much of their time drinking also limited the labour supply for the settler farms and family plots leaving it for women and children.<sup>26</sup> The letter from the Provincial Commissioner to the Chief Secretary of State was also copied to the Chagga Council of chiefs for immediate action. The Council of the Chagga chiefs met and discussed concerns over elusine farming and at the end, they came out with a resolution that supported prevention of elusine cultivation near river banks and near streams of water. But, the Council did not entirely forbid elusine farming because it was more of a cultural practice than an economic enterprise. Its prevention would raise questions to the council. The council resolved;

All persons forbidden to fell trees, or to plant any crop other than bananas within fifty paces of any stream or spring. If any clearing exists within fifty paces of any stream or spring those persons responsible for such clearing must plant European trees or bananas, nothing else, in such clearing. Any person failing to carry out this order shall be liable to a fine of Shs. 50/- or one month's imprisonment.<sup>27</sup>

These rules were approved by the government on 14 August 1931 through a letter by the Acting Chief Secretary to the Provincial Commissioner – Northern Province.<sup>28</sup> The Chagga Council did what other Native Authorities, District and Provincial Commissioners were expected to do in order to aid the fight against soil

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<sup>26</sup> Discussion on the division of labour and access to cash and food crops is provided in chapter three of this thesis. Although men didn't work much in the coffee fields, they controlled the income from coffee sales.

<sup>27</sup> TNA 12452: see Folio No. 7: Letter from the Provincial Commissioner, dated 14<sup>th</sup> April 1931, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> TNA 12452: see Folio No.16: Letter from the Acting Chief Secretary to the Provincial Commissioner – Northern Province, dated 14<sup>th</sup> August 1931, Folio No.18: Letter from The Acting Chief Secretary to the Honourable the Director of Agriculture – Morogoro, dated 24<sup>th</sup> August 1931, Folio No.19, Letter from the Acting Chief Secretary to the Provincial Commissioner – Northern Province, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1931.

erosion and improper land use practices. The Acting Chief Secretary informed the Director of Agriculture Morogoro and the Provincial Commissioner Northern Province of the government's decision to approve the Native Authority Rules for control of soil erosion and its immediate implementation in Tanganyika Territory in general and the Northern Province in particular. Again to what may indicate the seriousness and commitment to the control of soil wash by erosion on native plots, the Chagga Native Authority passed other by-laws in 1932 that were specifically dealing with coffee farming on the mountain slopes of Kilimanjaro. These rules were very strict to farmers and required anything done on the coffee farm to get approval from the agricultural department represented by officials in the Moshi District. The department dictated what type of land was ready for growing coffee, the kind of seeds to be planted on such land and the number of coffee trees to be planted as a minimum for each peasant/farmer engaging in coffee farming.<sup>29</sup> These rules did not discourage the enterprising Chagga people, but they were ready to follow them. By the end of the 1932-growing season, more than 1,200 new coffee planted plots followed the new rules.<sup>30</sup>

More soil erosion control development schemes were envisaged after the Second World War. The focus continued to be the smallholder land users. In 1950s the government decided to establish demonstration farms where pastoralists and cultivators would learn the good practices of agropastoralism in the Northern Province and intensify land use in areas that faced shortage of land. Following land shortage in Rombo for example, a demonstration farm was established in Mkuu

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<sup>29</sup> UKNA CO 691/159/6: Tanganyika Territory: Soil Erosion, Annual Report 1937, See also Folio: Appendix II: Native Authorities Coffee Rules, p. 49, also see Moshi Native Coffee Board, Annual Report for 1945/46, p. 5, and Moshi Native Coffee Board, Annual Report for 1946/47, pp. 5 – 12.

<sup>30</sup> UKNA CO 691/159/6: Tanganyika Territory: Soil Erosion, Annual Report, 1937.

Rombo and Mashati to teach the Chagga how to make an intensive land use and minimize environmental impacts on resources. Improved breed of livestock were sold to the Chagga in order to improve the quality of their traditional breed and milk supply while reducing the number of cattle without compromise to outputs expected from the cattle they kept. This would mean that the Chagga could only domesticate few improved cattle and still get enough milk, use a small area of land for agriculture and livestock, reduced labour for women and children that was deployed in fodder search and collection. Demonstration farms served for intensive land use methods and demonstrated proper farming of cash and food crops and good ways of keeping animals without posing danger to the surrounding environments. Despite all these attempts to reduce livestock population and control of overgrazing and soil erosion, eastern Kilimanjaro continued to experience and fall victims of increasing animal population and threat to resources. Mriti hills for instance had serious erosion and overgrazing.<sup>31</sup> Eastern Kilimanjaro was a victim of the development of the lands elsewhere on the slopes of the mountain. Western and southern slopes were well developed for coffee farming and strong presence of white farms and ranches. The only area that remained with less controlled access was the eastern side of the mountain. Livestock from other areas of the Northern Province could graze in these slopes but also animals from neighbouring Kenya colony did the same.

Another farm was established in Marangu and was commonly known as Marangu Demonstration Farm or East Kilimanjaro Demonstration Farm. This was part of farms Nos. 50 and 51 that were reverted to the Chagga Council following the

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<sup>31</sup> TNA 5/27/10: Moshi, Demonstration Farms – East Kilimanjaro Veterinary/Agriculture, see Folio: letter from Agricultural Officer, Moshi to the Mangi Mwitori of Rombo, dated 12<sup>th</sup> February 1952, Folio: Letter from District Commissioner Moshi to the Agricultural Officer Moshi, dated 14<sup>th</sup> February 1952.

implementation of Wilson's report of 1947. The Chagga Council was given the rights of occupancy of that land in January 1956 for 99 years.<sup>32</sup> The Chagga Native Authority owned the farm with assistance from the government. Initially, the aim of the Wilson's Commission was to relieve the Chagga from the crisis of land shortage. However, the right of occupancy given in 1956 was on a portion of land not large enough to be redistributed back to smallholder farmers for farming, settlement or grazing. Instead, it decided that the land so acquired, remain for the betterment of all the Chagga through provisions of demonstrations on the proper animal and crop husbandry and provision of improved seeds and animal breeds to all who wanted. Smallholders learnt how to use smaller areas on the highlands to produce high, an option highly celebrated by mountain dwellers who preferred it over being told to relocate to other areas.

## 5.2 The Lowland Reconsidered

Cultivation and grazing free-range system were the most notorious causes of soil erosion on the lowlands and posed a big challenge to local authorities in dealing with them. Mangi Mwitori of Vunjo issued a decree that from 1<sup>st</sup> March 1951 it was illegal for anybody to graze his livestock on the lowlands, commonly called *shambas* or *maporini*. The decree rested on the shoulders of the earlier resolutions reached by the Vunjo Council and Vunjo Land Board of 21<sup>st</sup> December 1950 that decided to reduce the number of livestock above and below the Moshi – Himo – Taveta Road. This prohibition included cattle, goats and sheep but excluded ox because they did not reproduce and were also used for carrying the ox plough. Highland stall-feeding of cattle was to be exercised on the lowlands. Animal herders were required to keep them indoors and stall-feed them. A reasonable number of stall-fed animals were

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<sup>32</sup> TNA 5/27/10, Folio: Department of Lands and Surveys – Dar es Salaam, Offer of a Right of Occupancy by Field officer, Veterinary – Moshi dated 9<sup>th</sup> April 1956.

allowed while others were to be moved to other areas or just slaughtered so as not to starve. The veterinary department was of the opinion that keeping a lot of animals was a danger to animals because just in a short period of time they would create shortage of pasture land, destroy vegetation cover, destroy the soil by leaving it bare and hence prone to erosion and ultimately that had an impact on agriculture.<sup>33</sup> The number of animals kept on the lowlands was to be reduced to avoid pressure on pasture and water and to prevent soil erosion.<sup>34</sup> By the 1950s a few Chagga had established permanent settlements on the lowlands. For those who did so, it was easy to practice indoor livestock keeping an experience gained from the highlands. But during the same period, other pastoralist societies including the Maasai, Pare and Kahe had already established themselves on the lowland slopes of the mountain and were not used to stall feeding of cattle.

But what happens when the highland and lowland land uses meet in aspects of defining and affiliating oneself to the environment, and practices related to interaction of different cultures on the same environment? To what indicates environmental consciousness and creation of ‘otherness’ on responsibility for natural resource maintenance, the Chagga believed that some environmental problems related to soil erosion on the lowlands were brought by immigrants to the areas because they were not aware of the best practices to conserve fertility.<sup>35</sup> The

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<sup>33</sup> TNA 5/24/1: Moshi: Soil Erosion, 1953 – 1958, Folio: Letter from Mangi Mwitori, Vunjo to Wamangi Wote – Vunjo Uchagga, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1951 also see Folio: Letter from Assistant Livestock Officer of Veterinary Science and Animal Husbandry to the Provincial Veterinary Officer – Northern Province, dated 1<sup>st</sup> April 1950, Titled ‘Erosion Damage Marangu’.

<sup>34</sup> TNA 5/24/1: Moshi: Soil Erosion, 1953 – 1958, Folio: Letter from Mangi Mwitori’s Office to Wamangi Wote Vunjo – Uchagga, dated 15<sup>th</sup> May 1951.

<sup>35</sup> See how conservation attitudes can influence conservation of resources or enhance its use. Davis Mwamfupe, ‘Conservation Attitudes of the Communities Surrounding

lowlands on both sides of the Moshi Himo – Taveta road came into decline because of the newly introduced culture of land use from foreigners who were not Chagga. The areas welcomed foreigners from different places of Tanganyika Territory by area Mangis to settle on those lowlands. These immigrants introduced a new land use culture that was totally different from that of the mountain people. The influx of immigrants into these areas was witnessed from 1936 when the number of the local population was still small. For the Chagga, in the past, the lowlands were used as reserves for grasses to feed the indoor cattle and goats and for farming of seasonal crops. Lowlands were not areas for the Chagga. Area Mangis welcomed immigrants who were also Africans in fear of losing their areas through land alienation for white settlements and establishments. The welcome was not primarily intended to help those without land from neighbouring ethnic groups. It intended to put the land into use to make it difficult for any colonial development to be established on it. The introduction of the new cultures by Maasai, Sukuma, Pare and Kamba changed the ways the lowland ecologies were preserved for use by the mountain Chagga just once in a year and for the provisioning of fodder for highland stocks. Seasonal and annual use of the lowland allowed its regeneration and the long fallow period allowed restoration of soil fertility that was lost by growing seasonal crops. The new settlers introduced free range grazing system that exhausted grasses only in a short time and regeneration was not easy because grazing was continuous.<sup>36</sup>

The Sukuma and Maasai who preferred to keep large herds of cattle made effective use of the lowlands by allowing the reproduction of their animals to levels

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the Nyumba ya Mungu Reservoir in the Pangani Basin Tanzania', *Tanzania Journal of Population Studies and Development* 13, No. 1 (2006), pp. 63 – 71.

<sup>36</sup> TNA 5/27/8: Moshi, Veterinary: Destocking Scheme – Cattle Culling, see Report by Mangi Mwitori of Vunjo 1950, Uharibifu wa Ardhi Nchi Chini ya Barabara Kutokana na uchungaji wa wanyama wengi, dated 6<sup>th</sup> December 1950.

that posed threats to the existence of pastureland. At the time of entrance to the area, they had few animals but in due course the numbers tripled and increased competition for pasture on the same area that increasingly became a burden to the lowland environment. Animals ate all the grasses, exposed the soils to erosion agents and the soil became unproductive. In this case, the deterioration of the lowlands also affected the mountain population. They could no longer rely on the lowland neither for fodder nor for growing crops. Hence the mountain culture of indoor domestication of animals could no longer be sustained because there were no enough grasses to cut for animals. The grasses that were previously cut for roofing traditional houses could no longer be available. The interaction between the highland population and the lowland immigrant population affected the environment and aspects of highland's livelihood. Without fodder, indoor livestock was at risk. Without indoor livestock, manure was not there. In the absence of manure, both the banana and the coffee fields on the highlands suffered and reduced fertility-reduced productivity too. Due to all these connections, the notions about the highland and the lowland started to change and subsequently, the defiance of moving to the lowlands got a drawback through falling productivity of the highland. To note the disappointment that the Chagga felt when immigrants occupied the lowlands, Mangi Mwitori reiterated;

*Ardhi za porini tunamotaja zilisaidia kwa kuchumwa majani ya kuezekea nyumba za kienyeji, kuni na kwa mashamba ya kulima mavuno ya mwakani, kama mahindi, kunde na nafaka nyinginezo kusaidia chakula cha ndizi. Vifao hivi havipatikani leo kwa kuwa sehemu ya ardhi chini ya barabara ilikaliwa na wageni wachache hawa mwanzo, Wamasai, Wapare, Wasukuma, Wakamba na*

*makabila mengine ya kienyeji yaliyotoka nchi za mbali kwa kuhamia nchi hizi kwa kujipatia mashamba ya kulima vyakula.*<sup>37</sup>

English translation:

The lowland provided thatching grasses for traditional houses, fuel wood and seasonal crop cultivation of maize, beans and other cereals to supplement with banana meal. All these cannot be obtained nowadays because the whole area below the [Arusha – Moshi – Taveta] road is inhabited by migrants. The migrants were few in the beginning and comprised of Maasai, Pare, Sukuma and Kamba with other ethnic groups that came from different areas to look for farming areas. (Author's translation)

From Mangi Mwitore's remarks, it is clear that the Chagga started to feel the disappointed with their decision to welcome immigrants on parts of the lowlands. They prevented land alienation for colonial farming but the assumed custodians made use of the land to an extent that threatened the future of the highland and lowland linkages that existed for years. When they entered the Chagga's land they were given land and promised to live like the Chagga who practiced indoor cattle keeping but in reality this did not happen and they kept on increasing the number of stock year after year. Livestock deterioration of grasses went together with the cutting down of trees for firewood and construction of cattle bomas. As the livestock increased more demand for new bomas came around, and as population increased the demand for firewood also increased. In the end, areas settled in by immigrants like Kahe turned into a semi desert kind of habitats where heavy winds, and dust could brew heavily as there were no natural or artificial windbreakers. Due to decline in

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

grasses availability, the Chagga could no longer build their traditional houses because there were no grasses, but this also had serious effect on the cattle – coffee/kihamba economy of the Chagga. Starving animals could not produce enough manure that was required to keep the *kihamba* economy sustainable. As a result the quantity of banana produced in Vunjo dropped and the Vunjo people had to find bananas from either Hai or Arusha. But also the herds of cattle on the lowlands could not survive well, as they were starving.

The kind of interactions between the Chagga and the other ethnic groups coming from other parts of Tanganyika territory did not present a complicated and unequal relationship between the hosting community (the Chagga) and the migrants because they were similar in various aspects. Examples are presented from other parts of the world by Donald Worster<sup>38</sup> and Carolyn Merchant<sup>39</sup> where interactions were differentiated by the consciousness on the environment and ownership of technology that are far relevancies from what really happened when for instance pastoral Maasai and cultivators Chagga interacted. Where this happened, as in the New England and the Southern plains of America, ecological transformations were unavoidable. The Chagga of Kilimanjaro interacted with other people who had the same levels of technological sophistications but only differed on the perception towards use of environmental resources. While the Chagga used lowland resources sparingly, the new immigrants did not consider the future for this lowland resources and hence they ended up causing problems to themselves when pasture and arable

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<sup>38</sup> Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 3 – 7, Donald Worster, ‘The Vulnerable Earth: Toward a Planetary History’ in Donald Worster (ed), *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 3 – 20.

<sup>39</sup> Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), pp. 2, 5 – 6, 11 – 13.

lowlands declined. All the way around, pastoralism is by far regarded as an enterprise worth the attention of government policies that gears at controlling them.

Pastoral land tenure system alienates them from a sense of belonging as they keep moving from one area to another. This is used as a loophole for government and policy planners to consider evictions of pastoral societies as the easiest alternative when it comes to changing some land uses.<sup>40</sup> Pastoral societies in Northeastern Tanzania faced evictions that forced them to find alternative areas during the colonial and postcolonial periods. Evictions from the western Serengeti, the floor of Ngorongoro crater, Tarangire National park and the Mkomazi all created pastoral refugees who continued to find pasture and water sources in areas around them while others moved far away.<sup>41</sup> The same pastoral movements from one area to another were experienced when they faced environmental problems in one area.<sup>42</sup> The eviction and movement to other areas has not always been a solution to planned land uses. Because of lack of proper rural land use plans and control, there have been

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<sup>40</sup> Benjamin Gardener, *Selling the Serengeti: The Cultural Politics of Safari Tourism* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press 2016) Read chapter one and two.

<sup>41</sup> Some detailed studies on the impact of protected conservation that involved eviction of people in Northeastern Tanzania are available in Michael Stocking and Scott Perkin, 'Conservation with Development: An Application of the concept in Usambara Mountains, Tanzania', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series* 17, No. 3 (1992), pp. 337 – 349, Dan Brockington, *Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania* (Oxford: James Currey 2002), chapters 1 & 2, Dan Brockington, 'Community Conservation, Inequality and Injustice: Myths of Power in Protected Area Management', *Conservation and Society* 2, No. 2 (2004), pp. 411 – 432, Dan Brockington, Paige West and James Igoe, 'Parks and Peoples: The Social Impact of Protected Areas', *Annual Review in Anthropology* 35 (2006), pp. 251 – 277, Dan Brockington, Hasana Sachedina and Katherine Scholfield, 'Preserving the New Tanzania: Conservation and Land Use Change', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, No. 3 (2008), pp. 557 – 579.

<sup>42</sup> Suzan Charnley, 'Pastoralism and Property Rights: The Evolution of Communal Property on the Usangu Plains, Tanzania', *African Economic History* 25 (1997), pp. 97 – 119.

conflicts among different actors on rural land uses involving cultivators, pastoralists and in other cases large scale investors.<sup>43</sup>

### 5.3 Cattle Theft

Historians who have studied incidents of cattle theft in East Africa are divided between those who view cattle theft as part and parcel of an African pastoral moral economy and those looking at it as a form of organised crime.<sup>44</sup> In many instances there were no static explanations about cattle theft in East African communities. Practices and intentions of theft were dynamic and were sharp to respond to controls imposed against theft by the governments. Cattle theft in colonial Kenya and parts of northeastern border between Tanzania and Kenya on the Kuria community for example, transitioned itself from a traditional moral economy to organised economic pursuit by young men as a response to colonial policies on stock theft and desire to acquire cattle for various social cultural functions.<sup>45</sup> David Anderson saw ‘the transformation from traditional raiding to organised crime was shaped both by the imposition of colonial legislation against stock theft and by the new incentives to

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<sup>43</sup> Henry A. Fosbrooke, ‘Maasai Pastoralism, Past, Present and Future’ Paper Presented to First Maasai Conference on Culture and Development, in February 1991, Arusha Tanzania. (FOS M56. C6).

<sup>44</sup> Detailed discussion on African pastoral moral economy, colonial policies, African stock theft and responses to colonial policies is provided in David M. Anderson, ‘Stock Theft and Moral Economy in Colonial Kenya’, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 56, No. 4 (1986), pp. 399 – 416.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, also about the Kuria some relevant information can be found in Michael Fleisher, ‘Cattle Raiding and Household Demography Among the Kuria of Tanzania’ *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 69, No. 2 (1999), pp. 238 – 255, Michael Fleisher, ‘Kuria Cattle Raiding: Capitalist Transformation, Commoditization, and Crime Formation Among an East African Agro-Pastoral People’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, No. 4 (2000), pp. 745 – 769, Michael L. Fleisher, *Kuria Cattle Raiders: Violence and Vigilantism on the Tanzania Kenya Frontier* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press 2000), pp. 1 – 12.

steal cattle that emerged as the colonial economy evolved.<sup>46</sup> This pointed to the dynamic nature of the type and purpose of cattle theft during the colonial period.

The relationship between pastoral Maasai and agricultural Chagga did not deteriorate only because of the competition of resource use on the lowlands of mount Kilimanjaro and across the border with Kenya. Maasai developed both defensive and attack mechanisms to defend pastoral resources like water, salt licks, pasture and cattle as their main indicator of wealthy. Although it was important to maintain a good relationship with neighbours through sustaining social safety nets in times of pastoral crisis, the Maasai raided herds of cattle belonging to non-Maasai as part of the Maasai pastoral moral economy.<sup>47</sup> Raids could be interpreted as survival means in terms of food when direct change into other food types was not easy, a ritual of passage that a Maasai Moran should go through and also a mechanism to recover a declined herd of cattle due to natural causes of theft from enemy clans. Maasai communities that became resilient through hard times of cattle loss due to environmental factors considered themselves as Maasai proper as sharply contrasted with those who totally changed into agriculture.<sup>48</sup>

The Maasai and Chagga people used to steal livestock from each other. However, the evidence present in both documentary and oral histories, suggests that there were more incidents of livestock theft from the Chagga by the Maasai, than it was for the Chagga stealing from the Maasai. At least one event is reminiscent of the many of the kind that occurred in precedence and during the colonial period on the eastern border of Kilimanjaro. It was on 21<sup>st</sup> April 1948 when a deadly daytime robbery of the Maasai in three villages of Uhare, Kikeletwa and Nanjara in Rombo

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<sup>46</sup> Anderson, 'Stock Theft', p. 412.

<sup>47</sup> Sutton, 'Becoming Maasailand', pp. 41 – 42.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

area took place. These villages were raided by the Maasai from the adjoining area of Loitoktok in Kajiado District in Kenya colony. The Maasai raided the villages in their large numbers. They were armed with traditional weapons and had their herds of cattle. Primarily, the raid was not intended for stealing cattle but grazing their own on the farms owned by the Chagga. Incidentally, while the cattle ravaged Chagga farms, Maasai Morans with their traditional weapons fought against some resistant Chagga who wanted to prevent the destruction of their farms. These cultivator's-pastoralist's land and resource use stand-off necessitated bilateral solutions involving Tanganyika and Kenyan government's.<sup>49</sup>

The full losses incurred during this memorable day cannot be easily estimated as they included material things and psychological mayhems that are hardly quantifiable. But it is clear that many Chagga men were taken into Moran's custody, some women and girls taken captives, foods, cattle, goats owned by the Chagga were also captured in this raid. Apart from the captures, some Chagga houses were burnt.<sup>50</sup> This was only one incident of many unrecorded incidences. Many cases involving small groups of raiders or individuals happened between the Chagga and the Maasai throughout the areas that bordered Kenya and the whole of the Maasai District in the

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<sup>49</sup> Also see PC/Coast/2/21/4: Provincial Commissioner Coast, Movement of Cattle, Folio: Letter from District Commissioner's Office – Voi to the District officer – Moshi, Titled 'Maasai Stock Theft in Taveta', dated 21<sup>st</sup> September 1931, Folio: Letter from the Medical officer to the provincial Commissioner – Mombasa, Titled 'Meat Supplies', dated 21<sup>st</sup> January 1931, Folio: Letter from District Commissioner – Mombasa to the Provincial Commissioner Coast, dated 11<sup>th</sup> February 1931, Folio: Letter from the Chief Veterinary Officer to the Provincial Commissioner – Coast Province, Titled 'Market for Slaughter Stock', dated 7<sup>th</sup> January 1931.

