

Original Research Article

Iringa Dipping Scheme in Mufindi 1940s -1958; ‘Development’ Resisted by Peasants

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Abstract: This paper discussed the history of Iringa Dipping Scheme in Mufindi during the British colonial administration in the post Second World War period. Different schemes were introduced in Tanganyika. Among them were Sukumaland Development Scheme 1947, Uluguru Land Usage Scheme 1949, the Mbulu Development Scheme 1949 and Iringa Dipping Scheme 1951 to mention just a few. Most of these schemes were established with the main concern of land improvement and soil conservation which apparently was the result of colonial policies of overexploitation of resources. The colonial government claimed that Iringa dipping scheme was introduced to prevent cattle against tick borne diseases but the implementation was associated with compulsory state repression. Forceful implementation of the dipping scheme in Mufindi prompted peasant resentment to the scheme. However, the findings of this paper revealed that the establishment and development of Iringa Dipping Scheme was a response towards the economic crisis which was manifesting in the growing demands of beef and other raw materials in Britain and Tanganyika in the meat and related industries. The intensification of peasant resentment to the exploitative scheme through fees which they were forced to pay and the bother entailed in bringing their cattle to the dips. Peasant's resistance and resentment culminated into the collapse of the dipping scheme of Mufindi in 1958. Should be grasped within the context of peasant struggle against exploitative system which was developed in post-war period. This paper employed historical research design utilizing qualitative approach. Primary and secondary sources were integrated together. Archival data were generated from Tanzania National Archives, University of Dar es Salaam, Sokoine University of Agriculture and Mufindi District. Oral histories were generated from the indigenous people to corroborate the archival data. Political economy theory was used to inform the study.

Keywords: Iringa, Dipping Scheme, Mufindi, Hehe, Peasants, and Second World War.

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1.0 BACKGROUND

Second World War (WWII) caused havoc to both the metropolitan powers and the colonized peoples in different spheres of their lives—political, economic and social aspects. Measures to rehabilitate the dilapidated economies, social services and infrastructure were introduced and new approaches to manage colonies were invented as a way to revamp economies. Colonies were duty-bound to contribute towards this end. State intervention was one imperative to institute compulsory policies with laws, ordinance, and orders to colonies comply. Examples of interventions included the establishment of schemes and projects masquerading as environmental conservation initiative, the improvement of local government by introducing elected officers and consolidating the

powers of local chiefs, strengthen marketing boards and education system, introduction of representative LEGCO, and strengthening processing and import substitution industries.

The British post-Second World War years was the emphasis developmentalist initiative in economic development especially agriculture [1]. Under the disguise of environmental protection and some kind of sympathy to African predicament, series of measures were introduced to rescue Africans. In the first instance the British blamed the Africans for destruction of

¹A.J.Temu, The Rise and Triumph of Nationalism, in I.N. Kimambo and A.J. Temu, *A History of Tanzania*, EAPH1969, pg. 203

environment by soil erosion through poor farming and animal husbandry methods. Over exploitation of resources caused environment degradation. State formulated remedial policies such Sukumaland Development Scheme 1947, Mlalo Rehabilitation Scheme 1947, Uluguru Land Usage Scheme 1949, the Mbulu Development Scheme 1949 and in 1954 to develop the Iringa dipping scheme in Mufindi [2]. According to them, the main concern of the scheme was to prevent cattle against tick borne diseases. Unlike the colonial narrative which purports to situate these schemes in the civilizing mission perspective of 3 Cs and humanitarian efforts to teach natives the better methods of cultivation and animal husbandry [3]. Funds were set aside for agricultural research and construction of dips, development planning for economic realization was put in place in the colonies [4]. This paper to the contrary, shows the ideological overtones of colonial narrative by revealing the historical and social content and providing an alternative with which to comprehend the historical process of these colonial schemes. The available thin information about Iringa dipping scheme notwithstanding, the history of Iringa dipping scheme in Mufindi seems not adequately documented.

Mufindi was part of Iringa district inhabited by Wahehe from around 1850s. However, this study did not dwell on that history; rather it confined itself on the Hehe who lived in two districts of Iringa and Mufindi. The present Mufindi District is a new one that takes most of the southern areas of the former Iringa District and borders with Njombe District [5]. Mufindi became a full-fledged district in 1975 with its own council [6].

Since pre-colonial period the main economic activities of Wahehe were agriculture and livestock rearing. Agricultural produce such as maize, beans, millet, peas, sweet potatoes, cucumbers, rice and tobacco were produced [7]. Cattle herding was practiced in the lowlands where nucleated settlements organized around permanent water. In the middle

highlands and uplands, various forms of mixed farming were practiced [8]. Live stocks mostly kept by the Hehe in Mufindi were cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys and chicken [9]. Traditional methods of agriculture and animal keeping were commonly employed. Basing on these methods of production the demands of colonial government food stuff, raw materials and consumer goods were not adequately met. The post Second World War crisis worsened the food and raw materials demands. This paper is set to investigate on the historicity and the rationale of establishment of Iringa dipping scheme.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The Wahehe of Mufindi was colonized by Germans from 1890s to 1918 and the British from 1919 to 1961. To make their administration smooth some mechanisms were deployed. For instance, in Mufindi, the British introduced a new system of local government commonly known as the indirect rule in 1926. The chief of this period was Adam Sapi Mkwawa who was supported by sub chiefs such as Salimboga, Chitosamba, Makombe and Dimilamahuti [10]. Local authorities were given considerable power in their areas in terms of making by-laws, managing local courts, collecting taxes and above all supervising the implementation of economic imperatives established by the colonial state [11].

