

A History of Cattle Keeping in Mufindi before the Introduction of Iringa Dipping Scheme in 1951

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Abstract: This paper deals with a history of cattle keeping among the society of Hehe in Mufindi before the introduction of dipping schemes. The available historical records tell us that the acquisition and keeping of cattle among the society of Hehe in pre-colonial period were influenced by the activities of wars and conquest in neighbouring societies. In addition, colonial historiography of 1930s to 1950s depicted that the presence of tick-borne diseases particularly ECF in Mufindi affected the survival of cattle and its products like meat, cheese and butter. Despite the presence of historical facts of keeping of cattle among the society of Hehe, little is known on how the indigenous people were capable of controlling the existence of ECF among the cattle. Therefore, it is from that background that this study intended to shed the light on the history of cattle keeping and measures employed by the indigenous people of Mufindi to cope with tick-borne diseases before the introduction of dipping schemes in 1951. 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 and Mufindi District. Oral histories were extracted from indigenous people to corroborate the archival data. Local agency theory was used to inform the study. The study revealed that before the introduction of Iringa dipping scheme in Mufindi the indigenous people developed the mechanism which assisted them to control the existence of tick-borne diseases. These local mechanisms were destroyed during the onslaught of colonialism.

Keywords: Iringa Dipping Scheme, Cattle, Mufindi, ECF, Hehe

1.0 Introduction

The main economic activities of the Wahehe since pre-colonial period were agriculture and livestock rearing. The agricultural produce which is most widely consumed amongst the Wahehe is white corn, from the short cob called: "*Masebele gya kienyeji*" (corn which is indigenous to us), beans are another Wahehe's basic agricultural product. Millet (*Wulesi*) is much appreciated, which is a type of millet used to prepare a special type of cornmeal porridge. But above all it is an essential ingredient in the preparation of local beer known as *Uwugimbi* in Hehe language. Others crops which were produced were peas, sweet potatoes, cucumbers, rice and tobacco.¹

Cattle herding was practiced in the lowlands where nucleated settlements were organized around permanent water. In the middle highlands and uplands, various forms of mixed agriculture existed.² Livestock like cattle, sheep, goats, donkey, and chicken were reared by Hehe.³ Although, some records depict that cattle were a second source of wealth to Wahehe,⁴ it should be taken with great caution in explaining that situation. There were dynamic of changes which led the decline of cattle in Mufindi. These changes ranged from internal and external actors. For instance, within the Mufindi district the number of cattle owners differed from one area to another. Furthermore, during the period from 1880s to 1890s occurrence of Rinderpest swept most of the

¹Egidio 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.

²Helge Kjekshus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History: The Case of Tanganyika 1850*, (Dar es Salaam: Mkukina Nyota Publishers, 1977), pp. 38-40.

³Interviews with Sabina Mdemu, Sebius Mlelwa, Krusumi Ally Namanga and Salma Athumani Nyasi held at Kasanga, Ihomasa and Mwilavila-Malangali between in 10, 11, and 17/11/2020.

⁴J. P. Moffett, *Handbook of Tanganyika, 2nd edition.*, (Dar es Salaam: Published by the Government of Tanganyika, 1958), p.237.

cattle in Uhehe.⁵ In the 20th century, the spread and existence of East Coast Fever (ECF), added another challenge to the survival and decline of cattle in Mufindi.⁶

Therefore, this paper is based on the investigation of the history of livestock keeping especially cattle among the society of Wahehe in pre-colonial period. Secondly, to narrate measures they employed against East Coast Fever (ECF) before the establishment of Iringa Dipping Scheme in 1951. The theoretical underpinning of this study was local agency theory. Based from the findings, the study revealed that ECF disease was there before the onset of colonial rule. The indigenous people of Mufindi were aware, they employed local mechanism to control the disease, that is to say, it was the achievement of indigenous cultivators who knew how to manage their environment. In 20th century the disease come to be worse, rampant due to decline of indigenous mechanisms which were associated with the advent of colonialism and its changes created in environmental setting of indigenous people of Mufindi.

1.1 The People of Mufindi

In Africa, pre-colonial period is one of the longest periods than the others beginning from 3000 years ago.⁷ For the purpose of this study, the discussion is focused in the late of nineteenth century to the early period of twentieth century. The history of Hehe is not clearly known before 1850. Different scholars have advanced the debate in studying the history of Wahehe. Among of these scholars include Monica Wilson,⁸ Egidio Crema,⁹ N. S. Chalamila,¹⁰ and Fr. Michael Musso.¹¹ This study will not dwell on that debate of history but rather has confined itself that the Hehe lived in two districts: Iringa and Mufindi. In fact, up to 1961 the two present districts formed only one district which by then was called Iringa district. The present Mufindi District, therefore, is a new one that takes most parts of the southern areas of the former Iringa District which border Njombe District.¹² Mufindi became a full-fledged district in 1975 having its own council.¹³

2.0 Literature Review

The discussion on cattle raising during pre-colonial society of Wahehe will be not complete without talking of two major historical events which accelerated the change and diminishing of cattle. Firstly, was the existence of Rinderpest disease in the late 19th century 1880s and 1890s, and East Cost Fever or Theileriosis in 20th century which to a great extent led to the decline of cattle in Uhehe and in Southern highlands societies.¹⁴ Secondly, colonial enterprises like warfare, land alienation for tea, forest and policies of dealing with ECF before the 1950s which would have caused decline of cattle.

