KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY
HISTORY DEPARTMENT

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF NANDI DISTRICT IN WESTERN KENYA UNDER COLONIAL RULE 1894-1963.

BY

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY OF KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY,

2010

DECLARATION

I, **ANNE JEPKEMBOI** do hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and has never been submitted for the award of a degree in any university or institution of higher learning.

Signed: .....

ANNE JEPKEMBOI

Date: .....

APPROVAL

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

Signed: .....

DR. CYPRIAN BEN ADUPA

Date: .....

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved children Asiimwe Gloria, Atuhaire Georgina and Agaba George.

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ABSTRACT

The study examines economic change in Nandi District during the colonial period. It traces the economic history of pre-colonial Nandi, from the nineteenth century to the time of independence in 1963. It comprises of six chapters.

Chapter one revolves around the geographical location of Nandi district and its inhabitants. It highlights the various views of different scholars on Nandi economy. The statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, justification of the study as well as the scope of the study are all stated in this chapter. The chapter also states the hypotheses on which the study rests. It presents the methods used and the challenges faced during the course of the study.

The second chapter analyses the migration and settlement of the Nandi in the district and their pre-capitalist mode of production. This chapter gives evidence which suggests that the Nandi indigenous economy was dynamic, efficient and productive.

Chapter three highlights the establishment of colonial rule in Nandi. It analyses the impact of colonial policies on Nandi pre-colonial economy and examines the responses and adaptations of the Nandi to the new market opportunities. The chapter also examines the impact of World War I on Nandi economy.

The fourth chapter focuses on the impact of colonial policies on Nandi economy during the inter-war period. It discusses the colonial economic policy and the responses of the Nandi during the period.

It examines the economic changes introduced by the colonial government and continuity of pre-colonial economy. The social differentiation which ensued among the Nandi is also discussed.

Chapter five analyses the economic development in Nandi during World War II and the impact of the war on Nandi economy. The chapter also discusses the responses of the Nandi in the period from the end of the war to independence in 1963.

Chapter six gives the final conclusion to the study and comes up with some recommendations which help in the formulation of economic policies by showing how past efforts and actions operate to present economic difficulties.

GLOSSARY

Baraza	- meeting chaired by a chief in a location.
Boiyot ab kokwet	- village spokesman.
Chepteren	-a potter.
Dukawallahs	- small Indian shops established during the colonial period.
Eunek	- a festive labour exchange.
Ingatiet	- a circular pad placed on the head when carrying heavy load.
Kabungut	- a vegetable garden.
Kacheliba	- wage employment.
Kamasanet	- path leading from main path to a hut.
Kapatutiet	- farm being planted for the first time.
Kapkitony	- blacksmiths.
Kaptich	- pastures far away from the homestead.
Katuriot	- farm being planted for the third time.
Kesumet	- act of exchanging grain for labour.
Kibagenge	- provision of labour in exchange for labour.
Kimanakta	- a practice of keeping ones herd with distant relatives or friends.
Kipketinik	- a brand of beer made from honey.
Kiptururit	- wooden hoe.
Kiruagindet	- spokesman of village council
Kiwondererto	- act of exchanging a girl for grain during famine.
Koito	- marriage transaction.
Kokwet	- village.

Limo	- grazing area near the homestead.
Loinet	- a small arrow used to prick a bulls neck so as to draw blood.
Maiyekab serebe	- beer that has been exchanged for grain.
Ng'eny	- salt-lick
Oret	- a road or path.
Orkoiyot	- the Nandi religious leader.
Pororiet	-the highest political entity.
Roret	- farm being planted for the second time.
Taparta	- fords used to cross a river.

ABBREVIATIONS

ADC	-	African District Council
DC	-	District Commissioner
DO	-	District Officer
NDI	-	Nandi
KNA	-	Kenya National Archives
LNC	-	Local Native Council
PC	-	Provincial Commissioner
ALDEV	-	African Land Development Programme
RVP	-	Rift Valley Province
NZA	-	Nyanza
NDQR	-	Nandi District Quarterly Report
NDAR	-	Nandi District Annual Report
NDGD	-	Nandi District General Documents
LNCM	-	Local Native Council Minutes
NDMC	-	Nandi District Maize Control

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the geographical location of Nandi district and its inhabitants. It also gives various views of different scholars on Nandi economy. It highlights the entire research process; the objectives, hypotheses, scope of study, methods used and the problems encountered during the study.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.

The earliest known inhabitants of Kenya are said to have lived by hunting and gathering, a mode of existence which represented the ultimate means through which early man dealt with an unfriendly and hazardous environment in the pre-capitalist and pre-colonial epoch. The two techniques of acquiring food dominated humanity for longer than 90 percent of his existence, from its origin to what has been called the Neolithic Revolution, when men first invented agriculture and domesticated animals.[1]

Over most of East Africa, food production began about 3000 years ago. Evidence for this is the discovery by archaeologists of a food-producing society in the Rift Valley highlands of Kenya, dating to a period approximately 3,000 years ago, or at least to the end of the second millennium B.C. These people are today called "Stone Bowl People", because they used stone bowls, pestles and mortars.[2] There is little doubt that agricultural production was introduced from outside East Africa and that most of the staple crops and domestic animals found in the region today have their origins elsewhere.

It is increasingly thought that the Stone Bowl farmers and herders were southern Cushitic-speakers who had come from the Ethiopian highlands.[3] Evidence for this is the archaeological findings of skeletal remains as well as the methods of burial from Stone Bowl sites which show similarity to those in the Ethiopian region.

1.2 STUDY AREA.

Nandi District, one of the smallest districts in the Rift Valley province, borders Uasin Gishu district in the north and east, Kisumu and Kakamega districts to the South and West and Kericho district to the South east.[4] (Maps 1 and 2 b) The district lies between 34' 25' and 35'34' east longitude and 0' 07' south and 0'34' north latitude occupying an area of 2'745 square kilometers[5] The district is inhabited by two Kalenjin groups, the Nandi and Terik. The Terik occupy the divisions of Terik, Kemeloi, Bonjoge, Chepkumia and part of Maraba. The latter are few in number and historically practiced slightly different economic activities from that of the Nandi who inhabit most of the district. Whereas the Terik were more agriculturally oriented, the Nandi were more inclined towards pastoralism.

Today the Nandi and Terik practice mixed farming in that they keep animals and plant crops. Among the crops grown are maize, beans, wheat, Irish potatoes, sorghum, millet, vegetables, bananas, tobacco, sunflower and tea. More than 85 percent of the population live in rural areas and mainly thrive on sales of milk, animals, maize, tea and other crops. Most of the district is ranked as being of high to medium economic potential.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The knowledge available on economic change in Kenya in general and Nandi District in particular is still quite inadequate. Yet the Kenyan government cannot solve the numerous economic problems that the country faces today without a clear understanding of the developments that took place in the sector in the past. Some of the problems include; why people respond to government policy in particular ways and the effects of land, labour and marketing policies on productivity. Clearly these were the problems that faced the colonial government and still persist today.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study is about developments in the economy of Nandi District during the colonial period. Broadly it attempts to answer the fundamental question: What were the main patterns of economic change in the district and what occasioned them? Since colonial policy was imposed on the pre-existing economic system, this study further seeks to analyse the main features of the indigenous Nandi economy on the eve of the colonial period. Specifically what were the consequences of colonial land, labour and market policies on Nandi economy? How did the people respond to these policies?

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To examine the nature of traditional land tenure system, crop cultivation, livestock keeping, trade and other related economic activities among the Nand

2. To investigate the effects of colonial policy measures on indigenous economy. The continuities and discontinuities within economic forms and practices during the colonial period will be examined.

4. To find out the responses of Nandi people to the colonial capitalist mode of economic production.

1.6 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

It is true that the economies of Africa south of the Sahara are, with a few exceptions, largely agricultural-based. Yet, so far, most of the studies on agricultural question done on the continental, regional and national levels are characterized by generalization. Kenya is a country of diverse and complex demographic pattern, resource endowment, ecology, agricultural systems and practices and economic experiences. This study will examine the generalizations that have been made about the impact of colonial policies on African economy. Examples of such generalizations include the view that African farmers responded creatively by diversifying production for subsistence and export. Another generalization points out that African societies were transformed into a wage force leading to a systematic suppression of the African economy.

Secondly, it is now generally accepted that a historical dimension is necessary in any effort to grapple with the continent's economic problems. The implication here is that unless the historical roots of the current dilemmas are well grasped, current development planning is bound to be misguided as that of the colonial period tended to be.

Thirdly, by focusing on a district such as Nandi we are able to make an in depth analysis of the impact of colonial economic policies and the accompanying reactions of affected groups to such policies.

In this way the study hopes to serve as a guide to planners on how best to allocate scarce resources in the economic sector in a way that will ensure sustained economic production.

Finally, the study will also serve as a valuable source of reference to researchers and the ordinary readers wanting to be informed about African economy more generally and Nandi economic system more particularly. The study hopes therefore to make an important contribution to the growing literature on Kenya economic history.

1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study covers the period 1894-1963. 1894 was chosen as the starting point of the study because it was the year when the British declared a protectorate over Uganda which by then covered the present day western Kenya, an area inhabited by the Nandi and other ethnic groups. The area to the west of the Rift Valley in which Nandi district is located was given to Kenya which was then called the British East Africa Protectorate in 1902. 1963 was chosen as an end point of the study because that year marked the end of colonial rule in Kenya.

1.8 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The study proceeds from the basic premise that Nandi pre-colonial economic systems were viable and self-sustaining.

The second hypothesis is that, Nandi economy during the colonial period was a continuation of the characteristics which were part of the traditional economy.

Thirdly, the colonial state, while recognizing the importance of African economy, partly destroyed, marginalized and subordinated Nandi's economy by introducing wage labour, land alienation and taxation.

1.9 LITERATURE REVIEW

A number of studies have been done on African and Kenyan economic history with specific reference to the impact of colonial policy on African economy. These studies have tended to be general given the wide scope in terms of area, peoples and systems. This review seeks to evaluate the accuracy and relevance of their assertions in the context of Nandi economy.

Allan's[7] work on African husbandry looks at the effects of ecology on agricultural systems and the relevant economic and social relations of farmers in Africa. He discusses the pre-colonial African land use, the cultivation systems, the surplus from agriculture and the changes brought by the colonialists such as cash crops and new technology. This work covers the whole continent and therefore does not look at Nandi district in particular.

In his study of the pre-colonial African farming systems of the great lakes highlands of Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi, Jones asserts that Africa's agricultural systems were static or rather slow to change, that the traditional agricultural systems of 1900 were, by all evidence remarkably similar to those of today.[8] This study will attempt to find out if this was the case in Nandi District or whether it was a story of innovation rather than stagnation.

Kaniki[9] argues that production for subsistence in pre-colonial Africa was well developed long before the colonial era and that most families produced enough for home consumption and a marketable surplus. The study of Nandi agricultural change was undertaken to find out whether the changes towards commercialization was a local initiative by the people themselves.

Writing on colonial agriculture, Cone and Lipscomb[10] examine government involvement in plantation economy. The book discusses both European and African agriculture. They give major policies and developments in agriculture at different stages during the colonial period. The stages of agricultural change and how these were influenced by colonial policies and metropolitan requirements are outlined. Although this book provides a framework for understanding the effects of colonial policies on Nandi agriculture, it does not specifically deal with Nandi agriculture during the colonial period neither does it discuss pre-colonial agriculture among the Nandi.

Economic policy in the colonial period has also been dealt with by Clayton.[11] His main concern is with African economies in Kenya. He argues that agricultural policies were designed to improve African agriculture, but adds that these policies were weighed against any undesirable impact they might have on European settler interest. The interest of this study is to examine the impact of colonial agricultural policy on the Nandi agricultural system. Clayton's work throws light on the nature of colonial policy.

R.M.A Van Zwanenberg[12] writing on labour and agriculture in Kenya during the inter-war period, argues that primitive accumulation occurred during this period through the

extraction of surplus from African labour by white settlers. He points out that this process of accumulation was mainly enhanced through low wage and the use of the Kipande System registration of Africans meant to curb labourers from diserting duty. Although general, this study provides a framework for understanding of economic change in Nandi district.