<sup>50</sup> TNA 69/51/3: Moshi: Affrays, Disputes, Disturbances – General (Provincial Commissioner's Office) Folio No. 43: Letter from Chagga Representatives to the District Commissioner – Moshi District, dated 27<sup>th</sup> August 1948.

Northern Province.<sup>51</sup> Although we understand that there were many incidences of cattle theft, we are unable to account for all as their documentation remains far less available.

The recorded physical assets lost during this incident included cash looted and destroyed from houses and shops approximated to Shs. 35,692, cattle from the Chagga 191 heads, goats 1,110 heads. Other household goods and implements worth Shs. 5,000 approximately were also destroyed. Also a total of completely destroyed houses counted four houses with an approximate value of Shs. 2,400. The April incident was a backdrop for more concerted efforts from elders (Maasai and Chagga) and governments, Kenya and Tanzania to start negotiations to prevent further destructions of a similar nature. The Chagga regarded the whole incident as a severe backslide in their economic and social developments that left them inundated with recovery measures. A Chagga representative informed the District Commissioner – Moshi that, ‘the loss suffered has left us completely astounded and we would only add that it has made poor people poorer all the more.’<sup>52</sup> Correspondence between the Chagga representatives and the District officer Moshi aimed at finding the best ways of compensating the losses. The District Commissioner himself paid frequent visits to the affected villages to observe what was on the ground and how the situation could be remedied. Whatever was done served a very partial assistance that aided the victims to recover slowly by themselves. The houses destroyed were not built, stolen cattle not compensated but only food supplies and temporal shelters to victims who

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<sup>51</sup> KOT 3, Kelamfua Village, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2014, KOT 19, Wandu Village, 17<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 26, Holili, 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 27, Chirio Village, 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 28, Chirio Village, date 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 29, Usseri Village, 27<sup>th</sup> February 2015 and KOT 33, Kingachi Village, 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

<sup>52</sup> TNA 69/51/3: see Folio No. 43.

had no alternative accommodation following the burning and destruction of their houses were provided.

Cattle theft involved some dynamics maintained among herders, cultivators and settlers. It also involved cross border cases as the one just discussed above. These dynamics occurred in all periods the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial.<sup>53</sup> Comparatively, Africans cattle were highly stolen among themselves than they could steal from ranches owned by whitemen. The reason was clear. The ranches kept their cattle in controlled grazing areas and did not compete on open grazing fields while African animal husbandry involved driving animals afar for watering and pasture. It was either during grazing and watering where cattle fell targets of thieves or when they were kept in their kraals at night. Ranching system by European settlers' apart from protecting their animals from diseases infestation, also maintained a low risk of theft from cattle hungry Maasai pastoralists.<sup>54</sup>

Cross border theft exchanged stolen cattle through market. Those stolen from the Kenyan side were sent and marketed in Rombo and the opposite was also true for Tanganyika cases.<sup>55</sup> The border between Tanganyika and Kenya was an advantage to Maasai thieves who had connections on both sides of the border compared to the Chagga who could not cross the border to trade stolen cattle. Again it was difficult for the Maasai cattle stolen from Tanganyika to be sold in Kenya because Maasai

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<sup>53</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the PC on Native Administration for the Year 1936* (Dar es salaam: Government Printer), p. 40.

<sup>54</sup> TNA 5/16/3: Moshi: Moshi Cattle Thefts, Provincial Statistics

<sup>55</sup> See PC/Coast/2/21/4: Provincial Commissioner Coast, Movement of Cattle and PC/Coast/2/21/7: Movement of Cattle, Tanganyika territory to Mombasa, Folio: Letter from Provincial Commissioner – Coast to the Deputy Director (Animal Industry) and Chief Veterinary Officer, Titled, 'Movement of cattle – Tanganyika to Mombasa, dated 16<sup>th</sup> July 1935' and Folio: Letter from Director of Agriculture to the Acting Secretary, Titled, 'Movement of Cattle from Tanganyika - Mombasa', dated 19<sup>th</sup> July 1935.

clans with connections in Tanganyika could easily identify their clan cattle once they are sent to Kenya.<sup>56</sup> Clan marks on cattle distinguished one clan from another and provided the Maasai a distinct identity to their cattle different from the Chagga and other ethnic groups domesticating cattle. The Maasai from Tanganyika territory shared information with those from Kenya to plan for cattle theft and to hide stolen cattle from either side of the borders. Agricultural Chagga had no advantage of a social network existing across the borders to facilitate restoration of their stolen cattle or plan stealing from Maasai herds. Cases of internal theft in Kilimanjaro involved the Maasai and the Chagga cattle. In many incidents Maasai stolen Chagga cattle and rarely the Chagga could steal Maasai cattle.

In the Northern Province of colonial Tanganyika the Maasai and Pare had traditional ways of dealing with cattle theft something that did not exist between the Chagga and Maasai counterparts. Traditional punishment for cattle theft involving the Maasai and Pare was paying twice the number of animals stolen when the thief pleaded guilty.<sup>57</sup> This meant returning the stolen cattle and then paying the same number as a punishment to thieves. It seems that this was not always happening all the time and flexibility in implementation of traditional rules was allowed. In some cases, the victims and the Native administration went beyond administering the agreed traditional punishment and took more animals from those who pleaded guilty. In the Northern Province, Arusha and the Maasai Districts – Monduli experienced more cases of cattle theft than other areas. Maasai could steal cattle from each other

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<sup>56</sup> Maasai cattle are given clan marks. These marks help to identify which animal belongs to which family. Each family and clan has a different mark on their cattle. KOT 74, Karansi Village, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

<sup>57</sup> TNA 5/16/3: Moshi Cattle Thefts, KOT 36, Kingereka, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 37, Kingereka, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 39, Bomang'ombe – Kibaoni, 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

and did the same for other ethnic groups, the Chagga, Meru and Arusha and the Pare.<sup>58</sup>

**Table 5: Cattle theft in Northern Province of Tanganyika, 1958 – 1959**

Date	Stolen animals			Recovered animals		
	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Cattle	Sheep	Goats
<b>January 1958</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>February 1958</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>March 1958</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>April 1958</b>	135	13	13	30	2	12
<b>May 1958</b>	95	-	2	5	-	00
<b>June 1958</b>	103	5	3	70	00	00
<b>July 1958</b>	68	5	1	28	00	00
<b>August 1958</b>	43	-	-	5	-	-
<b>September 1958</b>	16	2	2	3	00	00
<b>October 1958</b>	36	2	32	4	00	27
<b>November 1958</b>	51	4	4	3	3	3
<b>December 1958</b>	35	22	1	14	00	1
<b>Total 1958</b>	<b>582</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>January 1959</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>February 1959</b>	83	5	22	53	2	9
<b>Total 1959</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>12</b>

**Source:** constructed from monthly provincial reports of the police department. TNA 5/16/3: Moshi: Cattle Theft.

The statistics above include cases on African livestock and only those reported to the police department. While they remain indicative of the extent of cattle theft in the Northern Province, its accuracy and frequency depend on how much the police department was vigilant enough to cover as many cases as possible. The decline in cattle theft by more than half for the year 1959 resulted from the

<sup>58</sup> TNA 5/16/3: Moshi: Cattle Thefts, see Folio No. 363: Letter from District Officer to Sanya Juu Vigilance Committee, dated 6<sup>th</sup> September 1958, Folio No. 382: Letter from Provincial Sup of Police Northern province to PC Northern Province dated 29<sup>th</sup> September 1958, Folio No. 391: Letter from Sup. of Police to the PC Northern Province, dated 29<sup>th</sup> October 1959, Folio No. 396: Letter from Provincial Sup. of Police, Northern Province to the PC – Northern Province, Titled ‘Stock theft for October 1958’, dated 19<sup>th</sup> November 1958., Folio No. 362: Letter from sup of police Northern Province to the PC – Northern Province, Titled ‘ Stock theft Statistics for July’, dated 23 July 1958., Folios No. 354 & 355: Letter from Sup. of Police Northern Province to the PC – Northern Province, Titled ‘Stock Theft Statistics for June 1958’ dated 28<sup>th</sup> July 1958.

cooperation that was forged between the government through the police with the Maasai, Chagga and Meru that helped to identify cattle thieves, fining them and recovering some of the stolen animals. The cooperation led into a swift decline from 693 cases in 1958 to 285 in 1959. Equally, the number of recovered animals increased from thirty per cent in 1958 to sixty two per cent in 1959. Vigilance Committees were formed in the province and some were cross border watchdogs. For the case of Moshi District, the committee included members such as the Supt. Of Police, Stock Theft Preventive Officer (stationed at Ngare Nairobi), Mangi Mwitoni of Hai and Mangis of Siha and Masama. Also in the committee there were representatives from Sanya Juu farmers and the district officer was the committee's chairperson.<sup>59</sup> *Engare-Nairobi* – is a Maasai word that means cold fresh water. The area was strategic for all stock stolen from across the slopes of Mount Meru and Kilimanjaro were watered there before taking them into Kenya or when moving from the Kenyan side before reaching them into market centres for slaughter.

#### **5.4 Defining the Landscape: Pastoral Inter-border Resource Use**

Land use in Kilimanjaro involved negotiations between different actors including government, cultivators and pastoralists. All these actors defined the landscapes over which they wanted to exercise control based on their own knowledge and purpose on the landscape. The definitions were not the same and always caused problems among the interest groups as to what comprised a resource for each one. Pastoral resources from either side of the border were regarded by pastoralists as free and could be used for grazing by pastoralists from either side. Cultivators considered land for agriculture and regarded pastoralists as a threat to arable land. The government was in between the two interest groups and was supposed to act an intermediary role

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<sup>59</sup> TNA 5/16/3: Moshi: Cattle Theft, Folios No. 363 & 364: Letter from the District Officer to Sanya Juu Vigilance Committee, dated 6<sup>th</sup> September 1958.

when the two land uses threatened each other and the environment at large. This was done through enactment of laws and regulations applied in Tanganyika and Kenya. Although they conflicted on using resources, there were times where amicable solutions were concluded without the arm of the state or much conflict amongst themselves. For example, the repeated locust infestation and increase of non-pastoral population in the Loitoktok area from the 1930s caused havoc in pastoralists' societies on the Kenyan side and forced them to look for alternative grazing areas elsewhere within Kenya or outside the border.

The Loitoktok area was allocated as a Maasai reserve by the British government in 1912 where they practised transhumance and made sustainable availability of pasture throughout the grazing circle. Agro-pastoralists continued to remain in the area for some time before Maasai took full control. Pastoral Maasai sometimes engaged in agricultural activities especially when their animals were affected by drought. Chagga women who married Maasai men and at some point hired Chagga men did farm activities for Maasai farmers on Loitoktok side. But, with increase of cultivation activities especially after the Second World War, pastoral land was reduced and it was the period when more Maasai started to look for alternative areas for their livestock.<sup>60</sup> The governments of Tanganyika and Kenya

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<sup>60</sup> David J. Campbell, 'Response to Drought in Maasailand: Pastoralists and Farmers of the Loitoktok Area, Kajiado District', *Discussion Paper No. 267* (University of Nairobi: Institute For Development Studies), pp. 1 – 44. Copy available at Bodleian Library, Oxford University. Also for Kajiado and Rombo land use changes see David J. Campbell, 'Development and Change in the Mount Kilimanjaro Area of the Kajiado District, Kenya', (Mount Kilimanjaro: Land use and Environmental Management IFRA 1999), pp. 59 – 68.

agreed that the Loitoktok Maasai be allowed to cross the Voi border and use pasture and water available on the Tanganyika side until that time when pasture recovered.<sup>61</sup>

Loitoktok Maasai were allowed to use pasture east of Rombo River in an area called Zawani in Voi District. They could also obtain maize from Kikuyu squatters who settled in Rongai Forest Reserve.<sup>62</sup> Kikuyu squatters were also from the Kenyan side and were allowed to settle in the forest reserves to act as cheap labourers for the forestry department as a solution to the shortage of labour supply from the Chagga people.<sup>63</sup> Two years later, after the Loitoktok Maasai were allowed to graze on areas formerly used by the Wachagga for agriculture, grazing and collection of fodder for indoor animals, it was obvious that the Maasai took whole ownership of the area and did not want to see the Chagga doing anything in the area. In 1934, the Chagga chief of Mashati Mangi Senguo Limo complained on behalf of his people about the Maasai that they limited freedom of resource use by his people because of grazing activities. In his letter to the District Officer – Moshi the chief shows disappointments to Loitoktok Maasai. The letter complains that there have been incidents of Maasai beating the Chagga who went to fetch head loads of grasses in Voi – Kenyan side, where the Chagga enjoyed free access for years before. It indicates that the Maasai who were in Voi were new comers to the area and were just allowed by the government to graze and use the area but not to take a responsibility for preventing any previous land use that was in place. Settlement of Maasai

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<sup>61</sup> DC/TTA/3/8/37: Maasai Grazing Concessions, 1932 – 1952, Letter from the Provincial Commissioner Gong to the Provincial Commissioner Mombasa, Titled ‘Maasai Grazing Concessions’, dated 30<sup>th</sup> June 1932.

<sup>62</sup> See TNA 5/67/7: Moshi: Squatters in Forest Reserve, 1947 – 1950, Folio: Letter from Agricultural Officer to the Secretary Arusha Moshi Land Commission, Titled ‘Kikuyu Squatters at Rongai’, dated 18<sup>th</sup> November 1946.

<sup>63</sup> Detailed discussion on settlement of the Kikuyu on the forest reserve is provided in chapter four of this thesis.

pastoralists in this area brought a new kind of resource use and created chances of competition between them and the Chagga who also claimed right of use of some resources present in the area. The letter required the District Officer – Moshi to devise measures to avoid such sufferings endured by the Wachagga when collecting grasses. It was seen that if the Wachagga were to be regarded as legal land users allowed to harvest grasses, the Maasai would not beat them. But because they were translated as trespassers into pastoral controlled landscape reactions from pastoral Maasai were unavoidable.<sup>64</sup>

Another small piece of land that caused disputes among users was in Taveta, a piece lying between Rombo River and Zawani. This was closely linked to the one discussed above and had similar use and definitions from the Chagga and Maasai.<sup>65</sup> Cultivators and pastoralists claimed rights of use on a land to which both were new comers. The whole area running through Taveta was a conveyor belt for wild beast moving from Tsavo national park to Kilimanjaro national park up to the late nineteenth century.<sup>66</sup> The government of Tanganyika aided the change of wild beast ecology in favour of settlement of people moving from concentrated mountain slopes from 1930s and by 1950s the deal was done.

Concerns between the Chagga and the Maasai had to be settled to restore peace amongst them. The Chagga were located to collect grasses in some other areas where the Maasai did not reach for their pastoral activities. In this case, it was like establishing a system of sectional and seasonal resource use where, when the Maasai

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<sup>64</sup> DC/TTA/3/8/37: Folio: Letter from Senguo Limo to the District Officer Moshi, dated 15<sup>th</sup> September 1934.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., Folio: Letter from the District Commissioner – Kajiado to the District Commissioner Voi, Titled 'Rombo Grazing Concession', dated 6<sup>th</sup> October 1934.

<sup>66</sup> J. Lewis Krapf, *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours During Eighteen Years Residence in Eastern Africa* (London and New York: Routledge 1968) (First published, 1860), p. 235.

were grazing in one area, the Chagga did not collect grasses from there and the opposite was the case for the Maasai. Because the Maasai rented those areas, the Wachagga did not use the areas when the Maasai were there. It was just a privilege not a right for the Chagga use the area that otherwise was set for pastoral activities. The District Commissioner – Voi on 16<sup>th</sup> February 1935 required that the District Commissioner – Moshi be told to discuss and tell the Wachagga that they were not allowed to enter the area when the Maasai were there. They should wait until the Maasai have evacuated for them to collect grasses.<sup>67</sup> This was communicated to the Chagga through the District Officer – Moshi to inform them that they should not interfere with the Maasai when they are grazing cattle.<sup>68</sup> On this side of the border, the settlement helped to reduce frictions between the two land uses, as each side understood when to do what in which area.

Despite the government's effort to control land use disputes on one side of the border, affrays between the Maasai from the Kenyan border, specifically from Kajiado District and the Chagga of Useri in Kilimanjaro, continued to be a common practice of the people and solutions were less likely to be reached.<sup>69</sup> There were sequences of invasions of the Chagga *shamba* areas that were also nicely positioned for pastoral activities. The Chagga seemed to exercise patience by not responding to

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<sup>67</sup> See correspondence letters in DC/TTA/3/8/37: Folio: Letter from the District Commissioner Kajiado to the District Commissioner Voi, Titled 'Trans Rombo Area', dated 11<sup>th</sup> January 1935, Folio No. 101, Letter from the District Commissioner – Voi to the District Commissioner Kajiado', Titled 'Trans-Rombo Area', dated 15<sup>th</sup> January 1935, folio No. 102, Letter from the District Commissioner – Kajiado to the District Commissioner Voi, Titled 'Trans-Rombo Area', dated 21<sup>st</sup> January 1935, folio No. 104 and Letter from the District Commissioner Voi to the District Commissioner Kajiado, Titled 'Trans-Rombo Area', dated 16<sup>th</sup> February 1935, Folio No. 105.

<sup>68</sup> DC/TTA/3/8/37: Folio: Letter from the District Officer – Moshi to the District Commissioner Voi, Titled 'Kenya Colony', dated 26<sup>th</sup> February 1935.

<sup>69</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the PC on Native Administration for the Year 1939* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1940), p. 47.

these invasions, which in turn was interpreted by the Maasai as a sign of weakness, a thing that tempted them to trespass even more and more again. Incidentally patience and continued trespasses on farms led into a fierce fight between the Maasai from Kenyan side and the Chagga from Tanganyika side on the 9<sup>th</sup> of April 1943. The incident took place at Nanjara in the Usseri part of Rombo District. it was revealed that;

Subsequent investigation showed that for some weeks previous to the battle the Maasai had trespassed further and further into Usseri with their cattle in search of grazing, they apparently deliberately drove their cattle into a number of maize and beans plantations in Nanjara and Kilelewa where considerable damage was done- in spite of the most vigorous protests on the part of owners.<sup>70</sup>

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of April fight, the Maasai suffered some considerable casualties where one of the one hundred Morans who went to fight died and many others seriously wounded. The Maasai understood the danger and the possible confrontations between them and the farm owners. This tells why they invaded farms while well prepared with traditionally armed morans to counter any possible resistance from owners. On the other hand, seven Chagga received mild wounds and no records for death case. The elders of the Maasai Morans had warned and advised the Morans not to take such an aggressive measure against the Chagga though the Morans did not listen and went on to invade and graze on farms. In the course of this event, the District Commissioner deported the Morans and ordered them to pay a fine for the casualties caused as a result of the fight. An addition of Shs. 1,000 was paid

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<sup>70</sup> TNA 69/51/3: Folio: Letter from District Officer – Moshi to the Provincial Commissioner – Northern Province, dated 19<sup>th</sup> April 1943.

in partial compensation for the destroyed crops caused by cattle invasion on farms. The April invasion however occurred to the surprise of many. Disputes between the Maasai and the Chagga were not new occurrences and so were efforts to reach solutions. When the April incident happened it was almost one month since a *Baraza* involving representatives from the Chagga and Maasai met at Nanjara to settle their differences and commit to adhere to peaceful relations among their ethnic groups. At the *Baraza* some payments to foot off claims of compensations for stolen cattle and seized weapons from each other were made.<sup>71</sup> What happened in April was a drawback in the effort to find permanent solutions to problems resulting from claims over land use.

Trans border committee meetings between the Chagga and Maasai continued up to the 1950s.<sup>72</sup> These committees started at first as an attempt to resolve conflicts between the Maasai and the Wakikuyu both from Kenyan side, but later it was resolved that it was wise to include the Chagga in the settlements. The main purpose was to create harmony and understanding among the different ethnic groups so that they could live in trust to each other and use resources around them without causing tensions. Because what caused conflicts between the Maasai and Wakikuyu in Kenya was almost the same as that causing rivalries between Kenyan Maasai with Tanganyika Maasai, and Tanganyika and Kenya Maasai with the Chagga, it was decided to form an inter-border committee to deal with peace creation through amicable solutions to the conflicting parties. The committee was successful as it reduced the number of disputes involving sorts of bloodshed and loss of properties

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<sup>71</sup> TNA 69/51/3: Folio: Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> TNA 5/16/3: Folio No. 180A: Kumbukumbu za Mambo ya Mkutano wa Wachagga na Wamasai Uliofanyika Loitoktok Tarehe 21/10/1954, also see Folio: Minutes of the Maasai/Chagga Border Committee Held at Usseri on 15 July 1954.

among the ethnic groups as compared to 1948 when the committee was not yet in operation. They held regular border meetings. The meetings also alternated between Rombo – Usseri and Loitoktok. Elders from both sides of the ethnic groups participated effectively in making sure that the solutions were reached by a peaceful method. When for example, it was seen that Morans from a certain group of Maasai stolen cattle, the head of that group was told to investigate and come up with solutions to the government in order to avoid conflicts leading to war with any of the conflicting parties.<sup>73</sup>

The correspondence between Tanzania and Kenya governments on cattle trespasses and on how to handle pastoral and non-pastoral resource use started earlier in the 1930s. Pastoral Maasai from the Northern Province of Tanganyika Territory seemed to exercise transhumance as what the pastoralists from Taveta did by crossing the border to Tanganyika. They were in search of both water and pasture land.<sup>74</sup> Some Maasai had relatives from both sides of the border and used that connection to get information on the availability of pasture on each side of the border.

Some areas in Taita – Taveta were closed to prevent expansion and trespasses by the Wachagga from Tanganyika into Kenya colony. It was seen that closing the areas connecting the Taita – Taveta area would have twofold implications. The first was the reconditioning of the pastureland because of controlled overgrazing in the area but the second was the prevention of the Wachagga from Tanganyika to move

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<sup>73</sup> TNA 5/16/3: Folio No.149: Letter from the Moran Supervisor, Kajiado to the District Commissioner, Kajiado, Titled ‘Loitoktok/Matapatu Section Meeting at Mutoroki’, dated 11<sup>th</sup> June 1954.