In the 20th century, the discussion of livestock diseases in East Africa was centered in studying Rinderpest and Trypanosomiasis. However, Rinderpest attracted much attention due to the fact that this disease was new to tropical Africa except for Egypt. Hegel Kjekshus is one of pioneer scholars to describe the ravages of Rinderpest, in pre-colonial societies of Tanzania.¹⁵ This disease, to which African cattle had no resistance,

⁵Andrew Roberts, ed., *Tanzania Before 1900*, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), p. 50; See also B. C Nindi, "Uhehe: 1850 to 1906", in Tanzania Notes and Records, *The Journal of the Tanzania Society*, Number 88 and 89, No. (1982), p. 37 and Kjekshus, op, cit., pp. 38-40.

⁶TNA, File. No. 1733/18: Tanganyika Territory Annual Report of the Department of Veterinary Science and Animal Husbandry, 1923.

⁷Osmund M. Kapinga, "Society and its Reproduction: The Case of Wasukuma of Tanzania", *The Cradle of Knowledge: African Journal of Educational and Social Science Research*, Volume 8 No.1, (2020), pp. 35-46, p. 36.

⁸Monica Wilson, *The Peoples of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Corridor*, (Cape Town University Press, 1958).

⁹Egidio Crema, *Wahehe: A Bantu People*, (Bologna, Italy: Sermis, Cooperative, 2004).

¹⁰N.S. Chalamila, "Utani Relationships: Uhehe Vol 1", Paper, (1970).

¹¹Fr. Michael Musso, *Mkwawana Kabila Lake*, (Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1968).

¹²Chalamila, op, cit., p. 4.

¹³Maria Mgata, "Sao-Hill Forest Plantation and its Impact to the Society of Mufindi from 1900-1980", M.A. Dissertation, SAUT, (2019), p.20.

¹⁴Nindi, "Uhehe: 1850 to 1906", in Tanzania Notes and Records, p. 37.

¹⁵Kjekshus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History*, pp. 126-129; For another detail about Rinderpest in Tanzania, see the work of Thaddeus Sunseri, "The Entangled History of Sadoka (Rinderpest) and Veterinary Science in Tanzania and the Wider World, 1891-1901", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 89, No. 1 (2015), pp. 92-121.

killed between 90% - 95% percent of cattle.¹⁶ The available literature tell us that the first recorded outbreak occurred in Somaliland in 1889 and it is generally said that the disease followed the introduction of cattle from India and from Aden for the provisioning of the Italian army during the first expedition to Abyssinia. Once established, Rinderpest spread like wild fire over the whole of East Africa, reaching Lake Tanganyika towards the end of 1890. The spread of Rinderpest in Africa was associated with the European warfare campaign of 1880s to 1890s. Hehe society was not isolated from that history. Cattle which were one of the important components of traditional Hehe economy were devastated by Rinderpest.¹⁷ For the purpose of this study, ECF is discussed.

While the short synopsis of Rinderpest is already known, the discussion would dwell on the main concern of this paper that is East Coast Fever disease. The Wahehe of Mufindi was colonized by Germans from 1890s to 1918 and the British from 1919 to 1961. Mufindi was a settler province during the British Colonial period. The period from 1930s can be regarded as the time when the colonial government started to emphasize the development of cattle keeping in Mufindi. This period was a time of great depression. The influence of development of mixed agriculture was influenced by the role of both colonial government and Lord Chesham and his company (Tanganyika Southern Highlands Estates Ltd). Chesham acquired large tract of land in Sao Hill-Mufindi area. The available information stated that approximately 111,000 acres of land was alienated from the natives.¹⁸ Although according to him in his records of the company acquired the "Right of Occupancy" from the government over the 120,000 odd acres.¹⁹ The land was acquired with the purpose of developing the land by non-natives (settlers) settlement on mixed farming lines. This scheme was known as the "Chesham Scheme". In 1935/36 Lord Chesham acquired a large are of land including the Fawcst block at Sao to settle British settlers on the land.²⁰ To encourage more settlers to invest in Mufindi, Chesham continued to insist that, experience has proved that 1,000 acres is as much as one man can farm economically and profitably. It is apparent, as a result of many years of trial and error, that the most suitable type of agriculture was mixed farming, where a settler produced a certain amount of everything rather than concentrating purely on one product.²¹

To avoid the mistake of the past on the prosperity of mixed farming Chesham said that in the past settlers were handicapped by inability to procure some of more expensive necessities of good husbandry, such as threshing machines for their harvest and dips for their stock. To obviate this Company helped by providing such things which could be used by the settlers at a very reasonable cost.²²