Kitching[13], on the other hand, has advanced the view that pre-colonial male labour in Kenya was underutilized quantitatively and qualitatively. He goes on to argue that the introduction of commodity production and wage labour in the colonial period brought about the redistribution and intensification of labour power. Kitching fails to note the fact that production in pre-colonial Africa was generally aimed at subsistence rather than profit making.

Focusing on Nandi district, Kitching argues that Nandi reserve was an area of massive labour out-migration in the 1930s when between 70 and 90 per cent of all adult males worked outside the reserve while 40 per cent were squatters in Uasin Gishu.[14] This forms a major base for analyzing changes in labour organization in the district.

Wolff[15] also contends that Kenya's economic history during the colonial period witnessed the radical transformation of African society into the wage force leading to a systematic suppression of the African peasant agriculture. He argues that the colonial development programme for Kenya created new and difficult constraints for the African population.

Land alienation and labour policies forcibly diverted labour from peasant agriculture to wage labour in European settler farms and Africans were not allowed to grow highly valued crops which were grown by settlers. This view is corroborated by Brett[16] who argues that the stagnation and non-development of the African sector was directly related to the progress and development of the European one. These views provide a framework for analyzing the effects of colonial policies on Nandi economy.

Stichter[17] also deals with the effects of colonial labour policies on indigenous African economy. She argues that some peasants felt encouraged by the system to diversify production for subsistence and export particularly in areas where land, transport and marketing conditions were favourable. Her analysis provides us with a framework of analyzing the Nandi responses to colonial policies.

Mosley[18] argues that, the view that indigenous African economy was destroyed is without any firm statistical foundation and that it obscures the great difference in experience between regions. He refutes the view about traditional agricultural system being helplessly prostrate before colonialism as dependency scholars portray. He states that there is little evidence of absolute decline over the long term in the overall economic condition of the African peasantry of Kenya and Rhodesia during the colonial period. He advances the thesis that the colonial presence might have increased the effective pressure of population in African rural areas which in turn could have acted as a stimulus to agricultural out put. This work is general and does not therefore deal with Nandi district in particular.

Talbot[19] writing on African agriculture has shown that it experienced a thorough pace of innovation, adaptation, diversification and commercialization. He states that Africans were the real innovators during the colonial period since they developed, adapted, and integrated crops and techniques into the Kenya experience accepting, rejecting and modifying them to complement changing traditional society. His analysis is also general and does not specifically touch on the Nandi responses to the colonial policies.

Another economic variable that has received the attention of Kenyan economic historians is that of the emergence of indigenous capitalist class in Kenya. For instance, Leys[20] in his analysis of underdevelopment in Kenya postulated that a small class of Africans such as the chiefs, tribunal elders and the educated, who got cash from salaries, managed to accumulate wealth and were tied to foreign capital. Swainson[21] has argued that the colonial government in the 1950s deliberately encouraged the emergence of an African middle class as a means of ensuring political stability and preventing ultra radical nationalism. Cowen[22] too shows how the agricultural sector influenced the emergence of an indigenous capitalist class during the 20th century. The above work discusses the emergence of class differentiation in Kenya in general. Thus the study on Nandi relies on their analysis with a view to finding out the trend class differentiation took in Nandi.

A limited number of useful works exist on Nandi economy. Gold[23] studied women in agricultural change among the Nandi in the nineteenth century.

She argues that through this period men dominated women in order to control their surplus production in grain and livestock. The control over surplus was maintained through control over the means of production. Gold also traces the transition from mixed farming to more emphasis on livestock which occurred at the end of the nineteenth century. This work's shortcoming is that it does not expound the main features of the Nandi indigenous economic system. This study will attempt to fill this gap by detailing Nandi indigenous economic system.

Oboler[24] examined the changing role of women in Nandi economy from the pre-colonial to the colonial era. His work concentrates on gender roles in Nandi economy but does not address the effects of colonial economy on Nandi economic in detail. This study will attempt to fill this gap by investigating on economic changes in Nandi district.

The review demonstrates the bias among scholars, towards the study of economic development in Kenya. Nandi is perhaps the region least covered by researchers. Besides Gold's and Oboler's works, there is hardly anything on Nandi economy despite the central role Nandi district plays in economic production. This study hopes to fill this important gap in the historiography of Kenya.

1.10 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Three methods were used in collecting data during the research. These were oral interviews, use of questionnaires and written documents. Individual as well as group interviews were conducted.

Variables such as geographical distribution, maturity and command of historical knowledge were relied upon as a guide. This was made possible by the help of chiefs, sub-chiefs and village elders. Open ended questions were used in the questionnaires so as to give room for further probing.

Archival research was conducted at the Kenya National Archives (K.N.A) in Nairobi and Entebbe National Archives (E.N.A) in Entebbe. A wide range of colonial files were examined for the light they threw on colonial policies. They included correspondences, district annual and quarterly reports and records of such departments as agriculture and labour. Research was also done in libraries in Uganda and Kenya including Makerere University main library, Africana section, Nairobi and Kenyatta University libraries in Kenya, Institute of African studies library – Nairobi, Western Kenya Museum library – Kitale in Kenya and the Uganda Society library at the Uganda Museum.

1.11 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING THE STUDY

During the study a number of problems were encountered:

1. As a self sponsored student, I faced a problem of inadequate funds. However, I managed to seek financial assistance from friends and relatives.

2. The people I interviewed were quite old so some could not remember the facts. This was solved by cross-checking the information provided by different respondents.

3. Nandi district is a very expansive region and therefore administering questionnaires needed more time which made it difficult for me. I used research assistants to administer questionnaires in some parts of the district.

4. The researcher experienced one major limitation of archival source and that is most of the correspondences, district annual and quarterly reports represented the official and personal views of those who wrote them. The local people's views were hardly represented. An attempt was therefore made to overcome this by including views got from oral interviews.

END NOTES.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

2.1 INTRODUCTION.

This chapter addresses issues that are pertinent to the geographical set up of Nandi district. This is because of the fact that the natural environment is neither an irrelevant backdrop to, nor an unchanging determinant of human activities. Rather, human activities and the environment have continually interacted in complex ways altering the process of both society and the environment.[1] This chapter also reconstructs the migration and settlement of the Nandi in Nandi district. Settlement patterns are important in so far as they influenced the different economic activities of the people. After settling and constituting themselves into a composite social unit, the Nandi began to harness the natural endowments of their environment.

This chapter also surveys the various economic practices in pre-colonial Nandi. This entails a closer examination of land as a factor of production as well as the various economic practices that were evolved by the Nandi in the period under review. These economic practices include crop production, livestock keeping, crafts and industry and hunting and gathering. In addition ways of disposing off any surplus derived from these activities and the resultant socio-economic differentiation will be analysed.

Geographical Setting

Any contemporary description and analysis of a community's economic history must be preceded by a consideration of the general framework of the physical setting within which the process of economic and human developments have interacted and operated.[2] The economic history of Nandi district is no exception to this generalization.

The district's physical, vegetation, animal and climatic features, like that of the whole country, have changed considerably due mainly to human factors and activities. The environment is thus constantly changing and evolving.[3] The description of the geography of Nandi district is therefore, imperative to enable the researcher analyse the system of land use and also understand the people's economic activities in pre-colonial period and the changes later brought as will be discussed in the successive chapters. The study of the physical environment is necessary in evaluating any economic system. Elements of the physical environment are topography, climate, surface water, vegetation, soil and fauna.

The physiography of Nandi district is composed of five units with typical topography consisting of rolling hills in the west, the Kapsabet plateau (part of Uasin Gishu plateau), the wooded highlands and foothills of the Tindiret volcanic mass in the south east, Kingwal Swamp in the centre, and the dissected Nyando escarpment in the southern border.[4] The zones are based on an association of the factors of landform and vegetation. The zones merge gradually into each other, thus it is hard to establish exact limits. The physical zones are shown in map 3.

The first zone of rolling hills in the south west is characterized by undulating landscape. The zone lines roughly south of Mogong and west of Kundos rivers.[5] Flat topped ridges are found in this area, which are characterized by identical summits that could be remnants of an eroded plain. The vegetation of the area is low scrubs and scattered patches of forest. Kimondi and Mogong rivers flow westwards through the area and eventually join the Yala river.

The second Zone coincides with the forested area in the south - eastern portion of the district.[6] This area's physiography consists of highly dissected piles of lava which are extensions of the Kenya highlands. In the south-east corner are rock outcrops to the height of 2,500 meters above sea level. Rivers in this section include Kipkurere, Kisabei, Kundos and Ainabng'etuny. The rivers have deeply incised valleys and they flow southwards.

The third zone lies in the northern part of the district. This part constitutes an extension of the Uasin Gishu plateau. The valleys are broad and shallow. However, isolated hills occur, distinctive in shape and visibility. They include Kabiyet, Ndalat, Lessos, Tabolwa and Sangalo.[7] The course of rivers in the zone is slightly south-west indicating the original dip of the lava flow. River Kipkaren is one of them. King'wal swamp, on the other hand, is located in the centre of the district. It lies at the height of over 1,960 meters.[8] It is considered to be a site of a hallow in the original land mass. There are basement rock outcrops around Chepterit which prevent drainage.

To the north and east the drainage is also prevented by volcanic rock, from the south by agglomerates of Tindiret. Rivers escape to the west over a series of rapids composed of hard bends in the basement system.

The fifth zone is the dissected Nyando escarpment which has an extremely rugged ground containing granite and volcanic rocks. The equator runs alongside the escarpment line in the area. There have been extensive faulting and intrusion both above and below the escarpment. Rivers in this zone descend with impressive rapids dropping from 2,000 to 1,300 meters through Kibos. To the north of Nyando escarpment a hill occurs at about 2,150 meters above sea level.[9]

Rivers draining the district are shown in map 4. As noted, the main rivers flow in a general westerly direction, a result of the steady decrease in the elevation from east to west.[10] More important, however, is the manner in which the rivers in Nandi are a reflection of the difference in topography between the southern and northern parts of the district. Those of the south are narrow and rapid flowing streams. Kibos and Kundos rivers are good examples. Those of the north are wide and flow more slowly.

The topography also greatly affects the climate. The altitude and hilly topography of the district guarantees high rainfall of about 1,300 mm per annum in the northern parts. The southern parts are affected by Lake Basin atmospheric conditions and thus get rainfall measuring as high as 2,000 mm per annum.[11]

The district experiences a cool climate of 25 to 30 degrees centigrade on warm sunnydays to rainy season day-time temperatures of about 15 to 20 degrees centigrade.[12]

The difference in vegetation between north and south is associated with precipitation. The natural forest covers about 50,000 hectares with a variety of natural trees species that play a major role in agro-forestry.[13] The medium potential areas of the district are covered by shrubs and bushes. It covers parts of Kapsabet plateau and portions lying below Nyando plains. Some parts are covered by grass. Among the natural grasses is the Kikuyu grass species suitable for cattle grazing.

The distribution of soils in the district, on the other hand, depends on the soil forming factors which includes the parent rock, climatic conditions, time, human and biological conditions. Soils on mountains and major escarpments are shallow, excessively drained, friable, stony clay loam to sandy clay loams.[15] The soils in such areas developed on undifferentiated basement system rocks and support predominantly grasses. Soils on the plateau and high level structural plains include those at Mutwot and Biribiriet. They developed on intermediate igneous rock and they are well drained deep red, friable clays over petroplinlthite. These kinds of soils are highly leached, so they have a low base content. Thus phosphate fertilizers are required when planting crops in such soils. However, much of the district has highly productive soils.

Due to the diverse geographical setting described above, the district has varied vegetation including many valuable timber trees and a variety of fibre plants.

The people had a wide knowledge of the botany of their country and had names for most plants and herbs. For example *Magoiwet* (Croton megalocarpus), *Kagoruet* (Eythrina abyssinka), *Tendwet* (Pygium Africana), *Kipumetiet* (Barsama abyssmia) to name but a few.

There was also a large animal population in the forest patches and on the grass plains that surround the forest. The Nandi had special names for almost every species of animal found there. For example, *Kerit* (Nandi Bear), *Ng'etundo* (lion), *Beliot* (Elephant), *Cheplanget* (Leopard), *Sawet* (Buffalo) to name but a few. In addition there were names of all the common types of birds, reptiles and insects. The physical environment did not only influence the flora and fauna of the area, it also determined the settlement pattern of Nandi immigrants and their economic activities.