<sup>74</sup> KNA DC/TTA/3/8/37: Maasai Grazing Concessions, 1932 – 1952, also KOT 33, Kingachi Village, 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

into the Kenyan side pastureland.<sup>75</sup> Archival information, however, does not indicate whether those people who moved from Tanganyika side to the Taveta – Taita areas were real Chaggas or not. By contrast, oral articulations from the northeastern part of Tanzania, especially in areas bordering Taita – Taveta pointed out that there were a lot of Kamba pastoralists from Kenya who settled in the Himo – Holili areas. Before the sisal estates were established by the British in Himo area, the whole of the lowlands lying from Himo to Holili Border on both sides of the Himo – Taveta road was used by pastoral Wakamba.<sup>76</sup> There are still some traces of Wakamba in the area, but most of them went back to Kenya after the independence of these countries. We cannot establish that the trespasses done from Tanzanian side were those by the Wachagga or whether they were by the Kamba people moving back home to Kenya. But one obvious impact of this formalization of the grazing land on the Kenyan side was associated with the disturbance and the closure of the wild beasts' conveyor belts across the borders. When pastoralists used these areas seasonally, it was not a challenge for wild animals to move through Taveta to Kilimanjaro National Park and move back again. They established a system that allowed the existence of both domesticated and wild animals within the same ecological niche.<sup>77</sup> This came to be closed when the area changed from a grazing zone to sisal estates zone.

Preventing cattle trespasses by the colonial governments seemed was not a simple task following interests vested in both governments. The difficulty rose given

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<sup>75</sup> KNA DC/TTA/3/13/15: Veterinary, Challa Grazing Scheme – Taveta in the Taveta Northern Native Reserve, 1956 – 1964, Folio: Letter from the Provincial Commissioner Coast to The Secretary for African Affairs, Titled 'Crown Land North of Lake Challa' dated 26<sup>th</sup> June 1957.

<sup>76</sup> KOT 23, Himo, 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 24, Himo, 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 25, Holili, 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 26, Holili, 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015 and KOT 27, Chirio, 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

<sup>77</sup> Krapf, *Travels*,

the fact that pastoralists had their own definitions of the landscapes that differed from the way government authorities defined them. While colonial governments thought borders were important to control trespasses, pastoralists had different borders determined by seasons that allowed transhumant pastoralism. It was obvious that conflicts between pastoral societies and the governments would not be easily avoided given that these three interest groups; pastoralists, Tanganyika government and Kenya government did not establish a common understanding of what encompassed a pastoral landscape. Also either government could not do anything by force without the agreement of the partner government because border and cross – border pastoral resources were used in agreement and negotiation with the two governments.

If pastoralists from one side of the border were restricted to cross border access to pasture and watering points, it would have the impact of limiting access to water and pasture on the other side of the border.<sup>78</sup> For example, while the Kenya Maasai bordering Arusha Region in Tanganyika were allowed to water their animals on both sides of West and East of Longido in Tanganyika, pastoralists from Kilimanjaro especially Himo and Rombo were allowed to water their animals in Lumi River on Taveta, Kenyan side.<sup>79</sup> Also the Chagga were allowed to cross over the border to Loitokitok for grazing and grass cutting likewise the Maasai from Loitokitok could cross over to Tanganyika for pastureland. This was done more seasonally when grasses were not plentifully available on either side of the border. On the other side, the Maasai from Loitokitok were not comfortable to allow the

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<sup>78</sup> KNA DC/TTA/3/13/15: Folio: Letter from the District Officer Taveta to the district Commissioner Taveta, dated 12<sup>th</sup> June 1946.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

Chagga to graze or cut grasses from their areas.<sup>80</sup> This was followed by the Kenyan government introduction of Sectional Grazing Scheme that made pastoralists conscious of the importance of conserving pastureland because they were not allowed to move to another area before a certain period. On the Chagga's side Usseri and Mashati were the main areas of concern for grass cutting and grazing.<sup>81</sup>

By the 1950s it was obvious that the Kenyan Maasai used the grazing land on Tanganyika side when they left their pasture to recondition on Kenyan side. When pasture became exhausted in Tanganyika, they went back to Kenya and continued to use the regenerated pasture. In the long run, the Chagga in Rombo – Tanganyika side fell without pastureland and could not even harvest fodder because all grasses were fed to Maasai cattle from Kenya.<sup>82</sup> In response to this, many Chagga from Rombo found themselves forced to move to the Kenyan side to cut grasses for their animals and some head loads for thatching their round huts. The Maasai from the Kenyan side reacted to this as they forgot that during the dry season they moved their cattle to Rombo and left the land bare. Chagga women and children were the victims of Maasai conflicts over preventing grass cutting from the Kenyan side because in a Chagga traditional culture grass cutting was not a man's task.

Colonial correspondence between the Tanganyika and Kenyan governments to try to put an end to pastoral Maasai from Tanganyika who crossed the border to

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<sup>80</sup> TNA 5/27/7: Moshi: Veterinary, Cattle Movements, Permits, Grazing, Trespass etc., Folio: Letter from Mangi Mwitori of Rombo to the District Commissioner Moshi, dated 5<sup>th</sup> March 1951, Folio No. 22: Letter from the Senior Livestock Officer – Moshi to the District Commissioner – Moshi, dated 14<sup>th</sup> March 1951.

<sup>81</sup> KNA DO/TAV/1/26/18: Provincial Administration Coast Province; Veterinary, Grazing Area – Taveta Chala, Folio: Letter from District Officer – Loitoktok to the District Officer – Taveta, Titled 'Grazing on Kenya – Tanganyika Boundary near Maasai – Taveta – Chagga Border', dated 8<sup>th</sup> April 1958.

<sup>82</sup> TNA 5/27/7: Folio: Letter from Mangi of Usseri to the DC – Moshi, Titled 'Ng'ombe za Wamasai Kulisha Tanganyika', dated 30<sup>th</sup> November 1957.

Kenya in search of pasture, watering points and salt leaks continued for a long time with little success registered for almost the whole of the 1940s through 1950s. Regular meetings continued for years between government officials from Kenya and Tanganyika to establish an amicable use of livestock resources on the border. These meetings however, did not yield much success as the nuisance from cattle owners still continued to occur across the border.<sup>83</sup> Though the meetings did not yield much fruits they were important avenues to create friendship and forge a sense of peace and harmony among conflicting groups.<sup>84</sup> A need to forge unity and harmony was echoed in the first meeting that composed of representatives and the people from the three tribes when in the opening remarks the chief of Rombo said;

*Kama mjuavyo sisi ni ndugu na huoana toka kale. Zamani hapakuwepo mpaka kati yetu na nyakati hizo tulifahamiana zaidi. Sehemu kubwa ya Masai ilijulikana na hata sasa hujulikana kwa jina la Rombo. Ni kwa bahati mbaya tu kwamba tulitengwa na mpaka uliopo kwa sababu ya kufikiwa na serikali mbili za makabila mbalimbali ambazo zilikuwa maadui na hivyo zikapanda uadui*

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<sup>83</sup> KNA DO/TAV/1/26/18: Folio: Letter from District Officer – Loitokitok. Post-colonial attempts to solve the problems related to resource use also ended up into failures and frustrations by the government efforts. See KNA DC/KJD/3/9/29: PC's Visit Kajiado, Temporary File 1967; Folio: Letter from the District Officer Loitokitok to the Regional Commissioner – Kilimanjaro, Titled 'Matatizo ya Mpaka' dated 24<sup>th</sup> May 1967.

<sup>84</sup> KNA DO/TAV/1/26/18: Folio: Letter from the District Commissioner – Moshi to the District Officer – Taveta and District Officer Loitokitok, Titled 'Taveta – Chagga – Maasai Affairs', dated 13<sup>th</sup> May 1958. These meetings were important and started during the colonial period and went through the post-colonial period. Independent governments of Tanganyika and Kenya continued to discuss better ways to solve the disputes arising from pastoral land use across their borders. See also KNA CF/1/34: Provincial Administration, Border Committee Meetings; Kenya/Tanzania, Folio No. 1: Minutes za Mkutano wa Makabila Manne Uliofanyika Tarehe 31.03.67 Katika Moshi saa nne asubuhi and Folio: Mkutano wa Makabila Manne Uliofanyika Mkuu Rombo Mnamo Tarehe 12.5.70 and KNA DC/KJD/3/9/29: Folio: Letter from the District Officer Loitokitok to the Regional Commissioner – Kilimanjaro, Titled 'Matatizo ya Mpaka', dated 24<sup>th</sup> May 1967.

*kati yetu wakati ule. Sasa ni juu yetu kung'oa uadui ule kwasababu Mungu ametuweka sasa chini ya bendera moja ya dola yetu tukufu ya Kiingereza.*<sup>85</sup>

English translation:

You are all aware that we are relatives and have been marrying each other for a long time. In the past there were no boundaries between us and we knew each other more closely. The Maasai occupied the area called Rombo. It was unfortunate that we were separated by two different foreign governments that created hatred among us. It is high time now to clear out the hatred between us because God has made us under one ruling power the English government.

[Author's translation]

Struggles over access to pasture land brought many incidents compared to those related to cattle theft. Despite the punishments imposed by authorities on individuals trespassing on farms, the Maasai continued to feed animals on farms. In some cases, there was evidence that the Maasai were ready to sacrifice a number of animals, let's say 50 heads of cattle for the advantage of the whole herd. They found it nothing losing only 50 heads and retaining the whole herd. Once caught trespassing, the cattle were impounded and fined. This did not discourage the pasture and water hungry pastoral Maasai who had to move across the border.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> KNA DO/TAV/1/26/18: Folio: Kumbukumbu ya Mkutano wa Wamasai, Wataveta na Wachagga wa Rombo Uliofanyika katika Pori la Mkuu Tarehe 28.05.1958.

<sup>86</sup> KNA DO/TAV/1/26/13: Veterinary, Movement of Stock and Masai Cattle Trespass, Folio No. 29: Letter from the District Commissioner, Taveta to the Provincial Commissioner, Coast Province, Titled 'Tanganyika Masai – Trespass in Kenya', dated 9<sup>th</sup> August 1948, Folio No. 38: Letter from District Commissioner Voi to the District Officer – Taveta, Titled 'Cattle Census of Tanganyika Masai in Taveta', dated 7<sup>th</sup> February 1949, Folio No. 38A: Letter from Provincial Commissioner – Coast to the Hon. Chief Secretary – Nairobi, Titled 'Trespass by Tanganyika Masai', dated 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1949.

Up until the post-colonial period tensions over resource use involving actors across the border continued. The District Commissioner – Taveta warned the District Commissioners Rombo Division and Loitoktok that there were some kinds of trespassing done by pastoralists by moving on either sides of the three Districts; Taveta, Rombo and Loitoktok. These movements if left unchecked were expected to cause unnecessary chaos and or conflicts involving the Chagga, Taveta and Maasai.<sup>87</sup> Also if control measures were not carefully sought off, what was envisaged as a solution to land use problems would cause conflicts between negotiating governments and between the pastoral societies involved in the plan. The District Officer Taveta suggested more attempts that it was important for them to meet and agree on the boundaries to avoid trespasses and disputes between the three groups of people and without causing any trouble to the two governments. Part of the letter from the District Officer Taveta reads that;

I visited the northernmost part yesterday and saw Chagga cattle in the area in between the Lumwe and Marue rivers and tracks on the Morotoke side of the Marue which were made either by Chagga or Maasai cattle. It is most desirable that our grazing scheme should not be the cause of disputes and ill-feelings between the Taveta and the Chagga or the Maasai.<sup>88</sup>

Briefly, direct government intervention in settling disputes involving pastoralists and cultivators were not successful. The tensions that existed in the colonial period transcended into the postcolonial period and so did the attempts to solve them.

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<sup>87</sup> KNA DC/TTA/3/13/15: Folio No. 33: Letter from the District Officer Taveta to The District Officer, Rombo Division and District Officer Loitoktok, Titled ‘Grazing in Crown Land North of Lake Chala’, dated 7<sup>th</sup> March 1958.

<sup>88</sup> KNA DC/TTA/3/13/15: Ibid.

Most lowland areas of the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro were suitable for grazing. It might seem that the pastoral communities used the areas seasonally before the expansion of cultivating Chagga took place. The opening up of these lowland areas interfered with the pre-existing and long term kind of pastoral resource use that as observed ended up in conflicts. As always, in this case, the Maasai suffered loss not only of the fight but also of their area. The area remained for agricultural activities while pastoral activities were forced to find alternatives.

### **5.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter, we have explored how pastoralists' and cultivators' interests converged and diverged on resource use across the border of Tanzania and Kenya. Definition of wealth varied between the two groups and the variation caused obvious disputes on resource ownership and use. Pastoral Maasai associated wealth with livestock while the Chagga's wealth was in terms of land. Maasai perception of wealth made them consider everything green or brown on land as suitable for their livestock even when that part of the land was a farmland. Also, the same perception of wealth on livestock made them expert cattle raiders from non-Maasai communities to increase their wealth in cattle. All these had far-reaching outcomes as far as the interaction between pastoral Maasai and cultivators Chagga was concerned. Cultivators' wealth was on farmland and they became disappointed when their farms were invaded by livestock and destroyed everything. Hatred and dispute relations between the Maasai and the Chagga did not live forever, as they had to encounter new relations on the lowlands. The next chapter will show how coming down the mountain meant forging new relationships between the Maasai and the Chagga on the lowlands of mount Kilimanjaro. The discussion in chapter five

included Maasai from Tanzania and Kenya; the next chapter will concentrate on the relationship between the Chagga and the Maasai from northeastern Tanzania only.

## Chapter Six

### **Expanding Frontiers, Creating Homes: Mobility to the Lowlands of Kilimanjaro, 1950s to 2000s**

This chapter is an attempt to examine the Chagga's mobility to the lowlands. It responds to questions such as why there was such a change of perception where the formerly marginal landscapes of the lowlands started to be viewed as important resource worth the attention of highland dwellers not as seasonal *shamba* spaces, but as permanent homes away from the highland. The other question addressed here is how such movement from the highlands took place – did it occur as a single episode or several and what was its nature. We at least understand, from discussions in previous chapters, that the highland and lowland landscapes were imagined differently from each other and were subjected to different functions/use. Whilst the highland remained for the Chagga, the lowland was regarded suitable for non-Chagga populations. The point then is when did the Chagga start to take opportunities of the land that was formerly considered for others and what happened to former occupants of the land?

To respond to all these questions the chapter considers the movements that took place from the last decade of colonial rule in Tanganyika and moves at least to some points in the post colonial period to cover change and continuity on the landscape and the socio-economic activities. We argue that while the social space on the mountain slopes remained less challenged, the economic space was subjected to pressures that came from both within and outside the society. Chapters three and four in this thesis provided detailed accounts of how economic developments on the highlands were strong forces for changing land use and use relations among both local Chagga population and settlers. Also they addressed questions regarding what

the government did to solve the problems of land shortages and how such attempts failed. This chapter provides an alternative view that, despite the Chagga resistance to remain on the highland slopes before the 1950s, it reached a point after 1950s when they were overwhelmed by both social and economic motives to expand permanently into the lowlands.

### **6.1 The Expansion**

After a long time of serious struggle between remaining on the highlands and moving to the lowlands, the 1950s was the climax for the Chagga social, cultural and economic reorganisations as they established permanent settlements on the lowlands. Lowlands in this case includes both the upper lowlands situated above the Arusha Moshi Taveta road and the lower lowlands situated just below the road. Do we go to the wilderness/*porini* or we remain in our Eden/highland?<sup>1</sup> This should have been one among the many questions that the Chagga of northeastern Tanzania asked themselves in the face of the challenges of inhabiting the highland landscape. Government efforts to reallocate and create settlements on the lower areas had minimal impacts throughout the colonial period and the efforts in the postcolonial period likewise yielded less of what was anticipated.

Suggestions by the Arusha Moshi Land Commission (1947) as part of the solutions to solve the problem of land scarcity included resettlement in the lower plains of the mountains. Resettlement was by persuading people from the highlands to move permanently to the lowlands and developing the lowlands into be suitable landscapes for peasant settlement and production. Until the 1950s, the highlanders still perceived the lowlands negatively and did not want to expand there. Few of

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<sup>1</sup> The discussion on the Chagga environmental perceptions and affiliation is provided in chapter three of this thesis.

those who wanted to expand to the lowlands were less centralised leading into uncontrolled distribution of land on the lowlands throughout the decade.<sup>2</sup> Uncontrolled distribution of land on the lowlands planted seeds for later land use disputes that involved family members, neighbours and village authorities unlike what was the case on the highlands. But what was it that made them to start moving to the lowlands to an extent that the lowlands of the mountain slopes became areas scrambled for and consequently ended up by establishing permanent settlements?

The needs that contained them on the highlands were the same as those that pushed for expansion to other areas. Such needs became a major concern by population increase that was realised in Kilimanjaro. The Chagga in the precolonial period and before the introduction of Christianity were typically polygamous and remained so for quite a long time even after Christianity started to root on the mountain. Women also gave birth to several children. These were in one-way core factors responsible for rapid population increase on the highland slopes. In this discussion however, population increase is not takled to understand how it influenced land use as this has received a considerable debate on whether or not it can be considered as a factor for intensive resource use or not.<sup>3</sup> While some few scholars

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<sup>2</sup> SOAS PP MS 74: Restatement of African Law Box No. 5; Figgis Report on the Present State Chagga Land Tenure Practice, 1958, p. 20. T.F Figgis was a District Officer for Moshi by that time.

<sup>3</sup> See for example William Allan, 'Changing Patterns of African Land Use', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 108, No. 5048 (1960), pp. 613 – 614, Ester Boserup, 'Environment, Population and Technology in Primitive Societies', *Population and Development Review* 2, No. 1 (1976), pp. 21 – 36, Ester Boserup, *Population and Technological Change: A Study of Long-term Trends* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1981), pp. 3 – 14, 15 – 28, Stephen and E. F. Lambin, 'Scenarios of Land use in Sudano-Sahelian Countries of Africa to Better Understand Driving Forces', *GeoJournal* 61 (2004), pp. 365 – 366, Lowe Börjeson, 'Boserup Backwards? Agricultural Intensification as its Own Driving Force in the Mbulu Highlands, Tanzania', *Geografiska Annaler Series B, Human Geography* 89, No. 3 (2007), pp. 249 – 267, Fr. Henry Zawadi (Century Book Committee), *The Catholic*

have argued that population increase has a direct connection with technological developments and influence on productivity, others have maintained that in some cases, improvements in ways of production are not necessarily a result of pressures exerted by population increase.

The influence of population growth on resource use is not only through intensification, as there may be other directions that population increase may push towards. By intensification, the reference is always made to using small areas of improved land to produce highly for either subsistence or market supplies under expanding population limits. This kind of intensification also existed on the highlands under the matrix of *kihamba* economy. Whether *kihamba* economy was one among the intensive farming practices designed to sustain yields and fertility of the soil requires a separate set of evidence to trace its practice historically in order to supplement the present geographical and ecological descriptions at hand now.<sup>4</sup> Questions on whether *kihamba* economy sustained a large population in a small area requires no further justification as much on the relationship between land availability and population increase in Kilimanjaro is provided in chapter two of this thesis.

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*Church in Moshi: A Centenary Memorial, 1890 – 1900*, (Ndanda: Ndanda Mission Press 1990), p.15.

<sup>4</sup> Geographical and ecological descriptions of the slopes of Kilimanjaro can be found in David J. Campbell, Salome B. Misana and Jennifer M. Ostrom, ‘Comparing the Kenyan and Tanzanian Slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro: Why are the Adjacent Land Uses so Distinct?’ *Land Use Change, Impacts and Dynamics Project (LUCID)* (Working Paper No. 44, 2004), p. 5, Andreas Hemp and Claudia Hemp, ‘Environment and Worldview: The Chagga Homegardens: Part I Ethnobotany and Ethnozoology’ in Timothy A. R. Clark, (ed), *Culture, History and Identity: Landscapes of Inhabitation in Mount Kilimanjaro Area, Tanzania: Essays in Honour of Paramount Chief Thomas Lenana Mlangi Marealle II 1915 – 2007* (London: BAR International Series 2009), pp. 235 – 271.

Chagga customary and traditional society emphasised on private land ownership inasmuch as settlement, social and economic activities on the slopes.<sup>5</sup> Nobody depended on someone else's land for his individual functions. Possibilities were that individuals claimed pieces of land out of the vast areas that remained open or inherited some pieces of land claimed by fore grandparents to immediate parents through the male clan line to the immediate generation of that clan. Parents were obliged to make sure that children continued the clan system through inheritance and use of clan land. One's land was everything in the Chagga society. Settlement, farming, livestock keeping and social-cultural functions, like burial sites and rituals were all done on that piece of land. Conversely, the rate of this passage was disrupted simply because of the unproportional existence of realities on land availability and population growth. There was a fixed amount of land available on the highland throughout the colonial and post-colonial periods while the number of people was on regular increase. The distribution of land through clan tenure by inheritance reached a point where no more re-division of that piece of clan and family land was possible. When a father could not give his son a *Kihamba* what happened in the social system was a threat to the mountain life and the cultural ties established on the mountain. The young Chagga started to seek *vihamba* by themselves elsewhere as the unwritten Chagga law required every married Chagga man to have a *Kihamba*.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Charles Dundas, *Kilimanjaro and Its People: A History of the Wachagga, Their Laws, Customs and Legends, Together with some Account of the Highest Mountain in Africa* (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd 1968) (first published in 1924), pp. 13 – 14, Kathleen M. Stahl, *History of the Chagga People of Kilimanjaro* (London and The Hague: Mouton and Co. 1964), pp. 26 – 27.

<sup>6</sup> John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979), p. 274.

What happened when re-division was no longer possible on the highlands? Parents started to allocate their male children some plots of land on the lowlands, especially those located immediately next to the *vihamba* above the road. This was possible for parents who had secured land on the lowlands and those without fear of the challenges to develop them. Oral narratives show that during the 1930s up to early 1940s Chagga men attempted to corrupt chiefs not to give them large areas of land on the lowlands. They did not want large areas because they were unable to cultivate all of it and it was a condition that once given a piece of land, one should make effective use of it. No idea prevailed that only in a decade or so land would become a precious resource on the slopes. Grandparents and parents who agreed to use the large tracts given to them were seen at the time as unfortunate due to poor environmental conditions on the lowlands but started to enjoy later as more people realized the wealth in the lowlands and started to expand when it was already too late. Formerly neglected land, by the 1980s became permanent farmlands and settlement, and land with higher market value than the highland.

In the second case of young men whose parents had no extra land to pass down to them they had to find alternatives to get a piece of land. Young men went to chiefs to ask for land allocation where they could start their settlement and farms to qualify as adult members of the society and so be eligible to get married and start a family. As the highlands were already full, they were given areas on the lowlands where they established a young Chagga generation. The earliest settlers of the lowlands did not establish permanent settlements; they used them temporarily on seasonal basis and went back to the highlands to share the little housing spaces that existed. Apart from land acquisition through inheritance and allocation by chiefs,

young Chagga who could not fall in either of the first two categories bought their own pieces of land on the lowlands.

Mobility from the highland to the creation of ‘an artificial *kihamba*’ on the lowlands faced resistance from young men who still considered lowlands unsuitable for them and believed that their parents did not love them for allocating them *kihamba* on the lowlands. Some refused while others accepted the lowlands with one hand as a farmland and on the other hand continued to claim the highland for settlement. In this case, it is possible to see clans residing somehow lower on the lowlands that directly faces the mountain slopes where they came from. The pattern of settlements on the lowlands tells stories of areas of origin on the highlands where for example those in Kwasadala would claim origin in Machame and Masama, those in Himo would claim origin from Marangu and Vunjo and those from Holili will claim origin from parts of Rombo.

