

SI Chapter 3. History and the Hadza.

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SI 3.1. Some history of Tanzania from coast to interior.

The history of East Africa's interaction with the trading nations of the Indian Ocean is lengthy. It is known from documents, oral histories, linguistics, and archaeology, and these sources are expertly integrated by historians of East Africa. I have made liberal use of writings by Iliffe (1979), Sutton (1990 and elsewhere), Phillipson (1993), Alpers (1975), Kusimba (2004), Robertshaw (1999, 2010), Chami (2007, Chami & Kwekason 2003, and previously) contributors to Kaniki (1980), and to Spear & Waller (1993) as well as specific references cited below, and the first hand 19th century reports by Burton (1859) and Tippu Tib (Brode 1907).

Egyptian carvings and inscriptions from about 1500 BC depict cargoes from Punt which included people, and a variety of savanna animals. But we do not know where Punt was, most historians believe it was on the Red Sea north of the Horn of Africa. Much later, Roman Egypt became a focus of trade to somewhere in east Africa called Rhapta. The source, generally dated to around 50 AD, is the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (Schoff 1912 translation from the Greek available from University of Toronto Library at: <http://archive.org/periplusoferythr00schouoff> and from Fordham University at www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/periplus.asp). Rhapta exported ivory, rhinoceros horn, seashells, and its people were described as "tall and piratical". Archaeology supports descriptions of India and the Horn of Africa in the Periplus, and Chami (1999) identified Roman beads in the Rufiji delta, so the Periplus may also be accurate about East Africa. But the location of Rhapta remained for long unsure and historians believed that the trade diminished quite abruptly leaving little contact between east Africa and the Mediterranean or Asian trade systems until 800AD. In contrast Chami (1998,1999) indicates that trade was continuous throughout the first millenium CE, and also argues for identifying Kilwa with Rhapta. Earlier historians have disagreed about the identity of the mainland populations involved with the trade (for example whether they were Bantu speakers, Cushitic speakers, or at what time iron-using Bantu speakers had reached the coast).

By 800 AD there was a mosque in the Lamu archipelago and by 1200 a chain of trading towns had developed on the east African coast from Mogadishu to Mozambique. Slaves were taken in the 9th century to Basra where they worked salt and drained marshes. But they revolted and slave export declined for some centuries. Gold was traded northward to Europe, the Middle East, and India. The gold trade with Great Zimbabwe (where a coin minted at Kilwa on the Tanzanian coast has been found) flourished in the early 14th century but decreased soon after, perhaps because the price of gold dropped severely after the depopulation of Europe from the Black Death (Sutton 1990:84, 1997). Trade goods reached into the interior of Tanzania and Uganda already by the 1200s and 1300s (Westerberg 2010, Robertshaw 1999). Archaeologists have found glass beads from Iran and southern Asia in many locations in inland east and southern Africa dated from 800 AD onward (Robertshaw et al 2010).

From the 13th century onward exports of ivory and slaves continued and developed. The dominant coastal destinations became focussed further north, trade diminishing at Sofala in present day Mozambique and increasing at Kilwa in Tanzania. During this period the coastal Bantu speakers continued to acquire foreign ways, materials, vocabulary (the origin of Kiswahili) and literacy in Arabic. In 1505 the Portuguese took over the east African coast towns, initially to protect their trade routes to India, subsequently because the trade in slaves to their colonies in Brazil and ivory to Europe became more profitable. During the 1600s there were mentions of slaves at the east coast but the number still seemed limited. In 1696-98 Omanis besieged and captured the Portuguese Fort Jesus in Mombasa and resumed control of much of the coastal trade. Slaves were exported to plantations on the French owned islands in the Indian Ocean from 1735, to the middle east, and to the new world. The majority of slaves at this time were traded from the area of Lake Nyasa (Malawi). Iliffe (1979:40) suggests that in 1776 the only inland trade route was from Kilwa to Nyasa but the trade was increasing. A French adventurer (Morice) in 1776 contracted to receive 1000 slaves per year from the king of Kilwa. Alpers(1975) estimated that 1500-2000 slaves a year were exported from the Swahili coast in the later 1700s. Export of ivory and slaves grew at increasing pace into the later years of the 19th century.

A trade route along the Ruaha valley to Ukimbu in interior southern Tanzania had developed by 1825 and between 1820 and 1830 15,000 slaves p.a. were exported. By 1831 coast traders were reaching Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika. Between 1846 and 1858 there was a tenfold increase in ivory prices. In the 1850s plantations on Zanzibar and nearby mainland absorbed many slaves and the 1850s saw the peak of both the southern, central and northern routes across Tanzania. By 1852 traders were traveling as far as Katanga and Buganda and had bases at Tabora and Ujiji. Ivory prices continued to grow, more than tripling between 1850 and 1890 and elephants were hunted as far inland as Congo in the 1860s. Some authors have discussed the evidence about depletion of elephants and the spread of trade far into the interior. Tippu Tib (Brode 1907) with extensive first hand knowledge of trade as far inland as Congo, argued that it was best to go to areas where the local people had little experience of trade and no understanding of the value of ivory. This would presumably motivate a faster exploration than would the depletion of elephants.

The trade routes into inland Tanzania became fairly standardized. The best known and apparently busiest was the central route through today's Dodoma, and Tabora to Lake Tanganyika at Ujiji, and north to Lake Victoria. Powerful, densely populated kingdoms west of Lake Victoria were visited. This was the route followed in 1857 by Burton (1859,1861), and Speke (1863) on their quest for the source of the Nile. Another, northerly route that passed Arusha and Engaruka on its way to Lake Victoria was described by Arab and Indian traders to German missionaries in 1855-56. Engaruka is at the foot of the rift, some 50 km north of Mto wa Mbu and Lake Manyara, and was watered by the same sources as Lake Empakai. Thus Westerberg and colleagues were able to relate the rises and falls of Engaruka to local rainfall and water supply as well as to coast trade and eventually, during the 1700s to the arrival of Maasai. A later route was described to Farler (1882) that passed through Ngorongoro. It describes many "Dorobo"

in Serengeti but makes no obvious mention of Hadza and the Farler map does not even show Lake Eyasi. These traders' accounts, as recorded and perhaps as recounted, made no mention of difficulties and destruction along the way such as Burton describes in goriest detail for his British readership.

The main trade routes must have been served by many smaller "feeder routes" and by the neighbors and outliers of the major empires that arose along the routes. Particularly well known was the Nyamwezi conglomerate, centered around Tabora and reaching to Lake Tanganyika and through its northern representatives, Sukuma, to Lake Victoria and its kingdoms. It is most likely because of their links to this power center that Sukuma, Iramba and Isanzu visited the Hadza to hunt ivory and take away women and children. Nyamwezi was in control of much of the trade until late in the 19th century. The caravans stopped quite abruptly after 1890 when Rinderpest devastated the countryside.

Historians have noted the rivalries and wars involved in the development and maintenance of these inland trading empires. These may have taken as heavy a toll on the local populations as did the capture of slaves, removal of their labor, and precautions taken to lower the probability of being captured. The demographic effects of disruption may have been at least as great as the effects of loss of people (men, women and children were taken, usually more men but the loss of women was also significant and is demographically powerful).

Thus many of the local raids and wars had to do with capturing people to trade as slaves or perhaps even more, to capturing control over the trade. A variety of tricks and subterfuges were used to get people to leave their homeland, like offers of employment and rapid return never to be fulfilled (Kusimba 2004). But controlling who sold them to the caravans, who led the caravans and collected the cloth and other trade goods to be distributed on return home may have engendered much more warfare. The history of the late 18th and entire 19th century cannot be taken as representative of previous or following times. To the historian every time is special. Someone is always jockeying for power, trying to get a bit richer. But the contexts in which they do this can change. In this period they changed more massively than is likely to have been the case in many other periods.