2.2 Migration and Settlement

Pre-colonial ethnic migrations in Kenya like all pre-colonial African societies, is still problematic in that the evidence is scanty and far apart. Sources of information on these are archaeology and oral traditions but they have limitations as sources of history.

Archaeology for example is a young discipline and not much archeological work has been done in Kenya where done, it highlights material culture and not migration and change. Oral traditions face the problem of accurate dating and the distortion which could be conscious or unconscious.[16]

Archaeological evidence point out that the earliest inhabitants of Kenya were hunting and gathering communities. Later they were joined by the pastoral communities whom linguists generally associate with the Southern Cushitic speaking people. They were followed by the Bantu and Nilotic groups which are reported by Ochieng to have infiltrated the country at the beginning of the Christian era.[17]

Linguistic classification places the Nandi among the Highland Nilotes. Their ancestors, according to Ochieng, had established themselves in Western Kenya by AD 500.[18] The Nandi together with the Kipsigis, Tugen, keiyo, Marakwet, Pokot, Terik, Sabaot and Bogomek are collectively known as the Kalenjin in present Kenya. There was a time when all these groups were referred to as the Nandi-speaking people. This was because the Nandi among the Kalenjin have been the most known due to their resistance towards caravan traders, their attitude to the establishment of colonial rule and their ferocity in cattle raids on their neighbours.[19]

The use of the term Kalenjin for people speaking these related languages is recent. It began during World War II. John arap Chemallan, a Nandi who made vernacular radio broadcasts during the war, is credited with coining the term.[20] The term literally means "I tell you" and it has linked people of common heritage of traditions, culture and language who did not regard themselves as connected in pre-colonial period and before the war.

The name Nandi is not of Kalenjin origin. The Nandi were originally known as Chemng'al meaning "many words" by their Kalenjin neighbours. But this name was

readily dropped because it was used by the Kalenjin neighbours and not the Nandi themselves. The name Nandi is derived from a Swahili word "Mnandi" meaning "Cormorant" used to describe a type of voracious bird. This could be because of the Nandi attacks on the caravan traders.[21] However, the name Nandi has been completely accepted by the people.

The Nandi represent an amalgamation of peoples who found their way to the present Nandi district in several waves of immigration.[22] Nevertheless, the majority of Nandi trace their origin to Mt. Elgon. The migration of the Kalenjin from west to east was probably caused by the expansion of the Bantu north-eastwards to the foothills of Mt. Elgon. Ochieng points out that the Pokot appear to have been the first to break away. At a later date, the ancestors of the Endo, Tugen, Marakwet and Keiyo moved away. Later a major group moved southwards and established themselves at Tto; a place near Baringo.[23] This group formed the ancestors of the Kipsigis, Keiyo and Nandi.

The group then embarked on a more determined expansion eastwards and south-wards assimilating the Cushites and Sirikwa. It was during this period that their stock of cattle increased and it is possible that they at the same time began to evolve their present day clan and age-set system, possibly borrowed from the Sirikwa and Cushites.[24] They were later dislodged by the Maasai who robbed them of most of their cattle turning them into Dorobo (Okiek) and forcing them to move to the area of present day Tambach where they settled for some time. Up to this point the Nandi did not exist as a distinct group.[25]

The ancestors of the Nandi and Kipsigis then moved west-wards. The cause for division of the group into Nandi and Kipsigis are not known. One account points at drought, another account postulates that the division was accidental.[26] The division is believed to have taken place at Kapkeben hill. Whichever account one accepts, most sources agree that the ancestors of the Nandi moved and settled at Aldai in the south-west corner of the present Nandi district. They were led by a man called Kagiboch.

Huntingford sets the date of their arrival in Aldai at about the beginning of the seventeenth century.[27] Walter believes that it was earlier, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[28] Matson points out that Huntingford's dating was based on a cyclical age-set system consisting of seven sets spanning one hundred and five years, which he assumed remained constant. But one age-set was dropped in the early nineteenth century due to their defeat by the Maasai.[29] The section led by Kagiboch must have arrived in Nandi earlier than the seventeenth century.

After settling, the proto-Nandi attracted many refugees from among the Sabaot, Gusii, Luhya, Keiyo, Tugen, Terik and Maasai. They also incorporated the Dorobo and Sirikwa population that they found in the area. The group managed to remain intact by virtue of their sense of common Kalenjin origin, customs and language. The unity was further enhanced by the presence of a Maasai threat. Those incorporated into the community lost their identity because the Nandi were assimilative. Gradually the group expanded from south to the northern part of the district as shown in Map 5.

The area initially settled was small and limited to the escarpment.[30] The area seems to have been chosen primarily for reasons of defense. The escarpment and hills afforded a better view of the surrounding area while heavy shrub vegetation provided substantial cover. In addition, the presence of fairly large caves along the front of the cliffs was an important factor. They served as places of refuge in case of attack.[31] The Nandi avoided open plains and the cause of this fear is not certain; it may have been derived from the time they were migrating when they were subjected to attacks and raids from various plain-Nilotic groups such as the Maasai, Pokot and Turkana.

After settling, the group was left undisturbed for a length of time. They did not have contacts with any other ethnic group. They also had small numbers of cattle which could not attract other communities.[32] The group thus managed to develop and evolve the basic features of their society. In this period, between the late sixteenth century and mid nineteenth century, clans in Nandi increased in number as new immigrants came. There was no exclusive area set aside for each clan, and members of any clan lived wherever they pleased. The clan as such played a small role in terms of spatial distribution. Their settlement concentrated at Aldai.

Henry Mwanzi points out that Aldai, the place where the Proto-Nandi settled, means the 'first place to change'. The implication here is that the settlers adopted agriculture. Aldai is part of Nandi district with most suitable land for agriculture.[33] On the other hand, Walter has argued that the economic life of the proto-Nandi cannot be firmly established.

They did some hunting and gathering, it is probable also that they had rudimentary agriculture. It is not quite certain whether they possessed cattle.[34] Informants pointed out that proto-Nandi adopted agriculture at Aldai due to the influence of the new environment.[35] By1850, the Nandi were good at both crop cultivation and cattle keeping.[36]

As the population grew in the originally settled place, some groups broke away and lived in separate areas and formed the parent group.[37] As they developed each of these groups (called *Pororosiek*, singular *pororiet*) took a specific name as shown in map 5. All the members of a single group identified themselves by this name as did their off-spring. Their numbers increased as new land was incorporated, particularly to the north and east of the original settlement area. Eventually fifteen groups had been formed, although, of course, they did not develop at once. Kagiboch is the oldest and is composed of members of the original settlement group and their descendants.

The first break away from the original *pororiet* occurred between late 1500 and 1850 and it is represented by Kabianga, Kapsile, Tiping'ot Murk'ab Tuk and Cheptol *pororosiek*. Cattle by then had increased in number. The expansion was thus necessary due to the need for additional grazing land for cattle raided from the Luo and Luhya.[38]

Other groups (*pororosiek*) which came into being include Kaptumoiis, Kapchepkendi, Kaptalam, Kapsiondoi and Kimng'oror. There was also a second Kagiboch group which separated from the original group but retained the same name. At a later date came Tugen, Kamelilo and Kagimno. The last of the groups to develop was Koilegei. These groups parceled out land into units, each group taking possession of an exclusive area of land. However, emphasis was on the group and its maintenance and not territorial occupation per-se.[39]

The second major period of expansion between 1850 and 1905 was characterized by an extension of earlier movements. But it was important due to the amount and kind of land covered.[40] It was then that expansion began into the open plateau, places initially avoided due to the fear of Maasai attacks.

The declining power of the Maasai and the introduction of the institution of the *Orkoiyot*, a political innovation from the Maasai, encouraged the Nandi to expand to the plains. As the Nandi made use of the office of *Orkoiyot*, raiding became widespread during the late 1860s. The *orkoiyot* fostered unity among the people and also encouraged raids by predicting success for raiders. Expansion to the plateau was therefore necessary due to population growth and need for more grazing area.

The migration and settlement of the Nandi in their present settlement was thus a slow process which started in the fifteenth century.

It was halted by the Europeans in 1905 when they established their rule in Nandi. After their settlement, the Nandi embarked on economic activities which were influenced by the environment. Crop production was among these activities.

2.4 Crop production

2.4.1 Environmental Influences on Crop Production

In the nineteenth century, the methods of cultivation used in Kenya and in Nandi in particular were a product of the complex interactions of physical and human geography. Among the environmental conditions which set the broad parameters of agricultural development were the nature of the climate, especially the patterns of rainfall, the existence and nature of drainage systems, and soil formation.[41] For example, the disparity in amount of rain between the northern and southern parts of the district, led to a difference in the variety of crops grown. The southern section, which received higher rainfall, was able to grow a wide variety of crops than northern section.

However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, farmers in Nandi, like in various parts of Africa, had long learned how to manipulate and exploit their respective ecosystems, each of which demanded different forms of land management.[42]

To maintain soil fertility shifting cultivation was a common practice in Nandi. A farm once cleared could be used for three to four years then left fallow.

The early attitude by the colonial administration towards shifting cultivation as a system was almost entirely negative. They saw it as bad, exploitative, untidy and misguided. Paul Richards argues that shifting cultivation was an economic system based on the idea of mapping out the interaction between soils, plants atmospheric variables and human labour.[43]

In the first year of planting the farm was called *kapatutiet.* Millet was mainly grown in new farms. In the second year, it was known as *roret*, and the third, *katuriot*. New farms were cultivated in the second year depending on the amount of harvest. The old farms were not left unused; sorghum was planted in the second year, third and even fourth. In southern Nandi, sorghum was grown twice a year.

Another method of cultivation and soil conservation was intercropping. It involved planting different species and different varieties of the same species on the same farm. The Nandi intercropped millet with maize, pumpkins, gourds, beans, sweet potatoes and vegetables. Intercropping was an attempt by pre-colonial farmers to overcome common problems such as pests, diseases, poor quality of soil and irregular quantities and frequencies of rainfall. Intercropping proved to help in several ways. These included minimizing soil erosion, use of available soil moisture and plant nutrients which were maximized where different crops had complementary requirements and roots of different depths. Apart from looking at environmental influences, it is imperative to look at land tenure.

2.4.2 Land Tenure

Land is an important factor in production because it supplies man with material needs of life. Hopkins in reference to West African communities asserts that usufructuary rights were quite crucial.[44] These rights were clearly defined among the Nandi. Land in Nandi was not a scarce resource during the pre-colonial era. Land in each village (*kokwet*) was divided into two, the cultivated section and that which was meant for grazing cattle. The *kokwet* elders decided on which part of the *kokwet* was to be cultivated according to their perception of fertility. Fertility in Nandi was determined by the presence of a particular plant *Tebeng'wet* (Sambucus Africana). The cultivated fields had to be located on one side of the village. This made easy the task of protecting the crops from being destroyed by cattle, wild animals and birds.

The *Kokwet* elder was in charge of the allocation of land to the households. The size of the farm depended on the ability of the person to mobilize labour.[45] A man was therefore free to choose the amount of land to cultivate. Land, once cleared for cultivation, belonged to the person using it. In case of death, the land would be inherited jointly by the sons of the woman who cultivated it. No other land was inherited.

Marriage marked the point in which a man and woman could be allowed to cultivate a field of his or her own.[46] A man was allowed to own a farm to cultivate only after marriage. For polygamous men, cultivated land was distributed according to the

number of wives. It is, therefore, safer to say that each married woman had her own farm which she cultivated. Each household also had a right over the land near the homestead. There was always an individual garden known as *Kabungut.* The garden was solely worked on by the wife who planted vegetables. A man could also own his small farm near the homestead in which he planted tobacco.

From the foregoing it can be deduced that, land was held on family basis. Each family undertook its own subdivisions as it deemed necessary. Land was therefore at the disposal of both men and women to utilize under the guidance of elders. As a result the Nandi were able to grow a variety of crops.

2.4.3 Crops

Nandi economy, as with others in pre-colonial Kenya was diverse. A number of crops, some of which were relatively widespread, were grown. Others differing significantly from those grown by other groups in Kenya, were also found. The staple crop was millet. Other crops were sorghum, beans, pumpkins, gourds, sweet potatoes, maize, bananas and tobacco. The crops grown in Nandi comprised the varieties shown on table 1.