Land acquisition and population increase on the highland had impacts on how parents interacted with their male children. In the precolonial period father-son relations were closely determined by the dependence that young men had on their parents for getting *kihamba* land. When some male children misbehaved, parents decided not to give them *kihamba* or gave them a small part of a poor land amid presence of large fertile lands owned by the father.<sup>7</sup> It therefore created a strong tie of respect and dependence of the son on his father. This kind of relationship was threatened when no more land could be inherited and when parents became poor with no land to pass on to their male offspring. Young men struggled to find their own areas through purchase. Purchase of land on the lowlands became common for

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<sup>7</sup> KOT 2, Ushiri Rombo, 25 August 2014, KOT 6, Uswaa Village, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2014, KOT 68, Kwasadala Village, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2015.

male children coming from poor families than those from well to do families. Wealthier parents continued to hold some small plots to give to male children for longer times than could the poor. Because ownership of land was a culturally accepted practice for grown up men who entered adulthood, Chagga young men continued a struggle for land ownership before they got married.<sup>8</sup>

Struggles to obtain land generated trepidations when young men did not get land through formal distribution channels by the Areas Land Boards. These claims were expressed in the by-weekly Chagga Newspaper *Kusare* that its review indicates loss of hope and disappointment with getting land. Two examples can be made here to illustrate partly how the process of getting land was complicated. These examples both come from Rombo, an area east of mount Kilimanjaro that remained with vacant land for a longer time compared to south and west of the Mountain. Mr. Mark M. Bongole could neither secure land through inheritance nor the Area Land Board that remained the next alternative after the failure of getting land traditionally.<sup>9</sup> This was a result of the changes in how land was acquired, as acquisition through chiefs and inheritance had fallen out of practice, and the only way to obtain land from the 1960s was to purchase it from those who had extra land. Bongole's case is one of the many that were expressed in the paper and are also recounted in oral histories. The second example is Justine Kaishe whose case was slightly different from Bongole's. Kaishe failed to develop a piece of land he owned. A landless Chagga started to use it and local authorities could not help him get back his land. The traditional land

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<sup>8</sup> See the interview on how land ownership had impact on the way Chagga men entered adulthood and before they decided to enter into marriage. Marry Horward and Ann V. Millard, *Hunger and Shame: Child Malnutrition and Poverty on Mount Kilimanjaro* (New York and London: Routledge 1997), p. 47.

<sup>9</sup> Letter from Mark M. Bongole to The Editor *Kusare*, Titled 'Ugawaji Vihamba', dated 17<sup>th</sup> February 1962.

tenure rules required any person claiming ownership of a piece of land to show his presence on that land by planting bananas in areas that suited them and trees in areas not suitable for banana farming. Kaishe claimed ownership of an unspecified amount of land that fell vacant for some time, and those who planted bananas came to be regarded as owners of his plot of land.<sup>10</sup>

Population increase on the highlands was in one way a driver for changes in land usage and expansion to new opportunities but the cultural aspect which required an adult to be identified by his ability to own land had more impact on the young population moving to the lowlands. This social cultural practice forced expansion to new areas as a matter of allegiance to social values attributed to being an adult member of the society. Government policies and economic motives on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro operated in an adjacent side along with the main environmental and social realities that occupied the minds of the people. This goes a long way to explain why government-coordinated movements remained slow and unsuccessful for a long time and that movements became more rapid when a need to do so was forced from within the society itself. Social cultural influence can also account for the existence of the islands of intensive agriculture amid existence of extensive land in closer proximities. Scholars are divided as to whether this trend in societies is driven by internal rather than external forces.<sup>11</sup>

Traditional requirement of a need for one to own land before entering adulthood in the Chagga society was highly motivated by economic and social-cultural use of land on both the lowlands and highlands. Introduction of new crops

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<sup>10</sup> Letter from Justine Kaishe to The Editor *Kusare*, Titled ‘Utaratibu wa Vihamba Mashati – Rombo Hauridhishi’, dated 1<sup>st</sup> September 1962,

<sup>11</sup> Boserup, *Population and Technological*, pp. 3 – 7, Börjeson, ‘Boserup Backwards?’ pp. 249 – 267.

on any landscape has been acknowledged to have several impacts on ecologies and local economies of particular societies interacting with the new crop. Traditional crops of Mountain Kilimanjaro included root tubers, plantains and wild fruits and animals. Later in the first millennium AD banana and yams were introduced after more settled communities established on the highlands of the mountain and population continued to grow.<sup>12</sup> In the nineteenth century, coffee was again introduced into the same highland landscape and later was followed by maize. Coffee on the highlands marked the beginning of intensive and extensive land use and cemented the cultural affiliations of the Chagga on the mountain as it provided opportunities to participate in the cash economy earlier than maize, which became more of a commercial crop after the second world war. Several scholars have provided the ecological implications of a mixture of all these crops on the highland farmlands where some crop ecologies required benefiting from intercropping and others separate fields of production.<sup>13</sup> The interest here is to examine how the introduction of maize was an important factor for land use change and the way it influenced establishment of permanent settlement on the lowlands of Kilimanjaro from 1950s. This in turn provides a contrast and a connection to coffee farming on the highland that we have seen its impact on land use and socio-cultural changes on the highland.

Maize in the nineteenth century was much more connected with market purposes than used as a staple food because the highland had banana as a staple food

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<sup>12</sup> Ludger Wimmelbucker, 'Production and Living Conditions: The Kilimanjaro Region, c. 1800 – 1920' (University of Hamburg: Unpublished PhD Thesis 1999), p. 43.

<sup>13</sup> T. W. Kirkpatrick, 'The Ecology of Coffee Plantations: Climatic Conditions in East African Coffee Plantation', *The East African Agricultural Journal* 1, No. 6 (1936), pp. 476 – 486, S. M. Gilbert, 'The Mulching of Coffee Arabica', *The East African Agricultural Journal* 11, No. 2 (1945), pp. 75 – 79.

and did not use maize in the same way as bananas. Oral narratives tell us that, Chagga women did not know how to prepare maize meal until later in 1950s when they came into interactions with other people from different places who used maize meal.<sup>14</sup> Production of maize from the second half of the nineteenth century supplied food to caravans running from the coast and linking the interior and the Chagga consumed little. No records are available to associate maize farming with highland family production, but a lot is available to show the intensity and an increasing trend of maize production on the lowlands. The extent to which maize was produced on the lowlands indicated both a capture of the growing market for maize and later the consumption of maize as a foodstuff.

Maize farming and consumption seem to increase during those years that saw a decline in the productivity of coffee and bananas on the highland.<sup>15</sup> For the year 1947 it was palpable that the popularity of maize was increasing on the slopes of Kilimanjaro in regard to farming and consumption. Three observations could be made for 1947 production year. First, there was an increase in the consumption of maize meal in Chagga diets compared to previous years due to the decline in banana production. The first necessitated the second observation that is increased expansion of maize farming to compensate the decline of banana and to capture market opportunities. The third observation was that in post-war period maize was exported to Kenya that provided reliable market for maize. Increase in maize consumption and export for market from both peasants and settlers encouraged more maize farming

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<sup>14</sup> KOT 27, Chirio Village, 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 32, Kitang'ati Village, 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the PC on Native Administration for the Year 1941* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1942), p. 32.

and competition on areas suitable for maize farming.<sup>16</sup> The increase in acreage resulted in record maize production in 1944/45, 1948/49 and 1950/51 growing seasons and, on the other hand marked the diversification of commercial farming in Kilimanjaro. It was now clear that apart from coffee that had enjoyed attention for a long time as a cash crop, the government, settlers and peasant producers started to consider the need to commercialise maize in large scales.<sup>17</sup> These arrangements were green lights for more developments of the lowlands that favoured maize farming.

The government through support given to producers in the hope of encouraging more of them to produce food crops also stimulated the increase in maize farming during this period. Following the 1949/50 food and cash crop failure, in the production year 1950/51 the government introduced price guarantees and partial or complete guarantees in the case of crop failures. The guarantee was countrywide and was responsible for food crops like maize and wheat and for the case of the Northern Province peasant producers benefited from this arrangement different from peasant producers elsewhere in the territory.<sup>18</sup> Price guarantee aimed to assure producers of a reliable market of maize and wheat also assured them of compensations when intensive investment in production failed due to natural factors like rainfall unreliability and pest infestations. The government could compensate producers depending on the losses they suffered. Maize in Kilimanjaro was

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<sup>16</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the PC on Native Administration for the Year, 1947* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1948), p. 76.

<sup>17</sup> Record maize production, see Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the PC on Native Administration for the Year, 1945* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1946), p. 54, Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the PC on Native Administration for the Year 1948* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1949), pp. 68 – 69, Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the PC on Native Administration for the Year, 1950* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1951), p. 87.

<sup>18</sup> UKNA CO 736/34: Annual Reports: Tanganyika, Department of Agriculture, Annual Report for 1951 Part I & II.

introduced almost at the same time as coffee. Coffee was grown on the highland due to its weather and climatic suitability for coffee farming while the lowlands were left for maize, elusine and beans.

We try to emphasise that market operated in favour of both coffee and maize at a time when maize was less used for food. The economical use of land was to divide the two landscapes, highlands and lowlands to capture economic benefits from production of both crops. Although we do not have official comparative records for maize and coffee, what exists in the colonial annual reports indicates an increasing trend in maize production on the lowlands especially after the second world war when also a lot of coffee was produced for export. The intensity of maize growing in Kilimanjaro went simultaneously with the establishment of new settlements on the lowlands rapidly from 1950s when more maize was required and when more *vihamba* land was required for the highland's young population.

In the early days of the introduction of maize in Kilimanjaro, it was less for food than for cash income. The presence of large-scale colonial establishments in Kilimanjaro during the British period provided a reliable source of market for maize. This, by implication, meant that, the Chagga wanted to capture both; cash from coffee produced on the highland, and cash from maize produced on the lowlands. During the Second World War the demands of the war brought pressing needs on the Chagga to produce more maize and beans on the lower lands.<sup>19</sup> The prosperity of

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<sup>19</sup> TNA 34949: Northern Province Maize Scheme; Folio No. 3: Letter from the Department of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam to the Honourable the Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, Titled 'Maize Production', dated 17<sup>th</sup> June 1946, Folio. No. 6A: Letter from the Northern Wheat Scheme, Arusha to the Director of Agricultural Production, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1946, (The second was a clarification letter to the Director who asked how the scheme would go through, possible losses accrued from conversion of wheat farm into maize plot, losses for using wheat scheme machinery for the maize scheme).

maize production on the lowlands coincided with repeated incidents of falling banana production on the highland that was caused by shortage of rainfall and banana disease and pest infestations. Common banana diseases were banana weevil and panama disease reported to affect bananas from 1940s and continued through 1950s.<sup>20</sup> The decline of banana production had an impact on the provision of staple food that was supplemented with maize from the lowlands. This made the Chagga to start making maize flour as an integral part of their diets and at the same time use maize as a reliable source of income by selling surplus maize produce.<sup>21</sup> There was an annual increase in the consumption of maize as a source of food by the Chagga starting from 1940s.

Also, the transition from banana as a staple food to maize had a significant contribution for expansion to the lowlands. The change from banana meal to maize meal was influenced by the interaction that the Chagga had with other societies that made them see maize meal as an important part of a meal. But, the decline of coffee on the mountain forced a transition of banana as a staple food to banana as a dependable cash crop.<sup>22</sup> The change of food habits on the mountain increased the demand for maize that could suitably grow on the lowlands.<sup>23</sup> Although coffee has recently fallen desperate on the highlands, it has not been totally uprooted and no total replacement of the highland *kihamba* system with crops formerly grown on the

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<sup>20</sup> UKNA CO 736/34.

<sup>21</sup> Moshi District Book Vol. I, KOT 6, Tanganyika Territory, *Annual report of the Provincial Commissioners on Native Administrations for the Year 1947* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1948), p.76. Also see Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the Provincial Commissioners on Native Administration for the Year 1948* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1949), pp. 68 – 69.

<sup>22</sup> Details on the decline of coffee prices and productivity on the highland and the way this influenced land use change and food habit on the mountain are provided in chapter three of this thesis.

<sup>23</sup> KOT 30, Tarakea Mjini, 27<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 32, Kingachi Village, 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015 and KOT 2, Ushiri Rombo, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2014.

lowlands has been made. Maize has started to penetrate some former coffee fields but most of it still grows on the lowlands and a small part on former coffee fields where coffee has been uprooted or they are grown together where banana no longer grows. The use of maize in the Chagga diet has made the lowland equivalent to the highland that provide banana. Maize can be grown, eaten and sold on the lowland as banana on the highlands. The two crops have equal importance on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, a transformation that happened in no less than a century of growing both crops.

Cultivation of maize on the highlands alone is not enough to feed the mountain. This explains why the Chagga are flocking into the lowlands to produce maize. They no longer produce maize seasonally and go back to the hills as was the case in the past;<sup>24</sup> but they produce maize on permanent plots and establish their settlements there. The two landscapes, highlands and lowlands, are differentiated by their history of settlements but no longer exist in isolation from one another. The highland Chagga generation is older than the lowland generation that shows recent settlement on the lowlands more so the lowlands below the Arusha Moshi Taveta road. Lowlands were opened as extensions for those who either had built houses on the highlands or had missed the chance to get areas on the highlands.<sup>25</sup>

## **6.2 When the Highland and Lowland Socio-Landscapes Meet, 1950 to 1970**

The highland and lowland of the slopes of Mountain Kilimanjaro existed as separate entities; each was configured to serve different yet related purposes for the people inhabiting them. The purposes served were divided on both factual landscape characteristics and ethnic identity on the mountain, in the way they conceived,

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<sup>24</sup> Moshi District Book Vol. I.

<sup>25</sup> KOT 9, Kwasadala Village, 4<sup>th</sup> September 2014.

perceived and imagined the two landscapes. Change in local environmental construction, force of wants and traditional land tenure had impacts on the way the inhabitants of the two landscapes interacted between people and resources. In a way, the nature of interaction between the two physical spaces tended to have passed a gradual but constant tendency of relationship and that, it seems, will continue for more time. We have established elsewhere that the lowlands were formerly used for some pastoral activities and seasonal farming of tropical crops from inhabitants of the highlands who were cultivators as opposed to pastoralists. This tendency changed drastically from 1950s and permanent settlements were established.

Establishment of permanent settlements on the lowlands had to negotiate and in other cases appropriate the lowland people and activities, try to transfer some skills from the highland, and experiment whether highland practices and experiences could be practised on the lowlands. This implied that the lowland practices could not continue the same way they were before the permanent interaction with the highland started. Settlement, agriculture, pastoralism and social-cultural practices changed to accommodate new relations. Up to 1970s it was obvious that land use change trends in Northeastern Tanzania was in sharp divisions between pastoral and arable lands while former pasture lands were quickly changing into farms.<sup>26</sup> Conflicts over land use between transhumant Maasai pastoralists and the permanently established Chagga farms became common as a result.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> D. Convyers et al, 'AgroEconomic Zones of North-Eastern Tanzania' (BRALUP Research Paper No. 13, 1970).

<sup>27</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Report of the Arusha Moshi Land Commission (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1947)*, p. 15, Jon D. Unruh, 'Integration of Transhumant Pastoralism and Irrigated Agriculture in Semi Arid-Arid East Africa' *Human Ecology* 18, No. 3 (1990), pp. 223 – 225. Unruh describes that transhumant pastoralists are denied of the fertile and irrigable lands to exercise transhumant

As the population increased on the lowlands and almost all areas became under agriculture or settlement by people practicing farming, it became difficult for pastoral Maasai to access pastureland. For example it was difficult for pastoralist to access pasture in part of Moshi District in 1949 following two years failure of rain in Maasailand because these areas have already been occupied by cultivating Chagga people.<sup>28</sup> Although the Maasai herds of cattle were allowed to graze in Moshi District, the area to graze was limited as it excluded that part of land under agriculture and permanent settlement.<sup>29</sup> The disputes that occurred between the Chagga and the Maasai by the second half of the twentieth century were not new in the history of disputes involving the two groups but just a continuation of the eighteenth century disputes. By the twentieth century there were recurring conflicts between the two groups, though the nineteenth and twentieth centuries disputes differed from each other on the course of the disputes. While the former was caused by Maasai cattle theft from Wachagga, the later concerned competition over resources; agricultural land against pasture land on the lowlands.<sup>30</sup>

For a long time, it remained understandable that the Chagga and other ethnic groups inhabiting the lowlands were not on good terms. The problems that brought this type of misunderstandings resulted from negotiations and access to resource use

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pastoralism. For the case of Kilimanjaro, even the drier lowlands transformed into potential expansion areas of the highland populations.

<sup>28</sup> TNA 5/27/7: Moshi: Veterinary, Cattle Movements, Permits, Grazing, Trespass e.t.c. Folio No. 12 Letter from the District Office, Maasai – Monduli to the District commissioner – Moshi, Titled ‘Maasai Grazing’ dated 13<sup>th</sup> July 1949.

<sup>29</sup> TNA 5/27/7: Folio No. 29: Letter from the District Commissioner – Moshi to the Jumbe of Arusha Chini, dated 15<sup>th</sup> July 1949, Folio No. 30: Letter from Jumbe of Arusha Chini to the District Commissioner – Moshi, dated 16<sup>th</sup> July 1949.

<sup>30</sup> C. G. Richards, *Krapf: Missionary and Explorer, Early Travellers in East Africa Series*. (London: EALB, Nelson 1950), pp. 32 – 33.

and ownership, and property ownership.<sup>31</sup> In traditional societies marriage was one among the stronger weapons that prevented conflicts and incidents of fighting between one society and another when some potential personalities in the society married from enemy societies. Marriage was a shield against attack, as by attacking a clan/society where a daughter was married was fighting close relations. The history of the slopes of mount Kilimanjaro from the precolonial and colonial period indicated a struggle between Maasai pastoralists and Chagga cultivators. They entered into confrontations both through competition for pasture and arable lands and cattle ownership. Cattle theft was very common between the two ethnic groups, mostly, the Chagga lost to Maasai as most of their cattle were raided.

In this period of struggle and hatred between the two societies there were no incidences where marriage was possible across the ethnic groups. Conceptions came from both sides where the Maasai did not want to marry Chagga women because they came from poor societies.<sup>32</sup> The creation of social identities had both negative and positive impacts when it came to interacting with other ethnic groups. The advantage of identities for example of pastoral Maasai who associated themselves with cattle ownership forced them to struggle to maintain cattle wealth through individual effort or assistance from clan members and conceived of all other ethnic groups without cattle as poor. The negative side was the social exclusion of Maa-speakers who did not own cattle.<sup>33</sup> Apart from perceived poverty of non-cattle

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<sup>31</sup> Chapter five of this thesis provides a detailed discussion on the nature and pattern of misunderstanding between pastoral and arable land uses.

<sup>32</sup> The poor are the people without cattle.

<sup>33</sup> David Anderson and Vigdis Broch-Due (eds), *The Poor Are Not Us: Poverty and Pastoralism* (Oxford: James Currey 1999), pp. 5 – 7, Richard Waller, 'Pastoral Poverty in Historical Perspective', in Anderson Broch-Due (eds), *The Poor*, pp. 20 – 29, Thomas Spear, 'Introduction', in Thomas Spear and Richard Waller (eds), *Being*

owners by Maasai in Kilimanjaro, cultivators were a representation of rivals on competition for resources and properties on the slopes when it came to compromise of grazing areas and arable land. Maasai fathers struggled to prevent their daughters from marrying non-pastoral men because marriage to Maasai was an opportunity to accumulate more wealth in terms of cattle and was a wasted opportunity marrying a non-pastoral man because they were poor and could not offer cattle.<sup>34</sup>

On the other way, Chagga men and women did not prefer marriage to Maasai because they were not part of their society. However, the Maasai wealth in cattle seems to have attracted some Chagga women who sought marriage from the Maasai. Chagga families with girl children also sought to obtain cattle from Maasai and thus allowed intermarriage. Intermarriage with Maasai was also a reason to reduce hatred between the Chagga and Maasai because of cattle theft.<sup>35</sup> A somehow more harmonious co-existence and cooperation between the Chagga and Maasai started after the ecological crisis during the early days of colonial rule that led in widespread deaths of Maasai cattle in Eastern Africa that continued into the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>36</sup> Many pastoral Maasai became refugees in agricultural societies and, in some cases, they did not go back to pastoralism as they settled in some areas

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*Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa* (Oxford: James Currey 1993), pp. 1 – 14.

<sup>34</sup> KOT 76, Ngaritati Village, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2015, KOT 65, Ngaritati Village, 18<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

<sup>35</sup> KOT 65.

<sup>36</sup> Ilife, *A Modern History*, pp. 124 – 125, James Giblin, 'East Coast Fever in Social – Historical Context: A Case Study from Tanzania', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 23, No. 3 (1990), pp. 401 – 421, Thomas Spear, 'Being 'Maasai' but not People of Cattle: Arusha Agricultural Maasai in the Nineteenth Century', in Spear and Waller (eds), *Being Maasai*, pp. 120 – 133, James Giblin & Gregory Maddox, 'Introduction', in Gregory Maddox, James Giblin and Isaria Kimambo (eds), *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania* (Oxford: James Currey 1996), pp. 7 – 8, James Giblin, 'The Precolonial Politics of Disease Control in the Lowlands of Northeastern Tanzania', in Maddox, Giblin and Kimambo (eds), *Custodians of the Land*, pp. 129 – 145.

on the slopes of the mountain. The relationship and histories of Maasai presence in the highland and lowland areas of the mountain is carried forward by existence of Maasai names of those areas and presence of names in the Chagga population with Maasai descent. Some of these were, kibosh, Engare Nairobi, Engare Nanyuki, Machame that imply at one point Maasai occupied them. This indicates that Maasai, not only settled entirely on the lowlands, but also went up the mountain slopes and were pushed down slopes as agricultural Chagga continued to move down slope.<sup>37</sup> Oral accounts indicate that Maasai wanted to occupy spacious areas and when their areas were converted into farming plots they kept moving further down and far from cultivators to find new areas where their animals could prosper. One pastoralist recounted ‘the Maasai did not want land because it was not an inheritable asset. The main technique that the Chagga used to chase Maasai from their areas was establishing farm plots.’<sup>38</sup> Establishment of farmlands went at the same speed with establishment of settlement that entirely squeezed Maasai into small areas and forced them to move to other areas.<sup>39</sup>

For example, the alienation of part of the land on which Kibong’oto Hospital was later established forced the Maasai further downslope south and west of the Boma Sanya Road from 1930s. When plans to alienate this land in Kibong’oto were made, earlier occupants were either compensated or moved willingly to other areas to leave the area for the hospital. The compensation was a flat rate twenty five shillings for each who had to give up his land. It did not consider the size of the

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<sup>37</sup> There are a lot of these place and people’s names on the slopes of the mountain and some are even higher up the mountain where assumptions are that they were entirely areas settled by the Chagga people. KOT 74, Karansi Village, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

<sup>38</sup> KOT 75, Ewasi Village, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

<sup>39</sup> KOT 75, KOT 76, KOT 77, Donyo Village, 19<sup>th</sup> August 2015, KOT 78, Karansi Village, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

compensated land for each occupant and what wealth that land offered to the owner in terms of utility and accessibility values of each landholding. Those who grazed received a 1/50 shillings compensation for each head of cattle moved from the area but still there are no records that show where these evacuated herders were allocated land for their livestock, serve only, individual initiatives that prompted expansion into other unrestricted areas out of controlled Chagga *shambas*, and settler farms and ranches.<sup>40</sup> The hospital was established in an area that was also created as a settlement reserve for recovering tuberculosis patients who were taught farming skills before they went back to their homes to join families.<sup>41</sup> Settlement in this new area did not last long as a massive flow of agricultural Chagga continued to take place that further and further squeezed and displaced pastoralists out of what they regarded their traditional land for herding.

