

1 Introduction

In the 1850s, the first European visitor to Ujiji was disappointed because what he encountered was not the great city he had expected. In the 1970s, an Italian filmmaker described Kigoma as “the centre of Africa [. . .] still close to prehistory”, yet, at the same time, as “the new city” heralding a promising future for an emerging modern Africa. Kigoma and Ujiji, the two main centres of the Tanzanian lakeside town this book is about, have been characterized by ambivalences for more than a century and a half already. In the 2010s, several town inhabitants also complained about the neglect of Kigoma-Ujiji in the British colonial and Tanzanian post-independence periods yet believed in imminent change for the better.

These observations raise questions: Where do these expectations of greatness, modernity, and improvement come from? And what leads to the feelings of disappointment or neglect? Why does Kigoma-Ujiji attract attention and why does it lose it? And what do these ambivalent attitudes tell us about, and do to, this place and the people living there?

To address these questions, this book makes sense of Kigoma-Ujiji as a space of transformation. A century and a half of transformations on larger scales – be it the encroachment of a capitalist world-system and colonial conquest, de- and re-territorialization, the impact of the First World War, (colonial) state building, decolonization, the imposition of African Socialism and of neoliberalism, regional refugee crises, or heritage tourism – have not only challenged the people in the area, but how these challenges have been dealt with locally, also shapes how globalizations actually take place, in space and time. It is not an omnipotent, diffuse global scale that determines a one-size-fits-all globalization for the whole world, but multiple, often protracted and uncertain, translocal processes of adaptation and appropriation that ultimately result in numerous spatially and temporally specific histories of globalization.¹ I will soon explain why Kigoma-Ujiji is a particularly fruitful place to apply this approach, but at the same time, I argue that this approach can be applied to other places as well.

At first glance, Steven Fabian’s book on Bagamoyo on the coast of the Indian Ocean and Andreas Zeman’s book on Nkhlongue, a tiny village on the east coast

¹ For more information about the concept of “translocality”, see Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, “Introduction. ‘Translocality’: An Approach to Connection and Transfer in Area Studies”, in *Translocality: The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*, (eds.), Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1–21. I will come back to the concept later in the introduction.

of Lake Malawi, appear to be similar to the book you are now reading about a medium-sized town on the east coast of Lake Tanganyika.² All three are concerned with the nineteenth-century caravan trade between the Indian Ocean and East Central Africa – or vice versa – and all three underline the importance of place or locality in interpreting how people deal with influences coming from larger spatial scales. But this book is also significantly different. For one thing, this has to do with the town itself: much more than the other two places, Kigoma-Ujiji remained regionally and infrastructurally connected after the demise of the caravan trade complex. But above all, my approach is different: instead of using external influences as a backdrop against which my colleagues meticulously reconstruct what happened in their respective places, I focus on the internal-external relations and the globally induced transformations themselves.

Although all history is social history, this book is not primarily about the everyday life of the people of Kigoma-Ujiji. Rather, people are important for their role in shaping successive – and ultimately successful – transformations in Kigoma-Ujiji. Connections are important in this, both in explaining the arrival of influences from larger scales and in enabling the mobilization of ways to deal with these influences. Furthermore, I conceive of a global urban history as a multidirectional history in which perceptions and representations of Kigoma-Ujiji interact with expectations and phenomena in the town itself. Thus, I analyse both perspectives on and from Kigoma-Ujiji. Taken together, transformations, connections, and representations are the three guiding principles of this book.

1.1 Transformations, Connections, and Representations

“Leka Dutigite”, a 2012 song, allows me to pull the strings together, to combine inside and outside perspectives, and to provide a first glimpse of Kigoma-Ujiji. “Leka Dutigite” means “let us do some good”, “let us show our importance”, or by implication “let us be proud of ourselves” in Kiha, the language of the Waha, the predominant ethnic group in the region of Kigoma. Apart from its title, the song is in Kiswahili and sung by well-known Tanzanian singers, who formed the band Kigoma All Stars for the occasion. Although they have made their musical careers on the Indian Ocean coast, above all in Dar es Salaam, the Kigoma All Stars all have family roots in Kigoma. A local politician from the town of Kigoma, Zuberi

² Steven Fabian, *Making Identity on the Swahili Coast: Urban Life, Community, and Belonging in Bagamoyo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Andreas Zeman, *The Winds of History: Life in a Corner of Rural Africa since the 19th Century* (Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2023).

Zitto Kabwe, took the initiative to bring the singers together and to let them perform a song of praise about Kigoma in the popular *bongo flava* music style. An accompanying video combines footage of the singers with some highlights of Kigoma, which are also evoked in the lyrics.³ I will come back to the layout of Kigoma-Ujiji later, but for the time being, let me already point out that Kigoma is both the name of a region in the west of Tanzania bordering Lake Tanganyika to the west and Burundi to the north as well as of the administrative and infrastructural centre of the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji. Ujiji has always been the town's most populated neighbourhood, today accounting for almost one third of the town's roughly 230,000 inhabitants, and was its political and commercial centre until the early-twentieth century. Although "Leka Dutigite" actually refers to the region, most of the references are to the urban area with which this book is concerned.

The text of the song reads like an anthology of what Kigoma has to offer, showcasing the place's cultural heritage, including the music itself. The first shot of the video shows the monumental railway station, which links the rail connection to the Indian Ocean with the lacustrine connection to East Congo. Lake Tanganyika figures prominently, showing the century-old ferry boat Liemba, the dagaa fishing industry,⁴ and footage from a wooden boat carrying the singers to the Gombe chimpanzee reserve. A large part of the clip is filmed in this reserve, where Jane Goodall pioneered anthropological observations of wild chimpanzees around 1960 in search for a better understanding of the origins of mankind. Furthermore, coffee beans, kitenge cloth, salt, modern houses, and a power plant appear in the visuals or the lyrics, thus evoking the main products of Kigoma on the one hand, and images of modernity on the other. People, too, are shown in the video. Apart from the musicians themselves, we see famous soccer players and a Miss Tanzania. The people of Kigoma are displayed as anonymous masses cheering the Kigoma All Stars during an event on 12 July 2012, when "Leka Dutigite" was performed in Kigoma-Ujiji's popular neighbourhoods of Mwanga and Ujiji.

Throughout the video, the Tanzanian flag waves prominently, as the whole event should stress not only the Kigoma roots of famous Tanzanians but also the genuine Tanzanianness of Kigoma. This marks an ambivalence in the "Leka Dutigite" initiative and in Kigoma-Ujiji's history more generally. Apparently, the initiators felt the need to stress self-pride and to reassert the relevance, importance, or

3 To get an impression of the town and its environment, I recommend the following: "Official Video-Leka Dutigite Video-Kigoma All Stars," posted on YouTube by Zitto Kabwe on 31 July 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmxmqPwysqE/> (accessed 30 September 2024). I thank Yakoub Nsabimana for helping me with the translation of the lyrics.

4 *Dagaa* are small sardine-like fishes that are sundried and consumed across the country.

contributions of Kigoma for Tanzania. This urge mirrors a feeling of lost prominence and neglect that has been widespread in Kigoma for almost a century. I heard this sentiment being articulated in several interviews in 2011 and 2012, but it can also be found in statements of the 1960s and 1970s and in reports from the colonial period.⁵ Thus, “Leka Dutigite” is not only a call for self-confidence but also a message of self-defence against – perceived or real – neglect and marginality. Some of the highlights pictured in the clip date as far back as the eve of the First World War, when Kigoma-Ujiji was part of German East Africa. A railway connection from Dar es Salaam on the Indian Ocean coast to Kigoma at Lake Tanganyika together with the then-largest freshwater ship of the African continent, today known as M.V. Liemba, turned Kigoma into an infrastructural hub that was meant to channel trade with East Congo. However, its commercial importance would wither shortly after the First World War, as we will see in Chapter 5. With hindsight, the completion of the railway and the launching of the ferry in 1914 mark the end rather than the beginning of Kigoma-Ujiji’s centrality for long-distance trade, as the place – above all Ujiji – had already been pivotal to the East and Central African caravan trade complex for roughly three quarters of a century before that. Although I will demonstrate in this book that transformations and connectedness have continued to characterize Kigoma-Ujiji, there indeed are some grounds for the internal perception of lost prominence and neglect.

The attention for Kigoma-Ujiji from the outside is also primarily concentrated on the period until the First World War. Whether in travel reports by explorers, colonizers, and missionaries, in popular-culture representations, or in scholarly publications dealing with the place, the overwhelming majority of attention for Kigoma-Ujiji concerns the period from the 1850s until the 1910s, with the caravan trade – dubbed the slave trade –, Stanley finding Livingstone in Ujiji, and the First World War on Lake Tanganyika as the main tropes.

In this global history of the town, I pay attention to outside perceptions and representations (see Chapter 2 in particular), because they allow for a two-way reading of globalization, whereby not only the people in Kigoma-Ujiji have to

5 Tanzania National Archives, Dar es Salaam (TNA), Tanganyika Territory – District Officer’s Reports: Kigoma District (1946), 2; and (1950), 1 and 13; Adam Chobaliko Bwenda, M.P. from Kasulu Chini, quoted in Dean E. McHenry Jr., “Tanzania: the Struggle for Development. A Study of Attempts to Establish a Fisherman’s Cooperative and to Introduce Cotton Growing in Kigoma Region in Western Tanzania”, PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1971, 22–23; Interview KU9, Ujiji, 15 September 2011; Interview KU19, Ujiji, 22 June 2012; Interview KU20, Ujiji, 22 June 2012; Interview KU22, Kigoma, 23 June 2012; Interview KU28, Katonga, 28 June 2012. All interviews were conducted by the author, assisted by Elie Mwamba, during field research between July and October 2011 and May–August 2012. Interviews and conversations are numbered in chronological order.

cope with global challenges, but what happens in Kigoma-Ujiji is also perceived – even if distorted – elsewhere. This global history of Kigoma-Ujiji, thus, combines an interpretation of (1) transformations as local manifestations of global processes, (2) translocal connectedness as both a resource for and result of these transformations, and (3) outside perceptions and representations of Kigoma-Ujiji, which in turn influence self-perceptions as can be seen in “Leka Dutigite”. In this respect, not only the perspectives of colonizers, filmmakers or employees of international organizations or non-governmental organizations, but also views from the Tanzanian Indian Ocean coast or even from the surrounding Kigoma Region are outside views of the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji.

The song, video, and concert also reflect this interaction and ambivalence between inside and outside perspectives. The politician who initiated the “Leka Dutigite” initiative is from Kigoma. The Kigoma All Stars manifestly identify with their Kigoma origin. Both the title – “Leka Dutigite” or “let us be proud of ourselves” – and the concert in July 2012 directly address the people of Kigoma. Yet, the people appearing in the video such as the musicians, soccer players, and Miss Tanzania achieved success outside of Kigoma. Moreover, the depiction of Kigoma reproduces what makes the place attractive to outsiders – Gombe National Park, daga fishes, and the music itself – and gives a prominent place to colonial remnants and expectations of modernity. These elements reflect both an inside view and connections across space and time. Evidently, the song addresses not only the people of Kigoma but also the entire fanbase of the bongo flava artists. It was a hit across East Africa.⁶ More than six years after its release, in November 2018, I heard it again in Nairobi, Kenya. The message conveyed is not only “let us be proud of ourselves”. It also calls its listener to look at Kigoma, be aware of what Kigoma has to offer, include Kigoma on the mental map of Tanzania and of East Africa.

This book is an attempt to do so, to make sense of Kigoma-Ujiji as a space of transformation, as a place characterized by global transformations, and, at the same time, as a place where these transformations are locally shaped; or, in other words, as a liminal town and portal of globalization. Before I explain how I employ these concepts, situate this research in relation to existing literature, and organize this book, I first want to provide some key information about Kigoma-Ujiji.