Table 1: CROPS GROWN IN PRE-COLONIAL NANDI

Nandi Name	English Name	Botanical Name	Varieties
Bandek	Maize or Indian corn	Zea mays	Chelekeinik Cheporosinik
Kipsongik	Finger Millet	Elusine Coracane	Cheplelachek Chemugulok Soborik
Mosongik	Sorghum	Sorgum Vulgare	Kipleminik Chemursoin
Mugandek	Beans	Lablab Purpneus	Kamabesit
Rabwonik	Sweet Potatoes	Pomeo batatas	Chelelach Chebiriren
Mogomik	Banana	Musa	Mogomik
Sotonik	Gourds	Curcurbita species	Sotonik
Tomotet	Tobacco	Nicotiano tobaccum	Tomotet
Chebololet	Pumpkin	Cucurbita species	Chebololet

Compiled from oral interviews.

Maize and sweet potatoes were a late addition to Nandi agriculture. Sweet potatoes were introduced to Nandi by the Luo in the nineteenth century.[47] Exactly when maize was first cultivated in Nandi is not certain, but it was earlier than the end of the nineteenth century.[48] Maize was planted once a year at the beginning of the long rains. Maize seeds were planted alongside millet or in small farms in which vegetables were grown. Maize did not gain popularity in pre-colonial Nandi. It was usually eaten on the cob, either boiled or roasted.

Leafy vegetables were also grown. They included spider flower (Gynandropis Gynandra) locally known as *Isakiat*, Night shade (Solanum nigrum) known as *Isochot* and the East African Spinach (Amarathus hybndus) known as *Mborochik* to name but a few.

The different crops were planted at different times over an extended planting period. In Nandi it led to the harvest of some produce either during and early or later season. In the southern Nandi, for example, beans were planted later after the planting of maize and millet. However, beans ripen faster than the others. Sweet potatoes were also planted during the planting season and the harvesting protracted over a long period, because they stored better in the ground.

2.4.4 Division of labour

Swindell indicated that access to labour and not land was the basis of economic and political power in the African continent where population densities were low and land was frequently vested in communities rather than individuals.[49] In Africa most farming was carried out by domestic groups. The size and composition of such groups and the principles of labour used were of primary importance.

The Nandi community was not an exception. Each household was responsible for carrying out all the activities pertaining to cultivation. In the society age and gender were the criteria for structuring such domestic labour. Such division of labour was based on the socio-biological distribution between heavy work, such as clearing and preparing farms done by men, and lighter jobs such as weeding, done by women.

In the Nandi society, the men cleared virgin fields. It was after this that women broke up the clods, gathered the grass and put them in a pile for burning. It was also the work of women to spread ash out through the farms. The farms were then ready for planting. Planting was done by men, women and children. However, there were crops which were solely planted by one sex. For example, vegetables were grown by women but they could be helped by children. Tobacco, on the other hand, was a man's plant. It was planted by men. No woman was allowed into a tobacco field. Women and morans were not allowed to use tobacco in any way. Thus it was the elders who planted and had access to it.

As for weeding of the staple crop millet, everyone including women, children and morans were expected to take part. Weeding was done twice. The first weeding needed much attention from all the age sets. Weeding was a slow process. It was done manually by pulling out the weeds.

To supplement household efforts, communal labour was organized by the household heads. There were two types of communal labour in Nandi, *Eunek* and *Kibagenge*. *Eunek* was an arrangement whereby members from one kokwet or a section of the kokwet joined together to perform a series of tasks in exchange for rewards in terms of food and beer. *Kibagenge* was the coming together of a group which would exchange labour for labour.

Eunek can be termed as festive labour exchange. A household would give a standard meal and host a beer party. The meal was meant for the morans, women and children

who were not allowed to drink. Beer was taken by the elders. The organisation of such labour rewarded in drinks and food could be quite lavish depending on the status of the host. Anyone could call a festive group provided he had the means for sufficient food or beer. However, there was a tendency of the wealthier being able, for example, to cultivate larger farms because they could afford to hold festive groups more frequently. The poorer people organized smaller and localized festivities.

The other type of labour co-operation, *Kibagenge* required the members to rotate in the households to provide labour in exchange for labour. On such occasions women co-operated also in cooking and carrying food to the household whose turn it was to get labour. Therefore, each member of such group got labour in exchange for labour.

Harvesting was another task in Nandi which caused labour bottlenecks. The harvesting of the main staples, millet and sorghum, needed the co-operation of women, men, warriors and children. Harvesting was done in the month of September. The short rains in this region started around this month. Too much rain ruined the millet by making the plant rot. The communal labour was, therefore, organized by the household. Warriors whose main task was to protect the community had to be included. On all occasions when their help was needed, the head of a household went to their huts very early in the morning. On reaching there he would give his snuff container to the leader of the warriors. They would then know that their labour was needed on that elders' farm or for other tasks which needed communal labour in the elders' farm.[50]

Such communal labour was always mobilized to perform specific task after which members disbanded. Functionally they were formed to provide labour assistance, reduce the time taken to perform a task, alleviate drudgery and boredom as well as create a spirit of togetherness and friendship. The size of the work parties was relatively small. It usually involved ten to twenty members, sometimes more. The duration depended on the nature of the task at hand, for example harvesting could rarely exceed three days.

The task of protecting the growing crops in the farms and later during the harvesting season from birds was allocated according to age and sex. The driving away of big animals such as pigs, buffaloes and elephants was carried out by warriors. A small semi-permanent shelter was built in the cultivated field known as *Keriet* in which watchers slept. Traps were also set and left in place. The driving away of birds when the grain was ripe was mainly the work of children and young men who enjoyed shooting the birds using slings. It was also necessary to fence the cultivated field to keep off wild and domesticated animals from destroying the crops. Fencing using reeds was done by men. Widows' farms were always located in the middle of other farms so that the men could help in fencing of their farms.[51]

From the foregoing it can be deduced that all members worked together in all phases of cultivation, except in the clearing of virgin fields by men. However, this practice changed in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Male labour started concentrating on cattle raids and expansion of territory for more pastures for the increasing number of livestock. This resulted in the intensification of female labour in cultivation.[52]

2.5 Livestock Keeping

Huntingford holds the view that pastoralism was of overwhelming economic importance among the Nandi.[53] Alice Gold holds a different view. She points out that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Nandi were a small decentralized community who lived primarily by cultivation, herding of small numbers of livestock, hunting and gathering and that it was only during a brief period towards the end of the nineteenth century that cattle approached the kind of significance ascribed to them by Huntingford.[5]

The Nandi took advantage of the weakening of the Maasai in the late nineteenth century to expand to the open plains previously inhabited by Maasai which are suitable for grazing cattle. Therefore, towards the end of the nineteenth century the Nandi had embraced both Pastoralism and cultivation of crops as their economic activities.

Walter points out that:

> Although the Nandi sustenance and subsistence were derived from agriculture, they were not agriculturalist in the visual sense as were, for example, the Bantu speaking people to the west. Whereas the Nandi interest and values were centered on cattle, they were not primarily pastoral as were those people to the east, principally the Maasai. Thus assuming aspects of both types of cultures but neither whole heartedly, they created their own.[55]

The cows, sheep and goats which have been for a long time the mainstay of Nandi economy were acquired through inheritance, purchase, reproduction and raids. Cattle raids as a method of acquiring cattle became vigorous in the mid-nineteenth century.[56] The raids were organized by each *pororiet*. They were carried out with the blessing of the *Orkoiyot* whose consent was sought before the raids were carried out. Raids took place after harvesting of millet between the months of October and February. Cattle raids did not interfere with cultivation of crops as they were carried out during the dry season. The other reason for undertaking raids during this period was that during the rainy season rivers were flooded and not easy to cross.[57]

Cattle had many uses among the Nandi. Cows provided milk which was usually drank when fresh or curdled. Blood was also drawn from the veins of bulls' neck by pricking with a small arrow called *loinet*. Sometimes the smaller stocks were killed for meat. During periods of grain shortages, the stock could be exchanged for grain from neighbours who had some to spare.[58] Livestock was also a form of wealth that was used in marriage transactions, *Koito*. Bridewealth was paid using livestock. Small stock was also quite important in Nandi. The stock was obtained mainly through reproduction. They provided meat and could be exchanged for grains.

The Nandi usually would not keep their herd in one kraal. A person could keep a few of his herd with distant relatives or friends, a practice known as *Kimanakta*. This practice ensured that in the event of a major raid or an epidemic, the owner would have something with which to build another herd.

Elders in each village determined where to graze their cattle. Herding was mainly the work of young boys and warriors. There were various livestock grazing areas which were owned communally. Grazing areas near the *Kokwet* was known as *limo*. It was possible to return the cows, from such grazing fields, in the evening for milking. There were pastures far away from the homesteads known as *Kaptich*. Cattle belonging to one village were communally grazed. The warriors stayed in such places for several days. The stock was watered at rivers and streams twice a day and about once a month they were taken by the warriors to one of the ten salt licks (*Ng'eny)* in the district which were communally owned. Salt licks used in Nandi during the pre-colonial period include Kiboiin, Amai, Keben, Ngonyek, Sambul, Chemase, Chematuk, Cheptung'eny, Alakuliet and Lelmokwo.[59]

Livestock played a prominent role in social, economic and political life of the Nandi. Wealth was determined by the size of one's herd. Such rich people acquired more wives, organized communal labour easily and held high political positions in society.

2.6 Crafts and Industries

The art of manufacturing is as old as the first time man learnt to sharpen tools by cutting. Crafts and industries were important in the Nandi economy in that they supplemented and complemented agricultural and pastoral activities. It included wood working, Iron smithing, pottery and weaving.

Among the wooden implements used in Nandi was the hoe (*Kiptururit)*. This hoe was used by men. It was driven into the soil in four or five places close together and a sod of tangled roots was loosened and dug out. Iron working was the task of men, and the knowledge belonged to specialized clans which monopolized it. Thus the skills associated with the industry became hereditary; they were passed from the father to the son. Such families were known as *Kapkitony*. Iron smiths did not concentrate on Iron working only. They also cultivated land like any other Nandi. They worked on Iron implements depending on demand. Iron ore was derived from rough red rocky material which was heated to high temperatures in order to extract the ore. The ore was smelted by using leather bellows called *Kobanda*. The blacksmiths' were often very rich because their services were paid for in livestock.

Pottery was a very skilful art practiced by women called *Chepteren*. They used clay from soils in swampy areas. Various designs were made and various sizes fashioned to suit all purposes. Pots were molded from the bottom to the top by piling 9 rolls of clay over another until the required shape emerged. The inside and outside were then smoothened. Decorations were always around the neck or on the rim. Pots were used for cooking, storing water and grain. Smaller pots were used for cooking vegetables, herbs and maize meal. Larger ones were used for fetching and storing water. The very largest ones were used for storing grain and at beer parties.[60]

Weaving and basketry were also women's enterprise. They weaved a number of items ranging from all sizes of baskets and mats. They used special sticks and river side reeds (*Mutwek)*.

Weaving was done throughout the year but more vigorously during and after harvest when the demand for woven items increased.

The Nandi also used gourds. The plant from which the gourds were obtained was carefully tended. The gourds were treated with a solution from some plants to remove the bitter tasting coating on the inside. This was a woman's job; they sewed leather straps on the gourds and made lids out of leather. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, gourds were decorated with beads and cowrie shells. Milk was kept in the gourds to curdle. The small ones were used as cups from which milk was drank. Milking was also done into the gourds. Leather was also used to manufacture important items among the Nandi. For example, a plate made of leather called *Kisiet* was used for serving maize meal.

2.7 Hunting and Gathering

Hunting and gathering were systems of appropriation of subsistence from nature. According to Abdul Sheriff, it was universally practiced by the societies in present Kenya as late as the nineteenth century.[61] Under the system little energy is invested in the production of food. The Nandi in the nineteenth century supplemented their herding and cultivation by hunting and gathering. The origin of hunting and gathering is not known. Walter reports that the proto-Nandi obtained food for the duration of the migration through this method. Contact with the Dorobo and Sirikwa also exposed them to this type of activity. However, the Nandi were rather ineffective as hunters and gatherers.[62] Food obtained from this system included wild animal meat, berries, wild vegetables and roots.

