

The Impacts of MAUMAU in Tanzania, 1940s - 2022

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Abstract

This paper examines the impacts of MAUMAU in Tanzania. MAUMAU is a popular concept which has been widely used to denote nationalistic movements in Kenya in the period from the early 1940s to the late 1950s. However, scholars who have studied MAUMAU confined their thought to what actually happened in Kenya and hardly thought that MAUMAU transcended the borders of Kenya, and were felt in neighbouring territories such as Tanzania. Using secondary, archival, newspapers and oral sources collected from different parts of Tanzania, I argue that MAUMAU movement created tensions in Tanzania as well, and manifested into relocation of some Kenyans, creation of new histories, identities and developments into Tanzania. Such history can help to understand the presence of some Kenyans in Tanzania and strengthen inter-community relations among members of Tanzania and Kenya states.

Keywords: MAUMAU, History, Identities, Community relations, Tanzania, Kenya.

1.0 Introduction

After the Second World War, African nationalism gained momentum in unprecedented scale. One way of explaining the growing momentum of nationalism is by examining MAUMAU movement which developed in Kenya from early 1940s to the late 1950s. Frank Furedi, for example, shows that by the 1950s MAUMAU members, who used to operate secretly, had emerged as a radical force combining some characteristics of militant and an underground peasant movement. The movement began deploying force and sabotage against Europeans and Asians as well as Africans who supported them.¹ Similarly, Barnett and Njama show that MAUMAU was a lineal descendant of Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) which underwent a dramatic shift in the 1950s from being a highly selective, elite organization to underground mass movement characterised by oath taking and clandestine sabotage of European properties including killing them.²

However, with the exception of Kara Moskowitz³ who discusses resettlement of some Kikuyu at Katuma in Mpanda district in the wesetern part of Tanzania, and Stephanie

¹ Frank Furedi, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective* (London: James Currey, 1989), 109 -110.

² Donald L. Barnett and Karari Njama, *Mau Mau From Within* (London & New York: Modern Reader, 1966), 55-58.

³ Kara Moskowitz, "Sons and Daughters of the Soil: Politics and Protest of Kenyan Resettlement to Tanzania, 1961 – 1968", *Past and Present*, No. 253 (Nov.2021).

Lammert⁴, Saumu Jumbe⁵ and Andrew Mhina⁶ who all together provide narratives of Osale Otango and Paulo Hamisi who were criminals associated with MAUMAU and caused insecurity and fear in Usambara in Tanga in the eastern part of Tanzania; majority of the scholars who have studied MAUMAU confined their thought to what actually happened in Kenya.⁷ Their main foci were on the genesis and conditions which shaped the emergence of MAUMAU as well as analysis and interpretation of MAUMAU from Eurocentric, liberal, Marxist, nationalistic, sociological and anthropological perspectives. Those works have also sufficiently addressed

⁴ Stephanie Lammert, "Fear and Mockery: The Story of Osale and Paulo in Tanganyika", *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 14, No. 4 (2020).

⁵ Saumu Jumbe, *Osale Otango* (Tanga: Saumu K. Jumbe, 2015).

⁶ Andrew C. Mhina, *Harakati za Osale Otango na Paulo Hamisi* (Dar es Salaam: Mhina and Imaney Publishing Company, 2015).

⁷ See for example, Tabita Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau* (London: James Currey, 1987); David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (New York & London: W. W. Norton and Company, 2005); Peter Worsley (1957), "The Anatomy of MauMau", *New Reasoner*, No. 1; Amanda Elizabeth Lewis (2007), "A Kenyan Revolution: Mau Mau, Land, Women and Nation", Electronic Theses and Dissertation, Paper 2134, at <http://dc.etsu.edu/etd/2134>, Accessed on 25th November 2020. S. M. Shamsul Alam, *Rethinking the Mau Mau in Colonial Kenya* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa –book two* (Oxford: James Currey, 1992); Julius Gathogo (2016), "Women , Come and Roast your Own Ram: Recollection on Mau-Mau General Chui wa Mararo (1927-1956)", at <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/299408136>, accessed on 25th November 2020; Furedi, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective.*; Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau From Within*.

issues of oath, the link between MAUMAU and KCA and, the impacts of MAUMAU in Kenya at large. Although I highly acknowledge the contribution of those scholars in understanding MAUMAU, I argue that such scholars hardly thought that MAUMAU transcended the borders of Kenya and created adverse impacts in neighbouring territories such as Tanzania. Even Moskowitz (2021) does not adequately discuss the various categories of Kenyans who settled in Tanzania as a result of MAUMAU. Rather, Moskowitz concentrates on the politics and protest against Kikuyu resettlement at Katuma alone after the heyday of MAUMAU, specifically, in the period between 1961 and 1968. As a result, a lot of information related to the influence of MAUMAU in shaping history and identities in Tanzania is still unearthed. In most cases, the impacts of MAUMAU is hardly considered when analysing Tanzanian and Kenyan local community relations as well as diplomatic relations between Tanzania and Kenya states. Kenyans who settled in Tanzania as a result of MAUMAU are sometimes considered illegal immigrants. Using both secondary and primary sources collected from different parts of Tanzania, this paper attempts to shed lights on that rarely written history.

Although there is no doubt that MAUMAU was dominant in Kenya and is one of the renowned nationalistic movements in Africa, the origin and meaning of the term MAUMAU is debated. With the exception of Barnett and Njama's work, majority of the research which I have come across suffer a

conceptual analysis of the term MAUMAU⁸. Barnett and Njama's research indicate that MAUMAU meant *uma uma* which was a sound derived from traditional children's game. *Uma uma* was loosely translated 'out, out', and thus the term was used to refer to African desire for Europeans to get out of or leave Kenya. Sometimes, the term was used to refer to the expression *mumumumu* which referred to the voice whispered during oath taking in the dark huts and, thus, Europeans recorded 'Mau Mau' after they failed to pronounce *mumumumu*. Barnett and Njama (1966) also indicate that the origin of the term MAUMAU was associated with indigenous Kikuyu concept of *muma* which refers to an oath. It was also suggested that MAUMAU was used as an acronym of the Swahili phrase '*Mzungu Arudi Uingereza, Mwafrika Apate Uhuru*' loosely translated 'Europeans return to England and Africans obtain Freedom'.⁹ Some sources indicate that MAUMAU was often used to refer to *dini* – that is a powerful indigenous religious sect controlled by KCA.¹⁰ Sometimes, MAUMAU was used to refer to people who fought for independence in Kenya as justified by Berman(1992) who

⁸ See for example, Kanogo, *Squatters*; Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*; Worsley, "The Anatomy of MauMau"; Lewis, "A Kenyan Revolution"; Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley*; Gathogo, "Women, Come and Roast your Own Ram"; Furedi, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective*.

⁹ Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau From Within*, 53 – 54.