The question of market of the products which would be produced and sold by settlers Chesham emphasized that, Tanganyika was importing a large number of necessities which could, with little trouble, be produced cheaply in the country itself. Import of wheat, meal, flour, cheese, butter in the last three or four years had remained fairly constant. All the imports could be produced in the Southern Highlands and help to prove that there are large internal markets for all that could be produced in the area. Grade beef also was in great and increasing demand and good beef was extremely difficult to obtain. In fact, the whole scheme was governed by this internal market.²³

Furthermore, Lord Chesham to attract the white settlers in Sao Hill Mufindi, he built social amenities like first-class club, consisting of lounges, dining room, card room, bar and a range of bedroom. Here settlers could find the social intercourse which they were accustomed to elsewhere. Besides they used the club as a comfortable place in which to live while looking around the country or getting into their own home.²⁴ Aerodrome, tennis courts, polo ground and golf course provided attractive pictures for his publicity pamphlets.

¹⁶Daniel R. Headrick, "Sleeping Sickness Epidemics and Colonial Response in East and Central Africa, 1900-1940," *PLoS Negl Trop Dis* 8, (4): (April 24, 2014), pp. 1-8.

¹⁷Kjekshus, op, cit., pp. 38-40, 126-129.

¹⁸TNA, Mbeya (Iringa and Southern Highlands Province). Book. Vol. 1: European Settlement-Iringa District.

¹⁹Lord Chesham, "Settlement in Tanganyika", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vo. 37, No. 147 (Apr., 1938), pp. 184-190, p. 185.

²⁰TNA, Mbeya (Iringa and Southern Highlands Province). Book. Vol. 1: European Settlement-Iringa District.

²¹Chesham, "Settlement in Tanganyika", p.187.

²²Ibid., p.186.

²³Ibid., p.188.

²⁴Ibid., p.189.

Chesham's scheme for the development of the Southern Highlands was all based on a dream.²⁵ Up to 1938, there were two settlers who lived there but no farms had been opened as yet other than those of the company staff. The company was known as the Southern Highlands Estates Ltd.²⁶

The colonial government was worried to introduce the dipping schemes with a view that it would increase the cattle for soil erosion. Provincial Commissioner stated that the district already suffered from soil erosion and more cattle would mean more erosion and government might well be faced with problems similar to those in Shinyanga District. It is possible that fever-free blocks would eventually alter the whole tribal economy by fostering one section of cattle owners who would be able to demand more and better cattle for improvement and other tribal trade.²⁷

The plan to develop mixed farming was reached in 1939 following the report which was conducted in Mufindi. This report identified the existing situation of stock farming in Mufindi. The demands of meat for both local consumption and for markets were highly recommended. The report of 1939 said that the improvement of stock could only be affected by eliminating common diseases which were fairly prevalent in parts of that province, and therefore the establishment of dipping tanks and the encouragement to fence land were matters of vital importance to the welfare of the stock industry. The establishment of a stock farm similar to the one at Lupembe was, in their opinion, most desirable but the siting of the farm should be carefully considered. It should be placed in the centre of dairy farming area and we venture to suggest a site somewhere in the vicinity of Sao, close to the main road, so that it could serve not only the farmers in that area but the native stock owners to the south.²⁸

The Province of Iringa district according to them was capable of supplying grade or better-quality meat for local consumption, particularly in the Lupa area and along the Central Railway Line, including Dar es Salaam. At present, no-native and native consumers are solely dependant on natives stock for their supplies and the quality of the meat varies considerably. With improved stock, there is no reason why cheese and butter should not be produced to supply the requirements of Province, leaving a surplus for sale to other parts of the Territory.²⁹

Furthermore, the report of 1939 indicated that, at present an insufficient and irregular supply of milk to warrant the establishment of a creamery which could give a regular supply, with the result that large quantities of butter and cheese are imported annually from Kenya to meet the local requirements. Both the distributors and local consumers have stated that they cannot depend on the local supplies, hence their preference for importation from our neighbouring territory which has a disastrous effect on local producers who are unable to dispose of their products when these are available.³⁰

Moreover, the report recommended that the question of ghee improvement should be encouraged, particularly in those areas where native stock was plentiful, but this improvement could best be achieved through the agency of the native administration.³¹

Many settlers during this period feared to invest in Sao Hill Mufindi, mainly due to the status of a Tanganyika colony. The shortage of settlers was due to the public attitude of the British government towards German colonial over Tanganyika. After the mandate scare, few people whether on half-pay or not, were willing to invest their small capital in an uncertain life on the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika. In 1940 the country club was still standing but there were no settler's farms around it. It was a pathetic end to the dreams of Smuts and Delamere, of a great white state with strong settler communities established throughout the highlands of East Africa.³²

²⁵Stephen Neal, "A Colonial Dilemma: British Policy and the Colonial Economy of Tanganyika, 1918-1938" Thesis Presented for the Degree of Master of Arts, Department of History, Australian National University, (February, 1981), p.205.

²⁶TNA, Mbeya (Iringa and Southern Highlands Province). Book. Vol. 1: European Settlement-Iringa District

²⁷TNA, Acc. No. 24, File No/71/18: Iringa Dipping Schemes.

