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## “We were forced to work without compensation”. A Historical Interrogation of labour process in the colonial Dipping Scheme in Iringa District, 1925-1960

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### Abstract

The British mandate in Tanganyika envisioned to develop another “White man's country” in Iringa. This move was widely supported by Lord Delamere who encouraged Europeans to establish settlements in Iringa's highlands due to the fertile land. Among the many projects envisioned was that of cattle husbandry which brought the dipping scheme which aimed at controlling East Coast Fever disease. In a process of executing this programme the labourers who involved had grievances which in a way expounds the nature of labour in the dipping scheme itself. Therefore, this article uses dipping scheme in Iringa to navigate its major labour sections and major grievances of the labourers by using archival; sources from the Tanzania National Archive.

**Keywords:** Iringa, Hehe, labourers, dipping scheme, road construction.

### 1. Introduction

Many scholars<sup>1</sup> have been discussing on labour question on various colonial projects especially plantations and mining sectors leaving some colonial projects untouched such as the dipping schemes of which this article aims at filling that lacuna. The First World War, brought changes in the East Africa colonies on administration as

Tanganyika came under British administration which was under Germany administration. Tanganyika became a mandated territory administered by Britain on behalf of the League of Nations officially in 1920.<sup>2</sup> Under British control, the colonial government aimed to maximize economic output by improving the agricultural and livestock industries in various areas in Tanganyika. For Imperial idealism, in Britain and Kenya, the Tanganyika highlands were seen as the 'missing link' in a chain of white settlements stretching from South Africa to Kenya. A closer union of all the East African territories was believed to be a powerful White State'

<sup>1</sup>Juhani Koponen, *Development for Exploitation, German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914* (Hamburg, 1995), 321-437; Hezron Kangalawe, “Drinking too Much, they Can't work”: The Settlers, the Hehe Work Discipline and Environmental Conservation in Tanzania, 1920-1960, *Tanzania Zamani*, 13, (1), 2021 (125-170); Hezron Kangalawe, *A History of the Labour Process in the Tea Industry, Mufindi, 1960s-2000s*, (M.A. Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 2012), 98-120.

<sup>2</sup>Charlotte Leubuscher, *Tanganyika Territory, A study of Economic Policy Under Mandate*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1944), 3-4.

dedicated to white settlement and Dominion status.<sup>3</sup> The Southern Highlands, were described as a “white man’s paradise” due to fertile land, high elevation that spread them from the humidity and tropical diseases of the lowlands, sparse African population, and a stretch of 200 miles between Tukuyu and Iringa.<sup>4</sup> The coming of the British in the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika played a significant role in the establishment of a white settlement in the region, particularly in the Iringa district. This settlement was largely due to the fertility of the land, which was ideal for agricultural activities such as growing crops like maize, tea, and coffee.<sup>5</sup> The British recognized the potential of the area for large-scale farming, and as a result, they established tea plantations in Mufindi, and expanded the colonial projects by establishing stock farms and ranches for cattle, and road constructions.<sup>6</sup>

The dipping scheme project which is the focus of this article was implemented by the colonial administration to control tick-borne diseases that posed a significant threat to the cattle population in Iringa district.<sup>7</sup> Livestock was of critical importance to both local and colonial economies serving as a primary source of income, food, and trade for the local communities-the Hehe, as well as a valuable asset for the colonial economy.<sup>8</sup> These diseases which could severely decimate cattle productivity and numbers, prompted the British to introduce the dipping scheme in Iringa district represented the British government’s efforts to improve cattle health but also to increase the efficiency and productivity of agriculture sector which was central to the colonial economy. In another turn, Mwatwara’s study suggests that in South Africa, livestock policy, and activities based on livestock improvement

began to take cohesive shape from around 1912.<sup>9</sup> Arguably, the development of cohesive livestock policies in South Africa from 1912 may also reflect a deeper strategy of colonial control over the indigenous populations and their agricultural practices. This seems to be the case for livestock improvement in Iringa as well. The scheme being new in Africa involved many operations such as constructing and operating dip tanks where cattle were submerged in chemical solutions to kill ticks and other pests. This program, though beneficial for livestock health had a significant impact on the demand for labour in the district.

The implementation and ongoing maintenance of the Dipping Scheme in Iringa district created a substantial demand for labourers, particularly in the construction of dip tanks. These labourers were required to physically build the tanks which involved a variety of tasks, such as digging, transporting materials, and constructing the roads to those dipping facilities. This process required both, skilled and unskilled labourers to handle tasks such as excavations, the gathering of building materials, and the assembly of the tanks and surrounding facilities. The Tanganyika territory reports indicate that by the end of 1950, the building program was almost completed and almost all farm equipment purchased and all other types of stock accommodation were constructed.<sup>10</sup>

However, labourers were also in high demand for the ongoing operational and maintenance of the Scheme. These workers were responsible for tasks such as managing the day-to-day running activities of the scheme, which included herding livestock during dip bathing, applying dipping chemicals used in the dipping process, and maintaining the dip tanks’ infrastructures to keep tanks operational. Regular cleaning and refilling of the tanks were crucial to prevent contamination and ensure the health of livestock. Local workers were employed to carry out these tasks, often under difficult and dangerous conditions.

The economic and labour structures in the Iringa district during the British colonial period were shaped by the broader dynamics of colonial rule in Tanganyika. British colonial policies were designed to extract resources and labour from the local population for the benefit of the colonial administration and settler interests. These policies often disregarded the needs and rights of the indigenous people, forcing them into systems of labour that prioritised the economic gains of the colonial power. In an analysis of labour Stephen found that the wages and conditions of the African workers underwent a rapid deterioration.<sup>11</sup> It seems possible that the rapid deterioration of wages for African during colonialism reflects the systematic economic exploitation inherent in the colonial system. The colonial government and settler economy relied heavily on cheap labourers who were often paid meagre wages, which were insufficient to meet their needs. The

<sup>3</sup> E.A Walker, *Africa and Some world Problems*, General J.C. Smuts. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930). 184; “Volume Information.” *The American Political Science Review* 25, no. 1 (1931). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1946565>.

<sup>4</sup> See for example, Lord Chesham, “Settlement in Tanganyika” *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 37, 147 (1938), 2, (184-190); George O. Ndege., “The Transformation of Cattle Economy in Rongo Division South Nyanza district, 1900 to 1960.” (PhD Thesis University of Nairobi, 1989), 101.

<sup>5</sup> Roberta E. Peason, “A White man’s Country.” In *Memory and Popular film*. (University of Nottingham, 2018), 23-41. Doi:[10.7765/9781526137531.00007](https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526137531.00007).