⁶ “‘Leka Dutigite’ has put Kigoma on world map”, *The Citizen*, 24 August 2013 (updated on 3 April 2021), <https://www.thecitizen.co.tz/tanzania/news/-leka-dutigite-has-put-kigoma-on-world-map-2495992> (accessed 30 September 2024).

1.2 A First Glimpse of Kigoma-Ujiji

Kigoma-Ujiji lies in the far west of Tanzania on the eastern bank of Lake Tanganyika, near the borders with the Democratic Republic of the Congo and with Burundi. It has also been the head of the railway linking Central Africa to the Indian Ocean since 1914. The urban area comprises the port town of Kigoma proper, the old town of Ujiji six kilometres to the south, residential areas which over the years filled up the area between Kigoma and Ujiji, as well as a few fishing villages gradually absorbed by urbanization (see Map 2).

1.2.1 From Lake to Liemba

Lake Tanganyika is the world's second deepest lake. It is also the lake with the second largest surface area in Africa. It is part of the East African Rift running through the continent, and as a consequence the lake shores are substantially lower than the surrounding lands. Nevertheless, Kigoma-Ujiji's lowest point is still 775 metres above sea level. Both west and east of the lake, mountainous regions and highlands dominate the landscape. Whereas the highlands are among the most densely populated areas of Africa, in many places, the lakeshores themselves mount so steeply out of the lake that human habitation is relatively sparse. It is no coincidence that two of the most important remaining natural populations of chimpanzees are to be found in these sparsely populated areas: Gombe – world-famous because of Jane Goodall's pioneering work amongst free-living chimpanzees – is 20 kilometres north of Kigoma. Mahale – intensively researched by Kyoto University – is 150 kilometres south of the town.⁷

Exceptions to the demographic pattern of sparse population on the lakeshores and dense population on the hills are the few spots where a river is causing a breach in the mountain range. The Malagarasi River is responsible for the most important breach, providing a corridor between the lake and the West-Tanzanian plateau. The vital salt pans of Uvinza, which provide salt to the whole Great Lakes region and have been a destination for long-distance trade from time

⁷ It is not unusual for books on the history of Africa to start with the origin of mankind or for books on the history of humanity to start in the East African Rift Valley. This start is then dated back millions of years, but it may just as well be dated back to the mid-twentieth century, when Hominini were excavated in East Africa and paleoanthropologists embarked on the observation of chimpanzees near Kigoma.

immemorial,⁸ are accessible from the lake – thus also for traders coming from the west-side of the lake – via the Malagarasi Delta. A relatively small area around present-day Kigoma-Ujiji could play the role of an interface between the lake area and the Uvinza salt pans. A smaller river, the Luiche, makes the area around Ujiji a fertile zone for agriculture, which enabled the provisioning of trade caravans passing through the area in the past and feeds the area's relatively dense population today. The natural environment facilitated or funnelled exchange between the zones east and west of the lake, through the Luiche and Malagarasi Valleys. Rumonge, 100 kilometres to the north in present-day Burundi, and Karema, 250 kilometres to the south, are the closest alternatives to comfortably connect east and west of the lake.

Even though the lake is relatively easily accessible around Kigoma-Ujiji, the area as a whole is still hilly. Yet, what is today known as Ujiji continuing into the Luiche Delta is comparatively flat and has a beach which slowly descends towards the lake. The slowly descending slope makes it the ideal place for fishing boats and traditional dhow trading ships, which are pulled on the sand. Bangwe and Kibirizi, which are also part of the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji, have a similar constitution, where boats with a shallow draft can be pulled onto the beach. The Bay of Kigoma is different, with its steeper and deeper natural harbour allowing motorized ships with deeper drafts to dock. Here is a technological component at play: as long as dhows were the prime vessels, Ujiji and Kibirizi had an advantage over Kigoma; once larger motor vessels were introduced, Kigoma had the upper hand and became the administrative centre. The completion of the railway and the launching of the steamship Götzen⁹ – today M.V. Liemba – in 1914 symbolize this shift within the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji.

Until then, Ujiji had been an important trading and provisioning station for the caravan trade, linking Central Africa with the Indian Ocean and the world market. During the second half of the nineteenth century, plugging into this caravan trade complex, European geographic, military, and missionary men travelled to and through Ujiji, leaving a relatively dense source base to reconstruct the

8 Jean-Pierre Chrétien, "Le Commerce du sel de l'Uvinza au XIXe siècle. De la cueillette au monopole capitaliste", *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer* 65, no. 240 (1978): 401–422; Michele D. Wagner, "Trade and commercial attitudes in Burundi before the nineteenth century," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 26, no. 1 (1993): 149–166; David L. Schoenbrun, *A green place, a good place: Agrarian change, gender, and social identity in the Great Lakes region to the 15th century* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1998); Jean-Pierre Chrétien, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs: Deux mille ans d'histoire* (Paris: Aubier, 2000).

9 Count Gustav Adolf von Götzen (1866–1910) was a German explorer who was one of the first European colonials to travel through Rwanda. He was the governor of German East Africa (1901–1906) at the time of the outbreak of the Maji Maji uprising.

nineteenth-century history of urbanization in the region. As discussed in the next chapter, missionaries from the Congregationalist London Missionary Society and the Catholic *Missionnaires d'Afrique* or White Fathers were among the first to provide first-hand information about the town from the 1870s onwards, which coincides with the most successful decades of Ujiji within the caravan trade complex. Apart from the commercial role, the growth of Ujiji in this period was, at least in part, the result of a concentration of uprooted people, mostly coming from across the lake and contributing to the urbanization and Islamization of Ujiji.¹⁰ By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the history of the urban area was at least as much a part of the Lake Tanganyika and East Congo region as it was of the surrounding Jiji or Ha region (see Chapters 3 and 4). The White Fathers settled amidst this melting pot of Islamizing immigrants, carrying with them a heavy load of European animosity towards the slave trade and Islam – two almost interchangeable concepts in the ideology of their founder Charles Lavigerie.¹¹ The proclaimed humanitarian mission of abolitionism and civilizing mission of implanting Christianity went hand in hand with a wish to eradicate or, at least, contain Islam. However, a century and a half later, Ujiji – the most populated part of Kigoma-Ujiji – still has an overwhelming Muslim majority, while neither the London Missionary Society nor the White Fathers are still around. Christian missionaries were destined to remain marginal in Ujiji, while, at the same time, Ujiji itself, too, became marginal.

It takes some effort to read the topography that characterized Ujiji at the time of its nineteenth- and early-twentieth-centuries heyday in the layout of today's Ujiji. Several of the late-nineteenth-century sites are still there: the old market, the (grafted) mango tree where Stanley met Livingstone,¹² the former White Fathers' mission station (now held by Indian Catholic sisters from the Congregation of Mount Carmel).¹³ But all of these sites are now hundreds of metres away from the lake at whose shores these sites were originally planned. The Lukuga River, an outlet from Lake Tanganyika towards the hydrological Congo Basin,

¹⁰ To compare with a similar urban development in, for instance, Ibadan, see Ruth Watson, *'Civil Disorder is the Disease of Ibadan': Chieftaincy & Civic Culture in a Yoruba City* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003).

¹¹ José H. Kagabo, *L'Islam et les "Swahili" au Rwanda* (Paris: Éditions de l'école des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1988), p. 22; François Renault, *Le cardinal Lavigerie (1825–1892): L'église, l'Afrique et la France* (Paris: Fayard, 1992).

¹² The National Archives of the UK, London-Kew (NA-UK), Colonial Office (CO), 691/200/4: Arrangements for the rebuilding of the David Livingstone War [sic] Memorial at Ujiji, 1945–1948; C.M. Coke, "The Livingstone Memorial at Ujiji", *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 25 (1948): 34–37.

¹³ Informal conversation KU30, Mwanga & Ujiji, 4 July 2012.

probably breached through a sandbar in the late 1870s.¹⁴ As if a plug was pulled, the level of the lake dropped by more than ten metres. Given that in Ujiji the slopes are smoothly descending into the lake, the dropping lake level caused a retreat of the coastline of almost half a kilometre. In the Bay of Kigoma, where the slopes are steeper, the dropping lake level turned the island of Ruanza into a peninsula, but did not dramatically affect the location of the lakeshores as such.

Apart from this natural reshaping of the lacustrine coastline, there was also a human-made spatial reorganization of the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji at the beginning of the twentieth century that largely shifted the commercial and political centre of gravity from Ujiji to nearby Kigoma, where the railway, the port, the governor's house, and a nearby neighbourhood for African workers, Mwanga, were installed.¹⁵ As already pointed out, the constitution of the Bay of Kigoma made Kigoma more suitable than Ujiji for motor vessels. However, it was also more convenient for European colonizers to relocate their political centre of gravity away from the township of Ujiji, which was dominated by a Muslim urban population well-connected across East and Central Africa. Yet shortly after the local relocation, the entire urban area saw its regional importance decline in the wake of the First World War (see Chapter 6).

The German colonizers had conceived Kigoma as a stepping stone towards the military conquest of Burundi and Rwanda, and as an infrastructural bridgehead giving access to the resource-rich Congo, which was part of a free trade zone according to the 1885 Act of the Berlin Congo Conference. The course of the war, however, led to the Belgian occupation of the western part of German East Africa, including Kigoma-Ujiji as well as Burundi and Rwanda. After the war, most of the former Protectorate of German East Africa became a British mandate territory through the League of Nations, but Belgium was accorded the mandate over Burundi and Rwanda, as well as privileges in the ports of Kigoma and Dar es Salaam and on the railway between both towns. This implied that for the British colonial administration, Kigoma had lost the significance it had had for the German colonizers, whereas for the Belgian colonizers, the significance of Kigoma was limited to nothing more than the port and the railhead.¹⁶ Having been a key connecting bridgehead for many decades, Kigoma-Ujiji was now also a marginal

¹⁴ Ruud C.M. Crul, "Limnology and Hydrology of Lakes Tanganyika and Malawi: Comprehensive and Comparative Study of Great Lakes: UNESCO/IHP-IV Project M-5.1" (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1997).

¹⁵ TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1927–1955; TNA, Kigoma Provincial Book, re-named: Kigoma, Kasulu, Ufipa, Kibondo District Book, Vol. II.

¹⁶ African Archives – Federal Public Service Foreign Affairs, Brussels (AAB), Affaires Étrangères (AE/II), 3289 (1854): Accords Milner-Orts; Ingeborg Vijgen, *Tussen mandaat en kolonie: Rwanda*,

separating outpost. That is, it was not ‘instead of’ but ‘on top of’ being a place of connection that Kigoma-Ujiji had now also become a place of separation.

Despite Kigoma-Ujiji’s altered positionality, the German colonial infrastructure has remained part of the town’s outlook until today. This does not apply just to the port and the railway but also to the steamer *Götzen*. During the First World War, the ship, which had been turned into a military vessel for war purposes, was deliberately scuttled in order to prevent it from falling into enemy hands, when Belgian Congolese troops approached the town in 1916. A huge ship, built at about the same time as the *Titanic*, sank before it had ever embarked on one of the commercial journeys it had been made for. It was recovered by a British salvage party without much damage in 1924 and rebaptized *Liemba*, after the name the Fipa people presumably gave to the lake.¹⁷ The steamer has been converted into a motor vessel and is still of vital importance for people living along the lake today. Every week, the *Liemba* undertakes the journey from its home port of Kigoma, via some 20 lake villages, to Mpulungu in Zambia, and back again. For many of these villages, this service is their only regular transportation link to the outer world. The lake – their *Liemba* – and the port town of Kigoma – or alternatively the South Tanzanian port of Kasanga – are their connection to the world.¹⁸

1.2.2 Urban Layout

During the colonial period, for about half a century, the estimated population of the urban area was around 10,000 inhabitants. The recorded numbers range from 8,000 to 15,000, but overall the population remained relatively stable, only moderately increasing towards the end of the colonial period, reaching 16,255 in

Burundi en het Belgische bestuur in opdracht van de Volkenbond (1916–1932) (Leuven: Acco, 2005). See also Chapter 5.