²⁸Tanganyika Annual Report of the Provincial Development Committee Southern Highlands Province, (1939), p. 94.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Tanganyika Annual Report of the Provincial Development Committee Southern Highlands Province, (1939), p. 95.

³¹Ibid., p. 95.

³²Neal, op, cit., pp. 201- 205.

The Challenge of ECF disease was cited as among of the problem which affected the early development of mixed farming in Mufindi particularly in 1930s. For instance, Stephen Neal argued that cattle in Mufindi were brought in before dipping facilities were built and the herd was decimated by tick fever.³³ Similarly, observation was portrayed by Alison Redmayne³⁴ and Lord Chesham.³⁵ The presence of East Coast Fever diseases affected the development of animal husbandry. Despite of the presence of above literature about mixed farming in Mufindi none of the study tried to historicize the indigenous initiatives used to control the existence of ECF in Mufindi before the onset of colonial era and Iringa dipping schemes in 1951. The development of dipping schemes in Mufindi started to gain momentum after the end of Second World War.

In 1969, Kimambo and Temu produced a book titled "*A History of Tanzania*". Within that book, the question of ECF was addressed in the context of post-Second World War.³⁶ Little history is known on what existed before the Second World War. In 1988, Juhani Koponen tried to problematize the question of ECF but he ended by saying:

*"Another major disease of considerable antiquity in the Tanzanian area was East Coast Fever or Theileriosis. Carried by cattle tick vectors, it was probably indigenous to Eastern and southern Africa, and present at least on the coast, as the name implies, and in parts of the interior as in Maasai land".*³⁷

In addition to that, in trying to contextualize on how the society of pre-colonial Tanzania coped with that disease, Koponen argued, "How the old- established cattle diseases evolved during the 19th century cannot be known for sure but one can draw a parallel with human diseases and suggest that here too a certain balance had been achieved between the hosts, vectors and parasites".³⁸ Therefore, it is from that background that the study intends to put forward the discussion of ECF in Mufindi.

2.1 Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

The question on whether the pre-colonial society of Mufindi was capable of coping with ECF or not was established through local agency theory. The theory derived its ideas from the works of Helge Kjekshus³⁹ and James Giblin⁴⁰, who viewed the role of indigenous knowledge in understanding and manipulating their environment. Also, they went far by analyzing the indigenous initiatives taken to control the cattle disease before the advent of colonial rule. Furthermore, the idea of that theory is supported by other scholars like George Ambindwile⁴¹ and Yusufu Lawi⁴². Their studies utilized widely the oral narratives to illuminate the indigenous knowledge of understanding the total ecology of respective regions and how it influenced the strategies and choices in using the local natural resources in the light of changing economic, social and political circumstances, locally and in the broader international context. The argument of this paper is that ECF was there before the onset of colonial rule. The indigenous people of Mufindi understood the threats posed by ECF and therefore developed local initiatives which controlled the disease but not the total eradication of ECF.

The research methodology of this study was primarily qualitative in nature. In order to provide historical evidence of domestication of cattle and measures taken by the Wahehe to control cattle East Coast Fever in

³³Ibid.,p.205.

³⁴Alison Redmayne, "The Wahehe People of Tanganyika", Phd. Thesis, (Oxford University, 1964), pp.24-26.

³⁵Lord Chesham, op. cit.

³⁶I.N. Kimambo and A. J.Temu, eds., *A History of Tanzania*, (Evanston, III: Northwestern University Press, 1969), pp. 203-205.

³⁷Juhani Koponen, *People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structure*, (Jyvaskyla: Finish Society for Development Studies, 1988), p. 168.

³⁸Ibid., p. 169.

³⁹Kjekshus,op,cit.

⁴⁰Giblin, "East Coast Fever in Socio-Historical Context: A Case Study from Tanzania", pp. 401-421.

⁴¹George K. Ambindwile, "Reinstating Local Agency: Origins and Development of Irrigated Rice Production in the Usangu Plains, 1920 to 1960", in *Tanzania Zamani: A Journal of Historical Research and Writing*, Volume XI No.2, (2019), pp. 63-109.

⁴²Yusufu Qwaray Lawi, "Where Physical and Ideological Landscapes Meet: Landscape Use and Ecological Knowledge in Iraqw, Northern Tanzania, 1920s-1950s," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 32, No.2-3, (1999), pp. 281-310.

Mufindi, primary and secondary sources were consulted. First, the study benefited from the sources collected in Tanzania National Archives (TNA) located in Dar es Salaam City. From TNA the sources which were collected were primary sources like secretariat files, colonial annual reports and correspondence letters. Second, other primary and secondary sources such as Tanzania notes and records, books, journal articles, papers and dissertations were extracted from the library of University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and online sources.

Oral testimonies of indigenous people of Mufindi provided the historical insight of cattle keeping and measures used to control the prevalence of ECF in Mufindi. In fact, the indigenous oral evidences were rich due to the reason that most of the information was based on their daily experience of life, memories, oral testimonies of what their forefathers did and above all the knowledge of the environment which surrounded the society. The indigenous information was supported by archival sources, books, journals and papers were important in making the final conclusion. Finally, the historical sources both primary and secondary were analyzed by content analysis to produce a historical study of cattle keeping and measures taken to prevent the cattle against the incidence of ECF in Mufindi.