<sup>6</sup> TNA. C.W.Y Hucks, District commissioner to senior provincial commissioner, Mbeya. Details of the mileages of the new roads constructed in the district. 18<sup>th</sup>, June, 1952. File No. VI/13/II/194. Veterinary cattle keeping 1952-1957. See also, Hezron Kangalawe, “Drinking too much, they can’t Work:” the Settlers, the Hehe work Discipline and Environmental Conservation in Mufindi, Tanzania, 1920-1960. *Tanzania Zamani* XIII, no 1, (2021): 120-170.

<sup>7</sup> Julis Mgaya and Osmund Kapinga., “Iringa dipping Scheme in Mufindi 1940-1958; Development -resisted by Peasants.” *EAS Journal of Anesthesiology and Critical Care* 4, no. 2, (2022), 62-72.

<sup>8</sup> TNA, Veterinary Officer Iringa District to veterinary. Officer IHEME. “Iringa District Dipping scheme.” Acc. 24. File no. VI/13/II/180. Veterinary Cattle Keeping, 1952-1957. See also; Winifred Mwikali and Priscah Tanui., “The Role of colonialism in the Transformation of Livestock Economy among the Akamba of Machakos, Kenya, 1895 -1919.” *Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies* 5, no. 3, (2021), 4-20.

<sup>9</sup> Wesley Mwatwara., “Better Breeds?” The Colonial State, Africans and the cattle Quality Clause in southern Rhodesia. *Journal of southern Rhodesia African Studies* 42, . 2, (2016), 333-350.

<sup>10</sup> Tanganyika Territory, Annual Reports of the department of Veterinary Science and Animal husbandry for the year 1950. (Dar es Salaam. printed by the government printer, 1951), 19

<sup>11</sup> Stephen Neal, “A Colonial Dilemma: British Policy and the Colonial Economy of Tanganyika, 1918 – 1938.” (Masters’ Thesis. Australia National University, 1981), 178.

colonial economy structured wage policies to maximize profits for settlers, rather than meeting the needs of the workers themselves.

Most of the settlers were British and German migrants drawn to the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika for farming opportunities and other colonial projects. From 1927 to 1935, colonial officials used the Iringa district as a testing ground for various social, economic, and agricultural development experiments aiming at transforming the area in line with colonial priorities. According to the underdevelopment theorists, the world capitalist system had penetrated all African economies during the period of colonial rule, changing but not transforming them.<sup>12</sup> It is thought that colonialism altered African economies by integrating them into the global capitalist system, but this integration primarily served the interests of the colonial powers, not the local populations. The capitalist structures established during colonialism did not foster genuine economic development or self-sufficiency in African societies leaving many countries with economies that were dependent on foreign markets and vulnerable to exploitation. These initiatives are often implemented without consulting the indigenous population. They were designed to increase agricultural productivity, improve infrastructure, and consolidate colonial control over the area. However, these changes came with both positive and negative effects on the Indigenous population, leading to the establishment of tea plantations in Mufindi, Itheme stock farms, and other projects in Ismani.<sup>13</sup> For example, tea plantations were established in Mufindi,<sup>14</sup> along with Itheme stock farms,<sup>15</sup> and the Ismani maize scheme.<sup>16</sup> These projects attracted labourers from Kenya and within Tanganyika, as both regions were under British colonial rule. Labourers were recruited from both colonies to work on settler plantations.

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<sup>12</sup> There are large numbers of general works on the subject of African underdevelopment, out of which the contributions of Immanuel Wallerstein, Walter Rodney, Aghiri Emmanuel and Samir Amin are among the most prominent. Works applying underdevelopment to East Africa include E.A. Brett; *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa*. (London 1973), 313-319, Richard D. Wolff; *The Economics of Colonialism: Britain and Kenya 1870-1930*. (New Haven and London. Yale University 1974), 203. And Colin Leys., "Underdevelopment and Dependency: Critical Notes", *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 7, no 1, (1977): 92-107.

<sup>13</sup> W.B. Mumford, "The Hehe-Bena-Sangu Peoples of East Africa." *American Anthropologist*, 36, no. 2. (1934): 203-22; W.B. Mumford, "East Africa. Some Problems in Native Economic Development and a Possible Solution in Cooperative Societies." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 6, no. 1 (1933): 27-37.

<sup>14</sup> Hezron Kangalawe, "Drinking too much, they can't Work." The Settlers, the Hehe Work Discipline and Environmental conservation in Mufindi, Tanzania." *A Journal of Historical Research and Writing* xiii, no. 4, (2021): 125-170.

<sup>15</sup> Tanganyika Territory, Annual Reports of the department of Veterinary Science and Animal husbandry for the year 1954. (Dar es Salaam. printed by the government printer, 1955), v.

<sup>16</sup> A. Awiti., "Ismani and the rise of Capitalism." In Lionel Cliffe, Peter Lawrence, William Latrell, Shem Migot Adholla and John S. Saul., Editors) *Rural Cooperation in Tanzania. Rural Development research Committee University of Dar es Salaam*. (Tanzania Publishing House, 1975), 51-78.

The influx of labour created a substantial pool of cheap labour that supported the settler economy, benefiting colonial interests at the expense of the local population. This influx of workers often coerced into labour through various colonial policies, helped fuel the agricultural and infrastructural developments that were central to the colonial economic model. While these developments facilitated the expansion of the settler economy, the advantages were disproportionately concentrated among the settlers and the colonial administration.<sup>17</sup> However, this economic expansion came at a high social cost for the indigenous population. Many were forcibly displaced from their ancestral lands to accommodate the new agriculture projects, infrastructure, and European settlements. The displacement not only disrupted their traditional livelihoods, which were deeply connected to the land but also severed their cultural ties to the territories they had inhabited for generations. Furthermore, the colonial policies that facilitated these changes exacerbated existing inequalities, leading to long-lasting socio-economic disparities. As the settlers continued to accumulate wealth and control over resources, the indigenous communities were left marginalized and disposed of.<sup>18</sup> The Indigenous economies were affected by the colonial economic system, such economic management later began to break down under the combined impact of famine, and other new diseases such as smallpox, rinderpest and colonial rule.<sup>19</sup> Arguably, the imposition of colonial economic systems, compounded by environmental and health crises such as famine and new diseases, led to the breakdown of traditional livestock economic systems.

The settlers in Iringa found many cattle in the interior and became deeply interested in the cattle economy that had been natured by extensive and intensive exploitation over time. Through this economic colonial policy, the colonial government felt it necessary to conduct extensive research to identify and analyse the various types of diseases, that affected the cattle population. These diseases were crucial to address, as they not only impacted the settlers' agricultural success and productivity of their herds but also posed a significant threat to the livelihoods of native stock owners, who relied heavily on cattle for their economic well-being and social status.<sup>20</sup> By investigating these diseases, the colonial authorities sought to develop effective treatments that would not only improve the health of cattle but also enhance overall productivity. This research was essential for maximizing the exploitation of cattle resources, thereby benefiting the colonial economy while often disregarding the needs and practices of the indigenous people who had managed these herds.