The German colonial conquest (1885-1907) was superimposed on this background of chieftainly competition and economic disruption. The Germans seemed to choose poorly among the chiefs they enlisted as allies. As a result their conquest involved quite extreme tactics including burning houses and harvests, aimed at ruling by fear not by admiration, cooperation, or convenience. An eventual result, not surprisingly, was more unity among different groups of Tanzanians in opposition to the Germans. By 1895 the Germans had subdued most of the country as far as the west side of Lake Victoria. Several revolts occurred and finally the Maji-Maji revolt in south east Tanzania which kept the German army busy from 1905 to 1907. By 1910 slave movements had stopped. By 1911 the railway reached Moshi, and by 1914 its central branch followed the old trade route all the way to Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika. Then World War 1 began and the German army in Tanzania began a long drawn out contest with the British based in Kenya. Both forces collected food from the local populace wherever they went. Both forces employed

some 100 thousand carriers on less than normal wages for native laborers. After the war the League of Nations delegated control of Tanganyika to Britain. Despite the human cost of the German conquest and defense of their colony, the Germans accomplished an extraordinary amount of geographical and scientific exploration. Baumann, Dempwolff, Reche, and Obst were examples but the Deutsches Kolonial-Lexicon of 1920 is a remarkable display of information, including a map of estimated population densities. (<http://www.ub.bildarchiv-dkg.uni-frankfurt.de/Bildprojekt/Lexicon/lexicon.htm>)

SI 3.2. Margit Kohl-Larsen and archaeology.

Although Renner (1991) published a catalog of Kohl-Larsen materials under the title “The man who found Lucy’s Ancestor” (at nearby Olduvai), Annette Wagner found a copy of Margit Kohl-Larsen’s diary and realized that the excavations were in fact entirely directed and recorded by Mrs Kohl-Larsen. All the publications appeared under Ludwig’s name, some paragraphs verbatim from his wife’s diary. But Kohl-Larsen’s name is in fact a combination of his name (Ludwig Kohl) with his wife’s name (Margit Larsen). This versatile and interesting explorer published some of the earliest anthropological individual life histories (e.g. Kohl-Larsen 1956).

SI 3.3. Tills et al (1982) taxonomy by proteins.

The earliest attempts to see to whom Hadza are most closely related and where Hadza fall in the human family used wildly inadequate methods (Obst, Reche, head shape), and the use of dermatoglyphics by Barnicott and colleagues in the 1970s has to be of very limited value. But another early paper by the International Biological Program (IBP) group (Tills et al. 1982) using blood group, protein and red cell enzyme polymorphisms was surprisingly prophetic. It suggested great genetic distance between Hadza, San, Pygmy and Sandawe.

SI 3.4. Tables listing visitors to Hadza.

Table 1. The early German explorers who travelled through Hadza country.

Year	Author	Occupation	sponsors	Documents
1892-93	Baumann		German Anti-slavery Commission, G East Africa Railway company,	1894 Book 1894 Journal article

1892-93	C.W. Werther	1st Lieutenant 2nd Pomeranian Field Artillery Regt 17		1894 book
1893-94	G.A. Graf von Götzen	Lieut Royal Prussian 2nd Gard ülanenregiment	?	1895 book
1896-97	C.W. Werther	1st Lieutenant 2nd Pomeranian Field Artillery Regt 17	Irangi Gesellschaft	1898 book
1906-7	Dr. Fritz Jaeger	Privatdozent in Geography, U of Heidelberg	German Nature Preservation Society	1911 Book

Table 2. The sources of observations on the Hadza. (double line separates each quarter of the century).

Year	Author	Occupation	Sponsors	Documents
1910	Dempwolff	Army physician Linguist	German colonial army	Journal article
1911	Obst	Privatdozent, Geography, U.of Marburg	Geog. Soc. of Hamburg	Journal papers and book
1917-23	Bagshawe	District officer	British Government	Journal article
1930	Dorothea Bleek	Linguist		Journal articles. Field notes
1931-38	Kohl-Larsen	Physician, Explorer	?	Books, Photos, Collection
1945-47	Cooper	Game Officer	British Government	J. article photogrpahs
1950	Fosbrooke	District Officer govt sociologist	Mus of Dar es Salaam	J.article Photos Collections
1958-61	Woodburn	Anthropologist		J. articles etc
1959	Jelliffe	Paediatrician	U of Kampala Med Sch	J article Photographs
1966	Tomita	Anthropologist		J article
1966-67	Nigel Barnicot	Physical anthropologist	Internat.biol. Program	J articles Bennett, et al
1974-77	Lars C.Smith	Anthropologist	Harvard Univ.	Census data
!980-81	W.McDowell	Anthropologist		Reports toTanzania gov
1982-84	Annie Vincent	Archaeologist	UC Berkeley	J article, thesis
1982, 1985-97	NBJ, KH, JO'C	Anthropologists, Archaeologist	UCLA, U. of Utah	J articles
1986, 1989	Henry Bunn	Archaeologist	U of Wisconsin	J articles
1990	Ladefoged, et al	Linguists	UCLA	Working paper
1992	Sands	Linguist	UCLA	PhD thesis

SI 3.5. Twentieth century events in the Eyasi basin.

For the Eyasi basin we cannot match the depth of written history available for the Ache (1630s, Hill & Hurtado 1996: 45), or even relevant to the !Kung (mid to late 1800s) and other Khoisan peoples (1652, Howell 1979:10). I have found no definite written or mapped reference to the existence of Lake Eyasi until Baumann's visit in 1892. However, Erhardt & Rebmann's 1855 "Slug Map" (Krapf 1860), built from accounts by coastal and indigenous inland traders appears to show two unlabelled lakes south of Oldonyo Lengai that could represent lakes Manyara and Eyasi. Apparently the major trade and tumult passed Eyasi by until the German exploration. But this does not guarantee that the Eyasi Basin and the Hadza were totally unaffected, local trade can far outreach the well-known trade routes.

In 1892 Baumann (1894) descended southward from the highlands west of Oldeani mountain to visit Lolpiro at the very north shore of Lake Eyasi in eastern Hadza country. Baumann's travels in 1892 were shortly after the Rinderpest outbreak in 1890, during the German exploration and pacification, while internal slave trade was still ongoing, and the ivory trade was in full swing. Several German groups visited the Eyasi area between 1892 and Obst's 1911 visit. Baumann (1894) was the first to report the existence of the Hadza but he, like Werther (1894, 1898), Jaeger (1911), and Gotzen (1895), each of whom travelled through Hadza country, met no Hadza. All commented on them. They heard about them from their guides, saw empty camps, and were shown the pegs that Hadza use to climb Baobab trees. Hadza were probably close by but hiding. These "close encounters" were scattered through the general area that we have referred to as "traditional Hadza country". The accounts give evidence about contact between Hadza and their neighbors and the state of the surrounding countryside at the beginning of the 20th century. Obst was much more successful, spending 8 weeks with Hadza in their camps. His descriptions of the area and the Hadza are very familiar to modern eyes, little would appear to have changed except for the presence of modern clothing and absence of Rhinoceros. There is only sketchy demographic data from the early visitors but Obst in 1911, Bleek in 1930, and Kohl-Larsen between 1934 and 1939 measured a few people.

The Eyasi Basin is quite remote, and quite difficult to reach even today. On early maps it is marked as uninhabited, or as country of the Tindiga [Hadza] only. It has served as a barrier to travel, it is not on the way from anywhere to anywhere. The tsetse fly was a serious obstacle to herders until cattle medicines became widely available. The low and highly variable rainfall makes farming very unreliable. The notable exception is Mangola, where spring water feeds the onion fields and a road first built in the 1960s is maintained with difficulty by the village. The immigrant population at and around Mangola has climbed rapidly since the late 1970s. Before that, few but the Hadza and Datoga could be found in the basin. During our study period the entry and occupation of Hadza country by people with other economies has increased its pace. This requires us to

think about their possible past and present impacts upon Hadza and the ways Hadza might be able to exploit their presence.

In the earliest colonial days the country surrounding the Hadza seemed quite sparsely populated. Obst, coming from the south, walked for 4 days to cover the 80 km from Mkalama to Baragu, a small hill just south of Yaeda. He describes passing through Isanzu villages during the first day, houses becoming sporadic and finally ceasing during the second day. During the third and fourth day he passed through apparently empty country “a real resort for lions and leopards that every night circled around the camp and once even attacked our lead herd of cattle in daylight” (translation p 2). In the west, salt caravans visited Lake Eyasi from Sukumaland (Senior 1938). As they passed through western Hadza country Senior reports that the “last 40 miles of the road was common to both caravans [routes] and led through uninhabited bush.”

Since Obst (1912) and Dempwolff (1916) an increasing number of visitors have written accounts of the Hadza (see Marlowe, 2010, table 2.1). These accounts allow a fairly detailed picture of events in “Hadzaland” during the twentieth century. Hadza oral history covers much of the same period and I interviewed informants about some of the written history, particularly to extend our list of historical markers to use in estimating people’s ages. An important, and surprising feature of the previous accounts is that they are independent reports of different field visits, some apparently made in ignorance of the accounts by previous visitors (for example Bagshawe and Cooper both comment that they cannot read German). Thus the reports are not an accumulation of repetitions of earlier reports, they are first hand accounts of visits to the Hadza. Kohl-Larsen however, appears to report a mixture of his own observation with the descriptions by his Isanzu guides, and he does not always say which is which.