3.0 Results and Discussion

3.1 The History of Cattle Keeping among the Society of Wahehe

Livestock keeping, is among of the aspect of agriculture. Historically, cattle were a secondary source of wealth of Wahehe; sheep and goats were also reared.⁴³ Most of the cattle in the pre-colonial period were of the humped shorthorn Zebu breed, which was not notably productive but highly resistant to drought and common diseases.⁴⁴ Although, some of the scholars such as Chalamila⁴⁵ and Winans⁴⁶, categorized Hehe as mixed farmers, but certainly Hehe were “agro- pastoralist” which means they were people whose economy depended on both cattle and agriculture but the two were not integrated.⁴⁷ Mixed farmers, were primarily agricultural but with cattle effectively integrated into the farming system mainly through large scale manuring. Such people included both banana planters like the Chagga, Haya and Nyakyusa who often stall-fed their animals, and grain growers like the Nyaturu and Kara.⁴⁸

The present records from primary and secondary sources indicate that the Hehe were cattle-keepers. But, the process of acquiring cattle was mainly through raiding from neighbouring societies. For instance, Helge Kjekshus and Edgar Winans pointed out that:

The Hehe agriculture developed from what is described as the raiding economy of the nineteenth century which could accommodate only cattle as an economic asset. ‘Under such a (raiding) regime herding, with its great mobility, was the optimum adaptation and the greater the agricultural involvement the greater the risk of domination by more mobile neighbours. In other words, herding versus farming activity was a straight-forward index of military success and political dominance’⁴⁹

Therefore, the most cited societies which were affected by the raiding of Wahehe were mainly in Ugogo, Usagara and Uvidunda. There were two reasons for the increasing number of Uhehe raids to the north of the Ruaha River. First was Mkwawa’s own knowledge of the condition in Ugogo near the caravan route and the great number of caravans, which as the Hehe became stronger and more experienced in warfare, provided better

⁴³Moffett, *Handbook of Tanganyika*, 2nd edition, p. 237.

⁴⁴Koponen, *People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structure*, pp. 244; The term “Agro-pastoralist” is adopted to Juhani Koponen his meaning it seems converge with what the indigenous people of Mufindi are talking about possession of cattle and their uses, not fully integrated with agricultural issues.

⁴⁵N.S. Chalamila, “Utani Relationships: Uhehe Vol 1”, Paper, (1970), p. 4.

⁴⁶Edgar V. Winans, “The political Context of Economic Adaptation in the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika” in *American Anthropologist*, (Apr., 1965), New Series, Vol. 67, pp. 435-441, p.436.

⁴⁷Koponen, *People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania*, pp. 245-246.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁴⁹Kjekshus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History*, pp. 38-39; Winans, “The political Context of Economic Adaptation in the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika”, pp. 435-441, p.437.

opportunities than before. Second, though they were probably more numerous than the Hehe, the Gogo were never united or unwarlike, and the Sagara were few, disunited and had never been good fighters.⁵⁰

The Hehe also did sporadic raids of cattle among the society of Bena, Sangu, Nyakyusa and Nyamwezi.⁵¹ The Hehe themselves were not safe; frequently raiding of Maasai in the northern area was the common events. Since in the late of 19th century, travellers like Joseph Thomson perceived Hehe as a 'pure pastoral race which depended their life through cattle raiding'.⁵² The most interesting question is that why the incidences of raiding dominate the history of Hehe from 1870s to 1890? The major factor which brought the change of political map of Southern Highlands from 19th century was the Ngoni invasion. The Ngoni impact transformed the Southern Highlands, where up to 1800 there were no political units larger than clan-chiefdoms. The first people who experienced the impact of Ngoni invasion were the Sangu, after they were attacked in 1840s probably, they adopted the military weapons and tactics of Ngoni, which enabled them to dominate the Southern Highlands until in 1860.⁵³

From then the military strength spread to other societies of Bena and Hehe. By the late of 1860s the politics of Southern highlands were widening into regional contest between Mshope (Ngoni), Usangu, Utemikwira (Bena) and Uhehe.⁵⁴ Military adaptation plus the role of individuals' like Merere I Mwahavanga, Munyigumba and Mkwawa in organizing people towards warfare strengthened the activities of raiding among those societies. Thus, raiding were part and parcel of military strengths which enabled the above-mentioned societies to accumulate wealth from weaker societies.