The establishment of livestock farms in Iringa was anticipated due to the growing demand for the beef market in the tea plantations in

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<sup>17</sup> John Illife, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. (Cambridge University press, 1979), 153

<sup>18</sup> Hanno Brankamp and Patricia Daley., "Labourers, Migrants, Refugees Managing Belonging, Bodies, and Mobility in Post-Colonial Kenya and Tanzania." *Migration and Society: Advances in Research* 3 (2020): 113–129; doi:10.3167/arms.2020.030110.

<sup>19</sup> Helge Kjekshus; *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History. The Case of Tanganyika 1850-1950* (London 1977), 126-160.

<sup>20</sup> Tanganyika Territory Annual Reports of the Department of Veterinary Services and animal Husbandry, Volume one, 1956. (Dar es Salaam. Government printer, 1957), v.

Mufindi, as well as the prospects for beef exports.<sup>21</sup> The tea plantations in Mufindi, which were part of a larger settler agricultural project, created a steady demand for beef, making the establishment of cattle farms an attractive economic venture. However, the main challenge to this new project was the prevalence of livestock diseases particularly tick-borne diseases, which significantly threatened the health of cattle. The colonial government and settlers quickly realised that the only effective way to control these diseases was to immerse the cattle in dipping tanks containing a fluid that would kill all the ticks.<sup>22</sup> Tick control demands the application of acaricides either through spraying or dipping. For instance, one of the works of the sub-chiefs was to regulate the movement of livestock and compel cattle dipping and other measures intended to reduce livestock infections and losses of cattle.<sup>23</sup> The colonial government introduced compulsory dipping in the Iringa district, as part of its efforts to combat the widespread tick-borne diseases that were severely affecting cattle.<sup>24</sup> This policy was enforced through local chiefs, with strict penalties for those who failed to comply. The district authorities especially the Veterinary officer claimed that “If other foolish people do not dip their cattle, then these cattle can serve as a source of infection for the other cattle belonging to sensible people who do dip them”.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, the colonial government order made it compulsory for all owners of cattle in the controlled area to dip their cattle every week for all <sup>26</sup>

### 1.1 The establishment of the Dipping scheme

The construction of dipping tanks in Iringa district began in early 1925, initiated by a few settlers who constructed them on their respective farms. These settlers, keen on maintaining healthy cattle for both their agricultural needs and export purposes, took it upon themselves to build these tanks as preventive measures against tick-borne diseases.<sup>27</sup> In 1926, recognizing the importance of cattle farming to the colonial economy, the Tanganyika government, under the direction of the provincial commissioner took further steps to support the initiatives by constructing roads in the Southern Highlands, focusing on areas where immigrants were settled.<sup>28</sup> The colonial government specifically planned road construction in the Iringa district to improve infrastructure. This

<sup>21</sup> Hezron Kangalawe, “The Labour Question on Mufindi Tea Plantations, 1920-2000s.” *TEKU Journal* 4, (2013), 110-138.

<sup>22</sup> Richard Bishop and Naftary Githaka, “Control of ticks and Tick-borne diseases in Africa through improved diagnosis and utilization of data on acaricides resistance.” *Parasites and Vectors* 16, no. 1, (2021): 2-7.

<sup>23</sup> James Giblin., “Land Tenure, Traditions of Thought about Land and their Environmental Implications in Tanzania.” *Journal of the Historical Association of Tanzania* IV, no.1, (1998): 1-56

<sup>24</sup> Philip L. Raikes., *Livestock Development and Policy in East Africa*. (Uppsala. Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1981), 33.

<sup>25</sup> TNA. Note on the Iringa district Dipping Scheme in 1952. Acc. File VI/13/II/163. Veterinary Cattle keeping, 1952-1957.

<sup>26</sup> TNA. Note on the Iringa district Dipping Scheme in 1952. Acc. File VI/13/II/163. Veterinary Cattle keeping, 1952-1957.

<sup>27</sup> Tanganyika Territory Annual Report of the Department of Veterinary Science and Animal husbandry, 1937. (Dar es Salaam. Government printer, 1938), 46.

<sup>28</sup> Stephen Neal., “A Colonial Dilemma: British Policy and the Colonial Economy of Tanganyika, 1918 – 1938.”132.

may have been driven by the need to connect remote areas, for enhancing veterinary officers to control livestock diseases. However, the roads supported the movement of other agricultural products to markets or ports for export.

However, the construction of roads was successful by offering payment for labour. The colonial government introduced payment for labourers who worked on road and dip construction. The establishment of dipping tanks required many labourers to construct tanks in different areas of the district.<sup>29</sup> However, it was not easy to get those labourers from the local population. Primary sources implied that only 19 labourers were involved in building roads leading to 11 dips, covering significant distances. For instance, the Lundamatwe dip was 2 miles away, the Iringa dip was also 2 miles, the Uhambingeto dip was 18 miles, and the Ilula dip was 2 miles. The sub-chiefs overseeing the work were known as Gungilamatwe and Farahani.<sup>30</sup> Despite the payments offered, very few labourers chose to take part. The construction of dipping tanks aimed to improve livestock health is likely to support commercial livestock farming. So, roads were constructed focused on areas where immigrant settlers had established farms, as the improved infrastructure would facilitate access to dipping tanks and help integrate agricultural areas with the larger colonial economy. The road construction was a critical part of the colonial administration’s strategy to streamline the transportation of goods, including cattle, and enhance productivity in the area, particularly for beef exportation.

In 1929, the Director of Veterinary Services in Iringa erected another dipping tank in Iringa town strategically located to be accessible from both the veterinary laboratory and the native huts where local communities lived. This location was chosen as it was a central point where cattle from surrounding areas, including those owned by local farmers came daily to water.<sup>31</sup> However, in 1934, 1935, and 1936 a severe outbreak of skin diseases among cattle in the district, such as mange and other parasitic conditions, prompted the Veterinary Department to intensify its efforts. In response to the widespread epidemic, additional dipping tanks were constructed in various places in the district as the Veterinary Department aimed to eliminate skin diseases and improve the overall health of the cattle.<sup>32</sup> In 1939, the Department constructed the dipping tanks for the first time in Dabaga, and stock farmers were compelled to dip their cattle to reduce tick diseases in the areas.<sup>33</sup> The construction of dipping tanks in various areas across

<sup>29</sup> Tanganyika Territory Annual Report of the Department of Veterinary Science and Animal husbandry, 1937. (Dar es Salaam. Government printer, 1938), 46.