Eyasi basin 20th century history in detail.

I will now summarize the last 100 years or so of history immediately around the Hadza as best we can discern it. Sources vary from the flimsy to the rather convincing. I have divided the time into periods that I think are relevant to Hadza demography.

Period 1. Before the Maasai.

I assume from the Iramba oral history (Danielson 1961), and in the absence of contrary evidence, that Iraqw, Isanzu, Iramba and Sukuma were all in place, surrounding the Eyasi basin, in the first half of the 19th century. They had been interacting long enough with the Hadza to, by the time of Obst and Dempwolff, each have names for the Hadza. The Hadza too had names for the neighbors (SI 3.9).

Obst's (1912) and Bagshawe's (1924) informants told of Isanzu and Sukuma trading and raiding parties that used to come to hunt elephants, and that captured women

and children. Baumann travelled through western Hadza country with a group of Sukuma elephant hunters in June and July 1892 but met no Hadza. On his map he marked “Tindiga” (Hadza) over a large expanse of recent western Hadza country. Obst's informants said the raids had ceased because Elephants became scarce. Spinage (1973) documents the 1840 to 1890 export of ivory from east Africa and implies a severe and extensive decline in numbers of elephants beginning around 1890 and lasting into the early 1900s. Ivory was sought further from the coast (Sheriff 1980) and may have been for some centuries (Hakansson 2004). We might expect raids for women and children to have ceased when export of slaves from East Africa was officially ended in 1873. As noted above, most exported slaves were men, women were more often kept by their captors or traded locally. But internally, slaves continued to exist and their capture and sale gradually wound down during German rule (Iliffe 1980: 280).

We cannot date the raids and visits from these neighbors reported by early Hadza informants. But they apparently pre-dated the peak of the Maasai raids on everyone in the area that early informants reported. Obst, page 17-18 (tr p 10): “I attempted ... an investigation of the Wakindiga's history. ... They told me that as far as they could think back they were living together with the Wahi in the area between the Mangola river and the Mumba mountains and continuously had to lead bloody feuds with their neighbors, especially with the Waissansu and the Wamburu. Their power was already weakened when the Maasai began intruding from the north-east.” By Wahi Obst probably means Western Hadza, Wahi is the Sukuma name for Hadza. But the place names suggest a very small area, in which case Obst may be referring to someone else, such as Datoga. Alternatively, from many locations in Mangola it would be hard to tell whether someone was pointing across the lake to Dunduwi or just down to the shore of the lake at the small chain of hills marked near Mumba on some maps.

Oral history collected among several Iramba men by Daudi Kidamala (Danielson (1961) mentions “The Wanisanzu moved to Myadu, Mwagala and to the land of the Wakindiga [Hadza] because they were defeated by the Anankali in warfare.” No date is possible. Later we find “Long ago there was a Mmnyaturu, who became the slave of a Munisanzu. Every year they journeyed together to the Wakindiga. One time he discovered an elephant, which had died. He removed the tusks ... used the ivory to trade for hoes from the Wanyamwezi. After...[he] ... had grown up he was given his freedom and he returned home. After many years the Germans came to Kilimatinde”. “Many years” plus how ever long it took him to become “grown up” must take us back well beyond Baumann hearing about Hadza in 1892.

Datoga appear to have long occupied the Ngorongoro crater and Serengeti area. But we do not know whether they lived in the Eyasi basin at this time. They were expelled from the crater by Maasai in about 1840 (Borgerhoff-Mulder et al 1989), and Hadza informants seem to imply that some of the fleeing Datoga tried to live in the Eyasi basin for a while. Bagshawe at first says that “the Kangeju [Hadza] had the country to themselves”. But later in his paper he comments (p.117fn2) “Many years ago a large number of Kisamjeng Tatoga, under Saigile, took refuge from the Masai on the borders of Eyasi. They died in hundreds of dysentery.” He also reports a story in which Datoga

killed some Hadza who had obtained goats by trade, and talks of deaths from feuds between Hadza and “Dorroggo”.

In Tanzania Datoga are widely referred to as “Mangati”. Kohl-Larsen’s (1958, based on his fieldwork 1934 to 1936 and 1937 to 1939, translation p.46) informant Schungwitsa told him “In ancient times, when our grandfathers and grandmothers lived, they had enemies. The first enemies were the Mangati. It was during the night that the Mangati came. They surrounded us when we were celebrating the Epeme feast. The Mangati waited until we lay down to sleep. Then they broke out of the bush. Many of us were killed by their spears.” A truce was made, and: “Us Hadzapi who were born last, have never heard again that a war or quarrel happened between the Mangati and us Hadzapi.” Kohl-Larsen describes Schungwitsa as in his 30s when interviewed, but he already had several children (four of whom were still alive during our study, with average year of birth 1933). The mean age at childbirth for a Hadza man is 35. This would make Schungwitsa 40 in 1938, and born in 1898, Let us also assume this average for his father and grand father. Schungwitsa was born in 1898, his father in 1863, his grandfather in 1828. This is suggestively close to the time Datoga were expelled from the crater by Maasai.

So at least some Datoga may have been in the Eyasi area by 1900, and perhaps since their expulsion from Ngorongoro by Maasai in the early 1840s. But subsequent accounts, including Bleek (1931a, b) and Kohl-Larsen (1930s fieldwork) give no explicit description of them as occupants of this area. It is difficult to believe that such conspicuous and impressive people could go unnoticed and unmentioned, nor that so much grass could have gone un-exploited for so long although the area was very heavily infested with Tsetse flies until quite recently. But Tsetse are very localized, and Datoga until the mid 1990s seemed to avoid Tsetse habitat while successfully exploiting the Eyasi basin.

Period 2. The Maasai expansion to Eyasi.

Historians describe the Maasai as having expanded their range and influence during the 18th and early 19th centuries. Apparently they did it the imperial Roman way, by a mixture of conquest, conversion and absorption. Eventually they reached the Eyasi area. Oral histories of Hadza and of several of their neighbors include reference to wars with the Maasai.

Baumann’s map of his 1892 travels marks Maasai as living near Karatu and in the Mbulu highlands (where not marked as “Urwald” – original forest), and mentions them living in Ngorongoro (along with Dorobo), and in Serengeti. The Iramba oral history mentions Maasai raiding as far south as Kinyangiri (40 km due south of Mkalama) “But the sixth time the Masai were defeated, as the Kinyangiri people used guns, provided by the Arabs.” (so probably at a time before the Germans arrived at Mkalama). Another noted Maasai raider was ”Gussu and his Masai lived near Lake Eyasi north of Mkalama.

He conquered every time but finally discontinued the plunder of his own accord” (Danielson 1961: 74-75).

Obst’s informants gave striking testimony about the Hadza “wars” with the Maasai. These were still remembered by informants of Kohl-Larsen and Bleek, at opposite ends of Hadza country, in the 1930s. Jaeger (1911) reports that Maasai told Siedentopf (who farmed in Ngorongoro crater from 1899) that they had exterminated a large Hadza camp on the slopes of Oldeani (some report this as a Dorobo camp). Present day Hadza informants have pointed out to us a site on the edge of the Mbulu highlands where, several generations ago, Maasai killed a Hadza family as they slept. In rock paintings informants pointed out a kind of ladder used to climb on top of a rock to escape enemies (Hanby pers comm).

Obst reports “Their [Hadza] power was already weakened when the Maasai began intruding from the north-east. Why the Maasai came to this area nobody knows. The Wakindiga can not remember that they (the Wakindiga) ever owned cattle... Nevertheless the Wakindiga still know about desperate fights with the Maasai. They attempted under their (the Hadza’s) leaders Boiyoge and Wassaraguiaiu to get rid of the troublesome intruders but finally had to retreat from the power of the Maasai. The poor remnants of the Wahi who were crushed by the fight escaped into the grass and bush savanna west of Lake Eyasi. Some of them (one part of the Wahi) united themselves with the Wakindiga who chose the rocky heights between Yaeda and Eyasi valleys as a refuge and live there now in hordes of one to three families a poor existence as hunter and gatherers.” There is a potential confusion here between the Hadza, the western Hadza (called Wahi by the Sukuma), and the Datoga who Obst and his informants seem to really have in mind. Another indication of Maasai raids came from Obst’s informants, when asked about their religion told him that “the many wars have taken away the old, experienced men and the youthful survivors would remember only a few details.” Obst argues that this was not an obfuscation because “they allowed me a few times to participate in their religious events and one of them even decide to speak a prayer to Ischoye into my phonograph.”