Gathered food included such fruits as *Kimolonik* (Vangieria na rotundaka) *Lemuriekinik* (Carrisa Edulis), *nunuk* (ximenia Americana) to name but a few.[63] Among the vegetables gathered were *Loblobitiet* (Commelina Africana), *chepkimyet* (Abuca wakefieldii), *mbogiat* (Amaranthas hybridus) among many others. Much of the gathering was done by women except the gathering of honey which was done by men.

Honey was the product of bee-keeping. Bee-hives were prepared and kept on particular trees in the forest. Honey supplemented available food. It was an exchange commodity and also raw material for the preparation of beer known as *Kipketinik*.[64] Honey was also used for medication. There were different types of bees known to the Nandi from which they got honey. They included *Sekemik, Chomben, Kulimbenik, Mbokotiek* and *Kusumek*.[65]

Hunting was done by men, especially the warriors and young boys. They hunted smaller game such as rodents, duikers, hares and gazelles as well as bigger animals such as elephants, buffaloes and even leopards. Some of the animals which were not eaten were hunted for sport and security. Hunting was organized through bands and dogs were used. In case of success, the kill, if it could be eaten, was divided, among those present. The person who killed the animal would always take the largest share.[66] Birds like doves and guinea fowls were also hunted for food. Traps were set in the forest to capture animals or birds. The forested area near the place they inhabited gave the Nandi good resource base for hunting and gathering. Apart from the above economic activities, trade was also carried out in Nandi.

2.8 Pre-colonial Trade

Since resources and specialized skills are not evenly distributed regionally, and within particular societies, man has always been forced to utilize exchange to get what he is unable to produce in sufficient quantities to meet his requirement.[67] This certainly was true of Nandi. The different climatic conditions in the south and northern Nandi resulted in a variation in timing of harvests of crops. This was coupled with the disparity in individuals' capabilities to mobilize labour, differences in the sizes of farming units and output which continued to create wide disparities in production. It followed, therefore, that local trade in Nandi existed. This trade was subsistence oriented and it involved agricultural products and other subsistence goods already discussed. It included grains, livestock and items of craft and industry. Barter was the main form of exchange, that is, the exchange of goods for goods dominated the local trade. There were no acceptable standard measures.

In the local trade, there were various social mechanisms used to reduce the impact of food shortages in any one family. For example, a family which had a small amount of grain would prepare beer. The beer could be used to gather grain from the neighbours. Beer was meant for elders, and those who participated in the drinking of such beer were expected to donate grain to that household. Such beer is known as *Maiyekab Serebe.* Grain was exchanged with livestock. An exchange occurred in a situation whereby an individual in need of grain, for instance, had a bull, sheep or goat. He would then look for a person with millet and they would exchange them. This usually took place at home.

A girl could also be exchanged for grain. The act is known as *Kiwondererto*. A household without grain would decide to give out their daughter to be married in a family with grain. This was common during famine. However, the family who got the daughter was still expected to pay bridewealth.[68] Grain could also be exchanged for labour. In case of crop failure in one's farm a person could decide to help in neighbours' farms during the harvesting season. In return he would be given grain. The act is known as *Kesumet*.

Tobacco was another product which was traded on locally and regionally. The product was tied in bundles using banana leaves. The bundle known as *Mogoruet* could be exchanged for small stock. This was mainly done by men.

The distribution of crops due to variations of climatic conditions in Nandi led naturally to internal trade. The southern part of the district produced crops such as sorghum twice a year unlike in the north where production was only once a year. The difference in skills and knowledge in the society was also sufficient enough to spark off considerable specialization and vigorous trade in a number of items.

For each trade, regular markets at fixed points were non-existent, but meeting places where transactions were carried out, especially during famines, were indigenous to the Nandi society. Temporary trading markets were also established at borders, especially in times of famine when it became essential to trade on a larger scale. In such regional trade the Nandi traded with the Luhya and Luo communities.

Regional trade involved the exchange of commodities between the Nandi and their neighbours, the Luo, Luhya, Terik and Maasai. The Nandi got grain from the Luo, Luhya and Terik during famine. The Nandi have had trading contacts with their neighbours for a long time. This accounts for the similarity in the names of crops and practices. For example, *Kesumet* (Nandi), *Khusuma* (Luhya), *Kisuma* (Luo). Maize is *Bandek* (Nandi) and *Bando* (Luo); Night shade; a type of green vegetable, is known as *Isochot* (Nandi) and *isocho* among the Luhya.

It was the women who exchanged grain for meat with neighbours. They travelled to Luhya and Luo land to get food during periods of food shortages. However, when there was famine and livestock was used for exchange, men took them; women accompanied them so that they could carry whatever food was bought. This trade was a two-way traffic as the neighbouring communities also came to Nandi to exchange their goods for local produce during periods of food shortages.

International trade was not directly conducted in Nandi due to their hostility to the Arab and Swahili traders.[69] These traders had tried to establish trading posts in Nandi in the nineteenth century, but they were repulsed by the Nandi who attacked the traders. Goods like beads, cloth and Jewellery were got from their neighbours, the Luhya and Luo who traded directly with the Arab and Swahili traders.

Trade therefore enabled people to acquire properties such as grain, agricultural implements and livestock. It was the means by which people supplemented their daily food provision. Equally important, it was through trade and exchange that individuals accumulated wealth and power.

2.9 Communication and Travel

All travel was by land, for there were no navigable rivers. The Nandi travelled by foot and all loads were carried on peoples heads mostly heads of women for the men refused, in any circumstances to carry loads. When carrying a heavy load, a woman used a circular pad or ring, called *ingatiet* to ease pressure on the crown of the head and to help distribute the weight more evenly.

Nandi had no made roads, all they had were narrow footpaths which were the result of the continual passage of people along them. The general term for road/path was *oret* or *ortinwek* when more than one. *Kamasanet* is a path leading from a main path to one side such as to a hut. Rivers were crossed chiefly by fords, *taparta*. Swamps could sometimes be crossed when there were reeds by treading them down and walking over them; but usually the Nandi went round swamps since they could not make causeways.

Large rivers like Kipkarren, Pire and Mokong were bridged. A typical Nandi bridge, *etiet*, was a somewhat untidy affair. It was made either by placing poles between tress which overhang the water or by fixing forked posts in the ground to take cross-bars upon which are laid the poles that form the roadway of the bridge.

According to a Nandi riddle, the Nandi are said to have learnt bridge-building from the Tugen another section of the Kalenjin tribe.

2.10 Socio-economic differentiation

Class differentiation in pre-colonial Nandi was a result of the different methods of accumulation. Other people managed to accumulate wealth faster than others. Agricultural production, trade, special skills and political positions were some of the avenues used to accumulate wealth. In Nandi wealth was determined by the size of one's herd. Class differentiation became pronounced in Nandi from mid-nineteenth century as a result of the adoption of the *orkoiyot* institution from the Maasai.

Morans managed to acquire wealth through raids. Raids were organized in each *pororiet*. Those who were courageous managed to organize many raids and thus acquired cattle and became wealthier than others. Some of the Nandi managed to get wealth by producing large quantities of agricultural products which could be exchanged for livestock. These are people who had the ability to organize labour to work in the field. This could be through marrying many wives or organizing festive communal labour.

Those with special skills such as blacksmithing also became wealthy in the Nandi society. Blacksmiths produced implements and weapons which were exchanged mainly with livestock.The *orkoiyot*, in a way expropriated and controlled agricultural production in Nandi. He was consulted when planting and when organizing raids. On such occasions presents were given to him. Most of the presents were in form of livestock.

The *orkoiyot* as a result managed to become wealthy. Differentiation also occurred between men and women. In the second half of the nineteenth century, as already indicated, female labour in household production increased as men engaged in military and livestock economy. Women then did most of the cultivation, but surplus was appropriated by men, usually used to purchase livestock, which they owned as private property.

From the foregoing, it is evident that inequality was increasing in Nandi towards the end of the nineteenth century. However much the poor were catered for by the wealthy, seeds of individualism were already sown. The wealthy occupied political positions in the society. From the basic political, social and economic unit, the homestead, the men had a bigger say than the women.

The *kokwet* literally meaning village was a political, judicial, social and economic unit. Each *kokwet* had a body of elders- the village council elders. The elders deliberated over a number of issues and their decision was final. Such disputes as cattle disputes, compensation cases, offences against individuals among many others were discussed. The *kokwet* council was chaired by the *Boiyot ab kokwet* whose role was that of chief spokesman. Among the qualities expected from him, was that he had to be wise and wealthy. *Pororiet* was another institution found in Nandi. *Kiruogindet* was the spokesman of the pororiet council. Their leaders had to be wealthy. It can be deduced that wealth and power went hand in hand in the pre-colonial Nandi society.

2.11 Conclusion

In this chapter it has been argued that Nandi pre-colonial economy was dictated by the ecology. The climate and soils determined land use. Nandi farmers were sensitive to ecological issues. They thus practiced shifting cultivation and intercropping as methods of soil fertility conservation.

From the discussion on Nandi economy, it can be concluded that it was dynamic and innovative. They adopted new crops from their neighbours, for example, sweet potatoes were a late addition from the Luo. They also produced a surplus which was traded on locally and regionally.

From my analysis, it is clear that there was a close linkage within the pre-colonial Nandi economy. For instance craft and industry provided implements used for cultivation. It was this dynamic economy which was introduced to the international capitalism. Nandi economy which is the interest of this study was affected; it was incorporated into the British capitalist system and therefore losing its natural and internal autonomy. The methods, mechanisms and policies that brought about this situation in Nandi economy is the concern of the subsequent chapters.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE EARLY YEARS OF BRITISH RULE AND ITS EFFECTS ON NANDI ECONOMY: 1894-1919

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter the establishment of colonial rule in Nandi will be examined. The impact of economic policies, land alienation, taxation, new technology and forced labour will be examined with special reference to Nandi economy. The responses and adaptations of the Nandi to new market opportunities will also be examined.

In this chapter the impact of World War I on Nandi economy will be examined. The main argument in this chapter is that the formative years of colonialism set the foundation for the articulation of indigenous Nandi economy with the colonial capitalist economy.

3.2 Establishment of Colonial Rule in Nandi.

The colonial conquest of Kenya occurred at a time when most African societies had experienced wide spread epidemics of rinderpest, East coast fever, locusts and smallpox. The people mostly affected gave in fast to British control. It was the groups which were least affected by the disasters which gave strong resistance to British conquest.[1] Those who fought the British at various times included the Nandi, Kikuyu, Gusii and some sections of the Kamba and Giriama. Among those who befriended the British were the Masai and Kamba.[2] For collaborators and resisters, the eventual result was the surrender of their sovereignty to the British.

The Nandi were hostile to strangers or foreigners entering their territory for fear of losing their independence. The Arab-Swahili traders of the early part of the nineteenth century had been repulsed. The same "welcome" was accorded the Europeans. Early skirmishes with the Europeans occurred in mid 1895 when the British trader, Peter West, was murdered. A punitive expedition led by C.Vandaleur was sent to punish the Nandi. He met a Nandi force at Kimondi where a severe fight ensued.

However, Vandaleur did not pursue the expedition; he unexpectedly turned eastward and went to Baringo. This was the first expedition aimed at subduing the Nandi. The Nandi continued to be a threat. In 1897 they raided the Bukusu, Kabras and the Tiriki, but no action was taken against them because the British were preoccupied with the railway construction between Mombasa and Nairobi. In 1899, traders passing through Nandi were attacked. The main problem occurred when the railway reached their territory. The Nandi did not like strangers crossing their land without permission and feared that railway construction will lead to loss of their independence to foreigners. In 1900 the railway was making its way through the escarpment on its way to Kisumu. The Nandi tampered with its progress.

The presence of telegraph wires which could be used to make weapons and ornaments was a great temptation to the Nandi who stole the wires. In May 1890, they attacked Fort Ternan and Kitosh.

On 9th June1890, Six members of a transport caravan were killed. And again on 14th June telegraph and bridge repairers were attacked and an Italian and fourteen porters killed. The route across Nandi territory had become quite dangerous and the construction of the railway was being delayed. Thus the 1900 punitive expedition was sent.