Movements of livestock from Maasai District (now Monduli District, not exactly the same boundaries) were blocked through establishment of settler farms and expansion of Chagga farms in the area near to the Sanya Corridor. Attempts in the 1950s by the British government through the Native Authority to allocate land to Maasai and Chagga on the western slopes of the Boma Sanya Road, and south of Arusha Moshi Road were not fruitful to pastoralists who viewed allocation as

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<sup>40</sup> TNA 450/70/2: Tuberculosis Kilimanjaro, including Inspection of Stores and Accounts, Folio No. 26: Letter from Acting Provincial Commissioner – Northern Province to the District Officer – Moshi, dated 9<sup>th</sup> November 1936, also KOT 65, KOT 64, Ngaritati Village, 18<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

<sup>41</sup> TNA 450/70/2: Folios: Letter from R. M. Davis – Senior Agricultural Officer to the Honourable the Director of Agriculture – Morogoro, dated 13<sup>th</sup> November 1936, Folio: Letter from District Officer – Moshi to the Provincial Commissioner – Northern Province, Titled ‘Native Settlement – Tuberculosis Hospital Kibong’oto’, dated, 13<sup>th</sup> January 1937, and Folio: Letter from Mchili Mkuu Kibong’oto to the Native Authority titled ‘Sahihi na Utambulisho wa Watu Walikuwa Wakilima Katika Sehemu iliyotolewa na Wenyeji kwa msaada wa Wagonjwa’, dated, 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1937.

confining them into small pieces of land that were not enough for their pastoral activities. This was a chance for the land hungry Chagga from the mountain to take some areas on the lowlands that later were transformed from seasonal farms into settlement areas and permanent farmlands. The challenge with this tendency was obvious. While pastoral Maasai were not formerly allocated land, and did not claim ownership, they continued to believe that the lowlands, including areas currently occupied by cultivators, were theirs and moved livestock seasonally as they did before the areas were allocated for cultivation. This has caused a series of land use cases reported daily to local government authorities and some went to primary courts.<sup>42</sup>

### **6.3 The Boma la Ng'ombe Case, 1950s Onwards**

Boma la Ng'ombe was established during the German period and it was an area where cattle were kept by German military expeditions during the First World War. This was the reason behind the Kiswahili name Boma la Ng'ombe that meant 'a cattle kraal/shed'. It is situated between the Sanya and Kware rivers along the Moshi Arusha road and has the Hai District headquarters. Before the establishment of the area as a German soldiers camp, Maasai pastoralists who moved from Maasai District to the area during the dry season seasonally used the whole of this area. Boma la Ng'ombe was divided into Kware, Boma la Ng'ombe and Sanya. No titles were given for the ownership of land in Boma la Ng'ombe but also people who settled in the area after the First World War preferred to live a scattered life rather than the concentration in small planned settlements. This was a result of the fact that

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<sup>42</sup> In my three visits to Kwasadala Village administrative office, I saw all the time many people outside the office waiting to hear about or lodge queries related to land use disputes between pastoralism and agriculture related activities. Also KOT 67, Kwasadala Village, 19<sup>th</sup> August 2015, KOT 45, Majengo – Kwasadala Village, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2015, KOT 41, Kambi ya Nyuki, 19<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

most of these people were mixed farmers and wanted to have spacious possessions for their stocks and areas for cultivation that could not be possible if they lived in planned and concentrated areas.<sup>43</sup>

The question of settlement in Boma la Ng'ombe resulted in conflict of interest between the ex-German soldiers and the proposed use of the area for the establishment of large-scale farms during the British colonial rule. There were *askaris* who fought on the German side during the First World War and included various ethnic groups and origins but were generally called Sudanese.<sup>44</sup> Apart from former German soldiers also there were some alien population residing in the area and many more people of Sudanic origin came to settle in the area after the world war. This was the starting point for land use disputes that governments have continued to deal with over the following decades.

The Provincial Commissioner (PC – Northern Province) in 1930, when he was writing to the Land Officer in Dar es Salaam in regard to finding solutions on the settlement of Boma la Ng'ombe, he stated that 'As you acknowledge that there is some ground for the claim advanced by the Sudanese ex-askaris, I suggest that all ex-German Askaris and their male adult descendants who can prove that they were settled at Boma la Ng'ombe prior to the outbreak of war in 1914 be treated alike no matter of what race.'<sup>45</sup> In response to this letter the Secretary of state pointed 'I am to request you to appoint a headman to prevent further squatting and to say that no further action need be taken until a suitable officer and a Surveyor are available to

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<sup>43</sup> TNA 69/50/01: Moshi: Alien Settlement Boma la Ng'ombe, Folio: Memorandum, 1926.

<sup>44</sup> Sudanese German askaris referred to all soldiers who served in the German side who were recruited from Northern part of Africa.

<sup>45</sup> TNA 69/50/01: Folio: Letter from the Provincial Commissioner Northern Province to the Land Officer – Dar es Salaam, dated, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1930.

investigate titles and area occupied.<sup>46</sup> Subsequently, in September the same year the surveyor was appointed followed by the appointment of Udailu Hailu as a headman of Boma la Ng'ombe in October.<sup>47</sup> Some of the land along the Arusha Moshi railway was sold to Messrs Pienaar and Stretch and prevented grazing on the southern part of the farm. More difficult in settling land use plans remained the northern part of the railway line where a mixed population settled. The PC Northern Province expressed the difficulty in the following words;

It will be almost impossible to define what arable land the inhabitants actually occupy individually, because they cultivate in different places from time to time, have their houses in another, and graze their stock over the whole area, while there are three distinct villages, much spread out, which have neither shape nor form. The inhabitants are strongly against being moved or concentrated, on the grounds that they own the whole farm, and it would be an imposition to make them to do so.<sup>48</sup>

Given the above observation, the Commissioner proposed that; first, ex-German askaris with male descendants owning a homestead were to be granted a free right of occupancy not exceeding half an acre, considerate of farming and herding, and, second, the right to graze in common over a portion of farm 302 on the north of Moshi Arusha railway. The conditions to graze included up to and not exceeding 40 heads of large stock, and up to and not exceeding 50 heads of small stock. Although it was not stated whether the number of animals were per each inhabitant (family) or it was a total of animal per that area, there is a high level of probability that the

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<sup>46</sup> TNA 69/50/01: Folio: Letter from Acting Chief Secretary to the PC – Northern Province, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1930.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> TNA 69/50/01: Folio: Letter from Provincial Commissioner – Northern Province to Land Officer.

specifications included grazing rights for each family. Also they were given the right to cultivate not more than seven acres in the northern part of the farm from Moshi Arusha railway. Lastly, other remaining residents of the area (who were not related in any way to ex-German soldiers and who arrived in the area before 1914) were given rights to cultivate not more than five acres, and graze in no more than 20 large stock and 25 small stock. The only difference between those with ex-German soldiers' descent and those without was that they were supposed to pay a total of Shs. 20/= per annum as rental fee.<sup>49</sup> All these specified land uses were not backed by any legal entitlements.

This continued until 1954 when the colonial government allocated families descended from German soldiers thirty acres of land for each family on a ninety-nine year lease. The movement of the Chagga from the highland to Boma la Ng'ombe prompted Hai District Council from the 1980s to try to revoke the few titles for different purposes but mainly wanted to reallocate land to some landless Chagga. This attempt failed when the Somali challenged the revocation because they regarded that the land they had was not enough for pastoral activities, contrary to the government authority view that the Somali left most of the land they occupied lie fallow. The case for Boma la Ng'ombe was not settled until recently when the government tried from 1990s to prepare a plan to reallocate the land to five hundred people who were given right of occupancy by the British Government in 1954.<sup>50</sup>

Land use change on the lowlands of the slopes of Kilimanjaro has caused increasing tensions and disputes involving its users. Pastoralists on the one hand still

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Dispute No. 22: The Somali Settlement (Boma la Ng'ombe) United Republic of Tanzania (URT, hereafter), *Report of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters, Vol. II, Selected Land Disputes and Recommendations* (1993), p. 90, KOT 43, and KOT 42, Kambi ya Nyuki, 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

have that notion that all lowlands were once theirs and agriculture has encroached upon their areas. Agricultural Chagga believed that pastoralists were stubborn and fed their livestock on farms deliberately because they had exhausted all their pasture areas.<sup>51</sup> The intensity of the disputes varied depending on how often the areas involved were used for pastoralism. In western and southern Kilimanjaro more of such disputes were common than on the eastern slopes. And in most cases, such disputes ended in favour of cultivating societies and herders kept on losing their land. This was backed by state policies that also favoured peasant producers over pastoralists.<sup>52</sup>

Such disputes revealed trends in population growth, intensity of use value over land and the nature of tenure systems on newly expanded areas. It is clearly indicated that in the period between 1920 and 1930 disputes over land were few and involved only the highlands where every inhabitant understood the elaborate customary system of land tenure. It was only from 1930s when traditional tenure was triggered due to the introduction of coffee economy where disputes emerged in large scales. The high rate of disputes between 1940 and 1960s indicated at least two

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<sup>51</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Report on the Arusha Moshi Land Commission*, p. 15, Unruh, 'Integration of Transhumant Pastoralism', pp. 223 – 225. Unruh provides a narrative that shows how pastoral communities are at risk of losing access to their land when the areas they own seem to have agricultural potentials. A close connection to this observation was when the lowlands of Kilimanjaro were turned into potential settlement areas for the Chagga from the highland and as a result, continuous struggles over ownership and use of environmental resources became part of everyday life on the lowlands.

<sup>52</sup> For the discussion on land use related disputes see Martin Shen et al, 'Conflict Over Access to Land and Water Resources within Sub-Saharan Dry Lands: Underlying Factors, Conflict Dynamics and Settlement Processes' (GRET – FAO LEAD Final Report 2006), pp. 7 – 8, Chambi Chachage, 'Land Acquisition and Accumulation in Tanzania: The Case of Morogoro, Iringa and Pwani Regions' (PERUM – Tanzania 2010), pp. 6 – 40, Davis Mwamfupe, 'Persistence of Farmer-Herder Conflicts in Tanzania', *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications* 5, No. 2 (2015), pp. 1 – 6.

things. First, this was the period when much expansion to the lowlands took place. Expansion took place in less controlled and organised ways that potentially created rooms for immediate and later disputes between relatives and the large part of those involved in the expansion. Chiefs could distribute land but in many areas, land was acquired freely especially on land that everybody regarded marginal. Second, this was a period when empty land for expansion existed and highlanders wanted it more than before.<sup>53</sup>

Not all disputes have always led into conflicts that involved serious confrontations between livestock herding and agriculture groups. The two economic activities are structured and maintained in new social relations established between participants. There are some informal agreements made between pastoralists and cultivators that allow an amicable use of resources. Some of these agreements include growing animals together and using crop residuals on farms when crops are reaped. As pastoral movements take place seasonally following areas with enough pasture, cultivators have entered into cooperation with them, whereby during the wet season, the cattle are taken from the slopes with other herds of cattle by Maasai and are returned back to graze on farms whose crops have been harvested during the dry season.<sup>54</sup> Dry seasons marked the end and exhaustion of the wet season grazing areas and the beginning of the grazing on areas left untouched during the wet season. This worked somehow well for those who owned cattle but not those without or who did not want to enter into this cooperation. Those without cattle leave their crop remains on farms where grazing takes place and for those with cattle that are not in the first

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<sup>53</sup> For statistics of these disputes see Paul S. Maro, 'Population and Land Resources in Northern Tanzania: The Dynamics of Change, 1920 – 1970' (University of Minnesota: PhD Dissertation 1974), pp. 173 – 176.

<sup>54</sup> KOT 77, Donyo Village, 19<sup>th</sup> August 2015, KOT 76, KOT 65, KOT 64, KOT 74.

category of cooperation, take their crop residues either to the highlands or feed their stalled cattle on the lowlands (See Figure 5). In occasions where disputes related to resource use became intense, the aforementioned informal arrangements led by respected elders from the society were more successful in finding solutions than when the state interfered through police force. Both peasants and pastoralists distrust the police and point to them as turning disputes into their benefit through demands of illegal payments from affected parties.

**Figure 5: Fodder collection and sale on the lowlands of Kilimanjaro**



**Source: Photos by author, taken during fieldwork in 2014 and 2015**

#### **6.4 The Case of the Former Settlers Farms in West Kilimanjaro, 1970 to 2000s**

In the same vein, another land use change that brought about disputes over use and ownership of resources was the conversion of former settler estates in Northeastern Tanzania into national reserves for capital intensive investment in agriculture. Estates continued to function soon after independence in 1961 but following Tanzania's wide-ranging ideological shift from dependence on capital intensive investment to developing the rural peasant sector, the estates were nationalised in 1969. Nationalisation followed the countrywide implementation of the Arusha declaration inaugurated in February 1967. Nationalised farms were consolidated under the National Food and Agricultural Corporation (NAFCO) that also failed to develop them and started to sublease to private developers.

NAFCO alienated some peasantry and pastoral lands for the purposes of large-scale food production, but this remained unrealised for quite some time. For instance the alienation of more than a quarter of Hanang District land deprived many of their settlement, grazing and agriculture. The alienation was based on production and conservation assumptions that the land was empty and the national wheat scheme could utilise it. Another reason for the alienation of this land was the assumption that the Barbaig grazing on such land would cause serious environmental problems if not properly controlled.<sup>55</sup> Nonetheless, the establishment of wheat farms on previous pasture areas had more problems than advantages. Pastoralists expanded into riverbanks to graze their cattle, a practice that was previously not observed; also

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<sup>55</sup> Dispute No. 4: The Hanang Wheat Project, URT (1993), pp. 17 – 18.

resulted in the conversion of *mbuga*<sup>56</sup> areas into farmlands and decreased perennial grasses for livestock.<sup>57</sup>

Nationalisation and later privatisation of former settler farms has led into disputes and conflicts between smallholder cultivators and livestock herders on one side and private investors on the other. The main cause for such disputes has been the failure of private investors to develop their areas that exist amid landless communities living in the surrounding areas. When communities started to use the areas, they were legally identified as trespassers because the farms were given with title deeds to investors.<sup>58</sup> In west Kilimanjaro NAFCO created a group of people who became landless and jobless as their former-employer the estates-were abandoned. There rose a group of squatters who were allowed to build houses and had no more land to depend on. Villages like Ngare Nairobi in west Kilimanjaro is a squatter's village that marks and indicates the multiplicity of the former migrant labourers in west Kilimanjaro. Plantation economy in Kilimanjaro provided for the life stay of different migrants from other parts of Tanzania.

They participated in coffee, sisal, sugar cane and wheat plantations that were spread throughout the western and southern parts of the slopes. Activities on the plantations attracted thousands of people adding the population pressures in Kilimanjaro. The closure and decline of the nationalized farms under NAFCO and NARCO (The National Ranch Corporation) made the labour dependent migrants jobless and some went back to areas of origin while others remained in Kilimanjaro.

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<sup>56</sup> These were grassland areas special for livestock grazing.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, URT.

<sup>58</sup> Chambi Chachage and Richard Mbunda, 'Then NAFCO, NARCO and Absentee Landlords Farms/Ranches in Tanzania', (LARRI/HAKIARDHI 2009), pp. 12, 16 – 59, also see HAKIARDHI, 'The Changing Terrain on Land Use Conflicts in Tanzania and the Future of A Small Producer' (2009).

In western Kilimanjaro there are small villages surrounded on both sides by former wheat farms, which currently are hired by peasants annually, and some are under private investors.<sup>59</sup> The villages are comprised of people from different parts of Tanzania and others were originally from other parts of East Africa who did not go back after the closure of business in the area. Former migrant labourers added to complications of land availability to the already existing problem of land shortage to the Chagga.<sup>60</sup> They continued to struggle for ownership and use of land on the lowlands. Struggles were between peasants themselves, pastoralists and private investors developing that land on behalf of NAFCO. In other instances, fierce confrontations in western Kilimanjaro have been reported where local people tended to invade investors' farms in the hope of establishing their own farmlands.

In 2006 the Minister for Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives, Mr. Christopher Chiza who was responding to a question that required the government statement on the fate of the abandoned NAFCO farms in West Kilimanjaro acknowledged that the problem of land shortage was acute in the area. The government planned to privatise farms like Kanamondo, Harlington, Fosters, Matadi, Journeys End that all went to NAFCO after they fell vacant when settlers left. Privatisation of these farms was difficult because the amount of money that the government wanted was higher than that which investors were willing to give. This implied that there was no private investment in those farms until 2009, which meant that no labour was available in those farms and the population living in the enclaves

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<sup>59</sup> Milline Jethro Mbonile, 'Population Dynamics and Mobility on the Slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro', in Francois Bart et al (eds), *Mount Kilimanjaro: Mountain, Memory, Modernity* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers Ltd. 2006), pp. 117 – 130.

<sup>60</sup> Dispute No. 19: Land Scarcity and Squatter Settlement by Former Workers Abandoned Farms, The Case of Hai District (Chapman Farm), URT (1993).

of these farms remained desperate. By 2006 an estimated 12,000 people were on the Kilimanjaro Forest Reserve and the minister thought it wise that a redistribution of the 5,935 acres of land to those people would not solve the problem of land shortage and in turn suggested that people from Kilimanjaro should migrate to other areas of Tanzania.<sup>61</sup>

### **6.5 Continuities and Change on the Lowlands**

Expansion to the lowlands was not a smooth transition when it came to a need of establishing permanent presence in the area as opposed to the seasonal land use of the pre-1950s. New migrants in the new homes struggled to master new environments and brought with them imaginations from the highlands that were to be tried out on the lowlands. These imaginations spanned from trying banana farming, establishing *kihamba*, maintaining cultural practices and maintaining food habits. The ecological conditions on the lowlands of Kilimanjaro did not permit banana farming and coffee production, as most areas were dry. Permanent settlement on the lowlands meant a complete shift from banana as a staple food to maize that suitably grows on the lowlands. Maize started to be part of Chagga diet earlier in the mid-1930s and increased significantly in the 1940s and 1950s and in recent years it has occupied central position in Chagga kitchens to replace banana. Settlement on the lowlands indicated that maize meal had become a permanent fixture in the Chagga homes while banana remained a supplementary food, as a large part of it went to the market as a partial substitute for the failing coffee economy.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Christopher Chiza, Parliament Hansard Quoted in Chachage and Mbunda, ‘The State of’, pp. 59 – 63.

<sup>62</sup> Discussion on banana production dynamics in response to changing coffee economy is provided in chapter there of this thesis.

The 1960s was a period characterised by struggles to establish and fit into the lowland landscapes and it marked a period where a notable land use change was experienced through rapid conversion of *shamba* areas into settled homes and new *vihamba* land. In April 1962, Bernard Meleki from Rombo reiterated what a colonial report warned in 1945 about the danger of losing food production potentials on the lowlands of Mount Kilimanjaro due to conversion of farmlands into settlement lands.<sup>63</sup> Meleki wrote a letter to the Editor of *Kusare* paper that expressed a complaint on the rapid change that was taking place in Rombo by the 1960s.<sup>64</sup> The changes complained of included former agricultural land (*kyaalo*) that was distributed as *kihamba* land without replacement or compensation to former owners in Mashati, Rombo Division. The Area Land Board gave ownership to those users who were found on such lands and did not consider those who owned those farms before they leased or loaned to current users.

In the 1960s the saying '*nina eka zangu mbili za mahindi: I have two acres of maize*' was common in Kilimanjaro and referred to the presence of some maize fields on the lowlands that also kept on declining as time went on. Having two acres was a great achievement and as one of the elders pointed 'the Chagga were right to be proud of having two acres of maize on the lowlands, not because they were not ready farming ten acres of maize, but most areas on the lowlands that could be used for farming were no longer present, so a person with two acres is a quite lucky individual.'<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Tanganyika Territory, *Annual Report of the Provincial Commissioners on Native Administration for the Year 1944* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1945), p. 59.

<sup>64</sup> Bernard B. Meleki, Letter to the Editor *Kusare*, Titled 'Shida ya Ardhi Mashati', dated 28<sup>th</sup> April 1962.

<sup>65</sup> Free translation from Kiswahili text: '*Nina eka zangu mbili za mahindi. Msemo huo hapo juu unasikika siku kwa siku kati ya Wachagga. Mchagga ana haki ya*

In the same struggle to acquire land and establish new settlements on the lowlands, new migrants faced recurring famines that resulted from unreliability of rainfall and the dryness of the lowlands. Shortage of rainfall and dryness of the lowlands were among the factors that held back expansion to these areas for a long time and they contributed to the perception that the lowlands were *porini*-wilderness. But later in the mid twentieth century they became new homes. Due to the recurring incidents of famines, in 1961 the District Commissioner for Moshi appointed a Committee to survey and propose ways to avoid further famines on the lowlands. The committee<sup>66</sup> proposed four measures including improvement of food storage reserves, reducing *mbege* brewing in order to allow drying of ripe bananas for use during the dry season and famine, fodder collection and destocking.<sup>67</sup> The second and third suggestions were new to the lowlanders. *Mbege* had for centuries, been part of a cultural practice on the highlands but moving to the lowlands they had to make some adjustments by reducing the intensity of brewing, which automatically was reduced, because the supply of banana on the lowlands was lower compared to the highlands. This time, however, the government also intervened to ensure food security to lowlanders.<sup>68</sup> Fodder collection was not new as the highland also were used to indoor livestock keeping that required the collection of fodder. What came to be new on the lowland was harvesting fodder and keeping it for use in the dry season.

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*kujivuna anaposema hivyo kwani mtu mwenye eka mbili za mahindi porini hujiona kuwa ana kitu, sio kwamba Mchagga hayupo tayari kulima hata eka kumi za mahindi la, isipokuwa zile sehemu za chini ambazo tunaweza kuziita nzuri kwa kilimo ni kama zimekwisha hivyo mtu aliye na bahati na eka mbili hujiona mwenye bahati', Ref. Kusare, dated 1<sup>st</sup> July 1961.*

<sup>66</sup> I did not manage to get records for this committee; little of its information was reported in *Kusare* Newspaper.