¹⁰ Bruce Berman, "Bureaucracy and Incumbent Violence: Colonial Administration and the Origin of the 'Mau Mau' Emergency" in Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley*, 250; Furedi, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective*, 109.

indicate that in the period between the end of 1952 and 1956, as a way of rejoicing the outcome of the declaration of state of emergency of 1952, the Provincial Commissioner of Central Province in Kenya remarked “...we are really beating the Maumau....”¹¹ Shamsul Alam also shows that sometimes colonial officials in Kenya identified MAUMAU as a ‘gang of terrorists’ full of savagery, barbaric and primitive behaviour.¹² Such remarks signify that there were diverse meaning of MAUMAU but most often, the term referred to people than to a religious sect.

Lack of a clear meaning and origin of the term MAUMAU made Barnett and Njama to conclude that the term is a misnomer and there is no generally accepted meaning or origin of it. Although I subscribe to Barnett and Njama’s conclusion, a clear survey of literature on MAUMAU proves that it was an anti-European movement organized by Africans and characterised by a revolutionary spirit, the need to regain freedom, oath taking and brutality or assassination. Notwithstanding other meaning of MAUMAU mentioned here, this paper uses MAUMAU as an acronym of the Swahili phrase given above i.e. ‘*Mzungu Arudi Uingereza, Mwafrika Apate Uhuru*’ loosely translated ‘Europeans return to England and Africans obtain Freedom’. Thus, the term appears in capitals throughout the paper to signify that it is an acronym.

¹¹ Bruce Berman, “Bureaucracy and Incumbent Violence”, 254.

¹² S. M. Shamsul Alam, *Rethinking the Mau Mau in Colonial Kenya* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 23.

The decision to use the acronym is based on the fact that it contains both elements of anti-Europeans and the need to regain freedom or independence which has been stressed by several scholars who have written on MAUMAU. The second reason is to avoid the bias that some of the concepts used in Africa today including names of places, rivers and mountains, to mention just a few, were a result of failure of the Europeans to pronounce African words or names correctly.

As noted above, oath taking and brutality or assassination of people characterised MAUMAU and consequently shaped its history in Tanzania. Frank Furedi noted that MAUMAU manifested out of oath taking campaign which started in 1947 and became more prevalent in 1948 and 1949 when individuals were forced to take the oath.¹³ There were three major types of oath which were administered to MAUMAU members. The first was the oath of unity which was taken by all MAUMAU initiates and other members of the society. This oath emphasized unity and solidarity of the members throughout the struggle. The second was *mbatoni* sometimes called *batuni* oath (platoon or warrior oath). This oath was administered to MAUMAU members who were going to take up arms against the colonial state. It emphasized consecration of one's life to the cause of liberating Kenya and redeeming the alienated land. The third was leaders' oath which was administered to leaders of the movement of all levels. This oath emphasized

¹³ Furedi, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective*, 105.

loyalty to the struggle and the people in it. It stressed secrecy and courage. Oaths were a stronger bond than commands from leaders. Counselling was undertaken when the oath was administered. A code of conduct was also issued. Anyone who refused to take the oath was killed. The vows of the oath which was uttered by the oath administrator and repeated seven times by the oath taker also insisted that the oath taker would die if he/ she failed to fulfil the code of conduct and conditions stated in the oath.¹⁴

Oaths taking accelerated MAUMAU operations because those who have taken the oath feared violating its code of conduct which would lead them into death but also be labelled as betrayers of their society. As a result, brutality and assassination done by MAUMAU followers increased. The assassination of Chief Waruhiu on 9th October 1952 and the execution of African elite Reuben Kinyua in 1953 have been mainly cited as the most brutal actions done by MAUMAU followers. Chief Waruhiu was a known sympathizer and collaborator with the colonial government. He was assassinated by MAUMAU activists on the mentioned date. Reuben Kinyua was an African nurse and laboratory technician who worked at Mutira local dispensary. In 1953, a group of MAUMAU radicals broke the Mutira Anglican

¹⁴For details on types of oath and how it was administered see Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau From Within*, 57 -59; Gathogo, "Women, Come and Roast your Own Ram"; Worsley, "The Anatomy of MauMau"; Lewis, "A Kenyan Revolution."

church and took church records; then they broke Mutira dispensary and took some medicine; thereafter entered the house of Reuben Kinyua, dragged him out, accused him of being a betrayer and for failing to take the oath and refusing to treat MAUMAU fighters. Reuben was shot to death and then slashed across the stomach.¹⁵

Increasing MAUMAU brutality in Kenya, especially after the assassination of chief Waruhiu, made the colonial government in Kenya to declared a state of emergency in the 'colony' in 1952. It was this state of emergency together with forceful oath taking accompanied with brutality which shaped the history of MAUMAU in Tanzania which has seldomly been written, but is the main concern of this paper. To simplify the discussion, the paper is organized into four main parts. The first is this introduction. The second section is about the pre-MAUMAU setting in Tanzania. The section examines the interconnection between Kenyans (especially those who were labelled as MAUMAU followers) and Tanzanians before MAUMAU started. The third section deals with MAUMAU and its implication in Tanzania. This section aims at examining how forceful oath taking, rampant assassination of people and declaration of state of emergence in Kenya impacted on Tanzanian communities. The fourth section explores the Post-MAUMAU period in Tanzania to the present. It delineates how the remnants of MAUMAU who

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

still live in Tanzania have continued to struggle with their lives, the challenges they have encountered and how they maintain their identities. The last section is the conclusion which synthesizes the whole story narrated here and provides critical comments.

2.0 The Pre-MAU MAU Setting in Tanzania

First of all, it should be known that the United Republic of Tanzania was formed in 1964 comprising of two major parts, Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar. Tanzania Mainland refers to Tanganyika which was part of German East Africa. After the First World War, Tanganyika was colonized by the British as a Mandate Territory from 1919 to 1947 and, Trusteeship Territory from 1947 to the time of independence in 1961. Therefore, the discussion in this paper focuses on the operations and influences of MAU MAU in the Tanzania Mainland where research was conducted. The description given above also shows clearly that at the time of the outbreak of MAU MAU, both Kenya and Tanganyika were all controlled by the same colonial administrators. Thus, the issue of maintaining colonial hegemony and power which has been stressed by some scholars that it influenced the emergence and, control of MAU MAU,¹⁶ never ended in Kenya alone. Colonial officials in Tanganyika, like their counterparts in Kenya, had to ensure that they contained African pressure,

¹⁶Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*; Alam, *Rethinking the Mau Mau*; Furedi, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective*; Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley*.

and were all required to report matters to the British Secretary General of Colonies in London. When MAUUMU started early in the 1940s and became more pronounced in the 1950s, the main actors were Kenyans, specifically, members of Kikuyu, Meru and Embu ethnic groups. Consequently, after the declaration of the state of emergency in Kenya in October 1952, members of those ethnic groups became the main victims who were targeted by the colonial state.