Bleek 1931a wrote “The older men remember many raids of the Maasai till these were stopped by the advent of the Germans, also several famines which had induced them to leave Dondu and settle further south near the Isanzu;”. In Bleek’s notebooks there are many examples of sentences such as “The Maasai killed the bushman”, “the German shot the Maasai” but these may be numerous because of their convenience for discovering Hadza grammar. But there were also one or two deaths attributed to Maasai in the partial genealogies that she collected.

Kohl-Larsen (1958, translation page 46) continues “From the narrations by Schungwitscha it emerges that the main Tindiga enemies, in old times, were the Masai and Mangati. He told me about it on June 20th, 1938.” “also with the Masai, who in older times undertook many cattle raids to Isanzu land, and then passed through our land, we lived at war. When the Masai came to our land, I was the size of my son Masomo (8-12 years old). My father was called Urugu, my big father (uncle) Mkirumya, my mother

Shoga.” This would give a date, if Schungwitsa was born in 1898, of 1906-1910. Either Schungwitsa was older than my estimate above, or he is referring to Maasai raids that came after the Maasai collapse, perhaps as part of the increased raiding said to have occurred after Maasai lost their cattle to rinderpest in 1890 but rather late even for this. The end of Hadza troubles could best be dated from German colonial records of pacification in the Eyasi area if such exist. I could see no indication from the sections of the travelogues of the early German explorers (Goetzen 1905-1906, Werther 1896-97) that deal with Hadza whether they also had a military mission but most were military officers.

There follow in Kohl-Larsen’s interview of Schungwitsa two pages of detailed description of specific raids in which a total of five Hadza women were killed and several Maasai men were killed by Hadza arrows. One of the raids appeared to have been while Maasai were driving cattle stolen from the Iramba. At night the Hadza ambushed, killed and dispersed the Maasai and returned the cattle to an Isanzu “sultan Mau” who eventually returned a handful to the Iramba. After this Maasai returned again and “Very many Hadza were killed”. Even if the killings amount to a demographically small number, the fear of raids probably restricted women’s foraging and even men’s hunting.

Period 3. Emutai, the Maasai disaster.

In 1890 Rinderpest arrived in northern Tanzania, 95% of Maasai and Sukuma cattle died by 1892 (Sinclair 1979). Bovine pleuropneumonia had already assaulted Maasai herds. Raiding intensified, for the remaining cattle. Famine followed. Next an epidemic of Smallpox broke out, then chiggers (Acarini: Trombiculidae). Then cholera. Then a series of plagues of locusts, just to compete with the biblical plagues. Maasai recall this as the Emutai “wiping out”(Waller 1988). Gillson 2006 documents the accompanying series of severe droughts. Famines among farming societies followed, including one dated to 1900. Populations had been greatly reduced, the labor shortage perhaps being the cause of the repeated famines lasting to about 1920. Sinclair (1979) cites Swynnerton and Ford as attributing the spread of Tsetse flies to the growth of bush after the desertion of fields. Historians debate the reality of, and the reasons for an apparent decline or levelling of the Tanzanian population between 1890 and 1920.

Buffalo, Wildebeest and Giraffe suffered from Rinderpest and the animal population in Serengeti was greatly reduced. Hadza informants have never mentioned such a thing. Obst and Bagshawe indicate an abundance of game in the Eyasi basin. Sinclair (1979:5) attributes the several outbreaks of man-eating lions to the shortage of natural prey. Could this account for Bagshawe’s (1924:124) claim that “when watching for game at night, silent and without fire, they are at his mercy, and many of the best hunters are dragged away and eaten”? A tall story that might possibly be true. We know one man whose hand was badly mangled in a contest with a Lion over a zebra carcasse. Bagshawe’s account contrasts markedly with recent experiences of Hadza with still numerous Lions. One Hadza told O’Connell: “We had a lot of trouble with Lions last night at the Salameda, they came so close we had to stand up and shake our shukas at

them”. Woodburn, in conversation with Konner and I, contrasted our reports of !Kung caution in scavenging from lions with the Hadza method: run up to them shouting. Marlowe (2010) describes Hadza sometimes using the cautious approach of the !Kung. Perhaps Lions are hungrier again.

Sinclair (1979) writes that wild ungulates developed immunity to rinderpest and their populations recovered by 1910. This provided a reservoir of Trypanosomes and an extended diet for Tsetse flies. People fled further from the Tsetse. More countryside became empty. Periodic epizootics of rinderpest continued (1917-1918, 1923, 1938-41. Again Hadza informants said nothing about such events. The copious plant foods would be scarcely affected.

Period 4. Pax Germanica. 1888 to 1919

German control of the interior of mainland Tanzania and their control of the trade to the coast comprised a long drawn series of diplomatic blunders, gruesome conquests, rebellions, and counter-conquests which lasted from around 1888 to 1910 (Iliffe 1979). The district administrative centers were a series of fortifications, including the startling “castle” on a hilltop in Mkalama from which Obst began his journey into Hadza land in May 1911. The German administration’s “boma” at Mbulu opened in 1906. In Mkalama Obst mentions the square of Indian owned stores around the market square, exactly as one sees there today. The gold mine at Senkenke in Shinyanga had opened in 1909. It closed in 1959 and recently reopened. A belt of gold bearing rock stretches south east from there, well clear of Hadzaland. Eventually German might prevailed and a brief period of stability ensued. It hardly deserves to be anointed as “Pax Germanica”. But for the Hadza it seems to have been exactly that.

Previous raiders had to desist. The slave caravans finally ceased to exist (by 1910). Hadza did not mention the slave trade, how could they know where the stolen women and children had gone? The Maasai could not longer expand. Thus Kohl-Larsen’s informant “Tschungwitsa” (from his children we came to know him as Sigwadzi), after describing the wars with the Maasai, ended his account “When we lived there the Germans arrived. When the Germans arrived, it became quiet in the land, and we returned to our old camps. We [had] lived there [near the Isanzu] a whole year. The fighting with the Masai from this time on had died”. “We were very many people. We lived from the Usukuma mountains to the slopes of Oldeani.” Hadza still do!

At the south-west end of Hadzaland, Bleek reports (1931a) “The older men remember many raids of the Maasai till these were stopped by the advent of the Germans”. Thus there is plausible evidence that Hadza had been threatened by the Maasai expansion until some combination of Rinderpest, Tsetse flies, and the German administration stopped the Maasai from expanding into the Eyasi area. We do not know exactly when the Maasai raids on the Hadza ended. I had assumed that the Emutai would have brought these raids to an end. But raiding intensified, for a while at least. The Hadza

informants attribute the end of Maasai raids to the Germans. The literature shows that the Germans were still trying to “pacify” the country up until 1910. Homewood et al (2009 Table 1.1) list “1900-1910 ... Conflict with Germans further undermines Maasai”. If Hadza were subjected to raids, first by Isanzu, Sukuma, Iraqw, and then by Maasai from sometime well before 1890 all the way to 1910 this might have had a significant effect on the Hadza population.

Linked to Dempwolff (1916), Obst (1912), and their material culture collections published by Reche (1914), the early accounts present a fairly clear picture of conditions that surrounded the Hadza at around 1900. That neighbors had names for the Hadza (Table 3.1) shows some contact, as does the knowledge of Baumann's guides and the ability of Obst and Dempwolff to find interpreters, and the existence of Hadza names for each of their neighbors

The early explorers who traveled through the Eyasi area do not directly state whether anyone but Hadza occupied the area. They describe the area as "uninhabited", like much of the surrounding country. Neighboring populations were quite localized, according to the early maps and published travel diaries. But we should suspect that much of this "uninhabited" country was used at least as seasonal grazing, and wonder to what extent the writers simply overlooked small settlements, isolated homesteads, and Datoga herders.

Even if surrounding country mapped as uninhabited really was truly uninhabited, we note that several of the centers of population were in locations that became the administrative and commercial centers of today. Today no Hadza camp is more than two full days walk from one of these, with water available at several points en route. So a hundred years ago Hadza camps can have been no more than 2-3 days walk from some center of population (Mbulu, Karatu, Mkalama, Dongobesh). Even if the intervening country filled up in the meantime, when first described no Hadza lived more than two days walk from farmers, where iron, cotton, beads etc were available. Although Baumann described the Hadza as so shy that even the "Makua" (itinerant, indigenous ivory hunters) seldom caught a glimpse of them, Baumann, Dempwolff and Obst indicate that Hadza traded honey and skins for iron, beads and metal decorations. No writer has reported other than iron and wood arrow heads among the Hadza.