<sup>67</sup> *Kusare*, 1<sup>st</sup> July 1961.

<sup>68</sup> *Kusare*, 1<sup>st</sup> July 1961.

Government food relief to affected families halted the 1961 famine but a concern remained as to how to find a permanent solution to prevent future famines given the unpredictability of climatic and weather conditions of the lowlands.<sup>69</sup> Also as settlement on the lowlands increased, there was a close connection between shortage of rainfall, famine and out-migration. In years where there was low rainfall young men moved from Kilimanjaro to urban areas for off-farm employment opportunities.<sup>70</sup> Migration apart from other factors responded to the challenges of shortage of arable activities on the lowlands. Almost all irrigation projects initiated during the colonial period to the lowlands did not do well.

Farming practices on the lowlands also changed considerably. Perennial farming was replaced by seasonal farming where the fallow periods also increased. On the highlands, farming of seasonal crops in between banana groves and in nearby plots of land was done twice a year between December and January and the second between March and April. Farming was dictated by the availability of rainfall that came twice on the highland as opposed to one rainy season on the lowlands. Banana farming was not possible in many areas of the lowlands and new migrants depended on their farms, relatives and links that were maintained with the highland.<sup>71</sup>

Apart from farming practices, another highland economic activity that changed to adjust with the lowland environment was animal keeping. While on the highlands the Chagga were not able to keep a large number of large stocks like cattle, on the lowlands it was possible to increase the number of cattle and variably the

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<sup>69</sup> See *Kusare*, dated 8<sup>th</sup> July 1961, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1961 and 5<sup>th</sup> August 1961.

<sup>70</sup> Tamer Afifi, Emma Liwenga and Lukas Kwez, 'Rainfall induced Crop Failure, Food Insecurity and Outmigration in Same –Kilimanjaro, Tanzania', *Climate and Development* 6, No. 1 (2014), pp. 53 – 60.

<sup>71</sup> KOT 6, Uswaa Village, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2014, KOT 68, Kwasadala Village, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2015.

lowland encouraged keeping between five to fifty cattle heads.<sup>72</sup> Keeping many animals was encouraged by presence of large areas where collection of fodder was not as labour intensive as it was on the highland and also there was cooperation between the Chagga and pastoral Maasai on the lowlands. Grazing was also possible on the lowlands where ‘a small proportion of animals are kept in stall, especially when the crops are growing, but most are grazed outside.’<sup>73</sup> In few cases, the Chagga found themselves keeping Maasai cattle when they could not get some for themselves. They did this to maintain the highland culture that encouraged livestock keeping for immediate advantages like milk and manure.

## 6.6 Conclusion

Mobility and settlement into the lowlands did not indicate transformations or modernity but adaptations to combined social-cultural and economic motives that operated on the highlands and lowlands. This chapter has demonstrated that local knowledge and experience are central for the successful implementation of development projects that affect a particular section of a population. It was the same people who from the 1930s to 1950 refused to establish coordinated settlement and production projects on the lowlands but they became willing to do so without pressure from the government after the 1950s. What happened on the lowlands was part and parcel of socio-economic adaptations into new environments. The next chapter will examine the impact of this mobility and settlement on the lowlands.

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<sup>72</sup> Convyers et al, ‘AgroEconomic Zones’, p. 60.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter Seven

### **Down the Mountain: Mobility and its Influence on Land Use Change on the Lowlands of Kilimanjaro, 1970 to 2000s**

The influence of mobility on land use change in Kilimanjaro cannot be fully understood in isolation from the large context of national developments since independence. Soon after independence, Tanzania embarked on different ideals for national building that emphasised collectiveness and state coordinated development projects. A large majority of Tanzanians depended entirely on agriculture to make their ends meet. Consequently, competition on the fixed arable and pastureland continued to increase nation wise and became even worse in areas that already experienced large population growth and that had shortage of land since the early period of colonial rule.<sup>1</sup> The type of land use that developed after independence had direct continuity with what existed during the colonial period. Rural specialisations developed on the relations and foundations established during the colonial period. Development of infrastructure, production of cash crops and social services reflected potential specifications of those areas. Territorial mapping created during the colonial period that encouraged existence of separate interests on rural development based on sustaining rural stability and large scale economic sustainability continued. Some areas remained more marginal, while others continued to be progressive.

Kilimanjaro, Iraqwland and Ismani offer illustrative case studies of continuities of land use types that derived their histories in the colonial period and took them through into the post-colonial period. Land use in these areas was characterised by mixed peasantry controlled by few progressive peasants who had

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<sup>1</sup> R. Woods, 'Peasants and Peasantries in Tanzania and their role in Socio-political Development', in Lionel Cliffe et al (eds), *Rural Cooperation in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House 1971), pp. 39 – 50.

the means to produce for the market. For instance, in Kilimanjaro market operations were in operation since the introduction of coffee especially from the 1920s and continued to strengthen as days went by. Ismani developed both very small-scale hand to mouth peasantry and progressive farmers who owned capital equipment and controlled much of what was produced. Unlike Kilimanjaro, progressive farming in Ismani was less than two decades at the time of independence because it only started strongly after the Second World War.<sup>2</sup> Iraqwland like Ismani had similar features, the only difference being that the former produced maize and the later wheat but both served market and subsistence purposes. They both started intensive commercial land uses in the 1940s. More importantly, these were areas that the postcolonial government supported peasant progressive farming under the umbrella of state coordinated rural modernisation and improvement campaigns.<sup>3</sup>

This chapter attempts to review the impact of mobility and settlement on land use change on the lowlands of Kilimanjaro. It starts by reviewing the government attempt to resettle the Chagga in other areas of the country in the hope of reducing population pressure on the lowlands of mount Kilimanjaro. Both its success and failure are also discussed. The main reason behind the inclusion of this section was to see whether or not resettlement to other areas of Tanzania would reduce the pressure on land in Kilimanjaro. Another subsection discusses mobility and settlement to the lowlands and its impact on land use. The last section derives evidence from map reading and analysis and Landsat images that quite well show

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<sup>2</sup> See A. Awiti, 'Ismani and the Rise of Capitalism', in Cliffe et al (eds), *Rural Cooperation*, pp. 51 – 77, P. Raikes, 'Wheat Production and the development of Capitalism in North Iraqw', in Cliffe et al (eds), *Rural Cooperation*, pp. 79 – 101.

<sup>3</sup> For the impacts of modernization campaigns, see Y. Q. Lawi, 'Modernisation and De-Harmonization of the Man-Nature Relationship: The Case of the Agrico-pastoral Iraqw of the Old Mbulu District', in Peter G. Forster and Sam Maghimbi (eds), *The Tanzanian Peasantry: Economy in Crisis* (Aldershot: Avebury), pp. 45 – 56.

rapid change of vegetation cover that relate to oral texts and archival sources to indicate a correlation between establishment of permanent settlement on the lowlands and its influence on land use change.

### **7.1 Resettlement of the Chagga People in Other Areas of Tanzania 1960s – 1970s**

The development and promotion of the rural sector soon after independence started by planning how to bring people together in settled communities for collective farming activities. In 1963 the government formed a commission named Rural Settlement Commission whose members included the ministers for development planning, agriculture, communications, power and works, co-operative and community development, local government and the Commission for village settlement.<sup>4</sup> The rural settlement commission was in charge of all matters related to planning of settlement in Tanzania. ‘This Commission deals with the setting up of villages in different parts of the Republic, and these villages will be primarily agricultural settlements.’ In order to encourage more people to respond to planned settlement the government decided that all new settlers in the new areas were exempted from paying local rates to District Councils in the first three years of settlement until when they stabilized in the areas. Another motivation was transportation of those who decided to move into villages and participate in agricultural activities.<sup>5</sup> Setting up of a Settlement Commission this time was a continuation of the Land Settlement Board that was established by the colonial government earlier in 1950s. The difference between the two lay in their emphasis.

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<sup>4</sup> TNA ARC A.3/20B: Village Settlement Agency Circulars, Folio: Ministry of Local Government Circular Number LGC.48/03A to Executive Officers, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1963. Also see Folio: Ministry of Local Governments Circular Number LGC.48/03A to All Executive Officers of District Councils, Titled ‘Village Settlement’, dated 16<sup>th</sup> April 1964.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

Land Settlement Board encouraged settlers with capital to settle in some planed areas while the Commission encouraged small peasants to regroup together to receive assistance from the government.

By embarking on rural settlement programmes the government overwhelmed itself by committing into expensive rural settlement schemes through the implementation of what they called the transformation of the rural sector and ended up achieving less of their expectations.<sup>6</sup> The approach targeted assisting people to transform into large production in the areas that they settled but also helping others to settle in other areas where it was simple for the government to assist them.<sup>7</sup> The approach failed because it did not consider local environmental adaptations of production activities and what peasant producers considered when choosing areas for settlement. Ecological provisions and local perceptions on the environment like what was the case for the Chagga against the highlands and lowlands were not

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<sup>6</sup> Many of such initiatives failed. Detailed analysis of national building and rural development in the post-colonial Tanzania can be found in several publications, some include the essays in Lionel Cliffe and John Saull (eds), *Socialism in Tanzania: An Interdisciplinary Reader Vol. 1: Politics* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House 1975), Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu, *African Socialism or Socialist Africa?* (London: Zed Press 1981) skeptical on the ideals of African socialism as propagated by political elites, Crawford Young, *Ideology and Development in Africa* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1982), provides general assessment of African pathways to developing economies after independence, Michael Jennings, 'We Must Run while Others Walk': Popular Participation and Development Crisis in Tanzania 1961 – 1969', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 41, No. 2 (2003), pp. 163 – 187, Yusufu Qwaray Lawi, 'May the Spider Web Blind Witches and Wild Animals: Local Knowledge and the Political Ecology of Natural Resource use in the Iraqwland, Tanzania, 1900 - 1985', (University of Boston: PhD Dissertation 2000), pp. 1 – 31, Yusufu Qwaray Lawi, 'Tanzania Operation Vijiji and Local Ecological Consciousness: The Case of Eastern Iraqwland, 1974 – 1976', *Journal of African History* 48, No. 1 (2007), pp. 69 – 93, Emma Hunter, 'Revisiting Ujamaa: Political Legitimacy and the Construction of Community in Postcolonial Tanzania', *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, No. 3 (2008), pp. 471 – 485,

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

considered.<sup>8</sup> While the general purpose of rural settlement nationwide was to establish agricultural villages, it was somehow different when it came to its application in areas that had high population like the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. The Chagga were also encouraged to relocate into agricultural villages outside Kilimanjaro. The main objective for such encouragement was not to influence them to have progressive farming habits like what was the case for other communities that had lived in scattered settlements for a long time. It was rather targeted to relocate the Chagga in other areas as a palliative solution to the over increasing problem of land shortage and population pressure in Kilimanjaro. In September 1969, a record of nine hundred Chagga individuals voluntarily moved from Kilimanjaro to Mwezi highlands of Mpanda District in response to the government call for relocation to other areas of the country.<sup>9</sup> So far, this was the largest record available for a group of Chagga moving at one time to other areas for agricultural development in the destination areas. This group would have a big impact on others remaining on the slopes of Kilimanjaro if they enjoyed the new areas. Many Chagga from Kilimanjaro would be attracted to the new areas.

Application and request for information on availability of arable land in Mpanda District by the Chagga people started as early as 1961, a time when even the government had not yet advertised that Mpanda was open for resettlement of other

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<sup>8</sup> For details on local environmental adaptations, see J. E. G. Sutton, 'The Settlement of East Africa', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds), *Zamani: A Survey of East African History* (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House 1969), pp. 69 – 98, and J. E. G. Sutton, 'The Peopling of Tanzania', in Isaria N. Kimambo and Anold Temu (eds), *A History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House 1969), pp. 1 – 13.

<sup>9</sup> URT, *The Economic Survey and Annual Plan, 1970 – 1971* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1970), pp. 20 – 72.

communities from Tanzania.<sup>10</sup> This assured government officials that the Chagga were more than willing to resettle in other areas. After some time of the official launching of the project, officials discovered that their expectations were not yielding success as few Wachagga wanted to move. Mpanda had a lot of unopened land with greater agricultural potentials but the only challenge for the Chagga was their affiliation to Mount Kilimanjaro and the fear of the unknown in the new environment. Correspondence between the Provincial Commissioner Northern Province and the District Commissioner – Moshi indicated discussion on possibilities to resettle the Chagga in Mpanda District following allocation of land for that purpose. They hoped that many were ready to emigrate, something that did not happen. Mpanda was declared a minor settlement centre by government notice No. 219 of 1955 and remained on the waiting list of when it started.<sup>11</sup> Most Chagga developed interest to resettle in Mpanda hoping its highland environment and weather would provide safe havens for them. Some Chagga families who went to Mpanda came back in a short time while others remained there. There is also a need to understand the type of adaptation that they undertook on arrival in Mpanda. For instance, how did they adjust their social life, food preference, affiliation to the mountain slopes of Kilimanjaro and the type of economic activities they embarked on? For those who went back to Kilimanjaro, is it possible to understand the force behind their return? Were they the opposite of those that made some of them to migrate from Kilimanjaro to other areas? These questions will help our

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<sup>10</sup> TNA ARC A.3/29: Increased Productivity Plan, Folio No. 100: Letter from the Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province to the District Commissioner, Kilimanjaro, Titled 'Settlement in Mpanda', dated 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1961. Also see Folio No. 97: Letter from District Commissioner – Kilimanjaro to the Provincial Commissioner – Arusha, Titled 'Land Settlement in Mpanda District', dated 14<sup>th</sup> November 1961.

<sup>11</sup> TNA MRC 21/1/S4/5, T2/6: Minutes of Mpanda Minor Settlement, 1955 – 1965.

understanding of social and economic influences on land use change. They will also provide explanations for why some communities prefer to live in some environments and not others.

Establishment of agricultural villages in the whole of Tanzania was short lived before the focus changed from establishing agricultural settlements to creating Ujamaa villages in the post Arusha Declaration period. By 1970s the method changed from that based on convincing people to collective settlement to a compulsory collective living, working and share of the product of labour. Compulsory movement involved moving people from scattered settlements into collectivised villages within some settled areas. The development of Ujamaa villages was not as easy as the government anticipated when they conceived the idea. The challenges varied from the number of people who willingly wanted to settle in Ujamaa villages and the nature and means to implement the programmes designed under the frontal approach or otherwise termed as step-by-step transformation. For all these programmes to succeed, the resettlement of people into communities was necessary although it did not guarantee the building of Ujamaa mentalities in the minds of those who went into Ujamaa villages.

The call to establish communal land use from 1970s as opposed to private land ownership and use had mixed outcomes in different areas of Tanzania. Kilimanjaro had already established a long history of living closer to each other based on clan and family histories but they did not work collectively as each owned a piece of land and worked on it for individual or family gains. The need to build Ujamaa villages also targeted transforming this kind of collective living into communal relations maintained by cooperative working and share of the product of communal labour. Land use practices in Kilimanjaro encouraged private ownership

for a long time starting the advent of coffee economy. Building a sense of cooperative and communal working after the Arusha Declaration was not only difficult because of shortage of land for the purpose, but also was embodied in changing of the attitudes rooted in private gains and in its place establish those that were communally based. Doubts and mistrust ran across the mountain as to the outcome should the Chagga agree to settle and work together. Questions about the fate of their land became more than those on how to build Ujamaa on the slopes.<sup>12</sup> The only good news that was celebrated in Kilimanjaro was the nationalisation of colonial farms and estates because it was hoped that they would be distributed to the landless Wachagga, something that is yet to be witnessed. Only few farms were given to the Chagga while many others remained under the government control. Others were given to investors for large-scale production. Areas like Himo benefited in the 1970s when some of the colonial sisal estates were given to those who expanded from the overcrowded slopes on Marangu side into riverbanks to avoid causing problems on river sources and river flows.<sup>13</sup>

While the challenge towards building Ujamaa in Kilimanjaro was on the availability of open land and the readiness of the people to work in Ujamaa villages in other areas of Tanzania, those with a history of progressive farming, the challenge was handling people who previously owned capital and equipment for agricultural activities. Areas like Ismani where scattered population existed and where capitalist productions were not so much in the majority of the people, communal land use would mean bringing villagers together and trying to change the few progressive

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<sup>12</sup> See Tanganyika African Union, *Mwelekeo wa Maendeleo ya Kijamaa Mkoani Kilimanjaro* (Dar es Salaam: NUTA Press), pp. 1 – 5.

<sup>13</sup> Bitrina Diyamett et al, 'Rural Urban Interactions and Livelihood Strategies: The Case of Himo and its Region, Northern Tanzania', *Working Paper No. 1* (International Institute for Environment and Development 2001), pp. i – v, 1 – 2.

farmers to work in communal arrangements. But on the production side, the change of land tenure influenced by villagisation was not a good idea. Progressive farmers decided to resettle in areas with less government control on land use. This meant, withdrawal of capital and machinery that sustained commercial maize farming in the area.<sup>14</sup> This meant, instead of Ujamaa exercise being beneficial to the people, it started to create conditions for the decline of production, rather than increasing it as was expected by government officials. The land owned by former few progressive farmers was taken and made available for Ujamaa villages to be worked communally.<sup>15</sup> Those who owned land were furious and did not like disposal of their land, while those without land who were a majority portion of the population found it worth going to live in Ujamaa villages to have an access share of communal land use.<sup>16</sup>

By 1980 the total number of population in Tanzania that depended on agriculture declined by 15 per cent from 95 per cent at independence to 80 per cent. The total population this time was 19.9 million where the said 80 per cent depended on the availability of 36 million hectares of arable land available and developed partially in different areas. Again this suggested that Tanzania had no problem over arable land. More land remained available throughout this time and the population

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<sup>14</sup> Maxmillian Julius Chuhila, 'Maize Farming and Environmental Change in Iringa District: The Case of Ismani, 1940 – 2010' (University of Dar es Salaam: M.A Dissertation), Chapter three.

<sup>15</sup> Also see the discussion of Ujamaa projects in Tanzania in Henry Mapolu, 'Tanzania: Imperialism, the State and the Peasantry' in Hamid Ait Amara and Bernard Founou-Tchuigoua (eds), *African Agriculture: The Critical Choices* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press 1990), pp. 138 – 148.

<sup>16</sup> See a detailed discussion in Awiti, 'The Development of Ujamaa', pp. 418 – 425.

density remained low.<sup>17</sup> The spatial distribution of such arable land benefited some areas and limited expansion in others. Land was disproportionately available across the country. Kilimanjaro slopes had fallen out of country family land holding capacity since 1960s when the size of kihamba reduced to an average of 0.5 to 1 acres. Given the shortage of land and rapid population increase in Kilimanjaro, and given the failure of government's coordinated resettlement of the Chagga people into other areas of Tanzania in the postcolonial period, the whole burden lied on using the lowlands. This had a lot of impacts on the lowland environments that compares well to the social and economic adjustments discussed in chapter six of this thesis.

### **7.2 Land Use Change in Kilimanjaro: Evidence from Maps and Landsat Images, 1970 to 2000s**

The discussion in the previous chapters paid a reasonable attention to understanding the dynamics of land use change on the highlands of mount Kilimanjaro. It was in chapters five and six where we discussed the expansion from the highlands to the lowlands and what were the subsequent implications of such expansion on the lowland. Although these two landscapes were not entirely functioning in separation, the type of land uses that were on the highlands were far different, permanent and socially affiliated to people's everyday social, cultural and economic activities compared to that of the lowlands.

The expansion from the highland to the lowland was indicated by the extent to which vegetation cover responded to new pressures by reduction or replacement of its population with new ones.<sup>18</sup> In the 1950s when few settlements existed on the

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<sup>17</sup> See L. A. Msambichaka, 'Agricultural Development in Tanzania: Problems and Priorities', in L. A. Msambichaka and S. Chandrasekhar (eds), *Readings of Economic Policy of Tanzania* (University of Dar es salaam: ERB 1984), pp. 44 – 66.

<sup>18</sup> Some details for land use dynamics on the slopes of Kilimanjaro can be found in Salome B. Misana, A. E. Majure and Herbert V. Lyruu, 'Linkages Between Changes

lowlands, there were a large coverage of forest and woodland vegetation on the eastern, southern and far northwestern parts of the mountain slopes. All these areas were less affected by the time as less human activities were taking place and its seasonal nature of land use allowed the vegetation and forest cover to regenerate during the short and long fallow periods. Areas in this category benefited from the land use exchanges that involved cultivating and pastoral communities who did not meet on the lowlands at the same time.<sup>19</sup> Cultivators were able to move down hills during the wet season to take advantage of the rain season for cultivation of maize, beans and other crops suitable for that environment when pastoral communities moved their livestock further inward the former Maasai District of present day Arusha and Manyara administrative regions.

The second category of common vegetation characteristics existed in areas occupied by human activities. These were the highlands and lowlands above the Arusha Moshi Himo road where the banana belt and European farms growing sisal, coffee, sugarcane and maize existed. Both kihamba belt and large estate farming expanded to increase production that influenced change of vegetation cover. Expansion aimed at both increasing areas for farming and creating new settlements in areas that were not occupied. For the Chagga, the motives for expansion to new areas differed from those who owned estates. While the later wanted areas suitable for economic productions, the former combined social, economic and environmental considerations in order to decide on whether to move to other areas or to remain on the highlands. A combination of all these factors made them divided between both

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in Land Use, Biodiversity and Land Degradation on the Slopes of Mountain Kilimanjaro, Tanzania', (LUCID Working Paper No. 38, 2003)

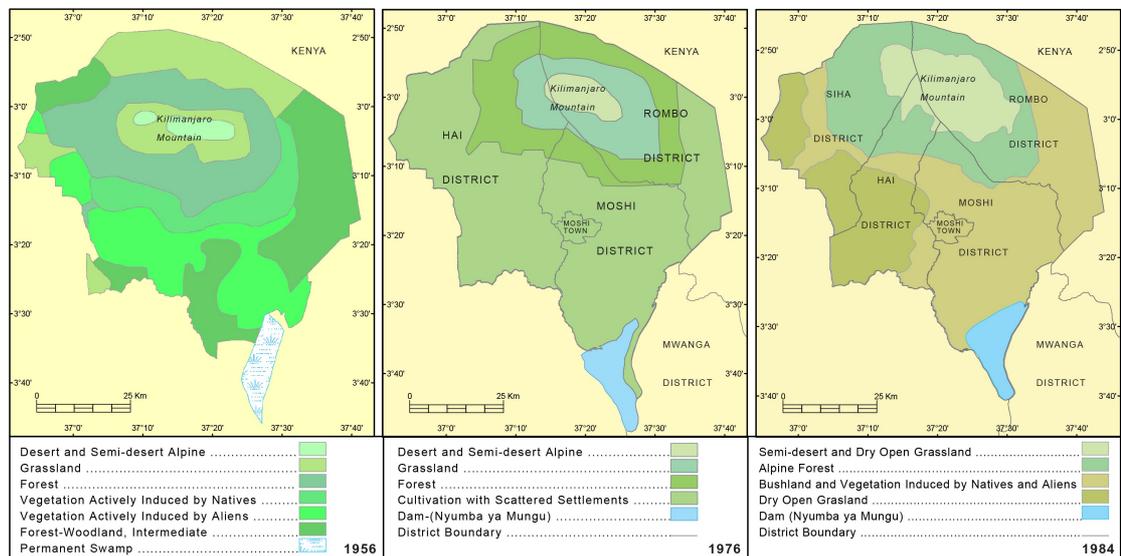
<sup>19</sup> KOT 76, Ngari Tati Village, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2015, KOT 18, Kibamba, 14<sup>th</sup> January 2015 and KOT 19, Wandu, 17<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

the highlands and lowlands for so long as they thought no landscape highland or lowland, could sustain them independent of the other.