However, several Kenyans including members of Kikuyu, Meru, Embu, Kamba and Luo had already developed connections with the people of Tanzania, then Tanganyika. Several companies, institutions, individuals, farms and ranch estates including government officials based in the northern province¹⁷ of Tanganyika had employed Kikuyu, Kamba, Meru and Luo people from Kenya. Best examples were the Bushiri, Makinyumbi, Kigombe, Mwera and Pangani Rivers estates in Pangani district; The Mkwaja ranch in pangani district; an individual called G. L. O. Grundy who was running a small manufacturing industry in Pangani district; The Tanganyika Electric supply Co. L.t.d in Pangani district; The Tanganyika Forest Department at Ngare Mtoni in Arusha; The Overseas

¹⁷The Northern Province of Tanganyika by then comprised of Arusha, Moshi and Tanga districts which today constitutes Manyara, Arusha, Kilimanjaro and Tanga regions.

Touring Company (East Africa) L.t.d and; the Grey and Green Line Bus service company.¹⁸

A letter written by the station superintendent of the Tanganyika Electric Supply Company at Pangani to the Pangani District Commissioner indicated that some of those Kenyans were employed at the station in the early 1940s. For example, Wambua Wanya (Mkamba) was employed in 1943. Onyango Aguyo and Kassim Opana (all Luo) were employed in 1945 and 1947 respectively. Other Kenyans were employed in 1950 while a few of them were employed in 1953. In his letter to Pangani District Commissioner dated 17th November 1958, G. L. O. Grundy stated that he had employed a Kenyan called Peter Kamau (Kikuyu) for more than thirty years before the declaration of state of emergency in Kenya and subsequent arrest of Peter Kamau. In his view, Grundy considered Peter Kamau a loyalist Kikuyu who had exceptional skills and experience of internal combustion engines and machinery, and thus could be set free to continue assisting the small emerging manufacturing industry in Pangani.¹⁹ During her testimony to the government and police officers, Munyui Githirua (Kikuyu) stated that she had lived at Ngongongare in

¹⁸Tanzania National Archives (TNA), Acc. No. 467, File No. A4 - Aliens: Registration of Kenya Africans, 1954 – 1960; TNA, Acc. No. 471, File No. 80 – Registration of Wakikuyu – General, 1952 – 1958.

¹⁹ TNA, Acc. No. 467, File No. A4, Aliens: Registration of Kenya Africans, 1954 – 1960.

Arusha for several years before she was arrested as MAUMAU suspect in November 1952.²⁰

During the interview which I conducted at Ilamba village, Anthony Francis Mlekia (Kikuyu) testified that his father, Francis Mlekia, was employed by the colonial government as a Forest Officer in Arusha District where he worked for a long time before he was transferred to Mufindi in Iringa District in the Southern Province of Tanganyika. Although Anthony was not certain of the year when his father was transferred to Iringa, he was aware that his father was transferred to Iringa earlier before the MAUMAU war because his brothers and sisters were all born in Iringa in the 1950s.²¹ Charles James Mungai (Kikuyu) provided another testimony that his father, James Mungai, arrived at Mufindi in Iringa in 1932 as an employee of Europeans who had established tea plantations at Mufindi. James Mungai was an expert in operating various machines.²² Both Anthony Francis Mlekia and Charles James Mungai are remnants of Kikuyu people who settled in Tanganyika before the MAUMAU war and they are still living in Tanzania to date.

²⁰ TNA, Acc. No. 471, File No. 80 – Registration of Wakikuyu – General, 1952 – 1958.

²¹ Interview with Anthony Francis Mlekia, Ilamba Village – Kilolo District in Iringa Region, 11th August 2020.

²² Interview with Charles James Mungai, Iringa Town, Iringa District in Iringa Region, 30th August 2019.

There are several testimonies of that nature but it suffices to say that before the declaration of the state of merger in Kenya in October 1952, several Kenyans including the Kikuyu had already settled in Tanzania as labourers in various sectors, businessmen and businesswomen, tourist operators, drivers and individuals able to do whatever they could for their own living. As G. L. O. Grundy testified, some of those Kenyans were considered to be loyal both to the government and their employers. There was no sign for such Kenyans to have threatened peace in Tanganyika Territory and thus it would be wrong to label them as instigators or followers of MAUMAU who ran to Tanganyika as their hideout. The declaration of State of Emergency in Kenya changed the status of those Kenyans in Tanganyika significantly. In the section which follows, I attempt to show how the increasing MAUMAU insurgencies in Kenya paralysed the situation in Tanganyika and created a new history.

3.0 MAUMAU and Its implication in Tanzania

Following the increasing MAUMAU insurgencies in Kenya, the newly appointed Governor of Kenya, Sir Evelyn Baring, instituted extreme emergency laws and regulations between January and April 1952. Such laws and regulations included communal punishment, curfews, influx control, the confiscation of property and land, the imposition of special taxes, the issuance of special documentation and passes, the censorship and banning of publication, the disbanding of all African political organization, the control and disposition of

labour, the suspension of due processes and, detention without trial. In addition, emergency legislation controlled African Markets, shops, hotels, and all public transport including buses, taxis and bicycles.²³ The Registration of Persons Ordinance (No. 48 of 1952) was also passed.²⁴ Eventually, a state of emergency was declared in Kenya on 20th October 1952.

The British Secretary General of colonies in London, governors of East African colonies and other colonial officials at provincial and district levels, all saw MAUMAU as a threat to their hegemony. In Tanganyika, some natives were drafted in the Kings African Rifles (KAR) for the anti-MAUMAU War in Kenya.²⁵ This was just one evidence indicating the regional nature of MAUMAU War. Secondly, the consequent declaration of state of emergency was implemented not only in Kenya but also in Tanganyika. For example, the Registration of Kenyan Person Ordinance of 1952 was still applicable in Tanganyika even in 1960. In accordance to the provisions of this Ordinance, all male adult Kenya Africans entering or living in Tanganyika were required to register

²³ Gathogo, "Women, Come and Roast your Own Ram", 105 – 106.

²⁴TNA, Acc. No. 467, File No. A4, Aliens: Registration of Kenya Africans, 1954 – 1960; TNA, Acc. No. 471, File No. 80 – Registration of Wakikuyu – General, 1952 – 1958.