¹⁷ Not much is known about “*Liemba*” as local name for (the southern part of) the lake. The name was registered by David Livingstone in 1867 and probably stems from the Fipa language. See David Livingstone, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa from 1865 to His Death: Continued by a Narrative of his Last Moments and Sufferings, Obtained from his Faithful Servants, Chuma and Susi, Vol. 1: 1866–1868*, (ed.), H. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011 [1874]), Chapter VIII.

¹⁸ TNA, Secretariat Archives (Early Series) (Sec. (E.S.), AB.617–619: Salvage of SS von Goetzen / Steamer for Lake Tanganyika, 1921–1926; TNA, Kigoma Provincial Book; Personal observation, July 2012. The *Liemba* has been taken out of service in need of overhauling at the end of 2020. Joshua Wygand, “‘*Liemba*’ verrotet in Tansania”, *Täglicher Hafenbericht*, 12 August 2021, <https://www.thb.info/rubriken/international/detail/news/liemba-verottet-in-tansania.html> (accessed 30 September 2024).

habitants at the time of the first census in 1957.¹⁹ Notwithstanding, in the early 1930s, the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji was second only to Dar es Salaam within the Tanganyika Territory.²⁰ Ujiji was the largest “African town” until the mid-twentieth century, which, in the British colonial context, refers to a town not having a three-tier European-Asian-African layout.²¹

Rapid urbanization, propelled by Congolese and Burundian refugees, on the one hand, and above all rural-urban migration from the surrounding region, on the other, took place after the colonial period. Thus, the urban population grew from 21,369 in 1967 to 84,704 by 1988 and to 144,257 by 2002 according to the respective national censuses. At the time of the national census of 2012, 215,458 inhabitants were counted in Kigoma-Ujiji, accounting for a population growth of 50 percent compared to 2002.²² If the population growth would have continued at more or less the same rate since 2012, the municipality should by now have breached the 300,000 mark. However, the census of 2022 shows that the town’s population growth slowed drastically, reaching 232,388 inhabitants ten years later (+8%).²³

The municipality is divided into 19 wards, which largely reflect the urban layout of colonial and, to some extent, pre-colonial times. Administratively and infra-structurally, Kigoma is the most important ward, but it accounts for only

19 AAB, Rapports du Ruanda-Urundi (RA/R-U), (0a) 3: Kamer der Volksvertegenwoordigers, Verslag over het Belgisch bewind der bezette gebieden van Duitsch Oost-Afrika [Nr 547], 27 september 1921, p. 3 vs. TNA, Native Affairs General – Tanganyika Secretariat (Tang. Sec.), 12218: Native Administration – Kigoma-Province, 1928–1931; TNA, Tang. Sec., 25822: Population of the Territory, 1933–1939; TNA, District Officer’s Reports: Kigoma District, 1952. The census data were found in: Gervas P. Ishengoma, “The Impact of Capital Penetration in the Economic Development of the Fishing Industry: A Case Study of a Fishing Industry along Lake Tanganyika in Kigoma District – Kigoma Region”, University of Dar es Salaam – Department of History, March 1980, 9.

20 TNA, Tang. Sec., 25822: Population of the Territory, 1933–1939.

21 Ujiji and Tabora were leapfrogging on the ranking of largest non-coastal town in the Tanganyika Territory for quite some time, until Kigoma-Ujiji was finally surpassed by several other towns towards the end of the colonial era. TNA, District Officer’s Reports: Kigoma District, 1930 and 1948; TNA, Tang. Sec., 25822: Population of the Territory, 1933–1939.

22 “Table 2.4. Population Size and Growth Rate by District; Kigoma Region, 1988, 2002 and 2012 Censuses” in *Basic Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile, Kigoma Region: 2012 Population and Housing Census* (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Finance – National Bureau of Statistics, March 2016), 16, https://www.nbs.go.tz/nbs/takwimu/census2012/RegProfiles/16_Kigoma_Regional_Profile.zip (accessed 30 September 2024).

23 “Table 16.5: Population Distribution by Sex, Sex Ratio, Number of Households and Average Household Size by Ward, Kigoma Municipal Council; 2022 PHC” in *Administrative Units Population Distribution Report* (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Finance and Planning – National Bureau of Statistics, December 2022), 158 https://www.nbs.go.tz/nbs/takwimu/Census2022/Administrative_units_Population_Distribution_Report_Tanzania_volume1a.pdf, (accessed 30 September 2024).

three percent of the municipality's total population.²⁴ The ward of Kigoma houses the administration of the Kigoma Region, the Kigoma District, and the Kigoma-Ujiji Municipality, which is a form of urban self-government for large Tanzanian cities. The monumental *Kaiserhof* [Emperor's Court], built when Kigoma was part of German East Africa, is the seat of Kigoma Region. The international presence in the town is also concentrated in the Kigoma ward, with a regional headquarters of the UNHCR, consulates of Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and a branch of the Jane Goodall Foundation. The ward is also home to the Catholic Diocese of Kigoma. There is a large marketplace and several shops run by Indians, as well as a Hindu temple. Furthermore, the monumental railway station, where the central railway line from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma ends, and the main port on Lake Tanganyika are located in the ward of Kigoma.

Ujiji, the second part to give the town its name, is six kilometres to the south of Kigoma. It is not a single ward, but comprises more than half of the municipal wards, accounting for over 30 percent of the population. Lying in-between Kigoma and Ujiji along the main road connecting these two centres, Mwanga is home to almost 20 percent of the population. The urban area has gradually grown together, leading to the emergence of a new urban neighbourhood between Mwanga and Ujiji that houses over ten percent of the population by now. This new neighbourhood is also the part of town leading to the airport. Over one third of the population lives in three other important quarters: Gungu in the north, Kibirizi facing Kigoma from the other side of Kigoma Bay, and the fishing village Bangwe to the southwest of Kigoma.

As a matter of fact, Bangwe, Gungu, Kibirizi, Kigoma and "Ujiji" were already the points of reference in the nineteenth century. In nineteenth-century sources, we can also find references to Kawele, Ugoi, and Kasimbu, each denoting specific parts of "Ujiji". I put Ujiji in inverted commas here, because back then, strictly speaking, the term *Ujiji* referred to the broader Jiji area, whereby the prefix *U-* indicates the land or space of the Jiji. The ambivalent relation between the town and the surrounding Jiji – or larger Ha – area is addressed throughout this book (see Chapters 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8). In a nutshell, the urban area, and the neighbourhood of Ujiji in particular, is largely disconnected from the Jiji land, the etymological *U-jiji*. The connections across the lake into East Congo become more defining than the surrounding Jiji land from the final quarter of the nineteenth century

²⁴ "Table 16.4: Population of Kigoma Ujiji Municipal Council by Sex, Average Household Size and Sex Ratio" in *2012 Population and Housing Census: Population Distribution by Administrative Areas* (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Finance – National Bureau of Statistics, March 2013), 150, <https://hssrc.tamisemi.go.tz/storage/app/uploads/public/5ac0ba/af6/5ac0baaf6b923793205170.pdf>, (accessed 30 September 2024).

onwards. Finally, Mwanga was created as the residential quarter for the African workforce of European and Indian employers in Kigoma during colonial times. The urbanization process that filled up the spaces between Mwanga and Gungu and between Mwanga and Ujiji has occurred only recently, mainly since the beginning of the twenty-first century.

While Ujiji is the historical centre where urbanization started in the nineteenth century, where Nyamwezi, Swahili, and Arab caravan traders, European travellers and missionaries, porters, enslaved people, refugees, and migrants passed through, it has visibly lost its prevalence. Thatched roofs are an exception, even in Ujiji, but you can still find them there. Except for the main road connecting Ujiji via Mwanga with Kigoma, and the Livingstone Road leading to the UNESCO-sponsored Livingstone memorial and museum, Ujiji has only dirt roads. The traces of past prominence are visible around the old White Fathers' mission station, the old mango-tree-lined caravan road, and the remains of the old German *boma* or military station. At least as important though are the signs of later liveliness, of religious vibrancy, of markets and associations, and of community life on the streets. My research is not primarily aimed at ethnographic observation and a description of present-day life, which makes it rather tentative in drawing comparisons between parts of town in this regard. Nevertheless, I am under the impression that Ujiji is more socially thick than other parts of town – except perhaps for the much smaller fishing village of Bangwe. Bangwe lies somewhat apart in the urban layout of Kigoma-Ujiji, with an easy access to the lake, but squeezed between rocky hills along the coastline. In general, there are no easy overland connections along the lake. Moreover, around Kigoma, there are hills in all overland directions. Gungu lies on hills, as well. Between Ujiji and Kigoma, too, the road is characterized by ups and downs – a characteristic that also applies to their shared history and their histories apart.

Kigoma-Ujiji can be seen both as the metaphorical end of the world and as a vital link tying the world together. Even within the small-scale Jiji, Ha or Kigoma Region, Kigoma-Ujiji is both central and outside, connecting and disconnected. I argue, firstly, that it is precisely this ambivalence that explains the simultaneous prominence and neglect of Kigoma in global history as well as in outsider representations, and, secondly, that a better understanding of this ambivalence is conducive to a better understanding of global dynamics in general.

1.3 Conceptual Considerations

This global history of a liminal town focusing on connections, transformations, and representations is the outcome of the research project behind this book. It

was not its starting point. The importance of connections on different scales and the feeling that the history of Kigoma-Ujiji has a relevance beyond this medium-sized East Central African town itself were already part of my assumptions from the beginning. From my initial expectation to find these connections and relevance in the domains of music, sports, and religion, only a few scattered anecdotes made it into the final manuscript. However, I only discovered the importance of moments of transformation and the interplay between outside – more often than not biased – representation and local appropriation in the course of my research.²⁵ In this introduction, I reflect the process from my initial expectations to a global history of a liminal town, eventually leading to an approach that can be applied beyond the case of Kigoma-Ujiji and can enhance our understanding of how globalization takes shape locally and translocally. Therefore, I start this subchapter from the place and its spatial connections, I then situate this research in relation to the literature on urban, African, and global history, and finally I introduce the concepts that I consider useful to make sense of the transformations that I discovered in the course of the research. My interpretation of Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space, where global processes are appropriated and shaped, involves both transformations over time and over space and highlights both its centrality as portal of globalization and the uncertainty of the liminal town.

The chapters highlight consecutive transformations, each time repositioning Kigoma-Ujiji in relation to global processes and thereby explaining not only the history of the town but also how multiple globalizations unfold translocally. Interpreting Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space – a space that goes through transformation and where transformations coalesce and are shaped – not only deepens our understanding of the town itself, but also challenges widespread understandings of globalization. It is a commonplace that the world is increasingly functioning as an interconnected whole, yet this truism is often understood as a process of global incorporation towards or driven by (a) global centre(s). This book supports the view that in order to grasp global integration one also needs to consider globalization from the margins and to take the margins seriously, not just as peripheral oddities but as sites where global transformations are appropriated, enacted, and counteracted.