The Nandi evaded the expedition as they opted for guerilla warfare. They had learnt from the first punitive expedition that frontal fighting was detrimental to them. The guerilla warfare also suited their geographical setting which was mountainous in the southern part of the district. Much of their livestock were captured in an attempt to force them to an open battle but it never worked. Peace negotiations were then made with the Nandi in 1900 to allow the construction of the railway to proceed. Neither promises nor concessions were made to the Nandi. The responsibility for ensuring a durable peace rested not only on the Nandi negotiators but also on the effort the government was prepared to make to show the Nandi that more was to be gained from co-operation than from a renewal of hostilities. The peace lasted for a year.

A serious damage was inflicted on the railway line at Kibigori in 1901. A punitive expedition was sent, but it partially defeated the Nandi. It is worth noting the fact that the Nandi intended to retain their independence at all costs. In 1890, a Nandi *Orkoiyot* Kimyolei arap Turukat was put to death by clubbing for the failure of some fighting units in raiding expeditions.

He was blamed because he had foretold that the Nandi will be successful in the raid but instead it turned out to be a failure. The *Orkoiyot* is said to have foreseen his death and had instructed his sons Kipchomber arap Koilegei and Koitalel arap Samoei, not to accept foreign authority in Nandi after his death. He also foretold of foreign people who would come and rule Nandi and that one day there would come a big snake belching fire and smoke, going to quench its thirst in Lake Victoria.[3] The completion of the railway made Kimnyolei's prophecy come true. The people were then scared about the probability of being ruled by foreigners in future. They thus rallied behind Koitalel arap Samoei, the new *orkoiyot*, with the intention of remaining independent.

Such determination made the British administrative machinery ineffective in Nandi until the last military expedition in 1905 to 1906.The British officers on the spot felt that the Nandi threat had to be wiped off once and for all. On 14th June, 1905 Meinertzhagen, the British military administration officer, noted that the Nandi people were restless. In August, the same year, the Nandi were fined three hundred heads of cattle, payable within three weeks but this was not heeded. From September, 1905, tension mounted between the Nandi and the British officers on the spot. Meinertzhagen therefore requested the commissioner in Nairobi to send a punitive expedition against the Nandi.

In October 1905 Koitalel arap Samoei was killed by Meinertzhagen during a "peace" negotiation.

Meinertzhagen's aim was to weaken the Nandi who rallied around *Orkoiyot*. After his death the Nandi became demoralized. Meinertzhagen then moved northwards with his large force, killing people and capturing livestock. This marked the end of Nandi struggle to avert the establishment of British rule. After the defeat of the Nandi, Meinertzhagen convened a special meeting presided by the Governor of the East African protectorate Colonel James Hayes in December 1905. In the meeting, peace terms were agreed upon among which the Nandi of the *pororosiek* of Kapchepkendi and Kamelilo were to be evacuated from the railway area to Kabiyet area in the northern part of Nandi. A military occupation was to continue until the move was complete.

The resistance did not end there. The proposition to move the two groups in south eastern corner of Nandi territory was rejected by the Nandi. The people were told to move to the northern part of Nandi, but they resisted. In January 1906, Meinertzhagen started another phase of the expedition to force the people to move to the reserve he had demarcated. Many houses, stores and crops were burnt. Several people were also captured and imprisoned. The process of burning houses continued for a whole month. The field force wound up its work on 26th February 1906 when the people were evacuated by force.

From the foregoing it is evident that the British military conquest of the Nandi greatly affected the Nandi economy. First, it diverted the peoples labour from normal economic activities.

Cattle raids which were carried out from September to January were not effectively undertaken at the time of resistance. Cultivation was also affected in that the preparation of farms was not concentrated on as they engaged in a fight with the British forces.

Apart from diversion of labour, a large number of Nandi people were killed and others were captured during the military conquest. This had a long term effect on the economic activities of the Nandi for the labour force was reduced.

The burning of homes and grain stores rendered many homeless and destroyed the food reserves which were to be used for the rest of the year or exchanged for other goods. Worse still, the movement of the Nandi from the south to the north made them unable to grow the same varieties of crops which they grew at the southern part which is wetter than the north.

Due to the above effects the Nandi continued to passively resist all forms of change introduced by the British. They continued to seek adventure in cattle raiding in Nyanza however much it was against the law. They also refused to send their children to school and were not enthusiastic to adopt the new agricultural methods by British control.

3.3 Economic Policies in the Formative Years

Colonial conquest not only established alien political domination. It also created conducive conditions for the penetration of capitalism in the nineteenth century.[4] John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman have stated that:

> Africa's pre-capitalist forms of production were subjected to a historic break in their autonomous developments; in the terminology of the time, they were literally "opened up." They became part of economies externally oriented to suit the dynamic of a capitalism that had been imposed upon them from outside.[5]

The articulation of pre-capitalist forms of production and colonial capitalist economy resulted in change and continuity in the pre-capitalist form of production.[6] New tools, crops and techniques of cultivation were introduced. New patterns of land use and labour organization were put in place and in time a new orientation towards the market emerged. The establishment of colonial rule, therefore, marked a major turning point for the Nandi indigenous economy.

British perception of economic activity in Kenya at the beginning of the twentieth century led them to look for economic agents from outside. The argument was that the economies of most communities in Kenya were too backward to be relied upon as a springboard for economic growth. White settlers were therefore chosen to form the base of economic life of the protectorate. The years between 1894 and 1919 were formative in the evolution of settler agriculture.

It was a period when land alienation and experimentation in agriculture occurred. The settlers obtained strong official support and they were confident of creating a "Whiteman's country."[7] The colonial policy was thus biased towards settler agriculture.

The state's support for settlers' production was diverse. Conquest was a necessary pre-condition for any establishment of settler production. The military campaigns made new lands available for alienation. Livestock captured during the campaigns were transferred to settlers. The economic needs overlaid by social customs prevented most Africans from selling their land and livestock to settlers in quantities they needed. Through military campaigns, the colonial state expropriated on behalf of European settlers, means of indigenous production.

The colonial state also provided extension services to the settlers during this period. Through the department of agriculture, the state provided the settler farmers with equipment, seeds, and seedlings and also published many articles and disseminated information on agricultural research to help improve their farming. Demonstration farms were also established to carry out experiments. The department supervised, graded and certified settler crops for export.[8] Among the colonial experiences in Africa, the official assistance offered to settler agriculture in Kenya was the highest.[9]

With the help of the state, the settlers were able to produce cash crops which Africans were prohibited to grow. These included coffee, tea and pyrethrum.
In these formative years there was lack of labour and adequate capital to pay wages. The colonial state enacted several ordinances which forced the Africans to seek wage employment such as the Hut tax of 1901 and Poll tax of 1910. Taxation was one of the measures which were aimed at providing labour in the settler farms. However, taxation was a double-edged instrument;

it led to commodity production among Africans to enable them to pay taxes and to purchase imported goods. It also forced Africans to avail themselves as wage labourers. All these policies were aimed at facilitating accumulation through settler dominated commodity production.

Colonial Policy in various parts of Kenya during the period was not uniform. Factors differentiating governmental, political and economic policy between one area and another were the possibility of alienation of land to non-Africans and the supply of labour to the white settler farms.[10] It therefore, followed that different communities were affected by colonial economic policies in different ways. For instance, some were subjected to a degree of land alienation, some to the restoration of the land available for the growing population, while others were not subjected to any of these policies.

Among the Nandi, land was alienated and livestock was expropriated for the white settlers. Labour was also supplied from Nandi District which was seen as one of the labour reserves. However, indigenous crops such as sorghum which did not have a ready market were discouraged in favour of crops like maize.

Land Alienation.

In its enthusiastic encouragement of European settlement, the colonial state paid little attention to the rights of Africans to land. The Crown Land Ordinance of 1902 gave the Commissioner of the Protectorate power to grant lots of

unspecified size of land ninety nine year leases to the new immigrants. It defined crown land to mean all public land in East Africa Protectorate which were subjected to the control of the king of United kingdom.[11]

Land alienation was through direct seizure, conquest, pressure on chiefs, trickery, swindling and every other means open to the colonialist.[12] In Nandi's case chief Keino was pressurized by Meinertzhagen to map out the boundary of the reserve.[13] Generally through a number of regulations and ordinances between 1901 and 1919 African lands were systematically alienated to white settlers.

In the early years of the protectorate it was assumed that Africans had no rights to "unoccupied" and "uncultivated" land and that there were much "waste" lands available for European settlement. The white settlers would apply to the protectorate for it. By asserting that the crown and not the local people had original title to some land, the government alienated vast lands from the African societies living in the Kenya highlands. From 1897 Europeans could acquire twenty one year renewable land leases in crown land, and from 1915 the length of such leases was extended to 999 years. The Nandi lost much of their land due to the good soils. John Middleton points out that:

> The smaller pastoral tribes of the Nandi and Kipsigis found in a territory which being fertile, was early coveted by European farmers.[14]

The Nandi - controlled territory adjacent to the railway was alienated. The people in the *pororosiek* of Kapchepkendi and Kamelilo in south east part of the territory were forcefully moved to the northern part of the territory. Several years later, during the independence struggle, white settlers and other British officials advanced the argument that the land they occupied was empty at the time of their arrival but this did not apply to the southern parts of Nandi.[15]

The Nandi also lost much land on the Uasin Gishu plateau in 1906. After the defeat of the Maasai in late nineteenth century, the Uasin Gishu plateau acted as a grazing land for the Nandi. The plateau was annexed by the government as part of the European white Highlands. After the colonial government had marked the boundary of the reserve, the Nandi who lived in the plateau were moved to the reserve and strict controls were imposed over their movement. It therefore followed that vast acres of grazing land in Uasin Gishu were lost.

The economic impact of the land alienation went beyond increase of population density in a gazetted reserve.[16] The Nandi who were resettled in the northern part of the district found themselves in drier regions which were unsuitable for the crops formerly grown in the south.[17] They also lost grazing land and salt licks in the south. This resulted in periods of food shortages, which in years of low rainfall led to famine for example in1928-1929 and 1931-1934.

However, land alienation did not end there. A government treaty of 1907 promised the Nandi that the land within the reserve was theirs for ever.

The promise was not kept. 31 square kilometers was taken in 1913 in Kipkaren, the north western part of the territory. In 1919 the colonial state further alienated 336 square kilometers, one-seventh of the remaining territory, for the settlement of demobilized British soldiers. Ndalat and Kaimosi areas were alienated for this purpose.

The Nandi received the alienation of land with a lot of uneasiness. They were scared that they would end up losing all their land.[18] The then District Commissioner C.S Hemsted, in 1920, tried to justify the alienation of Nandi land by reporting that "the alienated land from the reserve was not beneficially occupied or required by the Nandi tribe.[19] Despite the low population, pressure on land in Nandi became a serious matter in the early colonial days, especially as the Nandi tried to keep the number of their cattle to a sufficient level.[20] This was because wealth was determined by the size of one's herd.

Land alienation is central to the understanding of the economic change in Nandi. Land alienation led to shortages of land, and this affected the pre-colonial economic practices observed in Nandi.[21] Londsdale points out rightly that the alienation of Nandi and Kipsigis land turned the groups into agricultural peasants.[22] It is, therefore imperative to look at the effects of land alienation on economic practices in Nandi.

Alienation of land in Nandi caused problems. It led to the overcrowding and shortage of grazing land. As a result, some Nandi moved to the white Highlands to become squatters. This was a system whereby a European land holder allowed African families to reside and cultivate plots and graze their animals on his land in return for a certain amount of labour each year. Before 1918, payment for using such land was in kind. The Nandi could pay in oxen to be used for ploughing settler farms, milk, ghee or labour.[23] Most of the Nandi who went to squat in European farms were wealthy people who needed pasture for their cattle.[24]

The alienation of land in Nandi also led to the success of European settlers in acquiring labour. The settlers had demanded that more reserves be created and the size of existing reserves be reduced not because they needed land, but because they hoped to force more Africans into the labour market.[25] The authorities were also convinced that the availability of enough land in the reserve was responsible for the low turn out of labour. Hence, by reducing such land the Africans would be compelled to seek employment on European farms. The large number of Nandi squatters was a result of land alienation. This was clearly stated by the District Commissioner after the alienation of land to soldier settlers when he reported that:

> The alienation of land is the direct cause of an increase in the number of natives looking for fresh pasturage for their herds in European farms on the grounds that the latter does not now

contain grazing sufficient for their herds.[26]

As already stated, land shortages in Nandi led not only to squatting but to the people turning more to agriculture. The district Commissioner reported in 1908 that:

> In 1906 after three punitive expeditions the tribe was subdued and placed in a reserve which it has since settled down and is rapidly taking to agriculture.[27]

It is not then an exaggeration to deduce that land alienation contributed greatly to the Nandi abandoning pastoralism which they had adopted in mid nineteenth century. Crop cultivation became more important due to lack of grazing land.