²⁵ Bettina Brockmeyer, Frank Edward and Holger Stoecker, "The Mkwawa Complex: A Tanzanian-European history about provenance, restitution and politics", *Journal of Modern European History* 18, no.2 (2020), 123-124, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1611894420909033>

themselves to the Provincial Commissioners' offices where they could be given registration certificates. Any Kenyan failing to do so was liable to a fine not exceeding Shs. 3,000/- or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year or both – fine and imprisonment. In 1953, it was also ordered that all Kikuyu women of sixteen years or over living in Tanganyika must be registered and put into the same restriction as the male Kikuyu.²⁶

The Governor of Tanganyika was almost confused by MAUMAU. He thought that MAUMAU had many points of similarities with Maji Maji war which took place in Tanganyika from 1905 to 1907, probably, the same movement would also happen to his territory. With that thinking, in 1953 the Governor of Tanganyika ordered government sociologists and anthropologists, particularly Fosbrooke and Gulliver, to research on MAUMAU and collect every kind of information available which would help to explain the similarity and thereafter create a better understanding of MAUMAU. The report of the research indicated that Maji Maji and MAUMAU resembled on the fact that all utilized African cults such as the use of *maji* (water) as a way of cleansing the fighters in Maji Maji war and, oath taking ceremonies which dominated in MAUMAU War. Similarly, Maji Maji and MAUMAU resembled because they were all characterised by hatred of all non-Africans especially Europeans, Indians and Arabs. The

²⁶ *Ibid.*

report also stressed that although there was a large number of Kikuyu in the Northern Province of Tanganyika, their presence was not considered to have caused any trouble to the Tanganyika government. As a matter of conclusion, the report stated that it was unlikely for members of Kikuyu ethnic group who were available in Tanganyika to join an open resistance just to support their relatives in Kenya.²⁷

In spite of the clarification provided in the report cited above, the Governor and other colonial officials in Tanganyika continued to collaborate with the Kenya Government in implementing the emergence legislations which were enacted in Kenya. For example, registration of Kenyans in Tanganyika targeted the Kikuyu who were mainly thought to be the main actors in MAUMAU. From 1952 to early 1960, all employers in Tanganyika, especially in the Northern Province, were requested, from time to time, to submit list of their employees who were of Kenyan origin. The list indicated the ethnic group, the village and district from which those employees came from. However, following the declaration of state of emergency, many Kenyans were denied permission into Tanganyika territory. Other Kenyans, especially the Kikuyu who were in Tanganyika for several years, were arrested regardless of whether they had permits / registration certificates or not. Some of those Kikuyu were transferred to Kenya immediately after arrest even before it has been proved

²⁷ TNA, Acc. No. 468, File No. MM/ 16 – Majimaji/ MAUMAU, 1953.

that they were criminals or they were engaging into MAUMAU. Others were jailed in Arusha and Karanga prison in Moshi and, thereafter, they were repatriated to their original home in Kenya under police escort.²⁸

Throughout the 1950s, several media were reporting about evacuation of Kikuyu from Tanganyika to Kenya. Early January 1954, it was reported that 650 Kikuyu suspected to be MAUMAU followers were arrested by the police in Arusha and Moshi. It was further reported that during night on the 24th December 1953, a group of 15-armed Kikuyu broke the house of one Mkikuyu who was living in Arusha and slashed him with 'pangas' together with his wife and the two children who were under ten years old. That Kikuyu was suspected to have betrayed his fellow kikuyu by calling himself a Christian who did not want to participate in MAUMAU.²⁹ On 28th January 1954, Mr. A. M. Bruce Hutt, the Chief Secretary in Tanganyika told the Tanganyika Legislature that it was the ultimate aim of the Tanganyika government to evacuate all Kikuyu as soon as possible.³⁰ In February 1954, it was reported that about 1,500 kikuyu suspected to be MAUMAU followers were repatriated from Northern Province of Tanganyika back to Kenya and, it

²⁸TNA, Acc. No 9, File No. P.P. – Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954; TNA, Acc. No. 467, File No. A4. – Aliens: Registration of Kenya Africans, 1954 – 1960; TNA, Acc. No. 471, File No. 80 – Registration of Wakikuyu – General, 1952 – 1958.

²⁹ *Maarifa*, 7th January 1954.

³⁰ *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 28th January 1954.

was estimated that 6000 kikuyu were still under detention in the Northern province.³¹ In July 1954, Judge Justice Mahon of the High Court in Arusha imposed sentences of life imprisonment on six Kikuyu MAUMAU followers who were found guilty of offences arising from implementation of emergence legislation in the Northern Province, including attempted murder of Assistant Superintendent John Drury.³² In the same month, about 700 Kikuyu who were detained at Miombo camps in the Western province of Tanganyika were first transported by train to Dar es Salaam then taken by a ship to Mombasa.³³

Testimonies of some Kikuyu evacuees show that they were highly traumatized. At the time of evacuation, they left their property including money and members of their families. For example, Wanjira Mutua who had registration number 6757 claimed that she was arrested at Monduli and thereafter sent back to Kiambu district in Kenya on the 7th June 1954 but she left her son at Monduli. Thabita Muthoni Njorege (Reg. no. 7591), Mbaire Kamau (Reg. no. 6772) and Mugure Mugua (Reg. no. 6773) all claimed that they were arrested at Monduli and thereafter sent back to Githunguri division in Kiambu district in Kenya on the 14th June 1954 but they left their baggage, personal and other household belongings at Monduli. Njorege Kimani and Kahura Muhiru left their wages

³¹ *Mambo Leo*, February 1954.

³² *Tanganyika Standard*, 3rd July 1954.

³³ *Tanganyika Standard*, 17th July 1954

to W.de. Beer of Oldonyo Sambu in Arusha and North Meru Pyrethrum Company in Arusha respectively. Kimani Mugo and Wamama Njuhi stated that they left their money for bags of Irish-potatoes they had sold to J. J. Malan of Kisimiri Estate situated at Ngare-Nanyuki in Arusha.³⁴ Several testimonies of this nature exist and all would suggest that colonial officials did so deliberately as part of implementation of emergency legislation related to punishment and confiscation of African property.

The presence of an organized armed group of MAUMAU in Arusha and attempted murder of John Drury by a group of six Kikuyu suggests that MAUMAU members in Kenya had crossed the border to Tanganyika where they organized a guerrilla warfare but also fought physically with the white men and other individuals whom they thought hindered them to get independence. Two publications from Tanga also show that one of the Kikuyu MAUMAU members called Osale Otango fled from Kenya and went to Amboni in Tanga in Tanganyika where he continued the struggle but targeting Indians, Asians and Europeans settlers living in Amboni in Tanga.³⁵ Although Lammert (2020) herself seem to be sceptical of the connection between the stories of Osale and Paulo, and MAUMAU, testimonies from her respondents

³⁴ TNA, Acc. No 9, File No. P.P. – Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954.

³⁵ Saumu Jumbe, *Osale Otango* (Tanga: Saumu K. Jumbe, 2015), 3-5; Andrew C. Mhina, *Harakati za Osale Otango na Paulo Hamisi* (Dar es Salaam: Mhina and Imaney Publishing Company, 2015), 4-7.

suggests that there was a link between Osale Otango and MAUMAU.³⁶ Description from Lammert(2020) shows that Osale Otango was a Kenyan while Paulo Hamisi was a Shambaa of Tanga in Tanzania. That, depending on the perspective, the story of Osale and Paulo was often associated with MAUMAU and, generally, MAUMAU created fear in settler's home in Tanga in Tanzania.³⁷ The fact that MAUMAU created fear among settlers was also reported in Kilosa district in Morogoro in Tanzania when settlers at Kimamba objected re-settlement of the Kikuyu in their area in 1954.³⁸ A reflection from the organized MAUMAU bandit in Arusha and Tanga shows that MAUMAU nationalist fighters were so unique as they fought physically in Tanganyika unlike other nationalist fighters from Mozambique, South Africa, Angola and Namibia who established their camps in Tanzania but never fought in Tanzania.