These accounts show that even between 1890 and 1910 the Hadza could not be classified as isolated, they were clearly in contact with a variety of neighbors, although their country has been described as inhospitable and difficult to access. The passage of the earliest German explorers through Hadza country illustrates that Hadza were not geographically removed from events in world history. That these travelers met no Hadza, starkly illustrates that geographic proximity is no guarantee of interaction.

Period 5. 1919. The British. And the Isanzu girls.

British rule arrived in the person of Bagshawe (1917-1923), a local administrator in charge of the transition from German to British rule at the end of World War 1. Bagshawe travelled in Hadza country in search of a party of escaping Germans (among them Siedentoff). Bagshawe talks of Isanzu moving to live in the bush to escape famine and reports that at this time several Isanzu girls married Hadza men. This unusual reversal of the widespread pattern by which hunter-gatherers lose women to wealthy farmers did not last long but descendants can be found among today's Hadza. So too can descendants of Isanzu men who settled among the Hadza, married Hadza women, and perhaps "became" Hadza.

Bagshawe, and later Cooper (1949), talk of the hut tax started by the Germans and maintained by the British. They claim that some Isanzu tried to escape the tax by moving to live among or near the Hadza. Both also talk of game laws and their more lenient policy toward the Hadza, still followed today. Both describe Hadza as excellent trackers and attempted to employ them as guides and trackers, with very limited success. Few were willing to leave home for long.

Johnson (1923), discussing Kiniramba and the area where it is spoken writes "The north is practically uninhabited for a considerable stretch excepting for a small bush tribe, the Kindiga, who wander about the country round Lake Eyasi and in the Yaida valley".

Period 6. A quiet time, 1920 – 1961.

The period between 1920 and the early 1960s seems to have been quite uneventful in Hadza country. But a German farm was started at Mangola (see below), and another above Yaeda (Richard Baalo pers comm). There was more European activity in the Mangola area in the 1930s than Kohl-Larsen described. McDowell (1981a) reports that a German farmer named Schnabbe began to farm near the Balai at Mangola in 1928, on a site farmed continuously until today. Older Hadza describe one "Oban" (O'Brian), a white man who came, built a house by the river and tried to farm. I was shown the very obvious remains of the house on the north side of the springs at Qand'end. Oban left "when his King called him to go to the war" (world war 2). The springs have also been described as a place to which white people came from the highlands to camp and swim and go away again. The presence of these Europeans might explain why Kohl-Larsen, unlike Obst, made no comment on Hadza fear and astonishment at seeing a white person. That this reaction continued among children was brought home to me when, hoping to add another age marker, I cross examined Gudo on where he was living, with who, and how big he was, when he first saw James Woodburn. He supported his claims with "you wouldn't forget a thing like that".

In the surrounding highlands more foreign farmers arrived, establishing wheat and coffee farms. An unexpected indication of the surrounding foreign presence can be gained from the dates of British postmarks from surrounding locations: mail could be

sent, slowly no doubt, from Mbulu by 1920, Kondoia 1920, Shinyanga 1924, Mkalama 1926, Singida 1926, and even from Oldeani village by 1934 (www.ntz.info/gen/n00002.html). The administration encouraged Iraqw to expand northward into the Karatu – Mbulumbulu highland area where clearance schemes had reclaimed bush from the Tsetse fly. This formed a barrier against Maasai approaching Hadzaland from the east. But there was no barrier to the north and west and apparently there were some Maasai in the Mangola area in the 1930s. Our older female informants, looking at one of Kohl-Larsen's photographs, said that Hadza women used to try to dress like Maasai to avoid harassment.

World War 2 seemed to have affected the Hadza little. They noted the departure of the Englishman O'Brien from Mangola and have listed for us 6 Hadza men who left to join the "Kayar", K.A.R., Kings African Rifles. Some of these men returned and lived to ripe old ages. Nationwide the toll on labor (much more of a problem for farmers and herders) may have been quite substantial but not as disruptive as during WW1. After WW2 more British and WaIraqw farmers were encouraged to settle the highlands around Karatu. Some German farms endure in that area, in name at least.

In the 1950s Pastor Lud Melander began to visit the Hadza, on a donkey they say. Based in Isanzu country, his Isanzu evangelist, Elisabeti continued to visit after Melander was posted elsewhere. Some years later they were followed by Pastor Bob Ward, initially based in Kirumi, and a key source on the history of the Munguli settlement.

Period 7. The end of British Rule. Independence 1961.

For the first few years of our fieldwork a wonderful symbol of the post war loss of empire lay rusting beside the road at Oldeani. The corpse of a British car, a humble post-war model, slowly turned from sprightly relic to barely visible pile of rust. Its neglect symbolized the views once expressed by a surprising number of country people: "why did you leave, the Swahilis can't do anything right". They apparently remember the colonial times as peaceful and fair, the new times perhaps brought them more uncertainty. An aging Briton could be inclined to agree with them about a less complicated time. But reading the history, I have to disagree, to the extent that most of the changes since independence were more actively pursued and clearly intended for the well being of average country people, if strongly "farmer-centric". The first fruits of independence were almost universal primary school, and rural health clinics quickly spread far and wide. Others were not so popular, at least among Hadza. The major attempts to settle the Hadza, so they could be provided with schooling and health care, occurred in 1964 – 1965. They are described below.

A Tsetse clearance scheme in the Eyasi basin, described by Woodburn (1962) is remembered by many older Hadza. According to Woodburn this scheme ended in 1963 (Woodburn 1968a fn 7 p 51). But the arrival of effective cattle medicines enabled herders to make more use of the Eyasi basin.

One of the unintended consequences of the centrally controlled economy that followed may have indirectly benefited the Hadza cultural conservatism. Because of the centrally controlled agricultural price system farmers had little incentive to grow more than needed for their own consumption. The government paid late, if at all, road-blocks were set up that stopped people transporting food from one locality to sell in another. Import controls paralyzed other business activity, including transport. The market and the economy wound down. There was relatively little migration into Hadza country. Eventually, either because of population pressure (the national population was growing at 3% p.a.), or because of the removal of many central controls over the markets, more and more people moved down into the Eyasi Basin and tried to farm.

Period 8. Into our study period, 1970 – 2000.

Since the mid 1960s the pace of change in Hadza country appears to have increased, especially after the economic liberalization of 1986. The Eyasi Basin is still relatively isolated, with poor infrastructure, only two maintained roads, neither of them paved, few vehicles, no communications, no piped water and no electricity. Eventually Mangola was included in a new cell phone system from 2000. Parts of the Eyasi basin have been filling up with people. Although already by 1900 enclosed by people of other tribes and economies, Hadza are now closely enclosed and almost invaded. By the end of the twentieth century the Hadza shared the area with many others. Especially striking was the growth of a million shilling per hectare onion industry in Mangola.

The air surveys described in chapter 2 show density of houses and bomas. These show that most growth of habitation has been in the Mangola area and that houses may have decreased around Yaeda since 1977. A table labeled “total houses” and showing areas that allow us to make the 1977 survey more comparable to the later ones, nonetheless does not use the same categories as the later surveys. The national census reports for the wards may be more reliable and these show a great increase, partly reflecting immigration.

“Swahili” farmers continued to colonize the Balai delta around Mangola. In 1978 the Tanzania National Census recorded 6846 people in Mangola ward. The 2002 census recorded 16568. Villagers and farmers were distributed from Entii, through Mangola and Barazani, and extending along the lakeshore north as far as Endamagha and the boundary of the Ngorongoro conservation area.

The area under cultivation has increased, there is a massive difference between the 1972 national survey air photos of the Mangola area and today. Areas of berry bushes that Hadza exploited have been cleared (Tomita 1966, McDowell 1981, personal observation). Forest in the Balai valley has been cleared for charcoal (demanded by the towns, and the tourist hotels and their staff). The Balai delta now supports a vigorous onion industry. Trucks ship out onions daily. The first case of AIDS in Mangola was diagnosed in 1991. Although HIV has now been recorded in Hadza at Mangola,

demographic effects have yet to become evident. A fish farm has been constructed at Mikocheni, and a German owned and managed farm continues at Mangola. A prison (not the massive structure American readers will picture) has been built at Entii. Herders from the highlands pioneered the area, moving down from the highlands in 1948 (McDowell 1981, Kohl-Larsen 1958 preface) adding their livestock to any Datoga herds already there. The air surveys show that livestock numbers did not increase between 1977 and 1992. We do not know whether they have increased since then but most Mangola householders own a few goats at least.