One feature of the post-Second World War years in Tanganyika was the colonial government's emphasis on economic development mainly in agriculture. After the war the administration did not relax this compulsory growing of food and other crops for the mother country continued. Colonial territories existed for the benefit of the mother country and they were continually forced to produce products which the mother country lacked. After the war the colonial administration instituted various development schemes in each district to promote agricultural development both by peasant farmers and white settlers. With regard to peasant farming, the government introduced the cattle dipping scheme in Iringa. The scheme was established with the main concern of preventing tick-

²Ibid. pp 196, 203

³ B.Swai, Colonial Rural Development Policy and Agrarian protest in Tanganyika Territory: the Usambara Case 1920-1960, *Transafrican Journal of History*, 1983, Vol. 12 (1983), p. 126

⁴B.Swai, Crisis in Colonial Agriculture: Soil Erosion in Tanganyika during the Interwar Period, The African e-Journal Project, Michigan State University, p.27

⁵N.S. Chalamila, "Utani Relationships: The Hehe Vol. 1", Paper, (1970), p. 4.

⁶ Maria Mgata, "Sao-Hill Forest Plantation and its Impact to the Society of Mufindi from 1900-1980", M.A Dissertation, SAUT, (2019), p.20.

⁷Egidio Crema, *Wahehe: A Bantu People*, (Bologna, Italy: Sermis, Cooperative, 2004), pp. 21, 124-127; See also Alison Redmayne, "The Wahehe People of Tanganyika", Phd. Thesis, (Oxford University, 1964), p.27

⁸ Helge Kjekshus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History: The Case of Tanganyika 1850*, (Dar es Salaam, Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 1977), pp. 38-40.

⁹ Interviews with Sabina Mdemu, Sebius Mlclwa, Krusumi Ally Namanga and Salma Athumani Nyasi held at Kasanga, Ithomasa and Mwilavila-Malangali between in 10, 11, and 17/11/2020.

¹⁰ TNA, Secretariat File, No: 1732/4/1992: Annual Report of Iringa Province, 1926

¹¹ Gaudens P. Mpangala, *Major Issues in Tanzania Economic History: State Policies and the Question of Transformation of Peasant agriculture Through a Hundred Years, 1891-1990 Part II*, (Dar es Salaam: Institute of Kiswahili Research, 2000), pp. 38-40.

borne diseases especially East Coast fever (ECF). To make sure that the scheme will be implemented without resentment from the indigenous people of Iringa, the colonial government had to introduce legislation through the native authorities to compel the conservative farmers to effect the change [12].

In addition to that Andrew Coulson pointed out that the main activity of the Tanganyika department of agriculture in the post-war years was the administration of land improvement and soil conservation schemes. By-laws covering almost every conceivable aspect of agricultural production were passed under the 1927 native authorities' ordinance and enforced with fines or imprisonment in native authority courts by the chiefs. The largest of these schemes were the Sukumaland development scheme, the Mbulu development scheme and Iringa dipping scheme [13]. With regard to dipping scheme, the scheme involved compulsory dipping of cattle for a small fee to be paid each time and was understandably resented [14]. Similar observation was observed by Bonaventure Swai [15].

Generally, it was a period of struggle against environmental, political and economic constraints to realize 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 [16]. Kimambo and Temu addressed the question of dipping scheme in the context of post-Second World War and its impact in Iringa District. While, Coulson and Swai continues to post that the compulsory dipping of cattle plus the fee imposed to peasants ended with resentment of peasants against the measures of colonial state in enforcing agricultural change. Most of the studies discussed in post-war period paint the images of capitalist crisis in Europe and how the colonies were supposed to handle the burden of metropolitan state after the end of WWII. This being the case, the forces which prompted the introduction and development of dipping scheme in Mufindi are not addressed at all. Lastly, livestock is an

aspect of agriculture. In most cases the measures which were introduced to control the soil erosion were applied in livestock husbandry. Little is known on the development of cattle husbandry in Mufindi under the period of study. Therefore, it was from that background that this study intends to contextualize the history of Iringa dipping scheme in Mufindi from 1940s to 1958.

3. Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

The colonial narrative on the remedial policies was backed by developmentalist strategy based on transformation and modernization approaches claiming to rescue the African backward and primitive societies. Colonial territories like Tanganyika were forced to increase food/cash crops production in order to alleviate the difficulties of the British. The defenders of political economy theory say the colonial empire was viewed more and more as an area capable of producing tropical and semi-tropical raw materials required for home industry and as a soft market for even the simplest British commodities [17]. Similarly, G. Ambindwile argued that British concentrated her efforts in developing production of agricultural products in Tanganyika due to her traditional colonies in Asia such as India since in 1940s could no longer help her needs of shortage of oil and fats. India and China which used to export about 1,000,000 tons of those products per year were by 1950 virtually non-exporters because India used almost all its products and China had been disrupted by internal wars [18]. Agricultural products both food and cash crops were important in overcoming the shortage of food in Europe and to maintain the stability of food within the colonies [19]. Thus, Iringa dipping scheme was established in Mufindi within that context of crisis in British Empire. Shortage of beef in Britain forced the colonial power to commercialize the cattle industry through development of dipping schemes and destocking schemes in different parts of colonial Tanganyika. Import substitution industries introduced in post Second World War period was another pressing demand for so called improvement and transformation approaches. Meat canning industries, dairy industries, tanneries industries, margarine industries and shoe industries called for improved animal husbandry. Projects in cattle dipping, destocking, improved veterinary services and better animal feeding was very crucial.

¹²I.N. Kimambo and A. J. Temu, eds., *A History of Tanzania*, (Evanston, III: Northwestern University Press, 1969), pp. 203-205.

¹³Andrew Coulson, "Agricultural Policies in Mainland Tanganyika", *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 10, *Peasants* (Sep- Dec., 1977), pp.74-100, p. 76.

¹⁴Andrew Coulson, *Tanzania: A Political Economy*, *Second Edition*, (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 83.

¹⁵Bonaventure Swai, "Colonial Rural Development Policy and Agrarian Protest in Tanganyika Territory: The Usambara Case 1920-1960", *Transafrican Journal of History*, 12, (1983), p.164.

¹⁶Maxmillian Julius Chuhila, "Coming Down the Mountain: A History of Land Use Change in Kilimanjaro, ca. 1920 to 2000s", PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, (2016), p. 155.

¹⁷Bonaventure Swai, "Tanganyika and the Great Depression 1929-1936", *Transafrican Journal of History* 9, No. 1/2, (1980), p.216.

¹⁸George K. Ambindwile, "Reinstating Local Agency: Origins and Development of Irrigated Rice Production in the Usangu Plains, 1920's to 1960", in *Tanzania Zamani: A Journal of Historical Research and Writings*, Volume XI No. 2, (2019), pp. 94-95.

¹⁹Mpangala, op,cit., pp. 44-47.

The research methodology of this study was primarily qualitative in nature. However, some quantitative statistics data were used to support qualitative arguments. To provide historical evidence of the Iringa dipping scheme in Mufindi, primary and secondary historical sources both written and oral were consulted. First, the study benefited from the data collected in Tanzania National Archives (TNA) located in Dar es Salaam City. From TNA primary sources consulted included District Books, Secretariat files, Annual Reports, memoirs, letters and native authorities of Mufindi documents, on colonial period from 1930s to 1960. Second, other primary and secondary sources such as books, journals, papers and dissertations/theses on colonial period were extracted from the library of University of Dar es Salaam, (UDSM) and Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) in Morogoro.

Oral testimonies on Mufindi dipping scheme were elicited from indigenous people who were contemporary to the installation of the dips in Mufindi. The indigenous people provided useful information which corroborated the archival records. The study benefited from indigenous peasants, retired experts on such fields, incumbent workers of Mufindi including veterinary officers, dip attendants and agricultural officers who were important respondents. Finally, the historical sources both primary and secondary were processed through content analysis to produce a historical narrative on Iringa dipping scheme in Mufindi, 1940s-1958.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 The conception of Iringa Dipping Scheme

This scheme was conceived within the developmentalist theories of post Second World War crisis situation. Though in discussing the history of Tanganyika after WWII, historians came up with different perspectives which presented the period as one of rapid changes within the British Empire. For instance, some of the scholars call this period as 'entirely new approach [20] or 'second colonial occupation [21] to mention just a few. It was a period of struggle against environmental, political and economic constraints to realize great hopes for recovery from the depredations of the war [22]. The second occupation

manifested itself in the ever-deeper interventions by the colonial state to improve and transform African settlement, agricultural, and livestock herding practices. In a word, African society and African modes of production were to be modernized through the application of Western bureaucratic management, science, technology and improved farming and animal husbandry methods to increase yields and quality of them [23].

The development of cattle keeping and dipping scheme in post-war period should be understood in the context of two perspectives. First, the development of internal markets for meat by settlers and their labourers in the tea and tree plantations. Secondly, after the WWII in Europe especially Britain there was the shortage of beef, therefore the introduction of import substitution industries including Tanganyika Packers Limited (TPL) for meat and dairy processing was inevitable in Tanganyika.