Other prominent issues related to MAUMAU were creation of Kikuyu detention camps, re-settlement of some Kikuyu and emerging new identities of the Kikuyu in Tanganyika in the period between 1952 and 1963. Despite the fact that several Kikuyu were arrested in Tanganyika and repatriated back to Kenya, there were also several Kikuyu who were detained in

³⁶ Stephanie Lammert, "Fear and Mockery: The Story of Osale and Paulo in Tanganyika", *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 14, No. 4 (2020), 633 - 638.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Tanganyika Standard*, 8th May 1954.

Tanganyika after being arrested from various areas of Kenya and Tanganyika. Available archival documents show that there were more than one thousand ninety-nine Kikuyu male detention camps in the Miombo forest in Urambo in Tabora in Tanganyika. Of 15th May 1954, there were a total of 674 male Kikuyu detained in those Miombo camps.³⁹ Another famous Kikuyu detention camp was located at Tamota in Handeni district in Tanga.⁴⁰ However, today Tamota is located in Tamota Ward in Bumbuli Town Council in Lushoto District in Tanga Region. Although it is very difficult to establish the exact number of Kikuyu who were detained at Tamota, some highlights can be given. On 11th March 1954, approximately 80 Kikuyu women and 160 children were transported from Arusha and Moshi to Korogwe by a special train, then by road to Tamota where they joined their husbands and fathers respectively. Another list shows that in April 1954, about 76 Kikuyu men, their wives and approximately 150 children were also moved from Arusha and Moshi to Tamota and; 25 men together with their wives and approximately 53 children were transferred from Miombo camps to Tamota.⁴¹ Although several Kikuyu detained at Tamota were later on repatriated back to Kenya, still there were about 533 Kikuyu (163 – men and 370 women) at Tamota in November 1955.⁴² The most

³⁹TNA, Acc. No 9, File No. P.P. – Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954

⁴⁰TNA, Acc. No 9, File No. P.P. – Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954; *Tanganyika Standard*, 17th July 1954; *Tanganyika Standard*, 4th November 1955.

⁴¹TNA, Acc. No 9, File No. P.P. – Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954.

⁴²*Tanganyika Standard*, 4th November 1955.

paining fact regarding those detainees is that majority of them left their families (wives and children) where they were arrested and arrangement to send them was done while male detainees had stayed in the camps for quite a long time suffering from loneliness.

Evidence shows that apart from having detention camps, there was also special 'Kikuyu Resettlement Schemes in Tanganyika.' Those schemes can be divided into two broad categories. The first type aimed at resettling landless Kikuyu people from Kenya into Tanganyika. Under this scheme, about 4000 – 5000 Kikuyu were to be moved from Kenya to Tanganyika. In attempt to implement the proposed scheme, about 3000 Kikuyu people from Kenya were first re-settled at Katuma village in Mpanda District in 1962.⁴³ Those people were transported in 1962 in batches of 600 to 800 people. First, they were transported by a steamer from Kisumu through Lake Victoria to Mwanza port and, thereafter, they were entrained to Mpanda via Tabora.⁴⁴ From Katuma, some of those Kikuyu moved into Mwese, Mpembe, Kapanga, Mpanda

⁴³Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service (TCRS), "20th Anniversary -1964 to 1984, (June 1984)." Accessed 15th August 2019 at <http://repository.forcedmigration.org>; Tanzania National Archives – Mwanza (TNA –Mwanza), Accession No. 1, File No. R1/2 – Registration and Settlement of Kikuyu; *Tanganyika Standard* – 4th October 1962, 2; Interviews with Mnyihunga Jumanne Mwelela and Aldolf Seleman Katuli, Katuma Village – 21st August 2019.

⁴⁴ TNA –Mwanza, Accession No. 1, File No. R1/2 – Registration and Settlement of Kikuyu.

ndogo, Kibo, Manga and Kasokola villages of Mpanda district which today is divided into Mpanda Municipal and Tanganyika District of Katavi region. Although the Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service (TCRS) report considered those Kenyans as refugees who were given asylum in Tanganyika pending full independence of their own country,⁴⁵ a document obtained from Kenya National Archives proves that those Kikuyu were resettled in Tanganyika in accordance to emergency legislation titled 'Restriction of Residence and Removal Ordinance of 1955.' The ordinance targeted members of Kikuyu, Embu and Meru who were considered instigators and supporters of MAUMAU war. Those Kikuyu were landless because their land had been already confiscated under the 'Confiscation of African Property and Land' emergence legislation. As way of finding a living, those people were willing to move anywhere. The Kenyan government assisted them by finding a place where they could settle far away from Kenya so as to weaken MAUMAU. In addition to assisting them to get where to settle, the government also gave them transport as well as travel and residence permits.⁴⁶

The second type of special resettlement scheme involved those who were called the 'loyalist' Kikuyu. MAUMAU divided

⁴⁵ TCRS (1984), *Op. cit.*

⁴⁶ Kenya National Archives (KNA), DP/1/65 – Movement of Kikuyu, Embu and Meru 1959 – 1961.

the Kikuyu along two major lines – those who were ready to take oaths and fight the Whiteman (*Mzungu*) and; those who were not ready to take oaths and participate in MAUMAU- the “loyalists”. The ‘loyalist’ Kikuyu, therefore, rejected to take oath and continued to collaborate with *Mzungu* in different ways. Some were already squatters in the land which has been taken by white settlers. ‘Loyalist’ Kikuyu were considered by their fellows as betrayers while colonial officials considered them ‘good Africans’ who should be safeguarded against the MAUMAU assaults. Many Kikuyu ‘loyalists’ were, therefore, resettled in Tanganyika as a means of giving them protection. One newspaper published in May 1954 indicated that 85 of loyalist Kikuyu families comprising of 350 persons were resettled from Northern Province of Tanganyika to Kimamba areas in Kilosa district in Tanganyika. However, a group of 100 settlers who had already established themselves at Kimamba protested against such re-settlement for two main reasons. First, they feared that those Kikuyu were not loyal as the government said, thus, would spread MAUMAU to their areas. Second, they were worried that their re-settlement would result into competition for the few available labourers in the area because those Kikuyu were also said to be good agriculturalist. The Eastern Provincial Commissioner, Mr. E. G. Rowe was sent to try to allay the misgivings of those settlers but could not succeed. Kilosa District Commissioner, Mr. L. M. Manson also met with those Kimamba settlers several

times but yet they were not ready to accept the re-settlement of the 'loyalist' Kikuyu.⁴⁷