Immigration continues, even though late in our study there were signs that resident farmers felt under increasing pressure for land and water. That those who issue permits to new residents stand to benefit from their votes in subsequent elections must surely weaken the restraints the government attempts to set on potential overcrowding. The irrigation farming, mostly for onions, provides a significant cash crop, a fact we found close to the top of the minds of European aid officers in the district headquarters. So close, that their immediate interpretation of pleas from Hadza about the loss of their land was to see this as a threat to the “onion GDP”! Hadza regard the Mangola area as long lost and are much more concerned with farmers from the highlands who try to cultivate the bush, and with the way Datoga alter water holes in ways that impair access for wild animals.

The successful agriculture around Mangola is all by irrigation and the source of this water is the Ngorongoro highlands. These are still well forested but if illegal logging becomes as frequent here as elsewhere, the rich onion industry will be at risk. Above Mangola, visible below the forest edge is the “new” village of Makorombo. The village and its fields line the edge of the NCA forest for some miles. We have observed that it is a source of doubtfully legal competition with the Hadza for access to game on the mountainside savanna.

All over Tliika there are Datoga herders. Early in our study the herders seemed to use the hills of the Kidelu range rather little but as time went by their seasonal use of the grass in this essential Hadza area seemed to extend. Datoga based on the lakeshore plain bring their cattle into the Kidelu mountains for longer periods each dry season. The main complaint of Hadza in the Kidelu range was that Datoga modify the water holes in ways which make it impossible for wild animals to drink. Datoga residences increased especially at the southern end of the hills.

In the south, pioneer Isanzu farmers cut their way ever northward through the forest, extending their range into traditional Hadza country. The census population of Mwangeza Ward (which includes Munguli) grew from 2445 in 1978 to 12,414 in 2002. At about 6% per year, double the national rate, this suggests much immigration to the ward.

Wairaqw farmers have invaded the Siponga region in which Woodburn did much of his fieldwork between 1958 and '61. Large expanses, which middle aged men remember hunting over, are now rock strewn desert, with just a light covering of thorn

bushes. The clearing for fields and charcoal, and other development on the highlands apparently affected the flow of the Udahaya river, and the water supply at Yaeda and Endadubu. The Udahaya river has apparently brought less and less water to the lowlands. The hills from which it originates are now entirely deforested and cultivated. The gallery forest of the river course is inexorably being removed as farmers try to settle further and further down the river into the lowlands.

A few WaIraqw farmers are more or less resident here and there elsewhere in the area. They consistently occupy the land to the east above 1600 m, which seems to be a lower altitude limit for sustainable agriculture without irrigation. The population of Masieda Ward (which corresponds roughly to the Siponga of Woodburn's day) had a population of 12,149 in 2002 (National census).

The population of Yaeda Ward decreased slightly between 1978 and 2002. The village at Yaeda, though smaller than before still is home to some farmers, the ward secretary, and a dispenser. Apparently the reason for Yaeda's decline is that less water descends from the highlands than formerly. Some attribute this to increased and intensified agriculture on the highlands, Bashai on the highlands immediately above Yaeda, is a center of Garlic cultivation. Deforestation may play some role but has perhaps been a more significant factor around the Udahaya.

West of Lake Eyasi, already in 1992 the border of the newly granted Hadza village was a sharp line separating bush from devastation. Sukuma cotton farmers appear able to quickly transform bush into white sand. Paji in the west, where Lars Smith visited Hadza in the late 1970s, is now bare and harbors no Hadza. Hadza in the west told me that they had been given a chunk of land but they were not allowed to hunt. They had tales of vigorous enforcement, and several Hadza had been jailed for "poaching". One older man, who ironically had spent most of his life farming at Munguli, and indeed had been instrumental in the founding of the Munguli settlement, was arrested in the west for hunting and died in prison. This extraordinary situation is difficult to understand. It has all the marks of the tragic history of many N American native groups. Hadza must indeed have believed that "the government" would keep its word and pay them "to sit and eat" in exchange for giving up their normal lives. Apparently this was mainly so big-spending westerners could more easily shoot wild game with guns and pay the government insufficiently large fees. Western Hadza felt they were scapegoats for poaching run by others, including, they believed, the guards and scouts of the safari company.

McDowell (1981a) attributes these incursions to population increase in the highlands as documented by Kurji (1978) and evident in the national censuses. Kurji (nd) compared population density around Tanzania's National Parks between 1957 and 1967, showing considerable increase in density, much of it a result of migration, presumably toward the economic opportunities arising from the parks. His results show the great increase in population in the areas around Mbulu and Karatu.

McDowell, and Schultz (1971), argue that Hadza country is much less rewarding for agriculture than the well watered highlands. The rainfall data support this view. Farming by irrigation, using the water that descends the rift wall, is still by far the most successful farming in Hadza country north of Munguli (rainfall increases as one moves south, Kaduna (1982) and Brooke (1967)). Farming is conducted by irrigation at Yaeda, at Mangola, Mikochei, and Endamagha. Farming by rainfall seems to produce variable, often unsatisfactory results. Fields appear to fail in most locations below 1600m altitude, except where irrigation is possible. Yet the amount of land cleared for farming has steadily increased, and it seldom recovers. When immigrants from the highlands try to farm away from irrigation they clear bush to make fields. Their crops usually fail and they either clear somewhere else, or move away. The cleared "fields" take a very long time to regenerate. The processes outlined by McDowell and Tomita continue. Farmers clear fields, cut more trees for building and firewood, and charcoal sales. In some years they get a harvest and others are encouraged to come. In bad years they hang on by the charity of relatives in the rainy highlands. The country has no chance to recover. Hadza land is in the grip of an environmental "ratchet" that tightens in rainy years, and does not loosen in dry years when recovery of natural vegetation is slow. The contrast with the excellent agricultural climate of the highlands (> 800mm rain p.a.) probably accounted (along with the Tsetse fly) for the lack of agricultural settlements in the area at the time of the earlier travelers. Goats are probably another impediment to regeneration of all significant plant species, and most immigrants, wisely for their short - term interests, wish to bring a few goats with them.

While Hadza were losing land and natural resources they were gaining neighbors. Neighbors are occasional employers in one or two locations, and potential trading partners. While Hadza will readily talk about how their land is being ruined, this does not stop them welcoming any particular newcomer and striking a personally favorable bargain with him. People are resources too (Draper 1989).

SI 3.6. Translation of Obst 1912.

Go to SI contents list for Gabriel Kopahl's translation of Obst 1912.

SI 3.7. Evidence for continuity during 20th century.

The 1998 drafts for a paper on change and continuity based on previous accounts of the Hadza are linked to the SI contents list as "BlurtonJones1998HistoryDraft". There are tables, and extracts from the original sources.

SI 3.8. McDowell 1981 report on Hadza history.

Each of William McDowell's 1981 reports are viewable as pdf files from the SI contents list.

SI 3.9. Names of tribes: some linguistic evidence for contact between Hadza and their neighbors.

Neighbor	Hadza name for neighbors	Neighbors name for Hadza	Sources
Isanzu	Shamo	Tindiga	Dempwolff-2
Iramba	Shamo	Akindiga	Dempwolff-2
Bugwe	Damarika	Wanege	Dempwolff -2
Iraqw	Kesemeangu	Hagite	Dempwolff / Mous
Datoga	Mangati	Hagidega	Mous pers comm. Berger
Maasai	!unguweya		Dempwolff /
Sukuma	Dunduwiya	Wahi, Baashi, Baahi	Dempwolff-2 / Prof. H. Batibo

My request for information on Datoga and Iraqw names for Hadza were circulated around several very helpful people, to whom many thanks. They included Ole Bjorn Rekdal, Maarten Mous, Dan Sellen, Roland Keissling. I have been unable to discover why Bagshawe used the name Kangeju for Hadza.

The argument was that by the early years of the 20th century Hadza already had names for their neighbors and were known to their neighbors. Modern usage may differ a little. For example Sands and Miller (Sands pers comm.2015) list Ilambeda for Isanzu, and for Iramba. Mangati should be written Mang’ati. Dempwolff’s !unguweya for Maasai would be more grammatically and orthographically correct as !’unguwe. Likewise Sukuma should be Dunduhi.

SI 3.10. More about the neighbors.