Crop Production

In the early period of colonial rule the indigenous crops dominated the agriculture of Nandi. Crops introduced by the colonialist such as sweet potatoes had not become firmly established by 1920. The Nandi gradually responded to the colonial conditions and started growing crops for sale over and above the level of pre-colonial production. By 1912 farms under cultivation were more extensive in scale in Nandi.[28] During the early period, the increased production from African households was made possible by cultivation of an added land.[29] The money economy was gradually introduced and the Nandi found themselves producing for subsistence and increasingly for sale.

Several crops were introduced into Nandi agriculture during this period. Although maize was not introduced during the colonial period, the administration encouraged its growing at the expenses of indigenous crops such as millet and sorghum. This factor is conveyed by the District Commissioner's report in 1909 when he asserted that:

> Native crops are of little or no value except as a food supply with the possible exception of tobacco, which is probably the best tobacco in the country.[30]

New varieties of maize were introduced. By 1906 "Hickory King" or white maize had been introduced in the reserve, but the people were not enthusiastic to adopt it because it was not popular in terms of consumption. Cuzoo variety was also introduced as early as 1909, and it gradually replaced Hickory King.[31] There was a slow adoption of the new varieties, and maize did not gain much popularity during this period. According to the District Commissioner, this was caused by lack of market for the agricultural products and the unwillingness of the people to transport their products to distant places.[32]

Informants pointed out that maize was not popular because the grains were too big and hard to grind using the grinding stone.[33] Millet remained the most important crop in Nandi. It was grown at the beginning of the rainy season. Cuzoo maize and soyabeans, issued by the administration, were planted during the short rainy season in October and November.[34]

It is worth finding out the rationale behind the emphasis of maize production at the expense of indigenous crops. First, there was the need for planters and settlers in the colony to feed their workers. Secondly, maize was easier and cheaper to grow since, despite its low nutritive value in comparison with millet and sorghum, it provided a greater quantity of food and the necessary energy that was ideal for the vast number of workers. It could make workers more satisfied so that they could work without complaining.[35] Maize was introduced in order to assist in the penetration of capitalism in the rural areas because it was marketable and aid in changing the mode of production in Kenya as a whole to a capitalist mode.[36] However maize was not popular among the people

The administration also conducted experiments with other crops. Wild rubber was collected in Nandi district. In 1910 the District Commissioner reported that the Nandi "prefer to collect rubber and purchase food rather than lift a hand to any sort of labour."[37] However, traces of further development of rubber are not there. It was probably abandoned due to the slump in prices in the world market.

Experiments with other crops including linseed, groundnuts, wheat, cotton, beans and Irish potatoes were conducted in the Nandi reserve. In 1907, groundnuts were grown at Kaptumo and Kabiyet. In the following year, it was reported that the crop takes long to ripen and the yields were too low.[38] Cotton was also tried in 1906 at Kaptumo but failed completely. Linseed was introduced

in 1911; it was ruined by the heavy rains.[39] In 1912 the cultivation of linseed was increased, but its production was abandoned due to the low prices offered to growers.

Tobacco was a crop planted from the pre-colonial period. During the early colonial period, it was widely produced. The District Commissioner in 1916 reported that tobacco from Nandi was sold to Kavirondo[40]; in 1917 large quantities of tobacco also found their way to Turkana.[41] The growing of tobacco seems to have increased during the early colonial period. However, its marketing was still by barter. The market had however increased to include Turkana.

The greatest difficulty in this period was to discover which marketable crops would suit each particular area as there were variation in rainfall, temperature and general climatic conditions. The colonial administration carried out experiments to find out which crops would suit which area. They distributed seeds to the people through the chiefs

Changes in Labour Organisation

The contribution of the Nandi to the colonial labour market must be viewed in the context of the wider settler colonial economy. Most settlers were poor. They had limited finances, capital, and wage labour was hard to obtain. The colonial government managed to provide rudimentary infrastructure only.

Colonial capital accumulation was, therefore, based on the appropriation of surplus created by the cheap and lowly paid African labour.[42]

According to the colonial government, the economic prosperity of Kenya depended on European settler production which required heavy labour inputs. Labour ranked second in settler needs after land, and it was a subject of heated exchanges between the settlers and administration.[43] Settler agriculture was rather unstable. The only way it could survive the problems of infancy was through the utilization of labour intensive methods. European growers needed large numbers of African agricultural workers who were vital if their agricultural economy was to thrive. The African labourer did not avail himself readily. A combination of political and financial legislation was employed in order to create adequate labour supply within the colony.

Taxation was the major mechanism used to draw Africans into labour market. Hut tax was introduced in 1901 and in 1910 the poll tax was introduced. Hut tax was not only to raise government revenue, but to force African men to work, either for the colonial state or the settlers for wages. In 1910 the hut tax and poll tax were at the same rate of three rupees. Land alienation and taxation culminated into a systematic impoverishment of Africans and many had no alternative but to seek wage labour. Most of this group entered the labour market primarily without any further pressure from the administration.[44] In Nandi, squatting was popular. The whole family moved and the motivation for squatting was the search for additional grazing land.

There was also the desire to return to live in alienated Nandi land without the constraint of the government administration.[45] Squatting was known as *Ketebenblue* among the Nandi; it was a more prestigious thing to do than wage employment.[46] However, in 1918 payment in kind for squatting was abolished and the squatters, from then, had to provide labour for at least 180 days per year.

The fact that most of those who went to the European farms were squatters affected the kind of labour they offered before 1918. They were unwilling to do any hard manual labour as is reported in 1913 by the District Commissioner N.Manckton:

> The only work the Nandi will undertake is that of Askari, servant and herder. Any attempt to get them to undertake hard manual work or carry loads has failed.[47]

However, there were those who sought employment so as to get the means of paying taxes. These were mainly the young men over the age of sixteen years who were expected to pay poll tax.[48] Wage employment was known as *Kacheliba* among the Nandi and, as already mentioned, it was generally despised.

This is evident from the report by the District Commissioner N.Manckton that;

> If a man is seen working, the young girls stand by and jeer. Nandi labour is practically unobtainable within the district but Kavirondo from Kakamega or Kabras are usually obtainable at a few days notice for a period not less than one month.[49]

From the above it can be deduced that labour from Nandi was quite minimal in the early colonial period. This was worsened by the fact that cash for payment of taxation as a form of pressure did not fall so heavily upon the Nandi as upon people who were exclusively cultivators. Small stock was usually converted to cash for tax payment. However, increasingly large numbers of Nandi people began moving to European farms in between 1913 and 1916 to work in the settler farms.[50] This was to avoid being conscripted into the carrier corps during world war I.

Direct coercion was also used to bring Africans into wage labour during the early colonial period. The administrative apparatus, largely colonial chiefs, were used to get labour by force.[51] Although this was used in other parts of the country, the government left the Nandi alone in the period before First World War; they did not try to do much beyond military control and collecting taxes.[52]

It can be deduced from the above that wage participation of the Nandi was different from that of other ethnic communities. It had different implications for the division of labour. The Nandi never saw, during the early colonial period, a pattern of male migration to cities or tea estates leaving women to manage the subsistence economy.[53] Those who entered wage labour were few, most of them the young men. The majority of the Nandi moved as squatters. They migrated with their whole family. Such migrations did not affect much the division of labour. However, this pattern was drastically changed by the World War I.

Changes in Technology

What caused change in Nandi Economy during this early period was the introduction of a new technology- the imported hoe. As in other parts of Africa, the hoe was popular among most communities in Kenya. The imported hoe was introduced during this period and it was readily accepted because it had no much difference with hoes used in pre-colonial Nandi. The imported hoe had a wider blade. The hoe was also cheaper than those obtained from the blacksmiths. One could exchange grain with the hoe unlike in the pre-colonial period when a blacksmith could ask for a goat or a sheep. Generally the hoes, axes and machetes got from the shops were relatively cheaper than those locally produced.[54] The hoes were available in the local Indian shops in the reserves. The use of it led to increase in area under cultivation and deeper tillage.

The Nandi continued to practice shifting cultivation as they had done before. However land alienation made the people to use cultivated land for a longer period than before. Intercropping was also still a popular practice. They intercropped certain new crops such as Irish potatoes and maize. The farmers were taught how to plant seeds in lines instead of broadcasting. The new techniques were usually demonstrated on plots belonging to headmen or chiefs. The people were left to assess the success of the two different yields. From these demonstrations farmers learnt new techniques which they practiced on their own farms. There was generally an increase in agricultural production.

The increase in agricultural production was also possible due to the initiative of the people. They responded to the expanding market and a growing need for money which was intensified as the local tastes were altered by infiltration of new commodities such as cloth, salt, blankets and many others.Agricultural production was also spurred in Nandi due to the colonial states' bias towards cultivation at the expense of livestock keeping. G.O. Ndege points out that:

> Among the agro-pastoralist the protectorate government encouraged the cultivation of food and cash crops.... These developments helped crop production to gain momentum over livestock among the mixed pastoralists.[55]

Such a policy and the alienation of the Nandi grazing land were the causes for the turn from pastoralism which had been highly valued in Nandi to agriculture towards the end of the 19th century.

It is also clear that colonial policies as regards veterinary control and checks during the period were discriminatory. In 1902, the Cattle Disease Ordinance had been created restricting movement of cattle between districts to avoid the spread of diseases. In 1907, the protectorate government attempted to fence the reserves hoping to stop illicit movement of cattle to the European farms.

The veterinary services offered were also concentrated on European farms; they were not extended to the African reserves. A lot of limitation of the freedom of movement was imposed on the pastoralist generally by the colonial state.

The ordinances on land and livestock began to erode the traditional economic foundations of the pastoral sector.[56] In response the Nandi started to engage more in crop cultivation. Trade was also affected during this period.

Trade

The acceleration in commercialization of African agriculture was a significant factor during this period, so much so that by the outbreak of First World War there was a surplus exported from the African sector despite the biased policy, which gave the first priority to settler agriculture.[57] The leading provinces in agricultural production were Central and Nyanza provinces

Asians played a major role in channeling African produce to the world market.[58] After the completion of the Mombasa-Kisumu railway (Uganda railway) in 1901 the colonial state encouraged Indians , many of whom had been construction workers (coolies) of the railway to undertake trade in the newly established administrative posts and urban centres along the railway and in African reserves. Indian penetration of the Kenyan countryside as *dukawallahs* was given official encouragement by the colonial administration. They exchanged imported goods such as hoes, clothes, sugar, salt and utensils with agricultural produce. The Asians were stationed in towns in the interior. In Nandi they were found at Kabiyet, Kaptumo and Kapsabet.

Among the agricultural goods exchanged for manufactured goods by the Nandi were hides and skins and maize in small quantities. Asians bought farm produce at very low rates and sold imported goods expensively.

Regional trade which was in existence since pre-colonial period, between the Nandi and their neighbours the Luo and Luhya, continued during this period. The trade was still mainly conducted through barter. The Nandi provided livestock in return for grains from the neighbours. In response, the Nandi started to engage more in crop cultivation.

Infrastructure

Roads, telegraph lines and railways in colonies were constructed to enable the colonial powers to consolidate their control over the subject peoples by facilitating the transportation of colonial administrators, armies and police forces to crush rebellions. They were also aimed at facilitating the economic exploitation of the colonies by transporting agricultural and mineral products from the production centres to the export ports from where they were shipped to Europe.

The first European road in Nandi was made in 1906. This was from Kaimosi to Kapsabet. Another road was made from Kaptumo to Kapsabet and from Kapsabet to Kapiyet. Colonial government exploited African labour and in Nandi roads were mostly constructed by women, for the Nandi men would not do such work. The village headman supervised the work. These were simple roads not fit for motor traffic.