<sup>30</sup> TNA, C.W.Y. Hucks District Commissioner to senior provincial Commissioner Mbeya; details of the mileages of the new roads of access to cattle dips constructed in this district.18<sup>th</sup>, June, 1952. Acc. 24. File no VI/13/II/194. Veterinary Cattle Keeping, 1952-1957.

<sup>31</sup> Tanganyika Territory Annual Report of the Department of Veterinary Science and Animal husbandry, 1929. (Dar es Salaam. Government printer, 1929), 166.

<sup>32</sup> Tanganyika Territory Annual Report of the Department of Veterinary Science and Animal husbandry, 1936. (Dar es Salaam. Government printer, 1937), 19.

<sup>33</sup> Tanganyika Territory Annual Report of the Department of Veterinary Science and Animal husbandry, 1939. (Dar es Salaam. Government printer, 1940), 20.

the Iringa district went together with the formulation of enforcing dipping regulations such as compulsory dipping laws, taxation, forced labour, cattle census, cattle trade markets, and court punishments. By the 1940s, Dipping had become essential for social and livestock disease control. Also, it threatened the indigenous cattle owners and the golden thread of colonial government.

Moreover, in 1952, the British government constructed dipping tanks throughout the district to control tick diseases and expand their economy. More than thirty-two dipping tanks were built throughout the district by mid-1952. These dips were constructed at Kalenga, Itamba, Iringa, Kiwera, Mgongo, Kitwiro, Tanangozi, Mlolo, Mgama, Ihimbo and Uhambingeto.<sup>34</sup> The construction of these dips was a monumental achievement in controlling various livestock diseases including East Coast fever, Anthrax, trypanosomiasis, Foot and Mouth diseases, and other parasitic infections that posed a significant threat to animal health. These dipping tanks played a great role in controlling diseases amongst cattle owned by all races. Thus, it prevented unnecessary heavy loss, brought more significant profit to cattle owners, and was an integral part of the growth of the southern Highlands cattle economy to settlers and natives.

### 1.2 Demand for labour in the dipping scheme in the Iringa district.

Dipping tank construction was one of the colonial projects introduced in the Iringa district. The construction of additional dipping tanks in 1952 significantly increased the demand for labour, creating a strain on the availability of workers. The veterinary officials faced difficulty in recruiting enough labourers to construct the dipping tanks. To address this challenge, The British colonial government relied on local chiefs to facilitate the labour supply. Local chiefs were empowered by the colonial government, as instrumental in maintaining order and ensuring the smooth execution of colonial projects. They were given the responsibility of supervising and overseeing the construction of dipping tanks. For instance, the Tanzania National Archive files consist of letters from the provincial commissioner directed to the local chiefs (*Vanzagila*) who were required to prepare labourers for the construction of dipping vats and prepare people whose veterinary officials trained them on proper methods of eradicating tsetse flies and livestock diseases.<sup>35</sup> The colonial government strategically used Chief Sapi Mkwawa, a local leader, to convince his people through meetings he held everywhere. This reflects a common colonial strategy of indirect rule, where local leaders were co-opted to enforce policies, making it easier to implement colonial projects. For instance, Sapi visited Pawaga to organise the village labour to construct the dipping tank. He managed the Pawaga Native authority to arrange their regular duties to get the labourers working in dipping tank construction.<sup>36</sup> Chief Sapi's involvement highlights the complex position of local leaders under colonial rule.

<sup>34</sup> Tanganyika Territory Annual Report of the Department of Veterinary Science and Animal husbandry, Volume II, 1955. (Dar es Salaam. Government printer, 1957), 46.

<sup>35</sup> TNA, District Commissioner to Veterinary Officers; Dipping Natives Authority rules. Acc. 24. File no. 42/226, Native Affairs Reports – District Council 1933-1953.

<sup>36</sup> TNA. Acc. 24. J.C. Clarks, A.D.C. Safari reports Pawaga sub chiefdom. On 20<sup>th</sup>, March, 1939. File 24/VI/13/II Veterinary Cattle keeping, 1955-1957.

While they were often viewed as representatives of their people, they were also pressured to act as intermediaries for colonial authorities, sometimes leading to tensions with their communities. These results agree with the findings of other studies, in which scholars who argued that that British settler, wherever they settled, depended on labourers drawn from the communities.<sup>37</sup>

Despite efforts by the colonial government and Chief Sapi Mkwawa, some indigenous joined to work on the project. But many labourers who turned to work were not cattle owners. This suggests that the burden of labour fell disproportionately on individuals who had little to gain from the initiative. The reports from primary sources suggests as quoted here under:

D.C. Iringa recently approached it with a complaint from Africans about the lack of pay for constructing these roads of access. The labourers who were turned out for the work were not the wealthier cattle owners but less prosperous people who would derive no benefit for the present from the dips.<sup>38</sup>

This highlights a common issue in colonial projects; the benefits of development were often unequally distributed, among certain groups. For example, cattle owners or colonial administrators gained more than others. The complaints from non-cattle-owning labourers suggest rising discontent and frustration among the workers.

The introduction of both employed workers and forced labour in the Southern Highlands disrupted the daily lives of indigenous communities. This disruption likely stemmed from the removal of individuals from their traditional roles, such as farming, herding, or other subsistence activities, to participate in colonial projects based on road and dip construction. The involvement of labourers from various areas, along with the supervision of sub-chiefs, was coercive and exploitative uprooting individuals from their communities and subjecting them to harsh working conditions, creating strain, as these projects required long hours of labour, which disrupted traditional economic and social systems. Interestingly, Awinsong observed that in implementing colonial projects colonial administrators and chiefs had therefore a symbiotic economic relationship in which colonialists and chiefs acted together for their mutual economic benefits.<sup>39</sup>

However, the involvement of chiefs in overseeing projects like dipping tanks, roads, hospitals, schools, and plantations shows the broad scope of colonial demands, which placed significant pressure on local leaders to deliver labour and ensure compliance. All of these projects needed skilled African labourers. This also implies that the colonial government prioritized its economic and administrative goals over equitable development, as skilled labourers may not have been adequately compensated or rewarded for their expertise.

<sup>37</sup> Philip Curtin, Steven Feierman, Leonard Thompson, Jan Vansina., *African History, From Earliest to Independence. Second Edition.* (Singapore. New York, 1994), 294.

<sup>38</sup> TNA. Provincial Commissioner, Mbeya to the Director of Veterinary Services, Mpwapwa; Roads of Access: Dips. Iringa District. 9<sup>th</sup>, July, 1952. Acc. 24. File no. VI/13/II/205.