From 1950s onwards expansions for settlement and production indicated adaptations and transitions in the way the Chagga interacted with their environment and resources. It was an attempt to move permanently to the lowland environment that included many more changes. These were change in the production systems to fit the new lowland environment, change of social environmental perceptions, and lastly, change of a sense of belonging and not belonging to a particular environment due to varying accounts and in its place establish new attributes to the new environments and belong to it. It was quite clear that the woodland and forest vegetation disappeared only after twenty years of continued establishment of settlement and human activities on the lowlands. (See. Figure 6) While it took a short time to change the lowland environments, it remained hard to change the perceptions of the people about moving into the lowlands entirely as they still regarded the highland in a special way compared to the lowlands. The cultural mix of the lowlands and the type of land tenure that existed and based on one's ability to purchase a piece of land from someone else or inherit a small piece from parents planted roots for future land use conflicts on the lowlands.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> KOT, Kwasadala Village, Boma la Ng'ombe, Ngari Tati Village and Sanya Juu.

**Figure 6: Comparative Maps Showing Vegetation Cover Change, 1950s - 1980s**

**Source: Modified from vegetation cover maps hosted at Cartographic unit, University of Dar es Salaam.**

The maps above indicate the physical environmental characteristics of the slopes of Kilimanjaro in a period of nearly thirty years. A closer observation of the map composed in 1950s to that of 1980s shows significant change of the vegetation cover. For a historian, change in vegetation cover might not be something historically traceable, as it needs some sort of quantification before conclusions can be made. The advantage we have from these maps is that we are able to understand that expansion from the highland to the lowland of the slopes of Kilimanjaro was not an abstract assumption. Change of vegetation could not appear without natural and human induced influences. The point of rapid expansion was also the point that marked rapid change of vegetation cover starting in the 1950s.

Expansion and establishment of new types of land uses on the lowlands had impacts on former types of land uses. In some areas, former land uses have

disappeared completely giving way to new forms of land uses. The general observation that can be made is the existence of settlements and human activities in areas that formerly were entitled to negative connotations of marginality. Areas that were full of tsetse fly, dry and semi arid, and only suitable for Maasai with their transhumant livestock are recently settled by arable Chagga people.<sup>21</sup> Clearing for settlement and farming has made an environmental contribution whether in a negative or positive way. The conditions for reproduction of tsetse fly are no longer applicable, and thus there is no more tsetse population on the lowlands to a threatening degree. Poisonous weeds and tsetse that hindered herding livestock have disappeared and in return welcomed more pastoralist communities than before on the lowlands and when they flock down the mountain they meet barriers from agriculture and settlements.<sup>22</sup> Plants, trees, and vegetation of different kinds have been cleared and in a less proportion replaced with new tree population that were grown on the highland. Before the 1950s the vegetation type that existed spread randomly across the lowland fields, after the 1950s trees were carefully planted on selected areas leaving large areas without trees.<sup>23</sup> Only few fruit bearing trees were left untouched during the period when excessive clearing was taking place.<sup>24</sup> Planting took place to

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<sup>21</sup> See correspondences and efforts towards eradication of tsetse fly that did not succeed during the colonial period. Tsetse came to be removed easily when human settlement and activities expanded to the lowlands. Expansion to tsetse-infested areas was done when the need to do so became obvious. TNA 207/449: Game and Tsetse; Tsetse Fly Position in the Moshi Maize Growing Area. Also see CO 691/159/6: Tanganyika Territory, Soil Erosion, Annual Report, 1937.

<sup>22</sup> KOT 64, Ngari Tati Village, 18<sup>th</sup> & 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2015 and KOT 77, Donyo Village, 19<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

<sup>23</sup> For the ecological impact of these land use changes, see Herbert Lyaruu, 'Plant Biodiversity Composition of the Land Use Change, Impacts and Dynamics Project, Mt. Kilimanjaro, Tanzania' (LUCID Working Paper No. 40, 2002), pp. 1 – 11.

<sup>24</sup> E. C. M. Fernandes, A. O'king'ati and J. Maghembe, 'The Chagga Homegardens: A Multistoried Agroforestry Cropping System on Mt. Kilimanjaro', *Agroforestry Systems* 2 (1984), pp. 73 – 86 and A. O'king'ati et al, 'Plant Species in the Kilimanjaro Agroforestry System', *Agroforestry Systems* 2 (1984), pp. 177 – 186.

mark plot boundaries from one owner to another and not for the sake of having trees as a replacement to the cleared ones. The traditional Chagga culture of having a *kihamba* surrounded by banana groves has been moved to the lowlands. The only difference is that while on the highlands the house was surrounded by bananas, on the lowlands it is surrounded by different tree types because bananas cannot grow well.

Not necessarily more important than other types of land use changes but when we concentrate on analysis of Landsat images, oral texts together with other pieces of evidence of land use change, it looks very convincing that the other forms of land uses have always been at a marginal advantage to agriculture and settlement. One of our respondents pointed out the challenges they faced on the lowlands as:

*Matatizo ni mengi, kwanza watu walipohamia katika eneo hili kwa wingi wamesababisha uharibifu mkubwa wa mazingira kwa kukata miti ovyo kwa ajili ya kuanzisha makazi na walianza kulima katika vyanzo vya maji jambo lililopelekea vyanzo vile vya maji kukauka. Vilevile walipohamia familia ziliongezeka nakusababisha mashamba tuliyokuwa tunatumia kwa ajili ya kilimo kupungua kwa kuwa makazi ya watu na kwasasa hatuna mashamba makubwa kama ilivyokuwa mwanzoni.<sup>25</sup>*

English translation:

There are many problems. When people moved into this area in large numbers they have caused a huge destruction of the environment by engaging in uncontrolled falling of trees to establish farming activities and

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<sup>25</sup> KOT 50, Majengo, 26<sup>th</sup> February 2015, also the note was pointed out by KOT 51, Merale – Sanya 26<sup>th</sup> February 2015 and KOT 54, Kilingi Village, 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015 and KOT 62, Majengo, 25<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

settlement. They also started cultivation near water sources that resulted in the drying of the sources. Also, due to increase of family sizes the areas formerly used for agriculture have been reduced into settlement areas a tendency that continues to cause shortage of land for agriculture unlike when we first moved in the area. [Author's translation]

This tendency did not come unexpectedly, but is rather a result of increasing dependence on rural livelihood where in order to eat; one needs a plot of *shamba* to produce.<sup>26</sup> A recent study on biodiversity compositions on arable and pastoral lands in northern Tanzania has revealed the advantage of pastoralism over agriculture when it comes to biodiversity presence. It shows that cultivated areas threatened the presence of small mammal communities that coexisted with pastoralism.<sup>27</sup> Although sometimes, these small mammals cannot be seen easily their importance in ecological balances is great. Expansion of settlement and arable land on the lowlands of Kilimanjaro had a dual impact that is closely connected to the reduction of pastureland and disturbance to the ecological system built on the presence of herding activities.

Apart from the maps we have just discussed above, another very important indicator of quantitative change in the environment were Landsat images. Landsat images enable us to understand the directions of land use change in a period of nearly three decades. Maps provided an overview of vegetation cover change in intervals; 1956, 1976 and 1984. Landsat images covered three periods in the interval

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<sup>26</sup> See reports on the social and economic use and expansion into a physical space. Miline J. Mbonile, Salome B. Misana and Cosmas Sokoni, 'Land Use Change Patterns and Root Causes on the Southern Slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, Tanzania' (LUCID Working Paper No. 25, 2003), pp. 1 – 34.

<sup>27</sup> Maurus J. Msuha et al, 'Conserving Biodiversity in a Changing World: Land Use Change and Species Richness in Northern Tanzania', *Biodivers Conservation* 21 (2012), pp. 2747 – 2759.

of approximately ten years each, and included images for the years 1987, 2000 and 2014. It is clear from the images that the change that occurred was in line with the occupation of the lowlands. The images covering this period indicate more specifically what changed and in which direction the change occurred. (Ref. table 6 below) Acreages for bushland, forest cover (shrubs, woodland and grassland) were on the decline. The decline resulted from the establishment of settlement and permanent cultivation that continued to increase from the 1980s through the 2010s. Due to the reduction of grassland and bush land that were used for grazing, the ongoing struggles for resource control between pastoralists and cultivators on the lowlands will continue to increase as far as no areas have been set aside for pastoral activities.<sup>28</sup> Another important feature in understanding change was the increase of bare soil as a result of settlement, cultivation and grazing that all have had impacts on the vegetation compositions of the lowlands.<sup>29</sup> Also the areas that were formerly left for the Kilimanjaro Half Mile Forest Reserve have been used for settlement and

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<sup>28</sup> See the connections and conflict of interests between pastoralism and cultivation in Lee M. Talbot, 'Demographic Factors in Resource Depletion and Environmental Degradation in East African Rangelands', *Population and Development Review* 12, No. 3 (1986), pp. 441 – 451, Jennifer M. Olson et al, 'The Spatial Patterns and Root Causes of Land Use Change in East Africa' (LUCID Working Paper No. 47, 2004), pp. 1 – 29, Rie Odgard, 'Land Rights and Land Conflicts in Africa: The Tanzania Case', (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies DIIS 2006), pp. 5 – 41, Mwamfupe, 'Persistence of Farmer – Herder Conflicts in Tanzania', pp. 1 – 6 and Peter Hochet et al, 'Conflict Over Access to Land and Water Resources within Sub-Saharan Dry Lands: Underlying Factors, Conflict Dynamics and Settlement Processes' (GRET – FAO LEAD Final Report 2006), Also KOT 69, Kwasadala Village, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2015.

<sup>29</sup> Also see Imani A. Kikoti and Cosmas Mligo, 'Impacts of Livestock Grazing on Plant Species Composition in Montane Forests on the Northern Slope of Mount Kilimanjaro, Tanzania', *International Journal of Biodiversity Science, Ecosystem Services and Management* 11, No. 2 (2015), pp. 114 – 127 also KOT 37, Kingereka, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 39, KOT 40, Kambi ya Nyuki, 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015, KOT 44, Kwasadala, 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2015 and KOT 62, Majengo, 25<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

cultivation hence reducing the forest reserve.<sup>30</sup> A significant point to make here is on the connections between Landsat images, history and the accuracy of its information. Accuracy of Landsat images depend on various factors, including when the images were taken, how was the general weather condition of the day and also what was the production season at that time. Production season may have impacts on indicating bare land or bush land when for instance the image is taken before or after harvest and/or during farm preparations. Another challenge of Landsat images is how can we be able to separate land use change on the highland from those on the lowlands? The images were inclusive of the two separate landscapes. It is only when we understand from other sources that settlement started on the highland that a clear picture of the nature of expansion and land use change patterns can be established. The most important aspect in the use of satellite images was not to actually show the specific areas where change occurred but a general comparative overview of change in the whole of the mountain slopes. Geographers and resource use analysts may require at a certain level in their analysis of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) historical knowledge of information gathering to allow them feed the gap that will necessarily result from their analytical frameworks.

### **7.3 Conclusion**

In this chapter we have explored how the postcolonial government struggled to resettle the Chagga in different parts of Tanzania without success. The failure to resettle them in other areas implied that the Chagga preferred the slopes of mount Kilimanjaro over anywhere else in Tanzania that subsequently resulted into environmental change on the lowlands. As the highland were fully occupied, their

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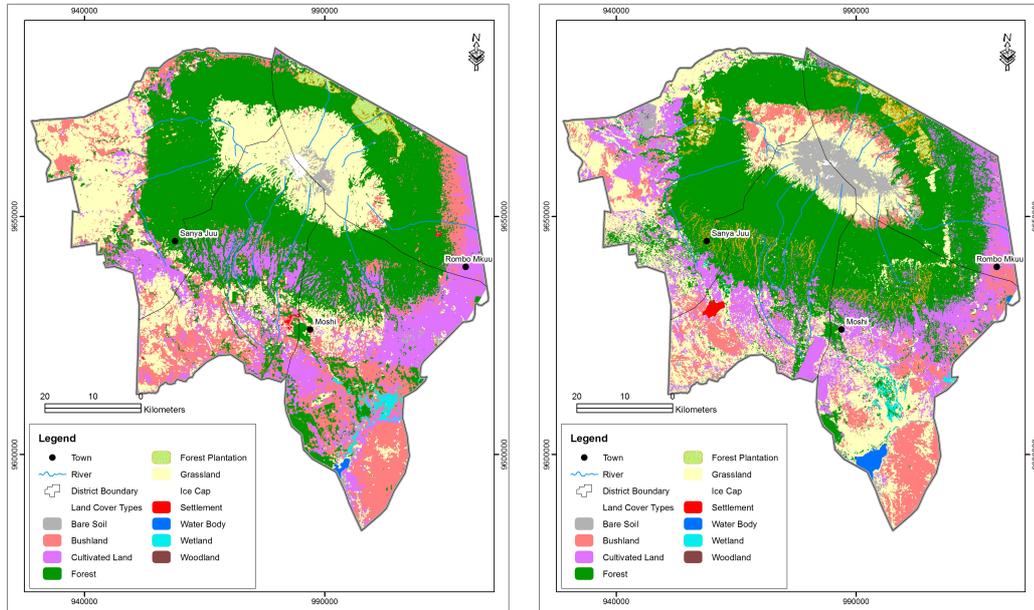
<sup>30</sup> Christopher Mungo Peter William, 'The Implication of Land Use Change on Forests and Biodiversity: A Case of the Half – Mile Strip on Mount Kilimanjaro' (LUCID Working Paper No. 30, 2003), pp. 1 – 43.

settlement on the lowlands had an important contribution to land use change in general and had influence on pasture, vegetation cover and forestry resources. The impacts spread all over the lowlands and in recent years they have moved to include the shores of Nyumba ya Mungu dam due to encroachment of the dam by human activities like farming, fishing and pastoralism.

Table 6: Land cover Change 1980s - 2010s

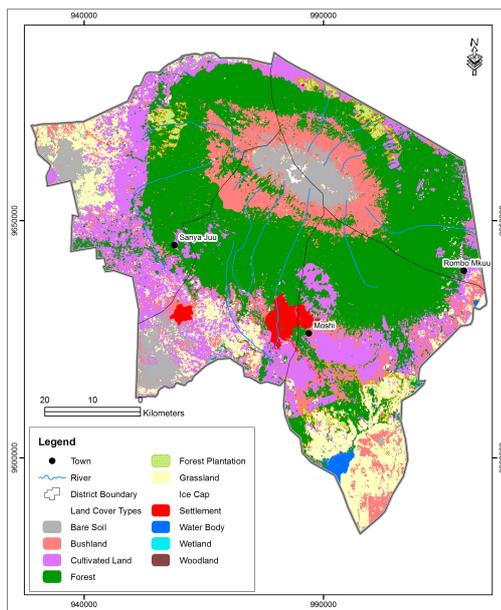
Land Use/ Cover Types	COVERAGE											
	1987		2000		2014		1987-2000		2000-2014		1987-2014	
	Ha	%	Ha	%	Ha	%	Ha	%	Ha	%	Ha	%
Bare Soil	7,466	1	28,311	5	41,874	8	20,845	4	13,563	3	34,408	7
Bushland	124,163	23	86,272	16	107,642	20	-37,891	-7	21,370	4	-16,521	-3
Cultivated Land	99,246	19	131,989	25	126,908	24	32,743	6	-5,081	-1	27,662	5
Forest	184,727	35	199,243	38	193,471	37	14,516	3	-5,772	-1	8,744	2
Forest Plantation	5,387	1	8,187	2	9,736	2	2,800	1	1,549	0	4,349	1
Grassland	103,008	19	69,249	13	38,365	7	-33,759	-6	-30,884	-6	-64,643	-12
Ice Cap	1,496	0	540	0	545	0	-956	0	5	0	-951	0
Settlement	388	0	976	0	7,466	1	588	0	6,490	1	7,078	1
Water Body	630	0	2,539	0	2,486	0	1,909	0	-53	0	1,856	0
Wetland	2,092	0	1,297	0	116	0	-795	0	-1,181	0	-1,976	0
	<b>528603</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>528,603</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>528,609</b>	<b>100</b>						

Figure 7: Land cover change, Landsat images



Land cover 1987

Land cover 2000



Land cover 2010

## **Chapter Eight**

### **Conclusion: Peasant, Settlers, Mobility and Land Use, 1920s – 2000s**

This study has been about mobility of the Chagga people from the highland, areas above the Arusha – Moshi – Taveta road to the lowlands below the road and how that mobility was defined and influenced by different land use options on the slopes of mount Kilimanjaro. Mobility from the highland including the areas above the road to the areas below the road is much recent than the history of settlement on the mountain slopes that dates back at least four centuries. It started by establishing farm areas seasonally on the lowlands before they established permanent settlement in the second phase of occupying the lowlands. From the preceding discussion, in other chapters, we can conclude that the movement and switching of a physical space became possible because of the motives that were driven socially, culturally and economically and less so were government initiatives to planned settlements. No one motive was enough to influence the migration but a combination of all was a strong factor. The highland and lowland landscapes of the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro are sharply different in weather, climate and the type of crops that fit in each landscape. Settlement in the lowlands by the highland population required a transformation in the values assigned to food habits and production. While the highland favoured banana farming, the lowlands were suitable for maize farming and other cereal crops. While the highland's staple food was bananas for a long time, maize became a staple food on arrival on the lowlands. There was change of food production and consumption habits to cope with the new environments. These internal social and economic dynamics on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro were not operating in total isolation to what was happening elsewhere in Tanganyika and to the ways that the colonial and postcolonial governments planned their local and national land uses in

the light of national and global influences. Wider policies and plans had an influence on local adjustments in Kilimanjaro.

### **8.1 Government Policies and Land Use**

In this thesis we have discussed in detail the implications of government policies and interventions in land distribution, ownership and use. The discussion indicated that there was both change and continuity in the ways the interest of smallholder and large-scale land users were treated in the colonial and post-colonial periods. State intervention on land use planning started in 1902 in Tanganyika with the enactment of the Crown Land Law. The crown land law of 1902 declared all unoccupied land in Tanganyika as Crown Land and was controlled by the government throughout the colonial and postcolonial periods. After the First World War Tanganyika became a Mandate Territory under British administration that in some ways necessitated review of the existing land and resources governing laws. The new government established structures that favoured the interests of British colonial administration in the territory. To start with, in order to ensure that all former German properties were in safe hands, in 1917 – the custodian of the enemy property was appointed ‘to control, protect and conserve the assets of all enemy subjects and corporations within the territory.’<sup>1</sup> ‘The whole of the Enemy Property in the Northern Province that included those in Kilimanjaro were vested in the Custodian by Proclamation No. 5, of May 26, 1917.’<sup>2</sup> Later, the proclamation included Central and Southern Provinces that were before under military jurisdictions.

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<sup>1</sup> UKNA CO 1071/366: Report on Tanganyika Territory, Covering the Period from Conclusion of the Armistice to the end of 1920 (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office), pp. 49 – 74.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 72.

Control of produce from the enemy property from 1916 was under the Controller of Enemy Merchandise until later when few properties were disposed and others given to settlers to produce commercially. Due to its fertility and climate friendly environment, and of course due to the fact that more estates existed in the Northern Province, it was where all arrangements for disposal and transfer of rights of occupancy started.<sup>3</sup> These were, as chapter four has indicated, initial stages that came to exacerbate the problem of land shortage on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro later and created opportunities for the development of entrepreneurial skills by peasant producers through being closer to modern settler farming and money economy. Chapter four has argued that, for the Chagga land shortage was not something to take them into wage labour but an opportunity for them to intensify the smallholdings they had for both food and cash crops. Participation in wage labour was an opportunity for them to learn the proper ways to take care of coffee and in a short time they left wage labour to tend their own plots of coffee.

Preliminary steps on land use planning by the British government that defined land use in Tanganyika throughout the colonial period began by the enactment of different Acts in favour of land distribution and ownership. Some included the Enemy Property Disposal Proclamation Act of 1920, followed by the Enemy Property (Retention) Ordinance of 1921/2 and the Enemy Property Liquidation Ordinance, 1921. These legal provisions empowered the government with access to former German assets left in Tanganyika including buildings, industrial sites, infrastructure and land. The government could do anything in as far as land use planning and implementation was concerned by using the legal backing and arrangements it had established. A close examination of the Tanganyika

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<sup>3</sup> See *Ibid*, pp. 72 – 74.

Territory Official Gazette between 1919 and 1922 reveals that the government was concerned with proclamation and preparation of the ways to dispose ex enemy property and less arable or urban land of the enemy properties was disposed during the period.

The Enemy Property Proclamation Act of 1920 continued to be improved through subsequent schedules of amendments until a later part of the decade.<sup>4</sup> As a result there was little dispositions starting from 1923 when the 1923 Land Ordinance was enacted.<sup>5</sup> The disposition of both urban and rural enemy properties was held by auctions where bidders who met the terms and conditions were given (transferred the rights of occupancy) enemy assets. The records in the official Gazette are indicative of the general process territory-wise where land was redistributed.<sup>6</sup> It should be made clear at this point that, the interest of the British government was not the wellbeing of African peasant producers but commercial producers to make the colony self-sufficient in some basic necessities through export of agricultural produces. Peasants who produced cash crops were encouraged to do so in their small land holdings but they were not given any of the former enemy properties for farming and settlement the same way as it was done for settler farmers. This was influenced by the belief that settler farmers had money to enable them to produce in large scale of exportable cash crops. Despite the government view on peasant and settler farming, as discussed in chapters three and four of this thesis, peasant coffee farming in Kilimanjaro as was

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<sup>4</sup> UKNA CO 737/1: Tanganyika Territory Official Gazette, 1919 – 1920.

<sup>5</sup> UKNA CO 737/2: Tanganyika Territory Official Gazette, 1923 – 1924.

<sup>6</sup> Review and records can be found in the whole series of the Official Gazette, UKNA CO 737/3: Tanganyika Territory Official Gazette, 1925 – 1926, CO 737/4: Tanganyika Territory Official Gazette, 1927, CO 737/6: Tanganyika Territory Official Gazette, 1928, CO 737/8: Tanganyika Territory Official Gazette, 1929, CO 737/10: Tanganyika Territory Official Gazette, 1930, CO 737/11: Tanganyika Territory Official Gazette, 1931. More land was disposed off from 1935 and after the Second World War, 1945.

in Bukoba surpassed that produced on settler farms. Consequently, this motivation for peasant coffee farming aided to the problem of land shortage because many Chagga wanted to grow coffee and thus expanded uncontrollably into lands on the highlands that were formerly not for farming.