Starting with the first perspective, from 1930s the settlers in Mufindi complained over the shortage of cattle products like cheese and butter. This shortage led to the importation of cattle products from Kenya [24]. The rising demand of cattle products after WWII in Mufindi, culminated into escalated effort to modernize cattle industry through establishment of dipping scheme to control tick-borne diseases. According to Samweli Kindimba, the growth of cattle farming in Mufindi was due to the presence of many settlers who engaged in different economic activities such as tea, forest, tobacco, cattle, poultry and vegetables. For instance, the most renowned settler in Mufindi who conducted the activities of commercialization of cattle industry was David Recardo who opened the ranch and his personal dip in Matanana. Apart from that, Recardo is known for collecting cattle from different places for butchering in Mufindi in 1950s. Ricardo supplied meat to white's settlers who were operating their activities in Mufindi. The argument of Kindimba is true due to the fact that after the war the colonial government instituted various development schemes to improve agricultural and animal development for both peasant farmers and white settlers [25].

²⁰ N. N. Luanda, "Rural Development in Colonial Tanganyika: An Overview", in *Tanzania Zamani: Journal of Historical Research and Writing*, Volume, 1, Issue, 2, (December, 1992), p. 17.

²¹ David Anderson, "Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography, and Drought: The Colonial State and Soil Conservation in East Africa during the 1930s", *African Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 332 (Jul., 1984), pp. 321-343, p.321.

²² Maximillian J. Chuhila, "Commerce of Food? Development Narratives of Maize Farming in Ismani, CA. 1940s to the Present" in Piotr Cichocki and Maciej Zabek, eds., *Development in East Africa, Cultural Shift*

in East Africa: Developments, Biographies, (Im) Materialities, (Iringa- Warsaw: MUCE and Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology University of Warsaw – Poland, 2018), p. 62.

²³ Roderick P. Neumann, "The Postwar Conservation Boom in British Colonial Africa", in *Article of Environmental History*, (January, 2002), p. 28.

²⁴ Tanganyika Annual Report of the Provincial Development Committee Southern Highlands Province, (1939), p.95.

²⁵ Interview with Samweli Kindimba held at Sao Hill Village in 19/11/2020, and Daud Msese, op.cit.

Second, other cattle from Mufindi were transported through central railway line to Dar es Salaam to feed beef production industries. Part of the beef was supplied to the demands in town and the rest was exported abroad [26]. After WWII, the industry which processed corn beef was launched in Dar es Salaam, Mwanza and Arusha between 1947s and 1950s [27]. Before the introduction of those industries in Tanganyika, the industry which processed beef was Athi River Factory established in Kenya in 1937. Following the widespread resistance of Kenyan stock farmers, the Athi River Factory was forced to obtain cattle from neighboring Tanganyika; a situation was made more pressing by World War II, which demanded canned meat for military rations for allied troops.

After the end of war, most Athi River cattle came from Tanganyika and Leipig's Extract of Meat Corporation (LEMCO) negotiated with the Tanganyika Government to open a factory in the Kawe suburb of Dar es Salaam to process 'surplus' cattle. Moreover, food shortages in post-war Europe convinced British officials of the need for additional global sources of protein. In 1947, U.K. canned meat consumption was ten times higher than prewar levels. Tanganyika Packers Limited began production in Dar es Salaam in 1950 as a colonial parastatal, with 51% ownership by the Government of Tanganyika. Although Tanganyika in the 1950s was emerging as Africa's third largest cattle country, its political ecology shaped commercial beef production. Scrub cattle, even cattle emaciated by drought, could be boiled down into meat extract a thick paste used as a soup base, or powdered as beef cubes which had a healthy international market [28]. Apart from what was going in Mufindi, the Mbulu development scheme was initiated with the TP abattoirs in Arusha and Moshi in mind [29]. While in Usukuma compulsory destocking of cattle could only be looked upon by peasants as collusion between the colonial administration and the chiefs to rob the peasant of his wealth, and especially to feed the Tanganyika Packers factories Mwanza [30].

4.2 The Course towards Establishment Dipping Scheme in Mufindi

The establishment of dipping schemes in Mufindi went through a very elaborate course after the WWII. From 1940s the colonial government and native

authority of Mufindi started to look forward on the development of dipping schemes. Among the issues which were discussed include the proposed fees/charges of dipping, native authority cattle dipping rules and the question of soil erosion.

In 1944, the provincial commissioner (PC) discussed with Adam Sapi the proposal for a cattle tax in dipping process. In response the chief of Iringa District Adam Sapi replied by stating that such tax would be premature in Uhehe. Also, the question of education should be provided to the indigenous people to understand the importance of cattle dipping [31]. Up to 1946, the correspondence letters of the discussion of the proposed cattle tax between the PC and Chief of Uhehe was not successful achieved. For instance, in 1946, the chief of Uhehe replied the letter of *Bwana Shauri* by stating that:

'I reply according to your letter of 14 March, 1946 over the question of dipping cattle each week will be good and the number of cattle will increase in Uhehe, due to the fact that ECF, (*Makatu* in Kihehe) will be reduced. I discussed with the indigenous cattle owners, and I detected that many people do not understand about the issues of dipping cattle in acaricides (tick-killing chemicals). The indigenous responded that the charges or fees will be difficult to pay. So, the indigenous will not accept that suggestion. In fact, the people they do not understand the importance of dipping cattle. Hence, in the first year it will be difficult to conduct the process of dipping cattle. Later on, they will be motivated to dip their cattle after successful of the scheme in reducing cattle mortality. Even the proposed fee they will provide without any problem [32].