Hadza country is surrounded by areas occupied by representatives of three major language families: Cushitic speaking Iraqw on the highlands to the east; Bantu speaking Isanzu to the south and south-west. The most populous neighbors of Western Hadza are the Bantu speaking Wasukuma. Nilotic speaking Maasai have been formidable neighbors in the past and today adjoin Hadza country in the north at Endulen and in the west near the Maswa game reserve. Nilotic speaking Datoga live everywhere in Hadza country. These are larger populations, and their country encloses administrative centers, main roads, and tourist attractions. Some information is available about their recent history and current status. See SI contents list “The Neighbors and the Nation”.

SI 3.11. On population history.

Growth of neighboring and national populations.

Mbulu district 1900: Walraqw 1900 from Winter & Molyneaux 1963. Mbulu district 1995 from Meindertsmas & Kessler 1997. Districts have been divided from time to time. To the best of my knowledge these numbers are for comparable boundaries. r is rate of increase (1978-2002) from: $\ln(\text{pop2}) - \ln(\text{pop1}) / \text{years}$

Year	Hadza	Mangola ward	Yaeda ward	Mwangeza	Mbulu district	Tanzania
1900					26000	
1948					72528	7.4M 1.8%
1957					90288 2.44%	8.7M
1967					163500	12.3M
1978	684	6846	9293	2445	193531	17.5M 2.8%
1988					266841	23.1M 2.8%
1995					348117 3.8%	
2002	822	16568	5960	12414		34.4M
r	1.5%	3.7%	-1.8%	6.7%	3.8%	2.8%

The population history of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century is difficult to determine, and rather contested. Many point to the evidence about slave trade and suggest that Iliffe’s sources were experiencing the effects of de-population, not an emptiness of any significant duration. Some historians think the total population of mainland Tanzania (Tanganyika) decreased during the period of the slave trade and colonial conquest. There have been several attempts to calculate the demographic effects of the slave trade. Whether it generated a net decrease or not, it must have at least slowed the growth of populations. The disruption caused by slave trade and by warfare may have had more severe demographic effect than the actual losses of slaves and war casualties. Discussions of effects of pacification neglect the likely lag in the economic effects of lowered adult mortality. Some attend to possible positive feedback between epidemics, such as Rinderpest, and ecological changes such as the spread of Tsetse (Ford 1971, Kjekshus 1977), others ignore or dispute them.

The first national household census was in 1948. Before that, as in 1921, 1928, 1931, estimates were indirect, based on estimates by local officials who varied in their methods and enthusiasm, or on multiplying the male tax roles by an estimate of number of dependants (reviewed in Walters 2008). German population estimates were 4,622,000

in 1902-3, 4,009,500 in 1906-7, and 4,043,500, c. 1913 (<http://www.ub.bildarchiv-dkg.uni-frankfurt.de/Bildprojekt/Lexicon/lexicon.htm>). Gilman's (1936) estimate for the national population in 1934 was 4,824,500. A plot of the national figures suggests population increase began only in the 1940s but we have no way to calibrate the methods used by Gilman and the Germans. While they may have had some consistency, and truly portray small changes, the level of population may have been rather larger or rather smaller. If we take the large difference between the 1902-3 estimate (4.6 million) and the 1906-7 estimate (4.01 million) as an indication of likely errors, the population early in the 20th century would still have to be between say 3.5 and 5.2 million. Even if half the population had been missed, doubling the early estimates would not change the overall picture very much. These methodological problems do not obscure the rapid rise of the national population during the final 40 years of the 20th century. But they do severely affect our judgement of whether population increased, decreased, or remained roughly stationary during the first decades of the 20th century.

The national population, and its density, has increased, but has for long varied massively from location to location. In 1988 Arusha, Manyara, and Singida regions were among the lower density regions of Tanzania, at 17.3, 15.6, and 16.1 people per km² respectively (United Republic of Tanzania Bureau of Statistics 1991, 2003, Madulu 2004 Table 2). These densities contrast with Mwanza at 95.8 and Kilimanjaro at 83.0 in the same years. The national density (persons/km²) was estimated at 26.1 in 1988 and 39.1 in 2002 by Madulu (2004).

Much earlier published historical discussion seems short on data and long on polemic. Early colonists tended to proclaim the benefits of their rule, such as pacification and the end of slave trading, later historians tended to emphasize the downside of colonial rule. Although familiar with oral histories of drought and famine, many historians also did not have the benefit of the detailed quantitative studies of climate history based on lake deposits that have become available since the 1990s. While it is difficult to collate the reports from different locations, there seems some agreement that substantial drying occurred during the last years of the 19th and into the early decades of the 20th century, and shows a strong increase in rainfall from 1961. It seems plausible that declining rainfall accounted for a decline in farming, spread of bush and Tsetse, and declining population. It would be hard to choose between this suggestion and Kjekshus' (1977). The substantial general increase in rainfall following a serious drought in 1960 may have had a neglected influence on rural population growth.

SI 3.12. Attempts to settle the Hadza.

There have been several efforts to make the Hadza give up hunting and gathering for the settled life of a peasant. McDowell (1981a) has reviewed their early history, beginning with a brief and localized effort in 1939. Most of the attempts in the second half of the 20th century were to make Hadza settle in one place where school and clinic could be provided (Table 3.2). But they were expected to stay there and farm. All the settlements failed. Hadza eventually left. The facilities provided at each of these attracted

non-Hadza to the area. When Hadza left, they say to avoid these strangers, the strangers stayed and more ground and wild resources were lost by the Hadza. The settlement served only as a jumping off point for more immigrants. We will see that, rather surprisingly, as Hadza country came to support more and more non-Hadza, and more habitat was deprived of its wild food productivity, the Hadza population continued an apparently steady increase. As far as I know, no settlements have been initiated since my last field visit in 2000.

Settlement efforts were initiated and funded by a variety of people and organizations. The government was responsible for the 1964-1967 settlements, with some support from American Church of God missionaries (McDowell 1981a). Mono (Mongwa mono) 1989-1990 was organized by a local official, funded by Oxfam and CUSO. No further funding was apparent after 1992. In 1990 there were another 23 Hadza at Gambasimboye, and 21 at Mwangeza villages near Munguli.

1964 Yaeda chini

Yaeda is where many Hadza were forcibly assembled in 1964-65 to settle and farm (Woodburn 1968a footnote 4 page 50; McDowell 1981a:7). McDowell, and Hadza informants describe how Mangola Hadza were collected by armed police and taken to Karatu to stay overnight. Some Hadza escaped during the night and walked back to Mangola. Next day the remainder were taken to Yaeda. The crowded conditions apparently led to illness and “a significant number of deaths” especially among children. McDowell says that the remaining Mangola Hadza left Yaeda “probably in early 1966”. Our informants look back on the Yaeda settlement as a cause of numerous child deaths. But it was also a time when a number of Hadza children attended school (at least until lunchtime).

At Yaeda there was missionary activity, and a game cropping scheme (from 1967-70 according to McDowell 1981a) on which several Hadza worked. Enderlein, its instigator, was much spoken of by Hadza, and his invisible “roads” through the bush often pointed out to us.

A settlement at Yaeda in 1986, promoted by “the German nun” which attracted people with food and free clothes, lasted a mere 6 weeks. Hadza attributed to this settlement the subsequent measles outbreak, in which somewhere between 20 and 60 children are said to have died. My data show a decrease in population at this time but I cannot verify the actual number of deaths consequent on the settlement.

Munguli. 1965 – 1990.

Another large settlement was at Munguli, at the south - west end of Hadza country, not far from the site of Bleek's fieldwork. Rev Bob Ward, a Lutheran missionary

in Isanzu went to some lengths to get to know Hadza, beginning in 1954. "Wodi" was still fondly remembered by many Hadza to the end of my study period. He published his memoirs in 1999 where we find some interesting pieces of the history of Munguli (Ward 1999). He baptised a number of Hadza at Munguli in 1965 and afterward an older man, well known to many of us visitors, asked him to help him and his family settle and farm. They got a good harvest in the first year but Danieli (who with his pre-baptism name features as a child in the Bleek genealogies) complained that (in Ward's words) "tribal members came in from all directions and they were taking the harvest he had laid up for the dry season. It's impossible for one Tindiga to deny another in need if he makes a request for help." I think Wodi and Danieli have given us the key to why foragers find it so difficult to become farmers.

Bennett et al. (1973) report that Finlayson & Woodburn examined 134 Hadza at Munguli in November 1965. A couple of years later the government instructed the police to bring all Hadza from the bush to settle at Munguli and in 1967 they added the school, a large warehouse and an office, to the neat row of houses they had built earlier. Ward reports that shortly after this there were many deaths from Sleeping Sickness an "outbreak... of epidemic proportions. [The diagnoses were given by Haidom hospital.] This became very apparent to all the Hadza, who then fled into the bush and practiced, with renowned success, their ability to hide from all intruders".