<sup>39</sup> Moses D. Awinsong, "The Colonial and Post-colonial Transformation of African Chieftaincy: A Historiography." *Journal of African Studies, and cultural heritage* 26, no.1, (2017): 121-128

The colonial government's use of chiefs as intermediaries to secure labourers reflects the strategy of indirect rule. By leveraging the authority of local leaders, the colonial government avoided confrontation and made its policies more enforceable. The Sub chiefs or vanzagila were tasked with persuading communities to participate in labour projects, such as the implementation of veterinary services in the district. This often placed them in a difficult position, as they had to balance loyalty to the colonial authorities with the interests and resistance of their people. Scholars such as Okoth and Owak argue that Chiefs were faced with a dilemma as they grappled with two conflicting sets of expectations. The employer expressed the desire for the chief to advocate the development of colonialism, while the African population expected that the chief would serve as a safeguard against the negative impacts of colonialism.<sup>40</sup> The sub-chiefs (vanzagila) among the Hehe faced a dilemma because they knew that the Hehe people were reluctant to become labourers. They showed their resistance to colonial exploitation. It was so because the Hehe were not always ready for the tasks. The Hehe valued their independence and saw forced labour as a violation of their traditions and way of life. They viewed labour demands as exploitative work because they had no direct benefit from it. Redmayne's analysis argued that the Hehe people were reluctant and not such good labourers as Wabena.<sup>41</sup> This point is supported by Stephen who claimed that the Wabena tribe were still expected to provide labour for the settlers, and they were described as industrious and a first-class work force.<sup>42</sup> Most of the Labourers from Njombe were the Bena and Kinga people, who were hard-working and obedient to their leaders. It was revealed that brick-making was one of the most common activities for Kinga men during the construction.<sup>43</sup> It was these labourers who managed to construct many dips in Iringa districts. Although the Department paid the labourers, the data shows very few participated in the work. This implies that most of the Hehe were not included in employed works. They neglected and thus, the construction work being engaged with Bena and Kinga people who were very few and migrated from Njombe. It seems the Bena and Kinga were obedient and submissive to their supervisors thus forcing the colonial government to recruit labourers from the Njombe district to implement different projects in the Iringa district.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> George O. Okoth and Antony O. Owak., "Chiefs as Agents of Change in Kenya: An Examination of roles of pioneer Colonial chiefs in Gen Location, Siaya County, Kenya, (18990-1963)." *International Journal of social Science and Human Research* 6, no. 1, (2023): 5142-5155

<sup>41</sup> Alison Redmayne, "The Wahehe people of Tanganyika." (PhD Thesis. Nuffield College, 1964), 220.

<sup>42</sup> Stephen Neal., "A Colonial Dilemma: British Policy and the Colonial Economy of Tanganyika, 1918 – 1938.) (Masters' Thesis, Australia National University, 1981),101

<sup>43</sup> Angelus Mnenuka, Nives Kinunda and Samwel S. Mhadija., "The Curse or fertility of Land Clearing: How migrant Labour modified Gender based Division of Labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania." *African Development XLVII*, no. 4, (2022): 54-75.

<sup>44</sup> Hezron Kangalawe, A History of the Labour Process in the Tea Industry, Mufindi, 1960s-2000s, (M.A. Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 2012), 98-120.

Despite the labour migration from Njombe to the Iringa district to work at the dipping scheme and other colonial projects, the establishment of veterinary services in Iringa demanded recruiting of both skilled and unskilled workers for various tasks. These tasks included essential works such as cleaning and refilling the dips, recording the dipping processes, and providing voluntary assistance in different positions. which were crucial for maintaining the operations of the scheme and supporting the overall veterinary efforts. The TNA reports show that the Department of Veterinary Sciences and Animal Husbandry at Itheme study farm, through the labour officer, announced vacancies for recruiting labourers with the qualities of the following requirements;

First, Physical fitness and capacity to work for 8 hours a day: otherwise, age is not a consideration. Second, literacy in reading, neat writing (especially figures), and the ability to add and subtract accurately. The basic standard of education is not essential, but most enlisted are std. V or VI. Third, Willingness to do daily hard manual labour, write up the register, count cattle, etc. Please clarify that two of them must do all the work on a dip site, including carrying or pumping water, showering manure and mud, clearing out the tank, cutting bush timber, driving cattle, etc.<sup>45</sup>

The conditions of services based on subordinate Services included; salary based on 32/-shillings for those who had passed Standard VI, indicating that educational qualifications played a role in determining compensation. The relatively low salary suggests limited financial benefits for the workers, likely reflecting the colonial period's wage. The veterinary Department provided an examination and cost of living allowance, likely to help workers with the rising prices of goods. However there were no uniform allowances, and they were obliged to work from Monday to Saturday inclusively, without significant breaks In addition to that, the Department did not give a guarantee, but usually, bachelor quarters were available.<sup>46</sup> Collectively, these studies outlined the critical role of providing quarters and allowances to ensure that workers who get employment in the veterinary Department will work for an extended period because they will not have excuses to leave the work. However, on the other hand, the Department wanted to use them effectively throughout the time because their salary was good, and they had to work for that. Moreover, providing quarters and a good wage was the civilising point of view that those workers employed in the Department were modernising their mode of life from African to mixed Western culture, which seemed more modern.

There was a great demand for labourers and workers from 1953 to 1955 due to the expansion of colonial projects. The government retained some workers and hired others to be sixteen Veterinary Guards (Dip Supervisors) on the scheme, who were specifically in charge of overseeing dip groups, and five Native Authority Veterinary Instructors (Dip Supervisors) in the same capacity. The ability of our Dip Supervisors varied greatly, ranging from

<sup>45</sup> TNA. Iringa District Veterinary Officer to The Labour officer; Iringa District Dipping Scheme. (Vacancies in the Veterinary Department). 19<sup>th</sup>, September, 1952. Acc. 24. File no. VI/13/II/215.