The introduction of dipping scheme was associated with soil erosion as a matter to be considered. Chief Adam Sapi Mkwawa argued that in Uzungwa, Mufindi and all places which had small hills cattle should not be dipped. Exception was made in plain regions such as Nguruhe, Ihimbo and others. The reasoning was that if the cattle will increase two or three times the threat of soil erosion will be very high. In other places in the district the veterinary officer was to enact harsh laws to restrict the people to move out with large group of cattle in the hills or steep slopes where pastures are found; we will get the loss of our country due to erosion problem [33].

According to Chief Adam Sapi, the suggestion which he received would be better if he had met and discussed with his subordinate chiefs, jumbes and his

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Thaddeus Sunseri, "Working in the Slaughterhouse: Tanganyika Packers Ltd, from Colonialism to Collapse, 1947-1974", *Labour History*, (2017),pp. 1-18; Raikes, op.cit.

²⁸Sunseri, op. cit., pp. 1-6; See also William Mackenzie, *Livestock Economy of Tanzania: A Study of Beef Industry*, Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1977),pp.54-55.

²⁹Luanda, op.cit.,p. 19.

³⁰Kimambo and Temu, op.cit.,p. 205,

³¹ TNA, A Correspondence letter of Provincial Commissioner of Mbeya to Chief of Uhehe (Adam Sapi) dated 28th November, 1944.

³²TNA, A translated (Swahili letter) Correspondences of Chief of Uhehe to Bwana Shauri, dated 18th March, 1946.

³³Ibid.

subjects. At the meeting each and everything will be well settled. Therefore, according to Sapi all issues which he presented, were known to the veterinary officer and agricultural extension officer and would implement accordingly [34].

Based on communication between the Chief, Provincial Commissioner and *Bwana Shauri* the imposition of Iringa dipping schemes was affected by three factors. The first factor was lack of money. The colonial government wanted the cattle tax or native treasure to assist in installation of dips. Second factor, the provision of education about the importance of dipping schemes to the indigenous was not yet started. Last factor was soil erosion problem which continued to disturb the minds of colonial powers and native authority. They thought if cattle were to increase in numbers there will be a threat to the existing notion of ‘soil erosion’. For instance, before the introduction of dipping scheme table 1 below shows the number of cattle which existed in Iringa District and Mufindi in particular from 1943-1948 as follows.

Table-1: The Number of Cattle in Iringa District, 1943-1948

Year	Cattle
1943	168,267
1944	165,289
1945	188,207
1946	183, 810
1947	177, 995
1948	186,894

Source: TNA, Mbeya (Iringa and Southern Highlands Province) Book. Vol. 1.

4.3. Installation of Iringa Dipping Scheme in Mufindi

The existing challenges of installation of the dipping scheme notwithstanding, the period from 1948 in history of Iringa District had spectacular development of cattle industry. It was the time when compulsory dipping scheme was ratified. The process to introduce the program was advised in the conference held at Mbeya on 8-10th December 1948 [35]. The conference argued:

It was accepted that any dipping scheme would have to be compulsory. The director of veterinary services stated that there were about 50 steel dip on their way from Australia, but he did not anticipate that there would be any available for the Southern Highlands Province until the end of 1949. It is intended that the first years dipping after the installation of the dips should be free [36].

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵TNA, Acc. No. 24, File No/71/18: Iringa Dipping Scheme

³⁶Ibid.

The installation of the dips in Iringa District and Mufindi in particular was expected to begin in 1949, however, the installation was unable to commence. In 1949, the province for the first time experienced the activities of Research Branches of the East Africa High Commission. Leprologist together with a Veterinary team conducted an investigation and survey on the incidence of tuberculosis in livestock. The existence of certain cash reserves in African hands was proved by record tax collections. In fact the only major setback was that no progress occurred in the installation of a network of cattle dips, to control ECF endemicity which had been expected in the Iringa District during the year 1949 [37]. The installation of the dips was well known to the society of Mufindi. In fact, up to 1950’s majority of the people understood the overall activities which were carried out by the colonial state and native authority of Mufindi.

The period from 1950’s to 1958, can be regarded as the time of development of dipping scheme in Mufindi. To alleviate the cattle disease (ECF), the installation of dips started in the early and mid of 1950’s. The cattle dips were launched under auspice control of Iringa Dipping Scheme [38]. The following areas were installed with the dips; John’s Corner (Mafinga town) along the Mufindi road, Ifwagi, Malangali, Lugoda, Sadani (Tambala Ng’ombe), Igowole, Mwenga, and Makungu to mention just a few [39].

The process of mapping and locating the dips was done by the expert officer of livestock. Then chiefs, secretary of village or *jumbe* were notified that the dip will be installed in his sub chiefdom or village. The *jumbe* was responsible to mobilize people the people in digging the dip. Usually, the people who participated in digging the dip were cattle owners from different villages who will benefit from the service offered by the dip [40]. Thereafter, the livestock officer and technicians would come to finish up the setting of dip steel tank. Together with the indigenous people the dip shed will be built. The steel tank was placed in the floor and in two sides of the dip. The steel tank was a hard steel iron placed in the dips for durability and efficiency

³⁷ Tanganyika Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners for the year (1949), p. 115.