Some must have returned after Rev. Ward was posted to Arusha. We knew children who had attended elementary school in Munguli for long enough to learn a few songs. In Smith's 1977 census there were some 56 Hadza at Munguli. In 1985 we listed 104 people there, including Danieli, still farming on a small scale. In the village were Danieli, his wife and her 6 daughters, and 10 grandchildren. (18 people plus sons in law, some of them non-Hadza). Our count included the 2 wives and many children of a man who lived and farmed at Gambasimboye a few miles away, another 15 people. More than half this list were descended from one man (who Woodburn had described as making the most of his contacts with outsiders), or either of his wives, one of whom had remarried and had several children by her new husband, accounting for 42 people in our list. Many listed at Munguli in 1985 were seen elsewhere during 1985-86. Of 25 households listed at Munguli in 1985, 15 were subsequently seen elsewhere in eastern Hadza country, 10 apparently stayed at Munguli (35 people). Many in our list were wives and children of the Isanzu farmers who clearly already dominated the area, and others were living close to nearby villages.

In 1990 we visited Munguli again and listed 47 people at Munguli, 21 at Mwangeza, and 23 at Gambasimboye. Few had been tempted to join the settlement at Mono. But by the end of my study many of these people moved to Endamagha and Domanga. Those who left told us "too many Isanzu" but I suspect they were vigorously encouraged to leave in order to swell the ranks of Mongo wa Mono, a settlement near Yaeda described below. Some of the 1985 list were listed in 1991 as living near Endasiku, no one was listed for Munguli. Ward made a brief return visit in 1993 and comments that the area was clearly all Isanzu farmland and only a handful of children in the school were identified by the teacher as Hadza. Munguli is the center of the area that

Kaare & Woodburn (1999) must have had in mind when they wrote “Precise numbers are difficult to determine owing to the flexible ethnicity of peripheral persons”. This closer relationships with Isanzu apparently has a longer history. Obst talks of Isanzu as a “culture center” for the Hadza, Bagshawe wrote of the Isanzu girls, and Woodburn of the Isanzu men who stayed after the famine. Some Hadza near Munguli may have been cultivating even in the 1930s. In Bleek’s notebooks we find the comment that more Hadza joined her camp from the east “where they have no gardens”.

1971- 1975 Endamagha.

A village was developed at Endamagha between 1971 and 1975, this time instigated by a Hadza. Thirty - one Hadza men were listed in the village register for 1973 according to McDowell but many had left by 1975. The men listed still lived in the Mangola region when McDowell was in the field (late 1979 to early 1981) but not as villagers. At Endamagha the government built a school, a clinic, and a water tank with some piping. The water supply was apparently often cut. Hadza used to leave the settlement during berry seasons. Hadza were expected to farm, did so for a while but harvests declined steadily. Nonetheless food aid ceased in 1975 whereupon Hadza deserted the settlement. The Hadza man who persuaded Hadza to join the Endamagha settlement was described to me as a Hadza but having “gone to the Swahilis”. He was again involved in requesting help for a settlement at Mikocheni in 1980.

1980- 1985. Mikocheni.

In 1980 McDowell (1981a) wrote “The Hadza chose the Mikocheni area themselves, and they are acting on an independently recognized concern for economic security. This, together with the availability of irrigable land in that area, portends well”. But by the time of my pilot visit in 1982, although several Hadza families still lived there in a parallel row of Hadza style houses at Mikocheni (a village in ujamaa style they supposed), there was little sign that they farmed with much success. It appeared that they had been unable to hold any irrigable land, and those who remained there worked as laborers for “swahili” farmers. By the end of our study the only Hadza nearby were at a foreign owner fish farm, plus one family in the palm forest nearby.

1989 - 1991 Mongo wa mono “Mono”

Supported initially by Oxfam and Canadian Universities Service Overseas (CUSO), Hadza assembled at Mongo wa Mono, some 5 km north of Yaeda. The location was said to have been chosen because of a vision in a dream by one older man. But, while flat and well watered in the rains, the nearest water in the dry season was far away and very limited. Again people were induced to come there by threats of “the government”. Woodburn’s (1979) description of the way individual Hadza have from time to time been

able to exploit their connections with outsiders to control other Hadza were prophetic. An educated man with a Hadza mother gained an official position and set about rounding up people from the bush. He organized a posse of young men “Jeshi ya X” people called it (X’s army), to visit bush camps and harangue people into moving to Mono. I witnessed one such visit to a bush camp where I was working in 1989. Normal young men, most of whom I knew quite well, acted in commanding and loutish style completely alien to their normal Hadza ways. In this particular instance they left empty handed, arguing that since my research was important for the history of their people, the camp’s inhabitants could stay there.

Their efforts were very successful for in 1990 we found some 410 Hadza at Mono. Many Hadza complained to us about their confinement, although the settlement appeared to have some successful aspects. It was well spread out in several “balozi”, sub-villages comprising groups of people who had customarily camped with or near each other. But people complained about cutting down berry bushes to make fields in which little grew. Eventually, the funding sources, central and local government learned that people were unhappy about feeling forced to stay at the settlement. Forcible settlement is not Tanzanian government policy, nor is the threat of force as an induction to change ones way of life or place of residence. When the degree to which Hadza had been deceived about government policy and practice was uncovered in 1990-91, Government representatives held a meeting at the settlement and announced the voluntary nature of any settlement scheme to a large gathering of Hadza. About half the people in the settlement left during the night.

After this the CUSO representatives worked assiduously to get as much of the nearby Hadza country as possible officially recognized and recorded as an administrative village. This would give the village inhabitants quite extensive power over land use and rights. The work was continued by The Dorobo Trust who continue to work with local Hadza and Datoga on land use bye-laws and conservation. In contrast to other settlements, between 50 and 70 Hadza continued to live at Mono until the end of my study.

Domanga and the church at Sanola.

A missionary based in Arusha began to appear at Sanola from time to time in the early 1990s. People gathered to eat the corn and he began to build a church. As I understand it, this was eventually stopped by the game officer on the grounds that the law forbade construction of permanent buildings in a game controlled area. The building was dismantled down to the concrete foundation and became nicely overgrown. Perhaps the game officer had confirmed the theory that missionaries mostly come to Tanzania because as residents, they qualify for the cheap resident’s hunting permits. However, many of the people moved only a little way away and became quite resident at Domanga, far from water but nearer where the track from the Yaeda basin enters the hills. This had

attracted Swahilis, mostly poaching as far as I could see. Numbers of people seen here and at Mono during my study are recorded in Table 3.2.

It is probably easy to overestimate the duration of these settlements and the numbers of people involved in them. The 1964-65 Yaeda settlement was far the most substantial. Yet in 1965 Aylett (IBP archive at University College London Anthropology Department) listed only 170 Hadza there. Barnicott et al.(1973) report that Finlayson & Woodburn examined 134 Hadza at Munguli in November 1965. Of the 380 eastern Hadza people censused and measured by the IBP project in 1966-67, only 142 were at Yaeda and 20 at Munguli. When Lars Smith censused the Hadza in 1977 there were 35 Hadza at Yaeda, and in 1985 only 13. Although it is impossible to assemble complete information, these figures give one way to view the importance of these settlement schemes. There have been times, probably never more than a couple of years, when the majority of Hadza were in some kind of settlement (e.g Yaeda or Munguli or Endamagha). There have never been times when all Hadza were settled. There has never been a generation that grew up with no experience of life in the bush as a hunter and gatherer. The nearest to a generation "uneducated" in bush life is the small group of young Hadza who were sent to secondary school in the 1970s. While two are successfully holding jobs (hospital nurse, rural clinic nurse) outside Hadza country, most have returned and are involved with current development and/or land rights efforts as community development officers at Mongo wa Mono. They vary in their accomplishments during life in the bush. Among those who read and write well in Kiswahili there are some who live mostly off the bush, some who mostly do not.

While the history - minded might wish to link the Hadza habit of fleeing from the sound of a vehicle and hiding from strangers to the raids of last century, Hadza attribute it to fear of "the government" and its settlement schemes (see also Woodburn 1979). We should emphasize that the government was actually responsible for few of the recent schemes, the Hadza misinterpretation had been fostered locally. This tactic may become more difficult. In 2000 a Hadza man in Mangola area told Annette Wagner and me: "the advantage of the young people learning to read is that when people come to you with some piece of paper, they can no longer fool you".