<sup>46</sup> TNA. Iringa District Veterinary Officer to The Labour officer; Iringa District Dipping Scheme. (Vacancies in the Veterinary Department). 19<sup>th</sup>, September, 1952. Acc. 24. File no. VI/13/II/215.

excellent to deplorable, and as a result, they planned several significant changes to improve the overall management. By the end of November, there were sixty-nine Veterinary Guards (Dip Assistants) on the strengths, their establishment being seventy. Most of these guards were reasonable and quite able to run their dip operations effectively and efficiently, though challenges remained with some less capable supervisors. A minority of weaker types remained, and they were replaced slowly. Seventy-eight Dip Hands (Labourers) were employed at the end of November 1955. Five drivers, four turn boys, four masons, two carpenters, and their mates complete the scheme's more or less permanent staff.<sup>47</sup> Although there was a shortage of clerks for fee collections in some dips, fee collection was increasingly common in monthly and yearly reports. For instance, the Dipping Fee Supervisor Mr. Benedict Simbachaka Report of August 1954 shows that they only managed to collect a lot of money in August and October 1954.<sup>48</sup>

The recruitment process of labourers enabled the Department to recruit labourers who worked in different sections. Some of them were employed as record-dipping officers. Their responsibilities were to keep the Kipande card, which had the information based on the date of dipping and the number of cattle dipped. It was their duty to keep this Kipande in a safe place. To convey it to the dip with his cattle for entry reasons by the Veterinary Guard and to produce it whenever required by the Veterinary Officer or his assistants. Despite the official planned records in the Kipande card system, the veterinary officers used the Kipande card system to get labourers to construct the dip. For instance, the Veterinary officer of the IHEME Study farm used Jumbe Mtawani to produce some men to work on the Matanana dip. They completed one Kipande and earned 6/-shillings cash on the other Kipande by the time they completed their work.<sup>49</sup> The use of the Kipande card system contributed to social divisions by differentiating between those who had valid Kipande cards and those who did not. This created a hierarchical structure among the workers, fostering mistrust and competition for jobs. The Tanganyika Kipande was different from that of Kenya where the British rule used the Kipande card as an identity document for African males. This card contained basic personal information, such as fingerprint and employment information, making it a tool for strict labour control. The Native Registration Ordinance of Kenya of 1920 made it compulsory for African males above 15 to register and work as labourers at a particular company.<sup>50</sup> It is widely held that the colonial government in Kenya used the Kipande system to organise and regulate wage labour to avoid competition and conflicts in employing labourers from different companies. Also, the Kipande

<sup>47</sup> Tanganyika Territory Annual Report of the Department of Veterinary Science and Animal Husbandry. 1955, 49.

<sup>48</sup> TNA, Mr. Benedict Simbachaka, Dipping Fee Supervisor, to Veterinary officer Southern Province. Dipping Fee Collection Report, January, 1955. Acc. 124. File no. VI/21/92, Veterinary - Dipping Fee Collection, 1952-1957.

<sup>49</sup> TNA, Veterinary officer, IHEME Study Farm to District Commissioner, Iringa; Reference; your letter, VI/13/338 of 3/11/54. (Produce some men for work).14<sup>th</sup>, February, 1955. Acc. 24. File no. VI/13/II/353. Veterinary Cattle Keeping, 1955-1957.

<sup>50</sup> Joshua O. Osamba., "The dynamics of Colonial African Labour in the Asian-Owned Sugar Plantations in Kisumu, Kenya, 1919-1945." *International Journal of Humanities and Social sciences* 6, no. 7, (2016): 1-14.

card system was used as a tool to control resistance among the labourers. It was an instrument for controlling labour and facilitating economic exploitation, enforcing colonial policies, and shaping the social dynamics of the time. The system was part of the broader structure of exploitation of African labour. It also prevented them from accessing better job opportunities or economic independence.

The Veterinary officers often relied on herders to get voluntary assistance from local workers. The Veterinary Guards needed help in filling, emptying, or cleaning the dips. To address this need, the Department recruited the Dip assistance from the 'natives' who lived near the Dip's vicinity. It was the duty of the local jumbes to voluntarily arrange for the local cattle owners to complete the work.<sup>51</sup> The jumbes had to inform the veterinary officer once every three months providing detailed information about the amount of the money he had been able to save owing to the use of voluntary labour on dip sites; he drew a very favourable comparison between Iringa District and Arusha.<sup>52</sup> It was assumed that the assignment of works to jumbes aimed to change the altitude of jumbes to know that it was their responsibility and duty to ensure dips were in good condition. Implementing these obligations bowed down the personality of jumbes to be submissive to the veterinary officers while concerned with all raised works in the dip. Thus, enhancing colonial communication, and the state power chain of command.

The establishment of the IHEME stock farm in 1948 introduced the recruitment of labourers. For instance, IHEME Stock Farm opened to the public and handled some nine hundred (900) dip trainees as the recruited staff for taking dips purposes.<sup>53</sup> However, the most significant demand for trained workers stimulated the desire to secure recruits from among the best types of boys as they pass out from Education schools and can be engaged in moderate-wage labour.<sup>54</sup> However, Drinkwater describes that the demand for skilled labour led to changes in development policies to recruit more young people into modernity to gain ritual authority and increase cattle production.<sup>55</sup> Training new veterinary guards continued at Mpwapwa, employed in different parts of the territory.<sup>56</sup> It is a widely held view that Africans had to be recruited for veterinary work as a change to modernity. Through the veterinary system, Africans embraced perceived beneficial aspects

<sup>51</sup> TNA, Minutes of the Meeting of the District council of Uhehe held on the 15-16 October 1951 at Kalenga. Dipping Native authority Rules). Acc.24, File no 42/51/226, Native Affairs.1949-1951.

<sup>52</sup> TNA, Minutes of the Meeting of the District council of Uhehe held on the 15-16 October 1951 at Kalenga. Acc. 24. File No. 42/51/226. Native Affairs, 1949-1951.

<sup>53</sup> TNA, Senior Veterinary officer Mbeya, to Director of Veterinary services, Dar es Salaam. Quarterly report April to June, 1956. 2<sup>nd</sup>, August, 1956. Acc. 178. File no. VI/18/39.

<sup>54</sup> Tanganyika Territory Annual Report of the Department of Veterinary Science and Animal husbandry, 1926. (Dar es Salaam, Government printer, 1927), 4.

<sup>55</sup> M. Drinkwater, 'Technical Development and Peasant Impoverishment: Land Use Policy in Zimbabwe's Midlands Province', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15, no. 2 (1989): 295.

<sup>56</sup> Tanganyika Territory Annual Report of the Department of Veterinary Science and Animal husbandry, 1956. (Dar es Salaam, Government printer, 1957), 13.

of biomedicine while rejecting those projected colonial power. However, technical development policies were about recruiting Africans into modernity to gain ritual authority over them.