We have pointed out that what defined future land use planning and use in British colonial Tanganyika started in 1923 by the enactment of Land Ordinance with its subsequent amendment of section 4 in 1930. The Ordinance came after three years of British official colonial rule in the colony. At the time of this act, the definition of what was a used and unused land was recognized by the presence of permanent activities on that land and the recognition of the African traditional land tenure based on the same premises. Through this law, the government recognized traditional ownership of land and gave it a legal protection as ‘a land potentially owned without titles’ but only by the presence of an observable activity going on there.

To show the seriousness of the government on the question of African land tenure system, the 1923 Land Ordinance, section eight, read together with section eleven of the Law of Property and Conveyance Ordinance of 1923 restricted transfer of land owned by Africans to non Africans. But this was simply not enough because the ownership defined in the Land Ordinance provided loopholes by which the government continued to allow the alienation and transfer of land ownership from one individual to another on claims of public interests. Most land that continued to be alienated after 1923, that was potentially defined by the ordinance as unoccupied land, was literally used and owned customarily by Africans. Few areas that were seen empty remained as reserves for seasonal use and further expansion that would

take place later.<sup>7</sup> Expansion and distribution of land that remained as reserves for transhumant pastoralists and seasonal cultivation limited expansion of peasant activities and forced them to concentrate in small areas. Chapter five of this thesis examined the connections between government's delineation of colonial borders and the definition and conflicts of resource use between pastoral Maasai and arable Chagga across the Tanzanian northeastern border with Kenya. Also chapter four indicated land alienations that continued up to the 1950s at times when more was expected from the United Nation's Mandated Territory that the interests of the colonised be given paramount importance.

Despite all the above happening in Tanganyika as whole and Kilimanjaro specifically, John Iliffe argues that for the case of Kilimanjaro, land alienation did not pose a serious problem but only created localized land hunger because there were huge areas that remained unoccupied for a long time. The point of interest here should have been on the reasons behind the Chagga's refusal to expand to the lowlands when the fertile lands were taken for settler farming. As chapters three and six indicated, the Chagga treated Kilimanjaro highlands and lowlands as different landscapes and assigned them different social and economic activities. Localized land hunger referred to by Iliffe were not real local and a short-term problem but a permanent and continuous challenge because it struck on areas where people were socially, culturally and economically affiliated. No expansion could be made to areas with potential land resource because they either belonged to other Chagga or chiefdom or sometimes were the marginal lowlands. Due to limited possibilities of expansion to other areas with similar characteristics to the original areas, concentration on small areas was inevitable. The issue was not only that of

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<sup>7</sup> Refer to chapter two for the traditional land tenure systems in Kilimanjaro.

expanding to new areas. But what else are we going to get from the new areas? Are we going to have the same social and economic advantages as we have in the areas of origin? What is the danger of leaving our ancestors' highlands and moving to unknown areas? All these questions combined responded to whether localised land hunger was real local or was a slowly expanding crisis motivated by forces that were both internal and external to the Chagga society.<sup>8</sup> Although land alienation provided a siege like situation for the Chagga on the highland, observers regarded it to have little impact on the Chagga because it did not manage to proletarianise them.<sup>9</sup> The more they were squeezed into small areas, the more they developed entrepreneurial skills to cope with the money economy.

## **8.2 Expanding Frontiers: Settlement and Productions**

The growing number of people, economic opportunities and the sociocultural construction of the Chagga society challenged the settlement of the highland. The forces that favoured highland settlement were the same that encouraged mobility to the lowlands.<sup>10</sup> Another important aspect dealt with in this study was the linkage between government policies, expanding frontiers and the challenges of expansion to the lowlands. It is indicated in chapter three that the introduction of coffee economy on the highlands of Kilimanjaro marked a step towards the redefinition of the highlands and the lowlands of Kilimanjaro.<sup>11</sup> It was a new entry in the highland economy and helped to cement the relations that the Chagga people established on the highlands. Before the introduction of coffee, the highland was an important social

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<sup>8</sup> Refer to chapter two

<sup>9</sup> See John Ilife, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979), p. 144.

<sup>10</sup> More details can be found in chapter two of this study.

<sup>11</sup> For coffee farming in Kilimanjaro see Edwin S. Munger, 'African Coffee on Kilimanjaro: A Chagga Kihamba', *Economic Geography* 28, No. 2 (1952), pp. 181 – 185, Mathias A. Ogotu, 'The Cultivation of Coffee among the Chagga of Tanzania, 1919 – 1939', *Agricultural History* 46, No. 2 (1972), pp. 279 – 290.

space and later due to coffee it came to be an important social and economic space defined by socially constructed attributes regarding the lowland as an environment not suitable for settlement by the Chagga people.<sup>12</sup> It is argued in chapters three and six that expanding frontiers was not only a result of economic opportunities and shortage of land on the highlands but a negotiation of interplay of a number of connected motives.<sup>13</sup> The period in which economic opportunities existed in Kilimanjaro could have influenced expansion from the 1930s. That was a period of rapid economic transformation and change of land use values. Instead of expansion to the lowlands, the period experienced intensive land use and a good welcome to coffee farming in the highland rural economy. Shortage of land alone on the highland was not enough to influence mobility from the highland into the lowland. It rather combined with other wide-ranging factors that were economically, socially and environmentally grounded. We have explored all these factors in detail and, in chapter six of this thesis; we argued that the social binding that existed on the highland was a primary driver for expansion into the lowland frontiers.

Land was a social and a cultural asset apart from the wider economic opportunities it provided. Cultural strength, formal and informal, negotiated and un-negotiated initiations into Chagga adulthood were leading forces for expansion as well as being responsible for concentration on the highlands. The point here is clear

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<sup>12</sup> Also refer to chapters three and six of this thesis for discussion on the different roles that the highland and lowlands played to the Chagga in Kilimanjaro.

<sup>13</sup> Similar trend was experienced in Meru land on the slopes of Mount Meru, see P. H. Gulliver, *Social Control in an African Society: A Study of the Arusha, Agricultural Maasai of Northern Tanganyika* (London: Routledge and Kegan 1963), Thomas Spear and Derek Nurse, 'Maasai Farmers: The Evolution of Arusha Agriculture', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 25, No. 3 (1992), Gen Ueda, 'Land Subdivision and Land Use Change in the Frontier Settlement Zone of Mount Meru, Tanzania' (African Study Monographs Suppl. 42, 2011).

that shortage of land on the highland started earlier and remained so for a long time before considerable establishment of permanent settlements started on the lowlands. Economic opportunities existed on both from 1930s for the highlands and from 1940s for the lowlands. But we had to wait until 1950s to see the establishment of permanent farming activities and settlements on the lowlands. Again during the same period of 1950s, as discussed in chapter four, we experienced the failure of several government-coordinated projects for Chagga settlement on the lowlands.<sup>14</sup> In brief, coordinated resettlements were expensive, labour intensive and were perceived by the Chagga as a risk to engage in. Also perceptions of the highland as ‘Eden’ and the lowland as ‘wilderness’ discouraged many Chagga to move permanently to the lowlands.

On the other side, uncoordinated settlements were cultural, personal and conscious of the necessary risks to be endured in a struggle to conform to social requirements and to supplement economic motives. This also was, as discussed in chapter six, not in any way a linear or a smooth transition. The older generation maintained the highland possessions and encouraged the younger generation to establish a new generation on the lowlands. Differences and similarities between the highlands and the lowlands were indicated by age characteristics of inhabitants, types of crops grown, food habits and types of rural economic activities. Coffee and bananas occupied the highland economy while maize was for the lowlands. Banana was a staple food for highland population but from the 1970s there have been a switch of the roles and importance of banana and coffee as food and cash crops. Decline in coffee prices replaced banana in the kitchen with maize that was earlier

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<sup>14</sup> Refer to chapter four of this thesis.

used for food by lowlanders.<sup>15</sup> Banana has become a dependable cash crop and maize the main staple food for both the highland and lowlands. Change of the importance of banana has impact on its production and its role in the social relations of families. Production wise, there has been replacement of traditionally grown species in favour of modern improved species that matures relatively early. This was done in favour of market and compromise to food taste.<sup>16</sup> At family level, the role of women in controlling the banana economy is challenged. It remained possible when men depended on coffee and left banana with women.<sup>17</sup> Due to decline of coffee productivity and price, the entire rural family on the highland depended on bananas.<sup>18</sup> Financial control shifted from women to men, although women continued to play an active part in the marketing of banana in small and large scales.

### **8.3 Down the Mountain: Environment, Society and Production**

Questions about the nature, easiness and difficulties of mobility from the highland to the lowland occupied nearly half of the discussion in this thesis. Preference for the discussion was on linear movement of people from the highland to the lowland and not a back and forth movement. The preference for this line of analysis intended to show the expansion to new frontiers after the highlands were fully settled and utilised. Also, there were no permanent settlements on the lowlands prior to the twentieth century. What existed before this period symbolized seasonal variations of land use between the highlands and the lowlands. The 1950s movement to the lowlands indicated adaptations to new environments, society and production relations of people coming from the mountain. Lowlands were drier and hostile to

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<sup>15</sup> Chapters three and six covered the aspect of Chagga food habits.

<sup>16</sup> KOT 2, Ushiri, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2014, KOT 4, Kelamfua, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2014 and KOT 19, Wandu, 17<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

<sup>17</sup> Refer to chapter three for more details.

<sup>18</sup> KOT 18, Kibamba – Dar es Salaam, 14<sup>th</sup> January 2015.

the Chagga compared to the highlands. It was used and provisionally settled by 'enemy' pastoral Maasai who struggled against hostile environments.

Environmental wise, mobility from the highland to the lowland was not smooth and had ecological impacts on the lowlands. People had to learn and get used to living permanently in an environment they at some point called *porini*/wilderness. Chapter seven has indicated that the old vegetation cover and trees were replaced by human induced species due to clearing for permanent cultivation, settlement and grazing. New plants on the lowlands that were carried from the highlands were not planted the same way like that of the highlands. *Kihamba* home gardens as portrayed in chapter three were the home of Banana groves and coffee sheds on the highland's ecology while chapters six and seven indicated that the lowlands did not allow growth of these food plants. Although we may be confident that mobility to the lowlands has influenced environmental change, as we have seen the land cover change in the preceding chapter, it is not possible to measure to what extent that change has been negative or positive. The change introduced had advantages and disadvantages to the lowlands and was influenced by the differences in environmental provisions and the Chagga '*kihamba* culture' that encouraged a 'green' home garden. The environment also determined the type of crops to be grown and the relations with neighbours who had different economic activities.

Closer neighbours and also 'enemies' to the Chagga on the lowlands as chapters three and five shows were the Maasai as mentioned also earlier in this section. They were neighbours because they shared resource use on the lowlands and at times also engaged in trade relations. Spatial distribution of resources for highland cultivation and lowland grazing and partly seasonal cultivation contained these two groups without prolonged resource use disputes. Things started to change after

establishment of Chagga permanent settlement on the lowlands that had to be negotiated with previous pastoral land use arrangements controlled by the Maasai. Unfortunately, pastoral land declined in favour of agriculture, settlement and parklands.<sup>19</sup> In turn, this caused unnecessary stand offs between the two groups on access and use of land with its resources. It also resulted into forged cooperation between them to avoid further hatred and disputes. Cooperation was maintained through sharing of pasture and animals and marriage across ethnic boundaries.<sup>20</sup> Histories of fierce hatred and confrontations regarding cattle theft have been turned into cooperation and negotiated land uses. Disputes over land use among them did not come to an end but, at least, there have been ways of negotiations without many incidences of bloodshed like in other parts of Tanzania.<sup>21</sup>

#### 8.4 In Brief

Availability and use of land in northeastern Tanzania is political and historically rooted in earlier penetrations of capital and the subsequent peasant involvement into cash crop farming.<sup>22</sup> To understand the reasons behind population movements from one geographical location to another within the same or different environment needs

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<sup>19</sup> More details on this subject can be found in D. K. Ndagala, 'Tanzania' in Charles R. Lane (ed), *Custodians of the Commons: Pastoral Land Tenure in East and West Africa* (London: Earthscan Publications 1998), pp. 150 – 168, Dorothy L. Hodgson, 'Taking Stock: State Control, Ethnic Identity and Pastoralist Development in Tanganyika, 1948 – 1958', *Journal of African History* 41, No. 1 (2000), pp. 55 – 78, Lowe Börjeson, Dorothy L. Hodgson and Pius Yanda, 'Northeast Tanzania's Disappearing Rangelands: Historical Perspectives on Recent Land Use Change', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, No. 3 (2008), pp. 523 – 556.

<sup>20</sup> KOT 65, Ngaritati, 18<sup>th</sup> August 2015, KOT 76, Ngaritati, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2015 and KOT 78, Karansi, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

<sup>21</sup> Also refer to chapter six.

<sup>22</sup> See Isaria Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest in Tanzania: The Impact of the World Economy on the Pare, 1860 – 1960* (London: James Currey 1991, xii + 188pp, (Chapter nine) Thomas Spear, 'Struggles for the Land: The Political and Moral Economies of Land on Mount Meru', in James Gibling, Gregory Maddox and Isaria Kimambo (eds), *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania* (Oxford: James Currey 1996), pp. 213 – 236.

a clear understanding of several factors, rather than basic assumptions that people do move or remain in an area because of economic activities and influence of population growth. The examples presented by the Chagga people indicate that there are also-social cultural values that were attached to land and were equally important in land use planning and implementation. These factors when combined with economic motives and population growth give an opportunity to understand why people from a certain area interacted with their land the way they did. Government plans that did not consider the social-cultural values assigned to land were subjected into failure. The failure resulted from the government's inability to understand the social aspect of inhabiting the highland and lowland and the structural, environmental, financial and practical difficulties involved in establishing different conceived land use schemes. The expansion into the Kilimanjaro lowlands starting from the 1950s was a must option and resulted from all those factors, social, economic and population pressure on the highlands. The impacts of this expansion were also mixed. Interaction with pastoral Maasai was enhanced as intermarriage became common. Reduction of pastoral land in favour of settlement and agriculture was highly felt threatening the prosperity of pastoralism and forced them to diversify into agricultural activities. The type of Chagga domestication of livestock also changed from indoor keeping to grazing, and from treating Maasai as thieves of cattle to treating them as collaborators in sharing animals, seasonal pasture and pasturelands.

## **Bibliography**

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#### **Notes to Manuscript Collections**

The documents and files I consulted from the National Archives, Kew – London are represented in the entire thesis by an abbreviation UKNA to mean United Kingdom National Archives. This has been done deliberately to avoid confusion with documents used in the thesis that came from the Tanzania National Archives (TNA) – Dar es Salaam. At UKNA there are also small divisions that represent the main contents to be expected in each file series. There are those with original colonial correspondence, sessional papers, annual reports and legal enactments. At TNA, accession five holds most of the files and documents for Moshi and Kilimanjaro. Some few archival documents were consulted at the Kenya National Archives (KNA) – Nairobi. These were documents relating to Kenya/Tanzania land uses among pastoral and agricultural communities on the two borders. There were also institutional archives visited for the purpose of this study. They included the University of Dar es Salaam East Africana collection that comprises of primary papers and M.A and PhD Dissertations and a wide range of newspapers, periodicals and government publications both colonial and post colonial documents. Important to this thesis were the Albert Fosbrooke and Newspapers Collections. In addition to the main University collection, I also had access to the Department of History resource room that houses some translated and original German Archival materials. I read the English translations. In the same departmental collection, from 2015, Juhani Koponen deposited most of his primary research materials in the resource room. They also include all of his own publications and those relating to rural transformations. Also archival and government documents were consulted at

University College London (UCL) at the School of African and Oriental Studies and  
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## F. Worldwide Web Sources

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## G. Interviews, Kilimanjaro Oral Texts (KOT)

Interviewee	Place	Date
1. KOT 1, Fr. Henry Zawadi	Moshi	19 <sup>th</sup> August 2014.
1. KOT 2, Pascal Tairo	Ushiri (Rombo)	25 <sup>th</sup> August 2014.

2. KOT 3, Damasi Shirima & Peter Edward Kimario Kelamfua Village 26<sup>th</sup> August 2014.
3. KOT 4, Maria Mng'anya Kelamfua Village 26<sup>th</sup> August 2014.
4. KOT 5, Julius Mossi Moshi 1<sup>st</sup> September 2014
5. KOT 6, Jesse Kweka & Grace Kweka Uswaa 02<sup>nd</sup> September 2014.
6. KOT 7, Mzee Sakala Mikocheni 03<sup>rd</sup> September 2014.
7. KOT 8, Mzee Mohamed Iddi Kwasadala 04<sup>th</sup> September 2014.
8. KOT 9, Aziza Sadala Urassa Kwasadala 04<sup>th</sup> September 2014.
9. KOT 10, Venance Vizongwa Ngare Nairobi 05<sup>th</sup> September 2014.
10. KOT 11, Majuto Mikocheni 02<sup>nd</sup> September 2014.
11. KOT 12, Mzee Bakari Mzungu Mikocheni 02<sup>nd</sup> September 2014.
12. KOT 13, Mzee Elias Mkandawile Mikocheni 03<sup>rd</sup> September 2014.
13. KOT 14, Mzee Kadria Salivia Oria Village 4<sup>th</sup> September 2014.
14. KOT 15, Mzee Anderson Mfinanga Njiapanda-Himo 5<sup>th</sup> September 2014.
15. KOT 16, Prosper Mrema Njiapanda-Himo 5<sup>th</sup> September 2014.
16. KOT 17, Mzee Juma Kirumbi Njiapanda-Himo 4<sup>th</sup> September 2014.
17. KOT 18, Mzee Christmas Swai Kibamba(DSM) 14<sup>th</sup> January 2015
18. KOT 19, Mzee Richard Maimu Wandu 17<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
19. KOT 20, Mzee Augustino Maimu Wandu Kati 17<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
20. KOT 21, Mzee Araeli Maimu Wandu Village 17<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
21. KOT 22, Mzee Shaaban Msomanje Kahe 18<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
22. KOT 23, Mzee Joachim Lyimo Makuyuni 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
23. KOT 24, Mzee Hamis Mfinanga Makuyuni 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
24. KOT 25, Bi Germana James Opundo Holili 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
25. KOT 26, Mzee Hendry Kioko & Stanley Ndambo Holili 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
26. KOT 27, Mzee Daniel Joseph Mingi Chirio 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
27. KOT 28, Mzee Wilbard Temba Chirio 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
28. KOT 29, Luka Moshi Mbomai Juu 27<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
29. KOT 30, Mzee Adam Mirau & Gasper Rafael Kimario Tarakea 27<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
30. KOT 31, Mzee January Kitang'ati Kingachi 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
31. KOT 32, Mzee Corinery January Usseri 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
32. KOT 33, Mzee Stambuli Mkumbo Kingachi 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
33. KOT 34, Mzee Idd Muya Simba Magadini 18<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
34. KOT 35, Mzee Hadezeline Ringo Kingereka 18<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
35. KOT 36, Mzee Hashim Swai Kingereka 18<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
36. KOT 37, Mzee Ramadhani Athumani Kingereka 18<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
37. KOT 38, Mzee Mahamudu Lema Kibaoni 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
38. KOT 39, Mzee Richard A. Munisi Kibaoni 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
39. KOT 40, Mzee Juma Swai Kibaoni 20<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
40. KOT 41, Mzee Fabian Saidi Kambi ya nyuki 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
41. KOT 42, Mzee Gidion Urassa Kambi ya nyuki 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015.
42. KOT 43, Mzee Allen Molley Kambi ya nyuki 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

43. KOT 44, Mzee Ramadhani Kweka Dipu- Kwasadala 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2015.  
44. KOT 45, Mzee Ayubu Lema Majengo-Kwasadala 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2015.  
45. KOT 46, Mzee Hamad Majengo-Kwasadala 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2015.  
46. KOT 47, Bi Aziza Sadala Urassa Majengo-Kwasadala 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2015.  
47. KOT 48, Mzee Orasa Urassa Merale 26<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
48. KOT 49, Mzee Hamis Mbaga Merale 26<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
49. KOT 50, Bi Fatuma Muhammed Majengo- Sanya 26<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
50. KOT 51, Mzee Raymond Temu Merale 26<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
51. KOT 52, Mzee John Mushi Majengo- Sanya 26<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
52. KOT 53, Mzee Olimpya Laswai Kilingi 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
53. KOT 54, Mzee Stephano Kingwele Kilingi 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
54. KOT 55, Mzee Charles Kitundu Kilingi 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
55. KOT 56, Mzee Jeremia Makasini Kilingi 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
56. KOT 57, Mzee Elizabeth Uronu Kilingi 28<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
57. KOT 58, Mzee Faraji Saidi Msuya Ngare Nairobi 04<sup>th</sup> March 2015.  
58. KOT 59, Mzee Rashidi Msuwa Ngare Nairobi 04<sup>th</sup> March 2015.  
59. KOT 60, Mzee Nuru Hamisi Ngare Nairobi 04<sup>th</sup> March 2015.  
60. KOT 61, Mzee Benard Mreme Ngare Nairobi 04<sup>th</sup> March 2015.  
61. KOT 62, Mzee Elisifa Kiwele Majengo-Sanya 25<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
62. KOT 63, Mzee Eligrace Mmari Majengo-Sanya 26<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
63. KOT 64, Mzee Israel Rori Ngari Tati 18<sup>th</sup> & 23<sup>th</sup> August 2015.  
64. KOT 65, Mzee Meparari Laizer Ngari Tati 18<sup>th</sup> August 2015.  
65. KOT 66, Mzee Raban Abraham Ngari Tati 18<sup>th</sup> August 2015.  
66. KOT 67, Mzee Edimil Masawe Kwasadala 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
67. KOT 68, Mzee Yohana Ndosa Kwasadala 19<sup>th</sup> February 2015.  
68. KOT 69, Mama Lulu Kwasadala 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2015.  
69. KOT 70, Bwana Essau Munisi Kwasadala 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2015.  
70. KOT 71, Mzee Ndewalio Swai Ndalala 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2015.  
71. KOT 72, Mzee Miindoi Mollel Ngari Tati 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2015.  
72. KOT 73, Exaud Mallya Moshi 25<sup>th</sup> August 2015.  
73. KOT 74, Mch. Joshua Laizer Karansi 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015.  
74. KOT 75, Mzee Koisasi Samanga Ewasi 26<sup>th</sup> August 2015.  
75. KOT 76, Mzee Bahany Lesheheri Ngaritati Siha 20<sup>th</sup> August 2015.  
76. KOT 77 Mzee Sawingo Soingei Donyo 19<sup>th</sup> August 2015.  
77. KOT 78 Mzee Tareto Karansi 20<sup>th</sup> August 2015.