25 For the use of the concept “appropriation”, see Katja Füllberg-Stolberg, Petra Heidrich and Ellinor Schöne, (eds.), *Dissociation and Appropriation: Responses to Globalization in Asia and Africa* (Berlin: Zentrum Moderner Orient – Das Arabische Buch, 1999); Kathleen Ashley and Véronique Plesch, “The Cultural Processes of ‘Appropriation’”, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, 1 (2002): 1–15; Jan-Bart Gewald, André Leliveld and Iva Peša, (eds.), *Transforming Innovations in Africa: Explorative Studies on Appropriation in African Societies* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

The global urban history of Kigoma-Ujiji is at the same time a history of a particular place and of a transformative space where globalization is locally and idiosyncratically brought into practice, thus genuinely contributing to how global integration actually works. I am confident that our understanding of globalization can be further enhanced, when this approach to global urban history, focusing on connections and – sometimes protracted – transformations, is applied to other towns as well.

1.3.1 Kigoma-Ujiji: An Urban History

Kigoma-Ujiji's history embodies numerous telling illustrations of global transformations that were appropriated and put in practice locally. The attention to these instances, however, has been unbalanced so far. There is a rather extensive literature about Kigoma and especially Ujiji during the second half of the nineteenth century but fairly little about the twentieth century. Reconstructing the history of this town as a transformative space from the mid-nineteenth until the early twenty-first century allows us to complement the existing historiography and to fill the decades of historical and political neglect that have hitherto barely been covered in the literature. Paying attention to periods of marginalization and oblivion on top of times of prominence and prosperity, however, inevitably alters the historical narratives about Kigoma-Ujiji.

The remarkable fact that some scattered elements of Kigoma-Ujiji's history resonated in popular culture in "the Global North", to which I return in the next chapter, gives additional flavour to a global reading of Kigoma-Ujiji. A global history of Kigoma-Ujiji, therefore, combines a reinterpretation of global integration in local terms with – often distorted – outside perspectives on the town.

By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, a "town" exists in the area today known as Kigoma-Ujiji, the gradual urbanization process of which I assess in detail in Chapter 3. At the latest from this time onwards, the town was integrated in a regional zone of exchange around Lake Tanganyika as well as in a long-distance caravan trade complex connecting Central Africa with the Indian Ocean. Although there is considerable research about this caravan trade complex²⁶ and they all mention Ujiji as an important node in this complex, very few

²⁶ Abdul Sheriff, *Slaves, spices & ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African commercial empire into the world economy, 1770–1873* (London: James Currey, 1987); Stephen J. Rockel, *Carriers of culture: Labor on the road in nineteenth-century East Africa* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2006); Jan-Georg Deutsch, *Emancipation without abolition in German East Africa, c. 1884–1914* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006); Karin Pallaver, *Un' Altra Zanzibar: Schiavitù, colonialismo e urba-*

authors pay attention to the town itself. Ujiji is usually reduced to its role as interface in a trade network that flourished until the final decade of the nineteenth century. A few authors do zoom in on the town itself, but even then the period of the caravan trade predominates in the literature.

In 1973, Beverly Brown wrote a history of Ujiji in the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries.²⁷ She situated the town in its regional context, both in its immediate Jiji surroundings and the Lake Tanganyika area. The merit of this work is its meticulous descriptive detail. Strictly speaking, this has been the only history of the town before the one you are currently reading. There have been other writings addressing specific aspects of the town's history or integrating the town in a broader regional or national narrative, but none has the town itself as its core research object.

The global perspective going beyond the regional Lake Tanganyika environment, the long-term timeframe going beyond the first decade of the twentieth century, and the focus on the present-day urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji as a whole, thus not limiting the 'urban' analysis to the part of town which was most vital in the nineteenth century, distinguishes this book from Brown's. These distinctive characteristics to a large extent also set my approach apart from the other authors having addressed aspects of the town's history.

Philip Gooding's 2022 monograph, based on his 2017 PhD dissertation,²⁸ about Lake Tanganyika as a frontier region in the nineteenth century pays explicit attention to what he calls "proto-urbanism" on the lakeshore, for which Kigoma-Ujiji²⁹ is his main example. Although I concur with his reconstruction of a shifting balance of power between Ujiji and Kigoma on the eve of colonization, I dissent from his characterization of late-nineteenth-century Ujiji as "proto-urban" – hence, not yet urban – as I explain in Chapter 3. However, it should be noted that Gooding's analysis clearly surpasses the case of Kigoma-Ujiji. He establishes Lake Tanganyika as an integrated region and relates the nineteenth-century dynamics

nizzazione a Tabora (1840–1916) (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2010); Philip Gooding, *On the Frontiers of the Indian Ocean World: A History of Lake Tanganyika, c. 1830–1890* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022); Thomas F. McDow, *Buying time: Debt and mobility in the western Indian Ocean* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2018).

²⁷ Beverly B. Brown, "Ujiji: The History of a Lakeside Town, c. 1800–1914", PhD dissertation, Boston University, 1973.

²⁸ Gooding, *On the Frontiers*; Philip Gooding, "Lake Tanganyika: Commercial Frontier in the Era of Long-Distance Commerce, East and Central Africa, c. 1830–1890", PhD dissertation, University of London – SOAS, 2017, https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/24341/1/Gooding_4369.pdf, (accessed 30 September 2024).

²⁹ Gooding uses the contemporary, i.e. nineteenth-century, names Kawele, Ugoy [Ugoi] and Kigoma.

around the lake to long-distance trade. Despite occasional references to the Indian Ocean world and to the world market, he does not address questions of connectedness beyond the region itself (but instead makes a strong argument for the integration of the Lake Tanganyika region). His story ends with formal colonization around 1890. Although Gooding has written the first extensive work so far putting Kigoma and Ujiji in relation to each other and to a wider region, a global perspective and a timeframe going beyond the nineteenth century distinguish my approach from his.

Sheryl McCurdy's 2000 dissertation on Manyema transforming associations in urban Kigoma from the mid-nineteenth until the late-twentieth centuries deals with a specific aspect of urban life and a characteristic part of the urban population.³⁰ Her focus is on the intersection of associational life and – medical as well as spiritual – therapies for women's (in)fertility primarily in the popular parts of town known as Ujiji and Mwanga. The empirical analysis is entirely local, although passing attention on mobility, the political context, the ethnic melting pot, as well as the spiritual connections with ancestral areas in the Manyema Province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and with beacons of modernity on the Swahili coast guarantee that the locality is not seen in isolation. McCurdy's "ethnohistory"³¹ is the only history about the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji so far that addresses the century and a half from the town's foundation until the present. Yet, contrary to my approach, her work does not concern the "town", but a specific community within the town. Nor does she address spatial dimensions going beyond the Tanzanian national context and perhaps the spiritual-spatial connections with East Congo.

Whereas Brown situates the town in a Jiji context, Gooding in a Lake Tanganyika context, and McCurdy in relation to Manyema in East Congo, I turn this into a problem to be analysed. Yes, Kigoma-Ujiji is related to each of these contexts – and to others –, but I do not want to privilege any of these. Or to put it another way, I decidedly privilege the urban and the translocal – i.e. connections on different spatial scales, empirically addressed from a local starting point – contexts: which connections are dominant when and why, and how do they change over time? Kigoma-Ujiji as a space of transformation is also a history of changing connections and of challenging situatedness or frames of reference.

McCurdy calls the spiritual associations that she studies "transformative". I also focus on the transformative character, while making sense of Kigoma-Ujiji as

30 Sheryl McCurdy, "Transforming associations: fertility, therapy, and the Manyema diaspora in urban Kigoma, Tanzania, c. 1850–1993", PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2000.

31 In the abstract to her PhD dissertation, McCurdy calls her research an "ethnohistorical examination of an urban border community".

a transformative space. In her interpretation, the associations spiritually guide their members through individual transformations. I am more interested in how people in Kigoma-Ujiji contribute to global transformations, how they shape and appropriate transformations on multiple scales, from local to global, or how individual transformations – for instance, in the case of war refugees starting a new life either in or by moving through Kigoma-Ujiji – relate to Kigoma-Ujiji as a translocally connected liminal space. Nonetheless, her insistence on the transforming force of associational practices on female bodies resonates with my proposition to understand Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space vis-à-vis global challenges.

For the sake of comprehensiveness, I will list a few more works mentioning urban Kigoma-Ujiji: the ethnographic articles by Shun'ya Hino on stratification, clothing, and social relations in Ujiji in the 1960s,³² the political studies on administrative organization, on decolonization, and on development in Kigoma (town and region) by Dean McHenry,³³ the scattered attention to Kigoma-Ujiji in histories with a national Tanzanian scope,³⁴ and Liisa Malkki's study of Burundian Hutu refugees in Tanzania, which includes a case on urban Kigoma.³⁵ Other scholarly works referring to Kigoma deal in fact with the Kigoma Region outside the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji³⁶ in line with the colonial legacy and long dominant

32 Shun'ya Hino, "Social stratification of a Swahili town", *Kyoto University African Studies* 2 (1968): 51–74; Shun'ya Hino, "The Occupational Differentiation of an African Town", *Kyoto University African Studies* 2 (1968): 75–107; Shun'ya Hino, "Neighborhood Groups in African Urban Society: Social Relations and Consciousness of Swahili People of Ujiji, a Small Town of Tanzania, East Africa", *Kyoto University African Studies* 6 (1971): 1–30.

33 Dean E. McHenry Jr., "A study of the rise of TANU and the demise of British rule in Kigoma region, Western Tanzania," *African Review* 3, no. 3 (1973): 403–421; Dean E. McHenry Jr., "Concentrations and Ujamaa Villages: a Note on Resettlement Efforts in Kigoma Region", *Taamuli: A Political Science Forum* 5, no. 1 (1975): 54–59; Dean E. McHenry Jr., "Reorganization: an Administrative History of Kigoma District," *Tanzania Notes and Records* 84/85 (1980): 65–76. See also McHenry Jr., "Tanzania: The Struggle for Development".

34 John Iliffe, *A modern history of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); August H. Nimtz, *Islam and politics in East Africa: The Sufi order in Tanzania* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980); Susan Geiger, *TANU women: Gender and culture in the making of Tanganyikan nationalism, 1955–1965* (Oxford: James Currey, 1997).

35 Liisa H. Malkki, *Purity and exile: Violence, memory, and national cosmology among Hutu refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

36 Laurent Sago, "A Labour Reservoir: The Kigoma Case" in *Migrant Labour in Tanzania during the Colonial Period: Case Studies of Recruitment and Conditions of Labour in the Sisal Industry*, (eds.), Walter Rodney, Kapewwa Tambila and Laurent Sago (Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 1983); Margot Lovett, "On Power and Powerlessness: Marriage and Political Metaphor in Colonial Western Tanzania", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 27, no. 2 (1994): 273–301;

tendency in African studies to situate “Africa proper” in the villages and countryside.³⁷

Evidently, the ambitions of this book reach beyond the particular history of Kigoma-Ujiji. The town is not arbitrarily chosen, as it allows me to relate to various strands in urban history, from which I draw inspiration and to which I, in turn, contribute. A pivotal town on regional, transnational, and global scales, yet at the same time in several regards a marginal(ized) town, Kigoma-Ujiji is an in-between place which can be understood not only as a border town or a secondary city but also from the vantage point of global urban history. I will situate my research in relation to these different urban history approaches in the remainder of this subchapter.

Despite colonial-held beliefs that Africa used to be a non-urban continent – except perhaps for some coastal towns –, African urban history has become a rich and diverse field.³⁸ In line with a dominant feature of African history and with urban research in Africa since the 1950s, the ethnographic method and a preference for social history is widespread in African urban history.³⁹ Although I have conducted research along these lines before,⁴⁰ that is not what I want to do in this book. The town itself rather than daily life in the town – the spatial rather than the social – is my main concern in this research. Of course, the town cannot

Julie M. Weiskopf, “Resettling Buha: A Social History of Resettled Communities in Kigoma Region, Tanzania, 1933–1975”, PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2011.