³⁸TNA, Acc. No. 24, File No/71/18: Iringa Dipping Scheme

³⁹Interviews with Vallentino Tossi, held at Ifwagi in 5/11/2020, John held at Malangali in 17/11/2020, Abdallah Mkupasi and Kalo Ngo’wo, held at Lugoda and Isalavanu villages in 21/11/2020; Idris S. Kikula, *Policy Implications on Environment: The Case of Villagisation in Tanzania*, (DUP, Ltd: University of Dar es Salaam, 1996), p. 150.

⁴⁰Interviews with Tossi, op.cit.

of dips [41]. The dips were large in size which contained 12,000 liters of water.

All the mentioned dips were constructed along the rivers or canals in a direction to the dip. The purpose of building the dips along the source of water was for easy replacement of water after the cattle were dipped. For instance, the dips of Lugoda and Malangali were located along the Lyandembela and Little Ruaha Rivers respectively [42]. However, many new constructed dips in post-colonial time were located not along or close to the rivers for environmental protection purpose. New dips were built in or at least at a distant place but not far away from the river or source of water [43] The dipping scheme which was introduced in Mufindi was expected to enhance supply of meat in Mufindi, Njombe, Songea District and Nachingwea [44].

The process of dipping the cattle was carried out by the owners of cattle and the dip attendants. Dip attendant, was a specialist who organized the process of dipping the cattle. He or she was responsible to check the concentration of acaricides of the dip wash, to assist whatever incidence occurred to the cattle during dipping and to collect the fees. Livestock and veterinary officers attended to other activities such as during vaccination campaign, treatment of cattle and to check the performance and efficiency of the dip [45].

For an efficient dipping of the cattle, the dip was built as a house with two system of restricting the cattle wandering during the dipping. In the fore entrance of the dip there is a kraal which collects all cattle. In the direction of a dip there is a 'footbath' which contains the Calcium and Potassium or (disinfectant) mixed with water. This ground is there for the purpose of washing the cattle feet before the cattle entered in the dip. Usually, the cattle passed through it in the direction of dipping tank. In the entry point of the dip, the dipping tank is very deep, compared to the following direction of dip where the cattle get out [46]. The purpose of building the dips to be deep in the first point was to make sure that the cattle bodies were totally immersed in the dip wash so that every part of the body gets the acaricides.

After it was dipped; the cattle got out to the exit direction of the second kraal to stay there while

waiting others and allowing the acaricides to drip down. Then the cattle owners took their cattle to home or for grazing [47].

In colonial period the cattle markets were located along the dipping scheme. For instance, in Mufindi cattle markets were in Malangali and Lugoda [48]. However, in post-colonial times some markets of cattle were not established along the dips as demonstrated in figure 1 and 2 below showing the dipping schemes.



Fig-1.1: Internal Structure of a Dip in Ifwagi
Source: Research, 13/11/2020



Fig-1.2: A Complete Dipping Scheme in Mafinga Town
Source: Research, 25/11/2020

4.4 The Rules of Cattle Dipping in Mufindi

Dipping process was made efficient through Dipping Rules enacted under the Native Authority Ordinance of Cattle. The colonial state worked hand in hand with Native Authority to introduce the laws which governed the dipping process. The establishment of dipping laws was the implementation of the compulsory dipping scheme which was ratified in the conference held at Mbeya in 1948 [49]. To implement that policy of compulsory dipping scheme in Mufindi, the Native Authority Ordinance Cap.72, of (Uhehe Native Authority) Cattle Dipping Rules was formulated in

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Interview with Mkupasi, op.cit.

⁴⁴ Tanganyika Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners for the year (1949), p.121; Kindimba, op.cit.

⁴⁵ Interview with Daudi Msese (A retired livestock officer), held at Mafinga Town in 24/11/2020

⁴⁶Interview with Ally Kassim Haisule,(Agricultural and Livestock Officer) held at Ifwagi in 6/11/2020

⁴⁷Interview with Aldonis Ulimboka (Veterinary Officer) held at Luganga-Mafinga Town in 24/11/2020

⁴⁸ Tanganyika Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners for the year (1955), p. 142; Interviews with Krusumi Ally Namanga and Salma Athuman Nyasi, held at Malangali in 21/11/2020;

⁴⁹TNA, Minutes of the Provincial Advisory Conference held at Mbeya on 8-10th December 1948: Compulsory Dipping Scheme

1951 [50]. In exercise of the powers conferred upon Native Authorities by section 16 of the (NAO), and with the approval of the governor, the following rules were hereby made by the Uhehe Native Authority.

‘The rules may be cited as the Native Authority. These rules shall apply to the entire Iringa District, less the sub chiefdoms of Idodi, Pawaga and Usagara. Provided that exceptions and extensions of areas within which these rules apply may be made in writing by the Native Authority from time to time as may be expedient on the advice of the veterinary officer in charge of cattle dipping [51].