### 1.3 Labourers' Grievances

Though a few labourers were involved in the construction of the dipping tanks and roads, their payments still did not come at the right time in the Iringa dipping scheme. This delay in payments caused significant stress among the workers, as they often had to wait long periods before receiving their wages. Sometimes, the labourers had no choice but to complain to their immediate supervisors about their ongoing expenses and the financial strains they went through. For instance, the District Commissioner of Iringa requested the Senior Provincial Commissioner of Mbeya about the complaints from Africans about the lack of pay for constructing roads of access. It was clear that the labourers who were turned out for the work were not the wealthier cattle owners but less prosperous people who derived no benefit for the present from the dips. The DC suggested that the dip roads payment be made in cash or kind instead of on mileage.<sup>57</sup> The evidence presented in this paragraph enables one to analyse the amount of road construction without regard to the charges based per mile, which ultimately reduces the number of required payments for shillings. This approach to compensation was quite different from the agreement made before the work began, as it did not account for the original terms or expectations set by both parties. The shift in payment structure created confusion and frustration among the labourers. This discrepancy between the agreed-upon terms and the actual payment process not only disrupted the financial planning of the workers but also undermined trust between the labourers and the management.

Therefore, the small number of payments raises complaints among the workers. Hence, some of the workers lost trust in their immediate supervisors. For instance, Mr. Frick informed the District Veterinary Officer of Iringa that Mr. Gideon, the supervisor in charge, had to pay the labourers 6/- shillings from his own money after completing the work at Matanana dip. However, Mr. Frick reported the matter to the District Veterinary officer (DVO) to investigate the situation and gather opinions. However, there was a genuine grievance among the workers. That could not be overlooked.<sup>58</sup> These grievances stemmed from issues such as late payments and discrepancies between agreed terms and actual compensation. It is thought that the degree to which these grievances were successfully handled at the first step largely depended on the authority and responsiveness of the individuals involved.<sup>59</sup> It was the responsibility of the supervisor to make sure the labourers were paid. Paying labourers increases motivation to work.

Many complaints from the labourers to the colonial government were centred around the delayed payments for constructing roads

<sup>57</sup> TNA, district Commissioner Iringa to the Director of Veterinary services Mpwapwa, Roads of Access: Dips- Iringa.9<sup>th</sup>, July, 1952. Acc.24, File no VI/13/II/205, Veterinary Cattle Keeping, 1952-1957.

<sup>58</sup> TNA, District Veterinary officer to the District Commissioner Iringa, Reference; your VI/13/338 of 3/11/54, Prepare some workers for Matanana dip. 14<sup>th</sup>, February, 1955. Acc; 24. File no. VI/13/II/353. Veterinary Cattle Keeping, 1952-1957.

<sup>59</sup> Discipline and grievances at work. The Acas guide. Retrieved from, [www.acas.org.uk](http://www.acas.org.uk)

and dips. The Department, however, arranged the income based on the miles of the construction completed, determining compensation according to the distance of the roads or dips built. D.C. Mr. Hucks informed the Provincial Commissioner of Mbeya that they had erected the new routes of access to cattle dips, with a total mileage of 215 and a total of 47 dips. Ten are on the existing road system; the attached schedule involves roads with an unlimited mileage of 215 miles. In nearly all cases, they had already made tracks without providing any payment to the Africans engaged in the work; the construction of the longer roads, however, needed more work, and labour at ordinary wage rates had to be employed. Estimating how much money was required for each of these 36 roads would be a long and challenging test, but taking an average of 30/- shs per mile. He submitted the estimate of 322:10 pounds for 215 MLS, which he trusted would be found in order.<sup>60</sup> Together, these studies seem to provide compelling evidence for analysing the problems associated with the colonial government's failure to fulfil its obligation to pay the labourers on time. This issue likely stemmed from a combination of factors including negligence or lack of money, mismanagement of resources, or an intentional strategy aimed at exploiting labourers by forcing them to work without compensation. Malekela, in his comprehensive study, argues that labour disputes had predominantly been rooted in issues such as the unfair termination of employment contracts and the widespread underpayment of wages.<sup>61</sup> This occurs because a significant number of employers do not fulfil their obligation to respect the employee's rights.

However, it occurred sometimes that dipping was not as smooth as its propagation. Lack of water in dips precluded, causing some of the cattle in some areas to stop falling. The Uhambingeto and Isimani dipping tanks had no water during November 1953. The workers or Sub-Chief Gaudensia Malangalila, who were obliged to collect dipping fees, had to get clear instructions from the District Veterinary Officer. The Sub-Chief of Mlowo, obedient and respecting her duty, asked to get directives on the way forward during the period of not dipping. The DVO told them not to collect tax until Dip assistance filled the water in the dips.<sup>62</sup> This study notes that the lack of water in the dips might be caused by the failure of organised labourers to fetch water, the lack of money to pay labourers who were obliged to bring water or the climatic conditions caused by drought. However, it seemed that failure to pay labourers led to resistance in filling water to the dips.

In another turn, the Clerks' shortage led to the colonial government's need to employ Dip Fees Collectors to collect fees for government issues. However, on the other hand, the Africans

<sup>60</sup> TNA, Mr. C.W.Y. Hucks, District Commissioner to Provincial Commissioner Mbeya; Reference to your letter Ref. no. 28/3ID/16 of the 28<sup>th</sup>, May, 1952. "Details of the mileages of the new roads of access to cattle dips constructed in Iringa district."18<sup>th</sup>, June, 1952. Acc. 24. File no. VI/13/II/194. Veterinary Cattle Keeping, 1952-1957.

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Malekela., "Labour Disputes Prevention mechanisms and Industrial Relations: A Case of wood Industrial in Mufindi District, Tanzania." Master's Dissertation (Mzumbe University, 2015), 40.

<sup>62</sup> TNA, Gaudensio Malangalila, Sub Chief of Mlowo to District Veterinary Officer, Ref. letter of 2/11/1953. Information about collection of Dipping fees at Uhambingeto and Isimani Dipping tanks.7<sup>th</sup>, November, 1953. Acc. 24. File no. VI/13/II/21/47.

who were considered clerks and worked as assistants in implementing colonial policies were not officially recognized as government workers. Despite their significant contributions, they were often excluded from the privileges and benefits associated with formal government employment. African clerks were paid meagre wages or sometimes not paid at all. It seems there existed the belief that the veterinary departmental officials regarded African clerks as cheap labourers who were not obliged to be paid but serving the government because most of the supervisor's strength works required supervision from the Europeans. This brought grievances among the clerks on their payments. These grievances highlighted the systematic exploitation and unequal treatment that characterized the colonial labour system, further fuelling dissatisfaction and discontent among the African workforce.