³⁷ Bryceson makes this point in: Deborah F. Bryceson, “Birth of a market town in Tanzania: towards narrative studies of urban Africa”, *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 5, no. 2 (2011): 274–293.

³⁸ Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *Histoire des villes d'Afrique Noire: Des origines à la colonisation* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993); David M. Anderson and Richard Rathbone, (eds.), *Africa's urban past* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000); Steven J. Salm and Toyin Falola, eds., *African urban spaces in historical perspective* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005); Laurent Fourchard, “Between World History and State Formation: New Perspectives on Africa's Cities”, *The Journal of African History* 52, no. 2 (2011): 223–248; Bill Freund, *The African city: A history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); John Parker, “Urbanization and Urban Cultures” in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern African History*, (eds.), John Parker and Richard Reid (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 359–377.

³⁹ See, above all, the urban anthropology of the Manchester School. Katja Werthmann, “Ethnologische Stadtforschung in Afrika”, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 139, no. 2 (2014): 159–178.

⁴⁰ Geert Castryck, “Moslims in Usumbura (1897–1962): Sociale geschiedenis van de islamitische gemeenschappen van Usumbura in de koloniale tijd”, PhD dissertation, Universiteit Gent, 2006; Geert Castryck, “Living Islam in Colonial Bujumbura: The Historical Translocality of Muslim Life between East and Central Africa”, *History in Africa* 46 (2019): 263–298; Geert Castryck, “Children of the revolution: The citizenship of urban Muslims in the Burundian decolonization process”, *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 14, no. 2 (2020): 185–203.

exist without its people and space is always social,⁴¹ therefore, I do look at people and their actions in Kigoma-Ujiji. But what I want to understand is how connectedness on different scales, global transformations, and outside representations of Kigoma-Ujiji have been dealt with and appropriated in the town, thus shaping these connections and transformations.

Although there are numerous fundamental differences regarding time-depth, size, nature of connections, and reasons for decay or neglect between the towns, I am influenced by Howard Dick's Southeast Asian reappraisal of Indonesia's second city Surabaya, Mark Mazower's Southeast European interpretation of Thessaloniki's lost vibrancy under the pressure of both national and international crises and policies, and the collective endeavour edited by John Allen, Doreen Massey, and Michael Pryke interpreting the changing fortunes of cities in relation to their global connections.⁴² The focus on transformations, marginalization, and how people in town dealt with global processes is also at the heart of this book. However, my approach is more decidedly spatial, more systematically zooming in on moments of transformation, and pays more attention to outside perceptions and representations, and how these work back on a place. Thus, I try to analyse how processes of globalization are actively shaped.

Within Africa, there are urban histories paying attention to connectedness in transportation hubs like Atbara, Bulawayo, and Kapiri Mposhi, which are inspiring for this research.⁴³ These infrastructure nodes are more in the kind of league in which Kigoma-Ujiji could play than the bookshelves full of research on the continent's megacities, important mining centres or port cities.

For most of the town's existence, its relevance has primarily been regional, in the broad area around Lake Tanganyika, as one shackle among others in a chain linking Central Africa with the Indian Ocean. This ties in with historiography on urban networks, which John Parker highlights as one focal point of African urban

41 Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1974).

42 John Allen, Doreen Massey, and Michael Pryke, (eds.), *Unsettling cities: Movement/settlement* (London: Routledge, 1999); Howard Dick, *Surabaya, City of Work: A Socioeconomic History, 1900–2000* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002); Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430–1950* (London: Harper Collins, 2004). I am grateful to David Bassens and Isa Blumi for exchanges of ideas on the work by Dick and Mazower respectively.

43 Ahmad Alawad Sikainga, *"City of steel and fire": A social history of Atbara, Sudan's railway town, 1906–1984* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002); Terence O. Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning: The Social History of a Southern African City, 1893–1960* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010); Jamie Monson, "Moving Goods in Kapiri Mposhi, Zambia: The Scaffolding of Stability in TAZARA's Dry Port", *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 25, no. 4 (2015): 87–101.

history.⁴⁴ There are obvious parallels with East and Central African towns such as Tanga, Pangani, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam, Kisangani, Kasongo, Nyangwe and, above all, Bagamoyo and Ujiji.⁴⁵ As already mentioned on the first page of this book, Bagamoyo and Ujiji were both important hubs in the nineteenth-century caravan trade and both went through a phase of subsequent marginalization.⁴⁶ Tabora, in turn, can be considered Kigoma-Ujiji's twin town, with likewise a preponderant nineteenth-century focus in the literature.⁴⁷ However, Tabora lacks the border character, which has given a specific touch to the interplay between separation and connection and between marginality and centrality in Kigoma-Ujiji.

To address this border character, I am inspired by research on border towns,⁴⁸ albeit with restraint. For instance, I could make sense of Kigoma-Ujiji in a similar fashion as scholars have done with Goma, a town with nearly the same name at the Congo-Rwanda border along Lake Kivu: highlighting the role as a border town, its recent growth under the influence of urbanization processes and the arrival of refugees, and the vibrant urban life making use of communications technology, border-crossing economic opportunity, and political creativity.⁴⁹ These elements do figure in my history of Kigoma-Ujiji, but it is not the story I want to tell. Kigoma-Ujiji's urban history is older than the border, which means that the qualification as a border town only applies to some chapters, not to the book as a whole. A primary focus on the border town character, which I disentan-

⁴⁴ Parker, "Urbanization and Urban Cultures".

⁴⁵ Benoît Verhaegen (ed.), *Kisangani, 1876–1976: Histoire d'une ville* (Kinshasa: Presses universitaires du Zaïre, 1976); Justin Willis, *Mombasa, the Swahili, and the making of the Mijikenda* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1993); Jürgen Becher, *Dar es Salaam, Tanga und Tabora: Stadtentwicklung in Tansania unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft (1885–1914)* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1997); James R. Brennan, Andrew Burton and Yusuf Lawi (eds.), *Dar es Salaam: Histories from an emerging African metropolis* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki Na Nyota Publishers, 2007); Jonathon Glassman, *War of words, war of stones: Racial thought and violence in colonial Zanzibar* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011). Also see Andrew Burton, (ed.), *The urban experience in Eastern Africa c. 1750–2000 (Azania / Nairobi: British Institute in Eastern Africa, 2002)*.

⁴⁶ Fabian, *Making Identity*.

⁴⁷ Pallaver, *Un' Altra Zanzibar*.

⁴⁸ Paul Nugent, "Border Towns and Cities in Comparative Perspective" in *A Companion to Border Studies*, (eds.) Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 557–572; Isabella Soi and Paul Nugent, "Peripheral urbanism in Africa: Border towns and twin towns in Africa", *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 32, no. 4 (2017): 535–556.

⁴⁹ Karen Büscher, "Conflict, state failure and urban transformation in the Eastern Congolese periphery: the case of Goma," PhD dissertation, Universiteit Gent, 2011; Karen Büscher, "Urban governance beyond the state: practices of informal urban regulation in the city of Goma, Eastern D.R. Congo", *Urban forum* 23, no. 4 (2012): 483–499.

gle in Chapter 8, would downplay the complexity and reach of Kigoma-Ujiji's history.

The qualification “secondary city” seems more suitable. Coined for contemporary usage by Filip De Boeck, Ann Cassiman and Steven Van Wolputte, secondary cities are “fully urban in that they generate networks and practices that extend far beyond the local limits of these cities and their immediate rural hinterland” and can be interpreted as “nodal points from which to understand both more local and more global worlds”.⁵⁰ Kigoma-Ujiji has not only been on the receiving end of global transformations but also made idiosyncratic contributions to the shaping of global transformations, and from time to time had – albeit distorted – resonance in global public culture. Hence, despite its medium size and marginal status, I envisage a global urban history of Kigoma-Ujiji.

So far, global urban history has primarily been concerned with the world's megacities.⁵¹ Kigoma-Ujiji has never been in that league and never will. However, I do not consider global urban history to be the history of global cities but the global history of cities.⁵² As I elaborate in the next subsection, global history is not so much history of a global scale but history with a global perspective. Global history is more about the questions asked than about an alleged hierarchy from global to local – and in this book the questions address connectedness and transformations, across time and space.

Before I move on to my ambitions at the intersection of global and African history, I briefly situate this research in Swahili studies and Indian Ocean World history, two fields that evoke the oscillation between urban, African, and global approaches. Like many area studies, Swahili studies have a linguistic pedigree, but essentially deal with an urban culture on East Africa's Indian Ocean coast.⁵³

⁵⁰ Kenneth R. Hall (ed.), *Secondary cities and urban networking in the Indian Ocean realm, c. 1400–1800* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008); Filip De Boeck, Ann Cassiman and Steven Van Wolputte, “Recentring the City: An Anthropology of Secondary Cities in Africa” in *Proceedings of African Perspectives 2009 – The African Inner City: [Re]sourced*, (ed.) Karel A. Bakker (Pretoria: University of Pretoria – Department of Architecture, 2010), 33–42.

⁵¹ Michael Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Marc Matera, *Black London: The imperial metropolis and decolonization in the twentieth century* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015); Joseph Ben Prestel, *Emotional cities: Debates on urban change in Berlin and Cairo, 1860–1910* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁵² Geert Castryck, “Global Urban History” in *The Many Facets of Global Studies: Perspectives from the Erasmus Mundus Global Studies Programme*, (eds.) Konstanze Loeke and Matthias Mid-dell (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2019), 139–144.

⁵³ Stephanie Wynne-Jones and Adria LaViolette (eds.), *The Swahili World* (London: Routledge, 2018).

As such, Swahili studies are part of Indian Ocean World studies.⁵⁴ For over a millennium, African settlements on the coast have been connected across the ocean giving rise to a littoral urban culture embedded in its East African (Bantu) surroundings and influenced by cultural contacts with people from around the Indian Ocean basin.⁵⁵ Both Swahili studies and Indian Ocean World history have been preoccupied with these littoral cultures, societies, and their relations. Kigoma-Ujiji is over a thousand kilometres away from the Indian Ocean, yet writing the town's history is also a contribution to Swahili studies. Shun'ya Hino already called Ujiji a Swahili town in his ethnographic writings in the 1960s.⁵⁶ Among Swahili linguists, it is common sense that the language area reaches into East Congo, Zambia, and Burundi, that is, well beyond the littoral area along the Indian Ocean.⁵⁷ Too often, though, this is explained as a diffusion of the Swahili language – and to some extent culture – from coast to interior, at best complicated with some linguistic variations over time and space. This is, of course, partly correct, but it misses not only the point that Swahili was adopted or appropriated in the East and Central African interior but also that Swahili urbanity was re-signified in translocal terms in response to dramatic transformations along the nineteenth-century caravan routes.

In order to understand the development of a Swahili urbanity in East and Central Africa, the disruptive effects of commercial globalization and later colonization are at least as important as the alleged diffusion of a coastal culture. Although Kasongo, Nyangwe, and Tabora were perhaps even more important for the caravan trade complex as such, Ujiji was probably the most important settlement where the invention of a new Swahili urbanity unfolded, which in turn 'spread' back to the Swahili coast and the Indian Ocean world. Thus, Swahili expansion and the integration of the Indian Ocean world should be understood as a bidirectional process, as I elaborate in Chapter 3.

54 For a relational approach to Swahili and Indian Ocean studies, see: Geert Castryck, "Indian Ocean Worlds", in *The Routledge Handbook of Transregional Studies*, (ed.) Matthias Middell (London: Routledge, 2018), 102–109.