All cattle within the area to which these rules apply and which are old enough to walk to the dip must be dipped once each week at the place ordered by the veterinary officer in charge of cattle dipping. Provided that the veterinary office in charge of cattle dipping may delegate his power in this respect in writing to an Assistant Livestock Officer, Stock Inspector, African veterinary Assistant, Veterinary Guard or Veterinary Scout [52].

The cattle in each herd must be brought to the dip by herdsmen sufficient to drive them properly through the dip, and to control them on their way to and from the dip, and these herdsmen must obey all legal orders given by the veterinary staff. In charge of the dip for the purpose of dipping them safely and properly, and controlling them in the area of the dip, and for preventing damage to the dip, the surrounding soil and adjoining cultivation, and shall render the veterinary staff in charge of the dip all such assistance as may be necessary for these purposes [53].

All cattle owners shall declare fully all such details of their herds, cattle enclosures, grazing ground and give any such other information to the veterinary officer in charge of cattle dipping or to those appointed by him under Rules as may be necessary for the purpose of counting and recording their cattle [54].

All cattle owners were to declare fully to the veterinary staff in charge of the dip at which their cattle are normally dipped any changes in their herds, including births, deaths, sales, gifts, losses, theft or changes of location of cattle enclosures, of grazing grounds or of persons in charge. Such declaration was

to be made on the next dipping day of the herd after the change has taken place [55].

Any cattle entering the area to which these rules apply must be dipped immediately in the dip nearest to their point of entry of the area, and thereafter once each week, while they remain in the area. It was the duty of the owner of such cattle or his agent to ensure that dates and places of dipping are endorsed on the back of the relevant movement permit by the veterinary staff in charge of the dip concerned [56].

It was the duty of every person purchasing cattle at a cattle market in the area to which these rules apply to ensure that it is dipped on that day at the market dip. Thereafter the market clerk shall issue a movement permit recording on the back thereof the date and place of dipping [57].

It was an offence in the area to which these rules apply, for any person to be in possession of, to herd, drive, own or have any right or title in any cattle which cannot be shown to the satisfaction of the veterinary officer in charge of cattle dipping or to those appointed by him under rules to have been dipped within the preceding week [58].

All herdsmen or cattle owners bringing cattle to the dip may be required by the veterinary staff in charge of the dip to give such assistance as may be necessary in the work of topping up the dip or at any other time in the work of emptying, clearing and refilling the dip, or of maintaining the approach road to the dip or of carrying out ant-erosion measures at the dip site [59].

A fee was levied in such manner and at such rate as may be laid down from time to time by the Native Authority on all cattle to which these rules shall apply. Any offence against these rules shall render the person committing such offence liable to a fine of sh. 200/- or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months or to confiscation of the cattle concerned, or to a combination of each penalty [60].

The available evidence showed that the installation of dips in Iringa and Mufindi was almost complete by the end of the 1951, and Africans were enthusiastic supporters of the scheme, even though they know that in due course they will have to pay for the service, because they realized how it will reduce calf

⁵⁰TNA, Acc. No. 24, File No A.2/3: Minutes of Native Affairs, Iringa Dipping Scheme, The Native Authority Ordinance Cap.72. The Native Authority (Uhehe Native Authority) Cattle Dipping Rules, 1951

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

mortality [61]. In 1952 the dips were launched, and Africans dipped their cattle free of charge. This was the implementation of the resolutions of conference which was held in Mbeya 1948 that the first year the natives will dip their cattle free of charge [62].

After trial periods of voluntary dipping, compulsory dipping was applied by order under the NAO of 1952 [63]. According to the annual report of 1952 the fee to be charged in 1953 was Sh. 3/-per beast. Thus, in 1953, the collection of a fee of Sh. 3/- per beast in two equal halves yearly installments was instituted at the Iringa dips during that year, and realized a rather greater sum than the estimate without difficult: However, the long dry season interrupted water supplies at a number of these dips, the collection of fees being modified accordingly. But on the whole, the Iringa dipping scheme continued on its successful way, and was visited during the year by a part of chiefs from the Kahama district who were most impressed [64].

In Iringa District and Mufindi in particular, the report of 1953 showed how successful the dipping scheme was in combating ECF. In 1954, the dipping scheme continued to work satisfactorily though dip enforcement and fee collection continued to cause some troubles. During that year, the total number of immersions exceeded 7 million which is estimated to represent on 88 percent dip of the total cattle population. Despite the difficulties, tick control appeared to be effective and no cases of ECF or any other tick-borne disease were recorded in the area covered by the scheme. The process of construction continued where four new dips were built during that year, bringing the total of 51 for whole Iringa region. Furthermore, new roads and cattle bridges were constructed and livestock markets functioned normally [65].

The Iringa dipping scheme in Mufindi had a successful year of 1955 and its benefits were then becoming apparent in the increase of herds in the districts. Following such success, the colonial government wanted to extend dipping scheme into neighbouring areas of Ubena and Usangu [66]. Stock markets functioned normally during the year, but the

supply of cattle did not meet the demand particularly in Iringa and Mbeya where shortage occurred [67].