The continued protest of Kimamba settlers against the re-settlement of Kikuyu in their area made the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Edward Twining to visit Kilosa and Morogoro districts in late June 1954. During his visit in Kilosa, the Governor met with Kimamba settlers and informed them that the government had an obligation to the band of loyalist Kikuyu who had assisted in resisting the spread of MAUMAU to the Tanganyika territory. The Governor explained why it was necessary to remove them from areas contiguous to the Kenya border, where there was a danger of reprisals. The Governor insisted that all those Kikuyu had been thoroughly vetted by the special branch of police. Land would be given to them on which to re-establish their homes, and to prevent their spreading to other parts they would be given a specific title to the areas they would occupy. Certain restriction on movement would remain, and if that hospitality were abused they would receive short shrift. After meeting with Kimamba settlers, the governor proceeded to the Kikuyu camp which was situated at the foot of the Ukaguru Mountain where he met with 70 loyal Kikuyu families together with their local authority elders. The governor told them that, for their loyalty, they would be accepted as citizens of Tanganyika but

⁴⁷ *Tanganyika Standard*, 8th May 1954.

exemplary behaviour was also expected from them.⁴⁸ One archival document shows that those 85 loyalist Kikuyu families were thoroughly compensated before they were moved from Northern Province to Kilosa.⁴⁹

Minutes of the Provincial Commissioners' Conference held in Dar es Salaam in January 1955 shows that provincial commissioners agreed to transfer the 85 loyalist Kikuyu families which were resettled in Kilosa in 1954 to different parts of Tanganyika except in Lake, Northern and Tanga Provinces because they would be close to the Kenya borders, thus, prone to MAUMAU followers' reprisals. The Eastern Province Provincial Commissioner explained to members of the conference that those Kikuyu families were of good character and were not a security risk. The conference also recommended that a small part of Kikuyu leaders in Kilosa should be selected to conduct a survey to check if they would be interested with the proposed areas where they would be resettled again. The proposed areas were those found South of Tunduru, Mpwapwa (South of the central line), Kasulu district, and the forest reserve squatter scheme at Lubembe.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 1st July 1954.

⁴⁹ See "Provincial Commissioner –Northern Province to Arusha, Moshi, Masai and Mbulu District Commissioners, 12 February 1954" in TNA, Acc. No. 9, File No. P. P., Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954.

⁵⁰ University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) Archives, Minutes of Provincial Commissioner' Conference held in Dar es Salaam, January 1955.

Interview with Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya, a Kikuyu living at Kipande village in Nkasi district, justifies that recommendation of the Provincial Commissioners conference regarding the transfer of the loyalist Kikuyu from Kilosa to various parts of Tanganyika was implemented significantly. Joseph Kafaiya stated that his father was one of those Kikuyu who rejected to take the MAUMAU oath. Thus, the Kenya colonial government first took them to Arusha, and then the Tanganyika government re-settled them at Kilosa. Thereafter, they were transferred from Kilosa and re-settled at Kilangala which today is one of the suburbs of Kipande village in Nkasi district in Rukwa region.

Furthermore, Kafaiya stated that the government appointed several teams of Kikuyu who were at Kilosa. Every team which comprised of two Kikuyu elders was sent in different areas. One team went in Tukuyu in Mbeya, some went to Kipande and Katuma, and others went to different areas. Each team submitted a report to the government that the area they visited was good for them and they shared the same message with their fellow Kikuyu. Thus, on the day of transfer from Kilosa, heads of the family were told to choose a team which they would like to go with. Upon arrival, they were registered by immigration officers and given certificates of residence. Thereafter, they were allocated land and given title of occupancy. Kafaiya estimated that about 200 families comprising of approximately 1000 persons were re-settled at Kipande in 1955. Although Kafaiya was still young at the time

of re-settlement, he remembers that their population was too big to the extent that they could not be accommodated in several huts which were prepared for them.⁵¹ Charles James Mungai also stated that there were several Kikuyu families which were re-settled in Tukuyu and Mbeya during the colonial period.⁵²

The foregone narratives suggest that Moskowitz's argument for the resettlement of the Kikuyu at Katuma in Mpanda might be wrong. Moskowitz indicate that the first Kikuyu to be resettled at Katuma were those who lived in the northern province of Tanzania during the inter-war and post-war years but were forcefully transferred to the western part of Tanzania by the newly independent government of Tanzania in 1961. According to Moskowitz, the second group of the Kikuyu who were resettled at Katuma in 1962 did not flee colonial rule but were a product of a program sponsored jointly by the Tanzania and Kenya governments.⁵³ Evidence given above proves that the Kikuyu who lived in the northern province of Tanzania during the inter-war and post-war periods were arrested after the declaration of state of emergency in Kenya and Tanzania in 1952. Some of those who were arrested were repatriated back to Kenya while others were detained in

⁵¹ Interview with Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya, Kipande Village, Nkasi District – Rukwa Region, 12th October 2020.

⁵² Interview with Charles James Mungai, Iringa Town, Iringa District – Iringa Region, 30th August 2019.

⁵³ Moskowitz, "Sons and Daughters of the Soil," 301 – 303.

detention camps found in Tanzania. Those who remained in the northern part of Tanzania as 'loyalist Kikuyu' were the ones who were transferred by the colonial state and resettled first at Kilosa, and then in various places of southern and western part of Tanzania in the 1950s. The argument that Kikuyu who were resettled in Katuma in 1962 did not flee colonial rule is likely to suggest the denial of the link between land problem caused by the colonial state in Kenya, and the rise of MAU Mau movement which aimed at gaining independence and re-storing their lost land. In my view, the resettlement of the Kikuyu in Tanzania was directly connected to MAU Mau which was a movement responding to injustice, oppression and exploitation caused by the colonial state in Kenya. The Tanzanian Government was determined to give protection and support to liberation struggles all over Africa, thus, accepting Kikuyu resettlement in the 1960s was a way towards accomplishing her goal.

As regard to identities, archival document shows that in addition to their known identities such as being members of Kikuyu ethnic group, speaking Kikuyu language and observing all Kikuyu culture and traditions; such Kikuyu were also categorised differently, a fact which assigned them new identities in Tanzania. We have already seen that there are those who were called 'loyalist' Kikuyu thus distinguished from those who were called 'non-loyal' Kikuyu who, in most cases, were considered criminals liable for arrest, punishment,

detention and imprisonment. Yet there are those who were called 'Black', 'Red', 'White', and 'Grey' Kikuyu.⁵⁴ It is hard to understand this classification because there is no direct translation of what they meant. Rashid Mfaume Kawawa, who worked at Urambo and Tamota Kikuyu detention camps in the 1950s, stated that 'Red' represented the most bad and notorious Kikuyu who had records of engaging in killing of people. 'Grey' was used to refer to those who, to some extent, were not notorious, had good character and did not have any record related to killing of people.⁵⁵ A thorough scrutiny of lists of Kikuyu who were labelled so suggests that colonial administrators identified and categorised them that way based on observation of their behaviours. According to those lists, 'Black' represented the most problematic Kikuyu who should be watched carefully. For example, in January 1953, about six 'Black' Kikuyu who were living at Mbulu in Arusha were vetted for being returned in Kenya because they were seen to be a threat to security in the area. 'Grey' represented the Kikuyu who were in transition of changing their behaviour from 'Black' to 'white'. It seems that majority of those people, had been jailed and where about to accomplish their sentenced period. In early February 1953 there were about 139 families of 'Grey' Kikuyu in Tanzania with approximately 295

⁵⁴ TNA, Acc. 9, File No. P. P. – Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954.