55 John Middleton, *The world of the Swahili: An African mercantile civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Mark Horton and John Middleton, *The Swahili: The social landscape of a mercantile society* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

56 Hino, "Social Stratification".

57 Johannes Fabian, *Language and colonial power: The appropriation of Swahili in the former Belgian Congo 1880–1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Lianne Belt, "How linguistic features and social arrangements can interrelate: The position of Swahili and its speakers in Bujumbura" in *Researching Africa: Explorations of everyday African encounters*, (eds.) Mirjam de Bruijn and Daniela Merolla (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 2010), 76–88.

This example of the translocal development of a Swahili urbanity is a first indication of how a town like Kigoma-Ujiji has not only been on the receiving end of global transformations, but constitutes a space where transformations are translocally dealt with, appropriated, reshaped, and redistributed. It is a first illustration of Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space.

1.3.2 Global and Liminal: A History of Transformations and Connections

On top of closing local, temporal, and global gaps in the historiography on the town of Kigoma-Ujiji and combining the history of border towns, secondary cities, and global urban history, I also contribute to the synergy between African and global history: strengthening African history with global approaches and global history with perspectives gained from African history, suiting the agenda of the book series in which this monograph is published.

For sure, I am not the first to bring African and global history together, let alone area and global studies more generally.⁵⁸ If we have a quick look at existing research that can be qualified as global African history, we can discern different strands. One established approach displays a preference for oceanic connections – at times with a fixation on slavery and the slave trade – primarily in precolonial times, similar to what we have observed in the brief overview of historiography about Kigoma-Ujiji.⁵⁹ This runs counter to another dominant tendency in historiography, where the bulk of the research deals with the twentieth century – both in histories dealing with transnational connections in Africa and in research on

⁵⁸ See, for instance, Tilman Dederig, “Reflections on World History and African Studies”, *South African Historical Journal* 50, no. 1 (2004): 249–267; Isabel Hofmeyr, “African History and Global Studies: A View from South Africa”, *The Journal of African History* 54, no. 3 (2013): 341–349; Christian Büschges and Stefan Scheuzger (eds.), *Global History and Area Histories* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2019 [*Comparativ* 29, 2]), and within that volume, Andreas Eckert, “Scenes from a Marriage: African History and Global History”, *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 29, no. 2 (2019): 36–51. Also see the book series on *Global Africa* (Routledge) and on *Africa in Global History* (de Gruyter).

⁵⁹ Donald Wright, *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Niimi, the Gambia* (New York: Sharpe, 1997); Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Robin Law, *Ouidah: The Social History of a West African Slaving ‘port’ 1727–1892* (Oxford: James Currey, 2004); Jeremy Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2008); Edward Alpers, *East Africa and the Indian Ocean* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2009).

colonial Europe.⁶⁰ In contrast, historiography around the time of national liberations – as well as later histories keeping this legacy alive – underscore continuities from precolonial to post-independence times but they do so primarily within national frameworks without foregrounding connectedness.⁶¹ Highlighting connectedness while adopting a timeframe from precolonial to postcolonial times remains a rare combination.⁶²

It is of course all about which message the historian wants to convey. We all pay attention to both continuity and change, but the hermeneutics can either lead the writer and the reader along a narrative chain of changes and contingencies that brings us from a starting point to an end, or else, the spotlights can be put on a decisive turning point that marks the end of an era and the beginning of a new period. Colonization, obviously, can be seen as such a turning point, which, along with – and undoubtedly related to – industrialization, nation-building, and the two World Wars, is a prime reference for anyone studying nineteenth- and twentieth-century history. Yet, hermeneutically, colonization can either be integrated as a disruptive *intermezzo* in a long national narrative of continuity, or it can be marked as a global moment or a critical juncture of globalization that changed the course of history on a world-wide scale. Thus, Jacob Ade Ajayi, in the first decade after most African states gained independence, saw colonialism as only “an episode in African history”. In the early 2000s, Crawford Young raised a similar question about the postcolonial period, asking how long the colonial impact can be used as an explanans for contemporary Africa. Decolonization scholars, on the contrary, argue that the entire modern era is and continues to be defined by Coloniality.⁶³

60 Richard Reid, “Past and Presentism: The ‘Precolonial’ and the Foreshortening of African History”, *The Journal of African History* 52, no. 2 (2011): 135–155. The book series *Africa in Global History* (De Gruyter), too, primarily focuses on the twentieth century.

61 For reflection on continuity from precolonial to colonial and postcolonial times, primarily within a national framework, see: Jacob F. Ade Ajayi, “The Continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism” in *Emerging Themes of African History*, (ed.) Terence O. Ranger (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1968), 189–200; Jacob F. Ade Ajayi, “Colonialism: An Episode in African History” in *Colonialism in Africa 1870–1960, Volume 1: The History and Politics of Colonialism 1870–1914*, (eds.) L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 497–509; R. Hunt Davis, “Interpreting the Colonial Period in African History”, *African Affairs* 72, no. 289 (1973): 383–400; Thomas Spear, “Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa”, *The Journal of African History* 44, no. 1 (2003): 3–27; Reid, “Past and Presentism”.

62 But see, for instance: Nigel Worden, Elizabeth Van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith, “Cape Town”, *The Making of a City: an Illustrated Social History* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1998); Zeman, *The Winds of History*.

63 Ajayi, “Colonialism”; Crawford Young, “The End of the Post-Colonial State in Africa? Reflections on Changing African Political Dynamics”, *African Affairs* 103, no. 410 (2004): 23–49; Anibal

My aim here is not to make a full assessment of Africa-related and colonial historiographies, but rather to define how I relate to these apparent divergences between pre-colonial and twentieth century, between continuity and change and between “global” and “national”. The underlying question is what do I want to interpret, understand, and explain? Basically, I want to understand transformations and connections or, more precisely, how transformations and connections have shaped Kigoma-Ujiji and been shaped in Kigoma-Ujiji. This means, as already mentioned, that you will read neither a biography of this town nor a social history of its constituent population groups, although I am confident that you will see sufficient glimpses to gain a variegated view of the town and its people. The organizing principle, however, is moments and focal points of transformation that are intertwined with processes unfolding on different scales, “constantly shifting the scale of analysis from the most spatially specific [. . .] to the most spatially diffuse”.⁶⁴ Thus, the focus is not on a single and all-defining transformation but, again and again, on new challenges and transformations, which are connected to processes on other scales and sometimes take several decades to come to fulfilment.

Why do I call this a global history? History of globalization(s) and history under the global condition are two different approaches within the broad field of global history to which this research relates. History of globalization concerns the – multiple – processes leading to an increasing interconnectedness, whereas history under the global condition starts from the premise or the observation that from a given time onwards no single history can be adequately understood without seeing it in relation to other places and other scales. The latter approach is in line with Frederick Cooper’s plea for the profession of history, which should analyse non-linear and conflictual processes, increasing as well as decreasing intensities of connectedness, and interactions on all spatial scales without deeming a global scale more important than others or expecting a homogenous outcome.⁶⁵

That being said, it still makes a difference whether the historian starts from a “long-term commitment to place”, which is characteristic for area studies,⁶⁶ and analyses the global interconnectedness from there, or s/he takes the global condi-

Quijano, “Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality”, *Cultural Studies* 21, nos. 2–3 (2007): 168–178. Also see, Bogumil Jewsiewicki, “African Historical Studies, Academic Knowledge as ‘Usable Past,’ and Radical Scholarship”, *African Studies Review* 32, no. 3 (1989): 1–76.

⁶⁴ Frederick Cooper, “Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History”, *The American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (1994): 1539.

⁶⁵ Frederick Cooper, “What is the concept of globalization good for? – an African historian’s perspective”, *African Affairs* 100, no. 399 (2001): 189–213.

⁶⁶ Jane I. Guyer, “Anthropology in Area Studies”, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 501.

tion as a starting point and queries into illustrative cases across the globe. Area studies' local expertise and epistemological rebuke of eurocentrism is too valuable to be put at risk by approaching history from above, substituting Eurocentrism with some other normativity. Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, who were not at ease with the top-down tendency of the global turn in the first decade of the twenty-first century, introduced the idea of "translocality" as an area studies' approach to global history.⁶⁷ Their alternative acknowledges the unescapable interconnectedness under the global condition, yet they start from the local, in line with area studies' "long-term commitment to place".⁶⁸

Alongside the bottom-up "translocality" contribution to global history suggested by area studies historians, I also follow in the footsteps of scholars of global history – two fields that are of course not mutually exclusive. As implied above, in my view global history is neither characterized by a specific object of study nor by a focus on or a view from a global scale, but rather by a heuristic and hermeneutic approach that highlights interconnectedness on all conceivable scales. This view implements global history as a way of practicing history that searches for and interprets in terms of connectedness and interrelatedness under the global condition, which is a historical context where no single entity exists and can be understood independently from phenomena and processes that take place across the globe.⁶⁹ This does not mean that all of these phenomena and processes are necessarily world-encompassing let alone homogeneous, but phenomena across the globe are, somehow, directly or indirectly connected to each other.

One can study how this global condition came into being, how historical agents deal with, manage or shape connectedness, how a specific place is – translocally – connected, which kinds or carriers of connectedness are at play and on which scale, what the role of technology and material actants is in enabling or changing connectedness, which evolutions, intensifications, densifications, and variations in connectedness can be observed over time, which reactions, resistances, and resilience towards global interrelatedness exist, which asymmetries, inequalities, and injustices are produced and reproduced under the global condition, where and how disconnections occur, and so forth. Cooper's 2001 criticism of this characterization of global history would have been that then everything

⁶⁷ Freitag and von Oppen, "Introduction", 1–21.

⁶⁸ For transnational and transregional approaches, that to some extent address the same problem, see Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2013); Matthias Midell (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Transregional Studies* (London: Routledge, 2018).

⁶⁹ Charles Bright and Michael Geyer, "Chapter Nineteen. Benchmarks of Globalization: The Global Condition, 1850–2010" in *A Companion to World History*, (ed.) Douglas Northrop (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2012), 285–300.

would be global history and thus be meaningless.⁷⁰ However, although everything can indeed be studied with a global history approach, it is the heuristic and hermeneutic focus on connectedness and interrelatedness on all conceivable scales that makes it global history, not the object of study as such. Hence, global history does not have to be preoccupied with either bird's eye views or with a centric focus privileging success stories or big moments. At least in principle, it has become widely accepted that globalization is not always a success story, there are multiple globalizations, there are places, times, and arenas of condensation, and globalization is not only about ever increasing and accelerating flows but also about moments of disconnections and about potentially violent or oppressive impositions of control. Yet the awareness and acknowledgement as such do not so easily translate in large numbers of decentred or bottom-up research projects.⁷¹

Portal of Globalization

Several conceptual tools developed for global history are applicable in seemingly marginal contexts. In their article "Global History and the Spatial Turn", Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann develop a conceptual toolbox for global history based on an understanding of globalization processes as spatial, historical, and discontinuous. Drawing on the ideas of Charles Maier,⁷² they focus on the reconfiguration of political space and the historicity of territoriality. They are particularly interested in how territorial orders have been produced, controlled, and challenged in historical processes of de- and re-territorialization, and how these processes have led to global convergence. Although territorialization and the reorganization of territory play a prominent role in only a few chapters of this book (above all in Chapters 3, 5 and 8), the vocabulary they have developed to facilitate empirical research of inherently spatial, historical, and discontinuous globalization processes is also applicable beyond the focus of de- and re-

70 Cooper, "What is the concept". Also see, Geert Castryck, "Introduction – From Railway Junctionure to Portal of Globalization: Making Globalization Work in African and South Asian Railway Towns", *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 25, no. 4 (2015): 7–16.