The Wahehe, though having lived in a state of war, had remained an agricultural people. While the young and adult men were fighting, the women continued to cultivate the fields. After laying down their weapons, the warriors would once again become farmers.⁵⁵ Cattle were grazed by male youth who were taught when they were about 20 years to protect lineage clan, the cattle and the land.⁵⁶ Manuring of fields was an additional motivation to possess livestock. To show how important it was to the Hehe community to own cattle, Chief Mkwawa gave a reward of three cattle-as a kind of medal for bravery to a 16 years old boy named Mwangalumemile Mpunza, who stabbed to death the famous German commander in East Africa, Emil Von Zelewski, during the Lugalo conflict between the Hehe and the Germans in 1891.⁵⁷

To be more specific in terms of geographic regions, the cattle of Tanzania are found in the largest concentrations in Shinyanga, Mwanza, Musoma and Singida regions with considerable concentrations in Dodoma, Arusha and Kilimanjaro regions. Tsetse fly precludes cattle from the south-east of the country and large parts of the west.⁵⁸

In Mufindi, at the time of this study it was a difficult task to describe the reality of cattle keeping in late pre-colonial period. Although oral narratives were employed in trying to understand the changes which occurred across the time, it was not enough to explain the reality of late pre-colonial times. Therefore, oral narratives

⁵⁰Nindi, "Uhehe: 1850 to 1906", in Tanzania Notes and Records, p. 36; Edgar V. Winans, "Trade and Warfare in Uhehe in the Period 1850-1900" Vol. 1 No. 10, Paper Presented in 5th Annual Conference December 8-12, Nairobi, Kenya, (1969),pp.194-201;This source is reach in terms of all accounts of wars that Hehe waged against the Sangu, Bena, Gogo, Sagara, Vidunda, and Ngoni societies; See pages 195-201; Also another details of Hehe accounts of wars see Alson Redmayne, "Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars" *The Journal of African History* , 1968, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1968), pp. 409-436.

⁵¹Andrea Azizi Kifyasi, "Sao-Hill Forest Plantation and Local Communities Livelihoods in Mufindi, 1960s-2010" M.A. Dissertation (University of Dar es Salaam, 2015), p. 29. See also Andrew Roberts, *Tanzania Before 1900*, pp.37-56.

⁵²Winans,"The political Context of Economic Adaptation in the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika", op.cit., pp. 437-438.

⁵³John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979),p. 56-59.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Crema, *Wahehe: A Bantu People*, p. 124.

⁵⁶Maria Mgata, "Sao Hill Forest Plantation and its Impact to the Society of Mufindi from 1900 -1980", M.A, Dissertation, St. Augustine University of Tanzania, (2019), p. 27.

⁵⁷Hezron Kangalawe, "Plantation Forestry in Tanzania: A History of Sao Hill Forests, 1939-2015", PhD. Thesis, Stellenbosch University, (March, 2018) ,p. 87.

⁵⁸William Mackenzie, *Livestock Economy of Tanzania: A Study of Beef Industry*, (Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1977), p. 5.

provided only a fair explanation of the late of 19th century. Most of the people, who were interviewed in Mufindi, were born between 1920s and 1930s. Based from their perspective and understanding, and working within the line of historical analysis, the indigenous people insisted that, in Mufindi the number of cattle owners varied from one geographical location to another. For instance, the residents of Ifwagi, Ifupira, Sawala and Kasanga, (highlanders), pointed out that in these zones the cattle owners were not many and they did not own large groups of cattle herds. If they owned many cattle, it was the time before the introduction of tea and forest plantations.⁵⁹

Although some informants were capable in mentioning the individuals who owned more than one hundred heads of cattle, still they derived the final conclusion by saying “our fore fathers kept cattle but not all people owned cattle, the cattle kept by the Hehe were not a large group of cattle like those of Sukuma or Maasai”. More important, they insisted by saying as the time went on, following the death of their fore fathers, their successors failed to develop the cattle industry.

In the processes of wanting to know what was going on in lowland divisions of Mufindi (Malangali and Sadani), the indigenous people of highlanders stressed out that the lowlanders were prominent in keeping cattle.⁶⁰ John Chafu emphasized by saying “*Ng’ombe ni wengi kwa wenzetu huko Malangali na Sadani, na ni jadi kali bila ng’ombe utakula nini*”, which means “cattle were many in Malangali and Sadani, it is a traditional way to have the cattle, without cattle what are going to eat!”⁶¹ His explanation was good but it was difficult to reflect how it was in past times.

When the study process was carried out in Malangali and Sadani, some issues were noticed, the areas were characterized by semi-arid climatic conditions and the indigenous pieces/plots of their land were fertilized with animal dung something which was very rare to depict in highland zones. This period (in November) was a time for preparation of farms for cultivation. In Malangali and Sadani, cattle were grazed in the thicker bush of the lower altitudes.⁶² In pre-colonial times, these zones probably the indigenous owned many cattle due to presence of kraals which exist in different villages. There are three issues of taking into consideration in explaining the existence of cattle in lowlands of Mufindi.