In implementing and organising employed Dip Fees Collectors, the Department valued the worker's environment, vision, and mission of having a good life through the transformation of civilisation. The department sought to ensure that the employed African labourers who entered a contractual relationship with the Veterinary Services Organization expected positive changes in their lives. The salary obtained compared to the basic needed to fulfil all the family requirements seemed unsatisfactory. One of the employed Instructor Officers<sup>63</sup> or Dip Supervisor in the Iringa district demanded an increase in his salary because he had more than five children, and his salary was 75/- shs only per month. It was not enough to meet his family's needs. The District Commissioner (D.C.) told him there was no money available to allow him to get more salary. However, D.C. thought of giving him a boost in the next year. The District Commissioner instructed him that having many children with many problems could not be the reason for the salary increase.<sup>64</sup> It could be argued that the struggle of families living on a limited income, shows how the personal circumstances of workers can influence their requests for better pay. This reflects broader issues of economic hardship, where the salaries for workers, especially with dependents. Increasing salary motivates workers to love their work and work effectively. The district commissioner who represents the colonial government aimed to consider the possibility of a salary increase next year. This reflects a typical bureaucratic response, offering a potential future benefit without addressing the immediate needs. It could indicate an attempt to placate the employee without making any immediate changes. The interaction between the instructor officer and the District Commissioner shows the power imbalance between workers and government officials, with the latter having control over salary increases and resources.

Notwithstanding, salary complaints increased in different areas, such as for some clerks, such as H. Selemani. R. Mkimbilike,

<sup>63</sup> About Instructors officers. Were appointed by the Veterinary officials to assist training the veterinary guards and Clerks. They were regarded as Dip supervisors. They were appointed due to training demands. The veterinary officials selected those who were patience, firmness and act on the part of the veterinary officer. See also; Tanganyika Territory Annual Reports of the Department of Veterinary Science and Animal husbandry. 1926. (Dar es Salaam. Government printer, 1927), 13.

<sup>64</sup> TNA, Benedict Salimboga Instructor Officer, Dipping Scheme Iringa to District Commissioner; Demand for Salary increase. 5<sup>th</sup>, May, 1955. Acc. 124. File no. V1/21/110 Veterinary Dipping collection 1952-1957.

Kumburfu, Msenga. Kaponda and Silivengeka wrote a letter on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1954 to the District Commissioner demanding increased wages and good working conditions. Some of their complaints were not having dedicated houses to take care of the government's money, so whenever they charged taxes, they had to arrange a room for Rs.10/= every month. They asked the government to pay. Second, working conditions nomadically did not suit them. They asked the Department to allocate everyone in a dipping tank station to stay in one place. They needed Massinger (Financial Protection Assistant), who would work when the Clerk suddenly got sick, and keeping money was a significant risk. They also demanded allowances as a rule for cost allowance. Moreover, they appealed for a bicycle for every cyclist and their budget, and lastly, they appealed to an increase in the salary they get was not enough.<sup>65</sup> From the clerks' reactions to complaints and demand for an excellent working environment, it seems the implementation of dipping policies created problems for the government because clerks resisted on their side. On the other side, the cattle owners refused to dip their cattle. The resistance to dipping and paying dipping fees led to the poor working conditions of the workers. These results are due to the colonial government's failure to pay good salaries to clerks. They probably could continue convincing the stock owners to dip their cattle. It can be interpreted as the colonial government paying low wages to maintain classes and making Africans serve the colonial government for a long time.<sup>66</sup> The perpetual reactions of both sides led to widespread opposition throughout the district. This led to the end of compulsory Dipping in 1957.<sup>67</sup> The stock owners' opposition prompted the Department to reduce some of the laws, especially compulsory dipping laws, leaving freedom stock owners to decide whether to use dip tanks or turn to their traditional methods of controlling ticks.

## 2. Conclusion

This article has articulated the areas where the colonial government required labourers for the construction of roads and dipping schemes often led to significant tensions. The methods for obtaining labourers could involve harsh tactics, such as the Kipande system or other method forms of labour control, which created obstacles in efficiently and fairly developing these projects. The challenges in developing these projects stemmed from the methods used to obtain labourers. Arguably, the challenges were not just about the technical aspects of construction but also about the human resources required to complete the project.

However, payments to labourers were another problem that the colonial government faced. This challenge highlights the financial struggles of workers and the bureaucratic responses to their demands. It also reflects the broader socioeconomic realities of the time, where workers had to contend with low wages and limited opportunities for advancement. The response from the district commissioner, promising a potential salary increase in the future,

<sup>65</sup> TNA, H. Hussein Clerk to District Commissioner, complains on their working grievances. 22<sup>nd</sup>, January, 1954. Acc. 124. File no. VI/21/59 Veterinary Dipping Collection, 1952-1957.

<sup>66</sup> Marlous V. Waijenburg. "Financing the African Colonial State: The Revenue Imperative and Forced Labour." *African Economic history working paper series* 20, (2015): 1-22.

<sup>67</sup> Julius Mgaya and Osmund Kapinga, Iringa dipping Scheme in Mufindi, 1940-1958; Development Resisted by Peasant. *EAS Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* 4, no. 2, (2022): 61-72.

suggests a gap between workers' immediate needs and the slow-moving bureaucratic systems that govern such decisions.

Settlers attempted to persuade the Indigenous people with monetary payments to work on their projects, but most of the Hehe did not consider money as an item that could force them to work. The Hehe did not view money as an incentive that could compel them to work. Although the government relied on Local chiefs to recruit labourers from the interior, very few responded to the call for labour. The Hehe's nature reluctance to respond to government orders and regulations was often interpreted as an individual's lack of responsibility. This resistance highlighted the tensions between indigenous cultural values and the colonial economic system. Many Indigenous groups did not share the same views on work and compensation as the government, especially since their traditional societies often did not operate on a purely monetised system. The use of chiefs to recruit labourers also shows the colonial administration's reliance on local authority figures to enforce policies, even when those policies were unpopular.

The negligence of the Indigenous population did not despise the settlers to convince the government to find labourers from other areas. The colonial government found obedient and submissive labourers from Njombe and the other regions who got employment in these projects. Moreover, the government prepared them to be labourers working on colonial projects. The employment of immigrated labourers had some profits to the colonial government and settlers at large, it was so because there was no immediate resistance to working other than complaints arose due to low wages, failure of pay at the right time, long working hours, no compensation payments, poor working conditions, and other similar grievances. However, even though these labourers did not resist immediately, they still voiced dissatisfaction with poor wages, delayed pay, and harsh working conditions. This reflects the exploitation and mistreatment of labourers, a key feature of colonial economic systems.

This article has attempted to show that the settler economy was nurtured by intensive exploitation featuring forced labour and migrant labourers to construct roads and dipping tanks to serve the interests of the settlers and to exploit African native stock owners through paying dipping fees, which benefited much to the colonial government. Furthermore, the colonial government and settlers relied on the exploitation of Indigenous labour. Forced labour, migrant labour, and the imposition of fees were tools used to secure economic gain for settlers and the colonial government, often at the expense of African communities. The construction of infrastructure like roads and dipping tanks was not only a method of economic control but also a way to integrate the indigenous economy, further reinforcing colonial dominance.

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