71 But see, for instance, the recent monograph by Zeman, *The Winds of History*.

72 Charles Maier, "Consigning the twentieth century to history: alternative narratives for the modern era", *American Historical Review* 105, no. 3 (2000): 807–831; Charles Maier, "Transformations of territoriality, 1600–2000" in *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien*, (eds.) Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad and Oliver Janz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 32–56.

territorialization.⁷³ This vocabulary provides a scheme that allows us to talk about processes of globalization in an analytical way. “Critical junctures of globalization” are spatial-temporal arenas of accelerated and intensified transformation, in other words, the sites and moments where processes of globalization take a decisive leap or turn. “Portals of globalization” are those places where globalization processes crystallize or pop up repeatedly over time, or put differently, where transformations occur, accelerate, and intensify frequently. Finally, “regimes of territorialization” indicate political-spatial orders that converge in the wake of critical junctures of globalization and stabilize for a certain period until a next critical juncture redefines the regime.⁷⁴

I pick up on two elements of this reading grid: the focus on moments of transformation, which are understood as both temporal and spatial, and the idea of portal of globalization as a place where such moments of transformation coincide or occur recurrently. As mentioned at the beginning, global moments of transformation are one of the three main angles of this research and will be used as an organizing principle for the book outline. Portal of globalization will be one of the analytical concepts used to interpret Kigoma-Ujiji’s global history. Therefore, I will go deeper into the conceptualization of this category, into a couple of drawbacks in the initial conceptualization, and into my operationalization of the concept.

Middell and Naumann characterize such portals as “those places that have been centres of world trade or global communication, have served as entrance points for cultural transfer, and where institutions and practices for dealing with global connectedness have been developed”. They stress the longevity of portals of globalization when pointing out that “such places have *always been known* as sites of transcultural encounter and mutual influence”.⁷⁵ An investigation of portals of globalization is tantamount to “an examination of those places where flows and regulation come together” and can empirically be conducted with a focus on actors and a combination of local and global aspects.⁷⁶

Although their own tentative illustrations are primarily drawn from European and elite contexts, Middell and Naumann indicate that the category portal

⁷³ They would probably argue that even if you do not pay attention to the redefinition of territory at times of global transformation, there is always a renegotiation of territory, of the meaning of territory (territoriality) or of the configuration of territories involved.

⁷⁴ Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann, “Global history and the spatial turn: from the impact of area studies to the study of critical junctures of globalization”, *Journal of Global History* 5, no. 1 (2010): 149–170.

⁷⁵ Middell and Naumann, “Global history and the spatial turn”, 162. Emphasis added.

⁷⁶ Middell and Naumann, “Global history and the spatial turn”, 162.

of globalization can be used to focus on a whole range of concrete historical actors, on perspectives “from below”, or on small towns as well.⁷⁷ Since they wrote their article as an inviting programmatic text, I want to do exactly that and analyse Kigoma-Ujiji as a portal of globalization, thus expanding the application beyond Europe and elite and heuristically specifying how the analytical concept can be applied.

This interpretation of a seemingly marginal place as a portal of globalization comes with a caveat: if the whole world is living under the global condition, then every place can end up being called a portal of globalization. However, portal of globalization should not be seen as a label but rather as a litmus test. It should be used as an analytical category to empirically gauge the interplay of locality, transformation, and connectedness in making globalization work. It can and must not be ruled out that this interplay can be found everywhere, but it would still not mean that it applies to everything. The local and historical particularity of the place, the idiosyncratic creativity of the actors, and the specific ways in which connectedness operates draw empirical attention to the heart of the production of globalization. The sites where practices and institutions that enable the making and managing of global connectedness are concentrated do not necessarily coincide with an entire town; they are at the same time constitutive of the spatial organization of that town and crucial for its spatial connectedness. For each instance where global challenges are seen in local manifestations, it may be another part of the town where the analytical category portal of globalization can be applied to. In this book, it is the caravan trade complex, the border, the harbour, the interface of local administration and decolonization, the integration of international organizations, and both the collective and individual experiences of war refugees in Kigoma-Ujiji where transformation and connectedness are concentrated. Transformation is shaped locally and connected to other scales at the same time, and it is this connected transformation or transformation of connections that we seek to come to grips with.

This operationalization of “portal of globalization” implies that the forces that make globalization work are to be found all over the world. Yet these locations need to be precisely identified not only as a lumped-together town but as specific spaces within the town. What actually happens is made by people on the spot – who may stem from anywhere – making use of creativity and local assets or resources. Seeing these specific places as portals of globalization provides an inspiring approach to act as a bridge between the particularity of the individual instance and a better understanding of globalization in practice. This is in line

77 Middell and Naumann, “Global history and the spatial turn”, 164.

with the translocal argument by Freitag and von Oppen and allows for an ethnographic focus on the agency of people who cope with challenges they encounter in sometimes creative and original ways, thus also shaping globalization from below.

Liminal Town

The focus on space and connection and on moments of transformation underpins this research. More precisely, I make sense of Kigoma-Ujiji as a space of transformation by reconstructing how people in the town have coped with, appropriated, and shaped global transformations that challenged town life since the mid-nineteenth century. However, apart from focusing on specific spaces of transformation and the way in which they determine and are determined by connections on different scales, I also focus on the transformation process itself. That is, I am not so much interested in transformation as a transition from a before to an after; what I want to understand is the phase between the before and the after, the – sometimes protracted – phase betwixt-and-between.

The interpretation of the town as a transformative space is based on an approach from within, in line with the idea of translocality introduced before. It is by looking at what happens in Kigoma-Ujiji that we can understand how global transformations have affected the town, but also how the people of Kigoma-Ujiji have managed to cope with these transformations. Even if the course of history has made it hard to uphold the town's positionality, several idiosyncratic responses to global challenges attenuated the pressure of globalization on the town. Depending on the situation, the agents of resilience and innovation could be locally born people, recent immigrants, colonial or national authorities, or a combination thereof. What they have in common is the place of operation . . . and the uncertainty of the outcome.

With the concept "liminality" I combine the aspect of marginality and in-between-ness with the uncertainty of the outcome and the transformative character, and more importantly, I draw attention, rather than to the before and after that is bridged by the transformation, to the transformation itself.

Victor Turner introduced the concept in his research on the liminal or transitional phase of "rites de passage" [rites of passage].⁷⁸ A liminal position is neither an outsider position, nor, strictly speaking, a marginal position. Rather it is a tran-

⁷⁸ Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967); Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London: Transaction Publishers, 1969). See also Arnold van Gennep, *Les rites de passage: étude systématique des rites de la porte et du seuil, de l'hospitalité, de l'adoption, de la grossesse et de l'accouchement, de la*

sitional stage on the way to something unknown and uncertain. Liminality, then, points to this stage “betwixt and between”, when the status of the respective individual is ambiguous, somehow cut loose, and virtually invisible. Or in Turner’s own words: “Liminality may perhaps be regarded as the Nay to all positive structural assertions, but as in some sense the source of them all, and, more than that, as a realm of pure possibility whence novel configurations of ideas and relations may arise”.⁷⁹

Although Turner developed the concept to describe a temporal stage in a ritual context, I believe it can be transposed to a historical and spatial approach and allows us to inscribe transition, ambiguity, and uncertainty into the situation of Kigoma-Ujiji.⁸⁰ As a matter of fact, etymologically Turner took a spatial term – “limes” – and temporalized it. Now, I spatialize it back again.⁸¹ Other historians, anthropologists, as well as, for instance, transportation and tourism scholars have done so before, operationalizing the concept of “liminal spaces”.⁸² In current usage liminal space is mainly conceived as a contact and merging zone between essentially different spaces. The idea evokes a possible transition to a profoundly different space, a step into the unknown, and an uncertain outcome. However, contrary to Turner, these scholars employ “liminal spaces” as in-between spaces, not so much as spaces where transformations take place. In my reading, liminal space does not characterize a place between different spaces, but a space of transformation, a space cut loose from a previous condition and on an uncertain trajectory towards an as yet unknown future condition. In the end, I combine the spatial and the temporal dimensions of liminality – drawing on Turner as well as on Perdue and Roberts – when coining the liminal town as a space of transformation.

Just like border or frontier, the idea of liminality suggests both demarcation and connection, but in addition to these, it also intrinsically entails the crossing and the transformation while crossing. Despite the uncertain outcome, liminality also has a more resilient and proactive ring to it than concepts like periphery and marginality, which by definition take somewhere else rather than the transforma-

naissance, de l'enfance, de la puberté, de l'initiation, de l'ordination, du couronnement, des fiançailles et du mariage, de funérailles, des saisons, etc. (Paris: É. Nourry, 1909).

⁷⁹ Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*, 97.

⁸⁰ For a thorough reflection about spatial approaches to liminality, see C. La Shure, “What is Liminality?”, <http://www.liminality.org/about/whatisliminality/>, 2005, (accessed 30 September 2024).

⁸¹ Thanks to Samuël Coghe for drawing my attention to the spatial etymology of liminality.

⁸² Peter C. Perdue, *China marches west: The Qing conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 41; Les Roberts, *Spatial Anthropology: Excursions in Liminal Space* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018).

tion itself as the point of reference. Characterizing Kigoma-Ujiji as a liminal town picks up on the inhabitants' perception of being neglected and marginalized yet also makes a case for an interpretation that underscores the agency to perform and shape transformations and to move through the liminal phase again and again either collectively or in countless individual cases.

By calling Kigoma-Ujiji a liminal town, I do not suggest that the town is stuck in transformation, in a permanent stage of liminality, but rather the history of the town reads as an intrinsically transformative space, where transformations with an uncertain outcome are shaped again and again. The concept evokes the connections – both between before and after and between inside and outside – as well as the transformations, which are at the heart of this book. Thus, the characterization of Kigoma-Ujiji as liminal town both accounts for the peripheral traits, the gradual marginalization, and the global pressure on the positionality of the town, as well as for the resilience, originality, and strength at moments of transformation.

This is where “liminal town” and “portal of globalization” can be brought together. Both concepts refer to spaces of transformation, but “liminal town” underscores the uncertainty and precariousness while “portal of globalization” highlights centrality and a high concentration of global transformations. The concepts can be enriched by combining them: the liminal town is not only characterized by uncertain transformations, but also by the resilience to appropriate global processes and to shape the world through these transformations. Applying the analytical category “portal of globalization” not only draws attention to a focal point where globalization is shaped, but should also account for complications, intermittent and protracted transformations, periods of stagnation, and uncertain outcomes.⁸³ Rather than claiming that liminal towns are portals of globalization – and vice versa – I suggest that the overlap between both concepts helps us better understand how globalization works.

The portal of globalization is, then, not the place where global transformations are initiated but where they are channelled, where they are transferred and transformed, where coping with global transformations is firmly established, where, time and again, global transformations are translocally shaped, appropriated, and remade. In-between moments of transformation, during relatively tran-

⁸³ Middell acknowledges the intermittency, as he points out that portals of globalisation carry a legacy that can underpin a place's long-term identity and perception, and provide the germ for future creativity and inventiveness in the context of another critical juncture of globalisation. Matthias Middell, “Erinnerung an die Globalisierung? die Portale der Globalisierung als ‘lieux de mémoire’ – ein Versuch” in *Europäische Erinnerungsräume*, (eds.) Kirstin Buchinger, Claire Gantet and Jakob Vogel (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2009), 296–308.

quil times, the outside world can easily ignore or neglect the place, but that does not stop the transformations from being further negotiated in the liminal town.