⁵⁵ Rashid Mfaume Kawawa's narratives are found in Arnold J. Temu and Joel das N. Tembe (eds), *Southern African Liberation Struggles: Contemporaneous Documents, 1960 – 1994*, Vol. 6 (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2014), 182,

children. Some of those families were screened from detainees of Urambo detention camps in Tabora and thereafter, they were transported to Tamota camp in Tanga. Between June and July 1954, a total of 277 male 'Grey' Kikuyu who had been imprisoned at Karanga prison in Mosh in Tanganyika were evacuated from Moshi to Manyani camp found near Voi in Kenya. The 'White' Kikuyu represented those who had somehow changed their behaviour so that they can be accepted as good people who could be integrated into the society.⁵⁶ By April 1954, there were about 35 and 66 families of 'White' Kikuyu living in Arusha and Tamota respectively.⁵⁷

The foregone paragraphs have sufficiently proved that the impacts of MAUMAU were not felt in Kenya alone, they transcended into the neighbouring countries. Despite the fact that several Kikuyu who were in Tanganyika as a result of MAUMAU were later on evacuated back into Kenya, there are those who remained in Tanzania even after Kenya attained her independence in 1963. In the section which follows below, I am trying to show how remnants of MAUMAU in Tanzania continued to struggle for their survival, the challenges they have encountered, changes or continuities in their identities, and the way they have influenced the socio-economic development of the areas where they settled to date.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

4.0 The Post-MAUMAU Period in Tanzania to the present

At the time of Tanganyika independence in 1961, several Kikuyu who came in Tanganyika as a result of MAUMAU movement including those who had already settled in Tanzania before MAUMAU were already recognized as official citizens of Tanganyika. We have seen that in June 1954 when the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Edward Twining visited the 'loyalist; Kikuyu in Kilosa, he exemplarily stated that those loyal Kikuyu who were re-settled in Tanganyika were accepted as legal and rightful citizens of Tanganyika.⁵⁸ In 1962, the Minister for Home Affairs in Tanzania, Hon. Osca S. Kambona, reported in the Tanzanian parliament that a total of 4,624 immigration certificates were granted to Kenyan Africans who were living in Tanzania. Out of those 4,624 certificates, 1,105 were issued to the Luo and 2, 935 to the Kikuyus.⁵⁹ Immigration certificates given to those immigrants qualified them to live in Tanganyika as legal and rightful citizens. Section two of the Tanganyika Citizenship Act of 1961 also qualified several people born outside Tanganyika to be citizens of Tanganyika. The section states:

Every person who, having been born outside Tanganyika, is on the eighth day of December 1961, a citizen of the United Kingdom and colonies or a British protected person shall, if his

⁵⁸ *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 1st July 1954.

⁵⁹ Tanzania Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), First Session – Third meeting, 25th - 27th September 1962, 8.

father becomes, or would but for his death have become, a citizen of Tanganyika in accordance with the provision of subsection (1), become a citizen of Tanganyika on the ninth day of December 1961.⁶⁰

The quotation shows that, several Kikuyu people who registered themselves and those whom the colonial government granted citizenship in Tanganyika in any form together with their offspring qualified to be citizens of Tanganyika on the 9th December 1961. Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya also testified this to me by showing me the Tanganyika Immigration Registration certificate which was granted to his father when he arrived at Kipande in the 1950s as one of the loyalist Kikuyu transferred from Kilosa.⁶¹

In spite of the existing reality that those Kikuyu people were already recognized as citizens of Tanganyika since 1961, descendants of those people have continued to face a major challenge as regard to their presence in Tanzania today. Several people including some government officials have tended to treat them as illegal immigrants and therefore, deny them some rights such occupancy of land and acquisition of National Identification Cards (NIC). During my field work at Mpanda Town, Haruni John Mlaguri testified that he was a

⁶⁰ Tanganyika Territory, *Citizenship Act, 1961*.

⁶¹ Interview with Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya, Kipande Village, Nkasi District – Rukwa Region Tanzania, 12th October 2020.

grandson of Haruni Mlaguri who was one of the 'loyalist' Kikuyu who arrived in Mpanda in the 1950s. His grandfather was given a plot by the government. After his death, his grandfather's plot was left to Haruni's father who also died in the early 2000s. Since then, Haruni John Mlaguri has been living with a lot of fear because village officials reported him to the immigration officers that he was an illegal immigrant simply because he was a Kikuyu and could not provide any written document to justify his presence in Tanzania. But Haruni and his father were born in Tanzania and by that time, birth certificate was not a big deal, thus they did not take trouble to get them.

By virtue of birth, they qualified for Tanzanian citizenship. However, Haruni was denied the right to register and get a Tanzanian NIC because he was reported to be illegal immigrant. The plot which was left by his ancestors was confiscated by some government officials. He bought a new plot, but still they were frequently looking for him. As a result, he decided to abandon his own house. At the time of the research, he was living with one of the followers of Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) church whom they pray together at Kasimba SDA church which is believed to have been first established by his grandfather.⁶² Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya also had almost similar stories with that of Haruni. Kafaiya stated

⁶² Interview with Haruni John Mlaguri, Ilembo village, Mpanda District - Katavi Region, Tanzania, 11th August 2019.

that his father arrived at Kilangala in Kapande village in the 1950s as one of the 'loyalist' Kikuyu who were re-settled from Kilosa. But after the death of his father, his life at Kilangala has been characterised by lack of peace because of frequent arrest, trial and jail, only because they consider him illegal immigrant who is not ready to obey the Tanzanian Immigration Laws. Kafaiya has frequently tabled his case to various government officials from the village, district, regional up to the central government in the Tanzania Prime Minister's Office justifying that he is not an illegal immigrant based on the immigration certificate which was granted to his father in the late 1950s. Until the time of this research, no solution was provided regarding Kafaiya's cases.⁶³ In the right of evidence submitted here, I argue that such Kenyan Kikuyu descendants are mistreated by some government officials because of the ignorance of the history of their existence in Tanzania.