The nature of climatic condition (semi-arid) would have forced the indigenous people to find alternative mode of production of cattle keeping as the source of their livelihood. Second, zones of Malangali and Sadani were free grounds for grazing and they belonged to indigenous, due to climatic condition of these areas were not affected by the colonial economic activities like tea, coffee, tobacco and forest plantations. Furthermore, these zones are in proximity with Usangu plains. The Sangu tribe were known since pre-colonial times for keeping many cattle than Hehe and Bena. Therefore, the indigenous of Malangali and Sadani would have acquired some cattle in Usangu. The other divisions of Ifwagi and Kasanga (upland divisions) were constrained by climatic condition (high rainfall which allowed the growth of tall grasses and became the zones for tick reproduction), which affected the cattle. In upland divisions colonial land alienation for tea and forest projects transformed the indigenous system of agriculture and livestock keeping. Few people owned cattle in upland areas.⁶³

3.2 The History of East Coast Fever (ECF) Disease

Ticks are insect parasites which attach themselves to the skin of mammals where they feed on blood. They harm the livestock in two ways: direct loss of blood and damage to the hide or skin which consequently lessens productivity and produces irritation leading to further deleterious effects. Ticks are the vector for some of the most destructive livestock diseases to be found in East Africa, among them East Coast Fever (Theileriosis), Anaplasmosis, Babesiosis and Heartwater.⁶⁴

The life cycle of the tick is divided between its animal’s hosts and periods spent on the ground or in grass. The cycle and habitats vary for different types of tick, but the major means of transmission onto animals

⁵⁹Interviews with John Chafu, Valentino Tossi, Zerafi Mtengela, Edward Lutumoand Jeremiaha Luhangan Mwenda held at Ifwagi, Ifupira, Sawala and Kasanga, between 5, 6, 7 and 11/11/2020.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Chafu,op,cit.

⁶²Moody A.A, “Mufindi District Report, Southern Highlands Socio-Economic Study”, (September-October, 1980), p. 17.

⁶³Tossi, op, cit.

⁶⁴Raikes, op, cit., pp. 64-76. For further details of tick-borne diseases, see the reports offIrvin A.D., McDermott J.J. and Perry B.D, eds., *Epidemiology of Ticks and Tick-borne Diseases in Eastern, Central and Southern Africa: Proceedings of a Workshop Held in Harare, 12–13 March 1996*”,ILRI(International Livestock Research Institute), Nairobi, Kenya and Reports of International Laboratory for Research on Animal Diseases (ILRAD), “Tick-Borne Diseases of Livestock”, Volume 9, Number 3 (1993).

is from blades of grass. This is facilitated when the grass is long and lush, providing continuous contact with more vulnerable parts of the body surface of the animal. Ticks are not generally a serious problem in semi-arid areas grazed by pastoralists. But they become a real menace in areas of rather higher rainfall in which livestock and especially cattle can be grazed more or less continuously and in the dry season grazing ground.⁶⁵ The different diseases are carried by different sorts of ticks.⁶⁶

ECF is a tick-borne disease caused by *Theileria parva* and transmitted among cattle by the brown ear tick, *Rhipicephalus appendiculatus*.⁶⁷ *R. appendiculatus* inhabits a wide range of East African environments, living at altitudes up to about 2,100 meters, they reproduce most successfully in moist places, although they can tolerate relatively arid conditions. *R. appendiculatus* areas generally receive more than 500mm of rainfall annually. Because through most of their lives, including periods of egg hatching and molting, inhabit soils and vegetation, vegetation communities are a major factor in *Rhipicephalus* population dynamics. Their parasitic stages last only a few days. *R. appendiculatus* achieve greater population density in areas with tall grasses than in short grasses. Tall grasses create a humid microclimate conducive to the hatching of tick eggs.⁶⁸

3.3 Measures taken to Cope with ECF in Pre-Colonial Society of Wahehe

It is important to make clear that the origin of ECF was in Africa. Several studies subscribed that the disease emanate from our environment. These studies include those which were done in Usukuma,⁶⁹ Uzigua,⁷⁰ Iringa,⁷¹ and Tanzania in general.⁷² It is now the time to ask ourselves, did past generations of cattle copes with East Coast fever in Africa? The study which was conducted in Mufindi, revealed that indigenous people were aware of the impact of ticks which cause ECF disease. In *Kihehe* language a tick is called *Ngori* while the disease was known as *Makatu*.⁷³ Therefore, based on the oral narratives of the indigenous, among the measures which they employed to combat ECF were as follows;

The most commonly method in which cattle holders used to control the ticks was the management of vegetation especially grasses, through burning and grazing in areas with limited tick populations. The process of burning tall grasses in grazing ground was usually done from September to November, depending on the season of rainfall (the month of starting and ending). The act of burning grasses removed the conducive environment for tick reproduction and was a good method of allowing new regeneration of fresh grass which was free from tick vectors.⁷⁴ The argument of indigenous people of Mufindi is supported by one of the retired livestock officer of Mafinga town, Daudi Msese who argued:

*“During the summer season the tick inhabits in soil, in rainy season most of the ticks who were in the soil come out because the environment is favourable for their reproduction. Therefore, in the past our forefathers burned the grass at the time of approaching the rain season for the purpose of controlling tick reproduction and generating new grass which were free from ticks”.*⁷⁵

⁶⁵Raikes, *Livestock Development and Policy in East Africa*, pp. 64-76.

⁶⁶Raikes, *Livestock Development and Policy in East Africa*, pp. 64-76.

⁶⁷Giblin, “East Coast Fever in Socio-Historical Context: A Case Study from Tanzania”, pp. 403-404.

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 405-406.