1.4 Method and Outline

The available sources for this research raise a number of methodological challenges, which can also be observed in the way the chapters are organized. For the nineteenth century, I rely primarily on European accounts as well as on secondary literature based on the same accounts. These accounts consist mainly of travel reports or memoirs but also include some traces in missionary and early colonial archives dealing with the phase of colonial conquest. Among them is also a rare African-Arab autobiography that gives external observations by people travelling through Ujiji. Testimonies by people actually living or settling in the area are often registered several decades later by European missionaries and administrators with either an interest in ethnography or in power relations for the sake of colonial rule, or both. For the colonial period or the first half of the twentieth century, the archives of the colonial administration provide the bulk of the research material, which entails not only European colonial but also administrative governmental bias. Oral accounts do allow us to get glimpses of daily life during the colonial period, but these impressions are haphazard and increasingly so as I travel further back in time.⁸⁴ The second half of the twentieth century, which starts with the decolonization process and continues into the post-independence state, left remarkably fewer and more disparate written sources. Official documentation about local affairs is often limited to entries in published national statistics. For sure, statistics had been important for the colonial administration, as well; and there is undeniably a lot of administrative continuity – in the 1960s even as far as staff is concerned. But contrary to the colonial period (and the first half a decade after independence), there are no accessible archives that allow the researcher to follow the paper trail all the way to the local gathering and producing of information. On the other hand, oral history becomes much more useful and reliable, as interlocutors speak about their own lived experience. As this pe-

⁸⁴ There is of course an oral history methodology to go further back in time well into the precolonial period. In fact, most of what we know about the precolonial history of Africa is, at least partly, based on oral accounts – oral traditions and accounts of lived experiences. However, for an urban history of Kigoma-Ujiji, which, as we will see, cannot be properly understood within the context of the surrounding Jiji or Ha areas, the oral traditions and accounts for these areas are of limited use. I do make use of them in the very few cases where they help us understand the town as a transformative space.

riod overlaps with the late-colonial period, both because of the continuities from decolonization movement and local self-rule into the post-independence period and because of the possibility to gain access to this period by means of oral history, I prefer not to call this period post-colonial or post-independence. The lived experience of people in the present as well as the continuities across the moment of national independence, or rather the long-drawn out moment of transformation that started well before formal independence, justify labelling this period contemporary. Thus, I end up with different source bases for the nineteenth century, the colonial period, and the contemporary period.

During two periods of field research in Kigoma-Ujiji in 2011 and 2012, I conducted 33 semi-structured interviews, four of which were with two informants at the same time. Six informants were interviewed twice. The interviews were conducted with the help of a research assistant and were held in Kiswahili (25), in French (4), and in English (4). The informants were selected either because of their role in community life (religion, local politics, music, sports), or because of their professional engagement with one of the leading institutions in town (city administration, railway authorities, consulates, Christian missions, UNHCR, non-governmental organizations). Furthermore, I had several informal conversations in Kiswahili (3), French (3) and English (2), which gave me additional information about everyday life.

Three informants wished to remain anonymous. I also know that some of my informants are undocumented, and there are a few more who I fear may be. I have therefore decided to keep all references to interviews anonymous so as not to cause anyone trouble. I have given some basic information about each informant in the list of sources. On some occasions I disclose who the informant is in the text corpus. Of course, I only did this when the informant did not wish to remain anonymous and when I was sure that he or she was on the safe side as far as their residence status was concerned.

I went through archival records at the Tanzania National Archives in Dar es Salaam, the National Archives of the United Kingdom in London-Kew, the Bundesarchiv in Berlin-Lichterfelde, the Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Oxford University, and the African Archives of the Federal Public Service for Foreign Affairs in Brussels. Most of the records date back to the respective colonial eras (German from the 1890s until 1916, Belgian from 1916 until 1921, and British from 1921 until 1961) and to the first decade after independence. Although few personal files at the Bodleian Library are younger, they nonetheless look back on life experiences in Kigoma-Ujiji during the British colonial period.

Further important sources for my research are publications of travellers, missionaries, and a few colonial officers dating back to the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, manuscripts, papers and theses retrieved at the Library of

the University of Dar es Salaam, as well as writings, films, songs, and images representing Kigoma-Ujiji in global popular culture. This source material is introduced and interpreted in the next chapter.

The heuristic challenge to combine, in the end, four different source bases – linked to three different periods plus a century and a half of external representation – leads to a book that runs the risk of falling apart. It is not a coincidence that most of the historiography, as I have already pointed out, is limited to either the nineteenth-century, the colonial, or the contemporary period; rarely combining different periods. For sure, the historians who have chosen one or the other timeframe also use different types of sources, but these sources complement each other in the same time period. The difficulty is to craft a coherent narrative across periods, despite the heuristically different ways to access each period. The external representation helps to forge a bridge over the entire timeframe, but above all it is the focus on moments of transformation that allows me to make productive use of the caesurae between the different periods. The hermeneutic choice to interpret Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space, which combines an analysis of dealing with, appropriating, and shaping global transformations using the category portal of globalization, while also making sense of the town as liminal, which also accounts for the lulls in-between and the periods of neglect and oblivion as an intrinsic aspect of the transformative space, gives cohesion to the main argument. This does not absolve me from the methodological challenge of dealing with different source bases for different periods, which basically means that the interpretation of the differences between before and after can be thoroughly distorted by the fact that the sources have different takes. In the end, however, the narrative that interprets Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space, a portal of globalization, and a liminal town ties the different strands together.

This hermeneutic cohesion grafted upon heuristic division translates into seven chapters reflecting the different takes (external representation, nineteenth century, colonial, and contemporary), interpreting Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space across six moments of transformation, and, in the end, tying the different strands together in an analytical observation of present-day dealings with the past.

In the next chapter, I introduce three clusters of outsider perspectives on Kigoma-Ujiji since the mid-nineteenth century. First, I introduce the representation of Kigoma-Ujiji in accounts by European travellers, missionaries, colonial officials, and an occasional African-Arab trader in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Thereafter, I analyse the town's representation and perception in popular culture ranging from iconic images of colonization, to North-American and European movies and novels, to colonial heritage, and memories of past centrality and tourism, all directly or indirectly relating to Kigoma-Ujiji. "Leka Dutigite", with which this introduction began, too, can be situated here. Fi-

nally, I reflect on my own position and perception, after having spent half a year in and around Kigoma in 2011 and 2012. Taken together, the first chapter presents an outside picture of Kigoma-Ujiji, which is partly distorted but nevertheless had a real influence on the town, because it both influenced how people from elsewhere approached the place and how people in the town responded to and, to some extent, appropriated these representations.

In Chapter 3, I analyse the origin of urban Kigoma-Ujiji in the second half of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries. The urbanization process took place in several places along the nineteenth-century caravan route in East and Central Africa, where Swahili urban centres emerged. Kigoma-Ujiji was part of this urbanizing network and, along with Tabora, became the most important centre by the beginning of the colonial period. It was, rather than a diffusion of Swahili culture coming from the Indian Ocean coast, a de- and re-territorialization and ethnic exclusion in Central Africa that characterized this first global moment of transformation to which urbanization and Swahilization proved to be an effective translocal response most clearly visible in Kigoma-Ujiji.

Chapters 4 to 6 cover the colonial period, at first sight neatly divided into the periods of German (1890s–1916), Belgian (1916–1921), and British (1921–1961) colonial rule. However, the seemingly tidy temporal demarcations are misleading because of the overlap with a precolonial context and the piecemeal introduction of colonial rule in Chapter 4, the longevity of the Belgian presence and semi-sovereignty in the port of Kigoma long after the end of their military occupation in Chapter 5, and the long transformation towards ending the colonial rule in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4 addresses colonization as a moment of transformation and more precisely engages with the respatialization of Kigoma-Ujiji under the German colonial rule. The redefinition of separations and connections is illustrated in this chapter through the functional differentiation between the African residential town Ujiji and the colonial administrative and commercial centre Kigoma, the new status as border town, and the projected function as an infrastructural hub linking the central railway with Lake Tanganyika and thus the Indian Ocean with the Congo basin. This respatialization on different scales also involved the re-allocation of land. Especially a specific dispute about property of land in the Bay of Kigoma allows me to detail the heuristic challenge of writing history amidst the transformation from the nineteenth century until the colonial period and between different scales of regional embeddedness.

The port of Kigoma lies at the heart of Chapter 5. The railway connection, the port at the Bay of Kigoma, and a first large ship on the lake were planned and implemented under German colonial rule, but only after the First World War could the infrastructure be used for its intended purpose of increasing the capac-

ity and the speed of traffic between the Congo Basin and the world market. The war and its aftermath, our third moment of global transformation, changed quite a bit for Kigoma-Ujiji. After five years of Belgian military occupation in the western part of what used to be German East Africa, Kigoma-Ujiji came under a British mandate of the League of Nations, but Belgium retained the infrastructural link with the Indian Ocean, including an extra-territorial Belgian Base in the port of Kigoma. The town without its international port was of reduced interest to the British colonial authorities, whereas the Belgians were interested in the port but had nothing to do with the town, leading to a relative marginalization of Kigoma in the administration of Tanganyika. On the spot, however, the informal pragmatism of local Belgian, British, Indian, and African agents alike facilitated an interaction between the port and town that went smoothly as long as governments stayed aloof. Likewise, the prolonged Belgian presence in the port until the mid-1990s was made possible by a lack of formal agreement between the adjacent African states after independence.

Chapter 6 deals with Kigoma-Ujiji under British colonial rule and gives a more prominent place to African agents and everyday life than the previous two chapters. From a colonial authorities' perspective, the town's dwindling positionality within Tanganyika, its relation to rural surroundings, as well as the administration of a spatially scattered urban area attract attention. The people's perspective, above all in Ujiji, on the other hand, makes us aware of a protracted translocal transformation towards self-governance and decolonization. Starting from reconciling conflicting groups in town in the early 1930s, local politics were gradually reorganized along spatial lines. Translocal connectedness enabled the people of Ujiji to overcome challenges posed by the colonial administration and by rural authorities, and turned the town into a stronghold of the political independence movement.

Chapter 7 is concerned with the post-independence period and pays particular attention to ways in which the recurrent arrival of war refugees from neighbouring Congo/Zaire and Burundi was dealt with and how globalization projects affected Kigoma-Ujiji. African Socialism, a homegrown Tanzanian globalization project in a Cold War context, together with neoliberal reforms towards and after the end of the Cold War constitute the fifth moment of transformation in our analysis, and the translocal and international dynamics regarding war and refugees the sixth. African Socialism had ambivalent effects on Kigoma-Ujiji, whereby an attempt at rural development led to rapid urbanization and an ideology of self-reliance ushered into neoliberal privatizations later followed by renationalizations. Parallel to that, Kigoma-Ujiji became a hotspot for international and non-governmental organizations dealing with the refugee crisis in the region. These parallel developments had a paradoxical effect: a lot was going on, yet Ki-

goma-Ujiji seemed for a while to be overrun by transformations coming from North and South and from East and West – both geopolitically and nationally. I juxtapose the global transformations affecting urban life with the international imposition and local appropriation of a heritage sector, which, while reducing Kigoma-Ujiji's rich history to a one-sided external reading of it, also offers economic opportunities.

Chapter 8 provides a narrative of Kigoma-Ujiji's history based on a spatial reading of the town and can be seen as an intermediate conclusion to Chapters 3 to 7. Over the past century and a half, the spatial order in the Lake Tanganyika region was repeatedly redefined. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Kigoma-Ujiji also experienced massive immigration from around and across Lake Tanganyika, including waves of refugees from Burundi and East Congo in the most recent decades. I argue that the succession of spatial orders in the area provides the historical context to distinguish between successive groups of urban settlers, as well as to understand their sense of a common destiny under the dominant territorial/national spatial order of today. Deploying this spatial approach avoids an exclusive nationalist or state-centred reading of (this) history.

In the conclusion, I substantiate the claim that this urban history of a medium-sized town on the fringes of East and Central Africa is a genuine global history. Analysing Kigoma-Ujiji as a space of transformation, as both a portal of globalization and a liminal town, enhances our understanding of not only the town itself but also processes of globalization and the role of representation in the shaping of global connectedness.