Although remnants of Kikuyu continue to face a lot of challenge including lack of recognition as rightful and legal immigrants of Tanzania, oral accounts show that they have significantly contributed to the socio-economic development of the areas where they settled. For example, the Kikuyu are said to have been the first people to introduce cultivation of *mahole* (yams), *githir* (green peas) and Irish potatoes in areas which today constitute Mpanda and Nkasi districts. Some

⁶³ Interview, Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya, Kipande Village, Nkasi District – Rukwa region, Tanzania, 12th October 2020.

remnants of those Kikuyu still engage into business and are main suppliers of Irish potatoes, green peas, avocado, and other vegetables from Kipande, Kantawa and Milundikwa villages. The dominant sellers of Irish potatoes in Mpanda town market are said to be Kikuyu women.⁶⁴

Haruni Mlaguri, who moved from Katuma and settled at Misengereni in Mpanda, is said to be the first person who introduced the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) church in Mpanda. Mlaguri built SDA church at Misengereni and later on that church was moved at Kasimba in the 1980s where it still flourishes. SDA church owns the first dispensary to be established in Mpanda under the auspicious of Haruni Mlaguri and his followers. The Kikuyu who were resettled at Kilangala in Kapande village in the 1950s are said to have provided both material and moral support for the establishment of Kilangala mission in the 1960s. The mission still exists today and offers various services to the community including medication of various illnesses through its hospital, and education in the so called Kilangala mission vocational training institute. At Katuma, the Kikuyu are also remembered to have contributed significantly for the building

⁶⁴Interviews with Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya, Kipande Village, Nkasi District – Rukwa region, Tanzanian, 12th October 2020; Jacob Peter Ikolola, Kasokola Village – 17th August 2019; Mnyihunga Jumanne Mwelela, Katuma Village – 21st August 2019; Raymond Bilia Kasomfi, Mpembe Village – 22nd August 2019; Haruni John Mlaguri, Ilembu –Mpanda, 11th August 2019.

of Katuma primary school and Katuma Dispensary. The Kikuyu were also the first to initiate the establishment of Katuma Cooperative Society in the 1960s. Katuma Cooperative Society was led by Samwel Wanjihia (Chairman) and Jenga Wainaina (secretary). During that time Chege Mkutiro was the village chairman at Katuma. All those Katuma leaders were Kikuyu.⁶⁵

Francis Mwangi, who came with his parents in the 1950s when he was very young, established the first restaurant and guest house in Mpanda town. That guest house is now called 'Umoja Guest House'. Francis Mwangi also owns another guest house in Mpanda called – 'Kenyatta Lodge'. His son, Yohana Francis Mwangi, is one of the famous contractors who are engaged in the construction of various government projects such as schools and roads in Mpanda.⁶⁶

As regard to identities, there have been changes and some continuity. The Kikuyu have continued to identify themselves as Kikuyu, speak Kikuyu language and observe their culture and tradition such as practice both male and female circumcision, and piercing their ears. They only ceased to practice female circumcision after the government have insisted to stop it and declared that practice illegal. Some

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Personal conversation with Yohana Francis Mwangi and Francis Mwangi at different intervals.

maintained recognition of their original home country. For example, the Kikuyu who settled in Kasokola in 1965 named a road passing in the vicinity of their settlement as 'Kenya Road'. 'Kenya Road' which was very famous in the 1960s and 1970s started from where there is Kasokola primary school today downwards to Mpanda river. In Mpanda town, Francis Mwangi named his guest house 'Kenyatta Lodge.' In Nkasi district, 'Kipande' village is said to have been named so to reflect the way the Kikuyu people used to direct their fellows where they lived, i.e. 'naka kipande ile' in Swahili language.⁶⁷

However, Kikuyu identities changed gradually as senior Kikuyu people who first arrived in Tanganyika died slowly. The colonial identification of the Kikuyu such as 'loyal', 'non-loyal', 'Black', 'Grey', and 'White' Kikuyu were no longer applicable in the post-colonial period, neither were they remembered by any of the surviving Kikuyu. Even the Kikuyu who settled at Katuma and Mwese villages in Mpanda district, who formally were considered to be refugees, are no longer called refugees. Although formally the Kikuyu used to marry members of their own ethnic group, such marriage also changed slowly. Kikuyu sons and daughters started marrying members of the host communities and vice versa. We can therefore, say that the Kikuyu have been fully incorporated into the indigenous communities. The indigenous people had

⁶⁷ Jacob Peter Ikolola, Kasokola Village – 17th August 2019; and Philip Damas Kalulu, Mpanda Town – 23rd August 2019.

also started learning kikuyu lifestyles, specifically, full engagement into agriculture.

5.0 Conclusion

This paper has attempted to show that the impacts of MAUMAU were not felt in Kenya alone, they transcended into neighbouring countries including Tanzania. Sometimes, MAUMAU fighters operated physically on the Tanzanian soil as was the case in Arusha and Tanga. But such incidences were very rare and did not target Africans of Tanzanian origin, rather it targeted some Europeans and Asians settlers who were the subject of the movement, and some fellow Kikuyu whom they considered to have betrayed their own community.

We have also seen that prior to the emergence of MAUMAU, there were several Kenyan communities including the Kikuyu who were living in Tanganyika. The declaration of state of emergency in Kenya in October 1952 resulted into significant change of the status of residency of Kenyans who were living in Tanganyika before the beginning of MAUMAU. While it is true that the majority of instigators and followers of MAUMAU in Kenya were Kikuyu squatters and landless people who had developed discontent against the colonial government; evidence gathered in this research has proved that a large number of the Kikuyu who lived in Tanganyika did not have land problem. Kikuyu squatters in Tanganyika were allowed to continue with their farming activities in their

small fields without interference. Such Kikuyu also had neither shown sign of expression of dissatisfaction with the Tanganyika government nor were they considered to have caused any trouble to the government. It was in that context that some of the employers of those Kikuyu in Tanganyika defended them as loyalist Kikuyu. In my view, arrest, detention and repatriation of the Kikuyu who lived in Tanganyika before the emergency of MAUMAU in Kenya was not based on real evidence but on fear as well as false generalization that such individuals were also victims of MAUMAU. The opening up of several MAUMAU detention camps in Tanganyika also suggests that the colonial government deliberately made Tanganyika a hideout of the MAUMAU fighters.

Today, we still have some people of Kenyan origin (particularly, the Kikuyu) who settled in Tanzania because of MAUMAU. This implies that MAUMAU resulted into the emergence of a new minority Kikuyu ethnic group in Tanzania whose history and record is not yet known to most of the Tanzanians including some government officials. Such paucity of information has resulted into false interpretation of the status of such Kikuyu whereas some are labelled illegal immigrants, thus, denied land occupancy and obtaining Tanzania National Identification Cards. Evidence have also proved beyond doubt that MAUMAU caused a lot of fear and insecurity in Tanzania during the 1950s. However, lack of clear history on the influence of MAUMAU in Tanzania seem to

continue perpetuating tensions and insecurity among remnants of Kikuyu people who are still living in Tanzania. Testimonies of Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya and Haruni John Mlaguri narrated in this essay can justify tensions and state of insecurity experienced by remnants of Kikuyu people living in Tanzania to day. During my field work at Mwanjelwa (old airport areas) in Mbeya municipality and at Ilamba village in Kilolo district in Iringa region, some remnants of Kikuyu living in the mentioned areas declined to be interviewed on the ground that their security would be jeopardized. It is in that context, I argue that history should be considered when local people and government officials deal with matters pertaining to settlement or presence of people of Kenyan origin in Tanzania. Doing so will help to strengthen unity and inter-community relations among members of Tanzania and Kenya states. Despite the fact that this paper awakens us of the operations and influence of MAUMAU in Tanzania, still there is a need to research more on the same influence in other East African territories such as Uganda.