⁶⁹Martin H. Birley, “Resources Management in Sukumaland, Tanzania”, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol.52, No. 2 (1982), pp.1-30, p. 16.

⁷⁰James L. Giblin, “East Coast Fever in Socio-Historical Context: A Case Study from Tanzania”, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3, (1990), pp. 401-421.

⁷¹Redmayne, “The Wahehe People of Tanganyika”, p.25.

⁷²Thaddeus Sunseri, “The Entangled History of Sadoka (Rinderpest) and Veterinary Science in Tanzania and the Wider World, 1891–1901”, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 89, No. 1 (2015), pp. 92-121, p.96.

⁷³Interviews with Vallentino Tossi held at Ifwagi in 5/11/2020 and Sabina Mdemu held at Kasanga on 11/11/2020.

⁷⁴Interviews with Vallentino Tossi held at Ifwagi on 5/11/2020 and Krusumi Ally Namanga held at Mwilavila Village-Malangali on 17/11/2020.

⁷⁵Interviews with Daudi Msese held at Mafinga Town on 24/11/2020, and Ally Kassim Haisule held at Ifwagi on 6/11/2020

The argument of Mseke was attested by the current agricultural and livestock officer of Ifwagi, who said “management of vegetation was the chief means of pre-colonial tick control”.⁷⁶ The people of highlanders accepted that before the introduction of tea and forest plantations the indigenous people possessed large tracts of land. In the course of that they were capable of dividing the land for grazing and for agriculture. Following the onset of colonial enterprises tea and forest large acres of land were alienated. Therefore, it transformed and disrupted the indigenous system of agriculture and livestock keeping.

Furthermore, the indigenous people of Mufindi accepted that before the introduction of Iringa dipping scheme the cattle suffered ECF since pre-colonial period. The local control mechanism was employed, but some time if the cattle owners failed or forgotten to devise the measures to control tick reproduction before the season of rainfall, cattle mortality was a common event.⁷⁷ In more arid areas, lack of moisture and humidity may suppress tick activity and slow down their life cycle during the long dry seasons, preventing calves from gaining resistance.⁷⁸

To limit the growth of tall grasses in grazing areas, cattle were grazed continuously to make sure that the grasses remained short. The purpose of doing so was to limit the growth of tall grasses which create favourable environment (humid microclimate) which is conducive to the hatching of tick eggs. In areas of semi-climatic condition like Malangali and Sadani that process suppressed the environment for tick reproduction, due to absence of tall grasses, the grazing ground remained at least safe.⁷⁹ In other areas like Usukuma, the common behavior was to maintain large cattle herds and old animals. The Sukuma combat tick-borne diseases in two ways. First, overstocking (*kutobanga*) and overgrazing destroy the tick habitat. Second, old animals are largely immune to ECF when constantly challenged.⁸⁰ Through infection challenge animal improve their immune system, the body can fight the parasites with antibodies.

Another method in which indigenous people of Mufindi used to prevent cattle from gaining the incidence of ECF was through use of natural herbs as medicine. The first rain was known to the Wahehe to be associated with the emergence of different cattle diseases. To avoid the cattle from being affected with diseases the indigenous people prepared special herbs for treatment or it acted as preventive drug for cattle. Usually, leaves of certain herbs were collected, pounded and mixed with water. Then the medicine was placed in *lihama* for cattle to drink.⁸¹

Lastly, another method which cattle-keepers used to treat theileriosis infected stock was through application of heat and the sap to swollen lymph nodes. Vallentino Tossi, who formerly owned cattle usually took *Msongo* heated on fire then was placed on the palpable lymph nodes of stock. It was hard task to do that since without preparing cattle effectively can strike and move out.⁸² This method was commonly applied even in Uzigua.⁸³

3.4 Conclusion

Therefore, it is attested that the indigenous people of Mufindi were capable in combating the ECF before the introduction of the dipping scheme in 1951. However, the local mechanisms which were developed by the indigenous people were limited according to the technology of that time. Consequently, the death of cattle by ECF sometimes occurred because the preventive measures did not completely eradicate all habitats of ticks. For instance, the ticks which were attached to the body of cattle were difficult to kill. Secondly, buffaloes as wild animals were capable carrying the parasite of ECF. So, it was difficult to control the environment in which wild and cattle interact in the course of finding the food. It is said, Zebu cattle can be killed by theilerial infection from a single tick.⁸⁴ We can imagine how the disease was dangerous to the survival of cattle. The most commonly methods which were applied in controlling the tick reproduction among the cattle keepers was through clearing, burning and grazing in areas with limited tick population. The changes which occurred after

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Vallentino Tossi, op,cit.

⁷⁸Giblin,op,cit.,p.408.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Martin H. Birley, “Resources Management in Sukumaland, Tanzania”, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol.52, No. 2 (1982), pp.1-30, pp. 17-21.

⁸¹Vallentino Tossi and Krusumi Namanga ,op.cit.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Giblin, op, cit., p.413.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 409.

the establishment of Iringa dipping schemes in Mufindi in 1951 were colonial economic imperatives intended to fulfill the colonial demands.

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