In 1956, livestock remained in better condition. This was reflected in an increase in the average price of cattle in the markets of Iringa Districts. The price per beast in the year 1955 was Sh.124/= and in 1956 was Sh.141/= and the number of cattle in the district of Iringa was 256,544 [68]. In Mufindi, by then in its fourth year, continued to be an outstanding success in the control of tick-borne diseases in general and East Coast Fever in particular. During that year the total of 59 dips were in operation and the magnitude of the scheme was good, it was realized that the total of immersions of that year was over 9.5 million [69].

In 1957; stock generally remained in good condition throughout the year, although the dry season was unduly prolonged and grassfire damaged much grazing. Up to 1958, Iringa Dipping Scheme in Mufindi was closed down and consequently shifts in emphasis to more general animal husbandry work and disease control. Relations between the department and the native authorities improved considerably. The expected outbreak of East Coast Fever in Iringa did not materialize, but tick survey continued in order to keep a check on the position [70]. In 1959, Iringa District, which abandoned its scheme in 1958 for reason not entirely connected with the scheme's efficacy according to them, the incidence of the disease, was difficult to assess. But the report suggested that losses were beginning to occur again in the south of the district, cattle owners took some pains to hide such facts [71].

4.5 The Collapse of Iringa Dipping Scheme in Mufindi, 1958

The response of the people of Mufindi after installation of dips started to change in 1954. Although the report of 1954 recommended that the Iringa dipping scheme worked satisfactory but, dip enforcement and fee collection continued to cause resentments and resistance among the people of Mufindi. According to the indigenous people of Mufindi, the amount of money (Sh.3 per beast) imposed in dipping process during that time was very high fees. Hence, some of the indigenous were unable to pay such exorbitant dipping fees. The peasants also resisted the scheme partly due of the bother involved in bringing their cattle to the dips [72].

⁶¹ Tanganyika Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners for the year (1951),pp. 144-145.

⁶² TNA, Acc. No. 24, File No/71/18: Iringa Dipping Scheme

⁶³ Tanganyika Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners for the year (1951), p.46.

⁶⁴ Tanganyika Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners for the year (1951),p. 128.

⁶⁵ Tanganyika Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners for the year (1954), p. 140.

⁶⁶ Tanganyika Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners for the year (1955), p. 141.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 142.

⁶⁸ Tanganyika Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners for the year (1956), p. 160.

⁶⁹ Tanganyika Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners for the year (1956), p. 161; Mwangaza, Dar es Salaam, Jumatano, Agosti 21, (1957), p. 2.

⁷⁰ Tanganyika Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners for the year (1958), p. 132.

⁷¹ Tanganyika Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners for the year (1959), p. 169.

⁷² A.Temu op. cit. p. 204

The geographical location of dips also affected them in attending each week. Some people were coming from distant areas of the dips. This situation affected the dipping of cattle in each week [73]. In 1957, again Iringa dipping scheme met an upsurge of opposition from cattle owners. Throughout the year dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the scheme grew and was exploited by an disgruntled elements with the result that a mass refusal to dip took place in October. This brought compulsory dipping to a standstill in November and it had to be suspended for six months. Dips however remained open for all those who wished to continue dipping voluntarily, and who were prepared to pay the necessary fees. Therefore, at the close of the year only some 2 percent of cattle were being dipped [74]. It was hoped to be able to re-introduce the scheme in due course, but possibly not in its old form [75].

5. CONCLUSION

The developmentalist approach of post-WWII in Tanganyika agricultural and animal husbandry system was highly influenced by the circumstances which were going on both in Britain and Tanganyika. This study concluded that the rapid shortage of corned beef in Britain for consumption necessitated the colonial state to institutionalize the development of Iringa dipping scheme in Mufindi so as to solve the problem of shortage of beef. In Tanganyika, the presence of white settlers in Mufindi and the growth of demands of meat in town centers like Dar es Salaam, Iringa and Mbeya prompted the commercialization of cattle industry in Mufindi after the Second World War. However, the state interventionist stance by instituting compulsory measures to the peasants and exorbitant fees charged for the services, made the project becoming unpopular. The dipping scheme in Mufindi therefore generated resentments and resistance from the indigenous population culminating into refusal to access the dipping services.

It was not an accident that the dipping scheme ultimately collapsed in 1958. The collapse of Iringa dipping scheme in Mufindi was mainly attributed to the high cost of fees imposed during the dipping process, long distance to the dips and harsh rules imposed on dipping the cattle. Therefore, the peasant's resentment and resistance against the scheme was the struggle against oppressive and exploitative system which was imposed by the colonial state in collaboration with the native authority of Mufindi upon the peasants after the end of WWII. As Mao Zedong puts it "The duty of the oppressed is to rebel against the oppressors and the exploiters [76]".

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⁷³Interviews with Tossi, op. cit.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 143.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Mao Zedong

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 - Vallentino Tossi, 81 years old, worked as Estate from 1969 to 1980 and later on Worked as a nurse in Ifwagi Dispensary from 1983 to 2004, interviewed on 5/11/2020, at Ifwagi Village
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