The construction amounted to little more than removing the top soil and was thus no heavier than the ordinary agricultural work to which the women were accustomed to.

In 1910, a new road was made to Kapiyet and on to Eldoret and in1912 the track from Kapiyet was continued westwards to Tabolwa. Two years later, a road was made from Kapsabet to Ollesos; this and the Kaimosi road partly followed the line of Sclater's road, the pioneer track made in the early days of the protectorate from Kibwezi to Mumias. The Uganda railway traversed the southern borders of Nandi. This part of Nandi had been alienated by the settlers and the Nandi moved to the reserve in the north. The First World War also affected Nandi economy during this period.

World War I and its Effects on Nandi Economy

The World War I constituted the highest interference in Nandi economy since the start of colonial rule. The division of labour was disrupted for the first time, since the establishments of colonial administration.[59] A large number of the newly initiated age-group of Nyongi was recruited to the King's African Rifles for a campaign in Tanganyika.[60] The Nandi who joined the war, were at first recruited voluntarily. "They were willing to work in the war as police, herders or drivers and general work but not to carry loads."[61] Men generally do not carry any luggage on their heads among the Nandi.

When voluntary labour to serve in the army was no longer forthcoming direct coercion was used to recruit labour into the carrier corps.[62] Chiefs were used to do this. They ensured that the needed labour was available by capturing young people and forcing them to join the army.[63] There was generally a high demand for fighting men as well as porters to serve in the military. Due to the poor conditions and high mortality rates of the carrier corps, work in the settler farms became particularly popular.[64] Squatting became a more attractive alternative.

Exodus of manpower in Nandi became very widespread and this affected the agricultural production adversely. Many people preferred being squatters in the European farms than to being forcefully recruited into the war. An informant reported that the age sets of Nyongi and Maina did not do any farm work at home as most of them went to work for Europeans.[65]

Due to the extraction of labour from the reserve during the war, African production declined after 1916. This was affected by the policies adopted by the colonial state during the period. The colonial state favoured the settler agriculture. The removal of large numbers of men from Nandi reserve had a negative impact on the agricultural production. Agricultural production declined. It is no wonder that it was reported by the District Commissioner in 1919 that "No new crops are grown except European Potatoes which is increasing in favour"[66] It can be deduced from the above that lack of labour led to the abandonment of the new crops in favour of the subsistence crops.

The extraction of labour also brought changes in division of labour in Nandi. Those who joined wage labour were the men who used to provide labour in the reserve. The women and elderly men were left behind and now took up the work which was previously done by the men. The warriors who joined the war used to contribute substantially to agriculture.

The situation was worsened by natural calamities which included drought and East Coast Fever. These calamities greatly affected the already depressed Nandi economy during the war. Food shortage was common. As a result, trade with the neighbouring communities for food was accelerated. For example, low rainfall in 1916 spoilt the crops resulting in a shortage which necessitated food purchasing from Kakamega.[67]

The World War I thus significantly affected economy in Nandi. It not only drew a large number of the Nandi into migrant labour, but it also saw a forceful integration of the Nandi pro-capital economy into the colonial capitalist economy. The Nandi were expected, like other communities, to contribute to the feeding of the army. The amount of maize grown in Nandi was still small; the food which was contributed from Nandi was in terms of cattle.[68] The chiefs were in charge of this. They confiscated cattle from the people by force. There was no payment offered for the cattle taken.

3.10 Conclusion

In this chapter the introduction of colonial rule in Nandi and the initial impact of the colonial policy on Nandi economy have been assessed. The colonial system in Nandi was established using force.

The chapter also analyses the forms of articulation of the indigenous economic production with nascent capitalism. It is evident that during the period, the colonial government set in a process aimed at re-orientating the salient features of agricultural production and social relation that characterized pre-colonial society to meet the needs for the metro pole, colonial state and those of settlers. The process was accelerated by the World War I. The World War I led to coercion of labour and the provision of food by the various communities. As for Nandi, it was a major event which led to change in division of labour.

Nandi economy was only partly transformed by its integration into the colonial cash economy. This transformation included the unequal exchange in agricultural products. That is agricultural products from Nandi were undervalued. The unequal exchange ensured the inferior position of Nandi in the cash economy. However the major themes in Nandi economy were innovation, adaptation, diversification and commercialization were carried over into the colonial period.

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CHAPTER FOUR

NANDI ECONOMY IN THE INTER WAR PERIOD 1920-1939

4.1 Introduction

This was a period when the depressions forced the colonial government to embark on an economic programme drawing indigenous production system into definite relations with the interests of the international capitalism. In this chapter the economic policy and the responses of Nandi during this period are discussed. It also examines the changes in crop production, technology, labour division and expropriation, livestock keeping, trade and exchange and the social differentiation which ensued among the Nandi.

4.2 Colonial Economic Policy

In the first part of 1920, the world prices of most Kenya's export were extremely high.[1] However, by the end of the year, the world commodity boom collapsed. This meant shortage of revenue for the colonial government. The colony could not get grant-in-aid from Britain due to the devastating effect of World War I on the British economy.

The white settlers were also adversely affected by the economic slump. By 1921 not only had the more grandiose expectations of progress been dissipated but most of the European producers were faced with a fiscal crisis.[2] The colonial state had to look for ways and means to raise revenue. Policies were, therefore, changed so as to save the situation.

The economic progress by the white settlers up to part of 1920 and the economic slump of 1920 to1922 had a great influence on the policies pursued by the colonial government in the 1920s.

The colonial state through the Department of Agriculture restated the "Dual Policy" approach to agricultural development in the country. The dual policy had been recommended by an economic commission in 1906 but it had not been taken seriously. The policy stated that in order to develop the agricultural resources and wealth of the country, it was essential for the Africans to take their proper place in the economic life in Kenya and that they would be made to utilize profitably those large sections of the country they occupied. The African agriculture was then encouraged in terms of investigating resources in extension services and promoting maize as a cash crop that could be sold as food for plantation workers rather than being exported.[3] There was, therefore, a move from 1922 to produce in bulk local commodity which had a steady and virtually unlimited demand.[4]

The other major influence in the enactment of economic policy during the period was the Great depression which started in 1928. Crops were attacked by locust in 1928 and in 1929. In the years between 1931 and 1934 there was a major drought. At the same period world commodity prices fell. The value of coffee dropped by half and that of maize and sisal by two thirds.[5] The white settlers and African producers were hit hard by the depression.

However, African producers were far better except a few who had commercialized their production. Oboler clearly indicates that;

> African subsistence farmers were hit hard by the natural disasters, but because their needs for cash was minor, the collapse of commodity markets had little effect on them.[6]

The immediate reaction of the colonial government was to provide assistance to European farmers. When this was not gaining ground, as the depression lengthened, the government turned its attention to African development.[7] Such change occurred because it had become increasingly obvious that improving African farm income could be used to stabilize European production by providing a market to European crops. The depression generally made the colonial government realize the indispensable value of the African peasant production. Throup points out that;

> The depression caused the Kenya government to question the unquestionable, and to ponder whether Kenya really was a "white man's country", as settlers had so confidently proclaimed.[8]

The colonial policy thus changed. It started to place more emphasis on African agricultural production. However, the policy was curtailed by soil degradation in the African reserves. Population growth led to pressures on land and soil erosion was causing much concern in the 1930s. The colonial government interpreted the cause as poor agricultural methods. There was therefore a campaign to better the agricultural methods through terracing, restocking and rotational cropping in the reserves.

The Great Depression and soil degradation were the major events which affected policymaking in the 1930s. The interests of the settlers affected the colonial economic policy. They had a political platform which they used to articulate their interests. African interests also played a major part. They articulated their interest through uprisings, for example Harry Thuku's uprising in 1922 and what has been termed as the Nandi "uprising" in 1923. The Local Native Councils established in 1924 were also formal means by which Africans articulated their interests.

4.3 Nandi "Uprising" 1923

In early 1920s a number of factors led to what has been termed as "Nandi uprising" in colonial literature. The Nandi were quite discontented with the colonial government due to a number of factors. First, there was land alienation in 1919. After World War I, governor Northey set aside land to settle ex-soldiers. This was a move to increase the number of white settlers in Kenya. Land was alienated from the Nandi, for the scheme. Land alienation was not taken lightly among the Nandi. It formed a source of contention between the people and the colonial government throughout the colonial period. Much of grazing land and salt licks were lost. This is evident by what chief Elijah arap Cheruiyot told the Carter Commission at Kapsabet in October 6th 1932. He stated:

> All these salt licks were given to the Nandi after fighting and have since been taken away. Why should we pay for land that used to belong to us? Do you consider us as friends or enemies still? Besides the land of the Nandi has been reduced so much that all the growing men of Nandi have gone on to shambas.[9]

Increased taxation was another factor which affected the Nandi adversely. Taxation had been tripled between 1909 and 1921. Initially, taxation was aimed at forcing the people to join wage labour. In the early 1920s high taxes on Africans were aimed at raising revenue, due to the economic slump. In Nandi, this was made worse by the change in collection date in 1921. Taxes were to be collected twice in one year. The tax increase was quite severe on the Nandi given that the quarantine curtailed cattle trade.
This was noted by Oboler who stated that:

> To make matters worse, cash was in short supply in Nandi after fears that rinderpest might spread in the wake of an epidemic. This caused a stock quarantine to be imposed on the reserve from 1921 to 1923. The Nandi prevented from selling stock outside the reserve, had no cash and taxes had to go unpaid.[10]

Apart from cash shortages to pay taxes, the quarantine also made it impossible for the Nandi to meet grain shortages which was always done by selling stock to the neighbouring communities. The other reason which kindled bitterness against the colonial government was Northey labour circulars which legalized forced labour in Kenya. Inspite of widespread famine and several outbreaks of diseases throughout Kenya in 1918, the colonial government went on recruiting labour for European farms. This factor led to unrest and antagonism against the colonial government.

In 1923, there was a ceremony which was to be held in Nandi; *Saget ab eito*. This was a ceremony which marked the transfer of military power to the next age grade. In the

pre-colonial period the ceremony was followed by massive cattle raiding as the new warrior age-set sought to prove their powers. The ceremony was therefore characterized by expression of military strength. On this occasion the upcoming warriors were tried by the out-going warrior group through fighting. The young age-set had to win the fight so as to prove their capability as the next warriors.[11] The 1923 ceremony was interfered with by the colonial government. Due to the people's unrest and discontent, the government feared that it would lead to another uprising similar to Harry Thuku's uprising in 1922. The government thus suspected that the *orkoiyot* intended to use the ceremony to gather forces for a military uprising. The *orkoiyot* Barserion arap Manyei and other four elders were then arrested before the ceremony and deported to Meru in central Kenya.[12] Permission to hold the ceremony was withdrawn and it never took place again.

The unrest in Nandi prompted the colonial government to change its policy. D.Ellis has described the situation as follows:

> The protest prompted almost immediate change in government policy toward the Nandi.... Immediate removal of quarantine, the return of alienated land not occupied, reduction of hut tax pending removal of quarantine, immediate.....access to Kiboiin salt lick...the return of cattle still held by the government, and the appointment of Kiptainik as paid government headmen. Nearly all these suggestions were implemented.[13]

Despite the fact that the uprising was pre-empted, the colonial policy in Nandi changed. Such an uprising would have shaken the legitimacy of the colonial government. Thus the government had to look for ways and means of making its rule acceptable. This necessitated the change of policy. Crop production was among the areas which were further affected by the colonial policy during this period.

4.4 Crop Production.

The dual policy adopted in 1922 did not change the European and state perception of white settler agriculture as the basis of Kenyan economy. The colonial state took actions that saw African agricultural production being confined within limits that would complement rather than compete with European agriculture. This policy did not change the colonial authorities' perception of African reserves as labour reservoirs. Reserves were not regarded as regions which had a potential to contribute significantly to growth in overall agricultural production. The dual policy, as Maxon points out, was largely a matter of lip service rather than a policy that would be seriously implemented.[14] For the whole of the 1920s the colonial state favoured settler agriculture for export production. Highly valued cash crops such as coffee and tea were kept from African growers.

European farmers were protected from competition with independent African producers. Simultaneously, Africans were forced into the labour market by cutting them off potential sources of income. African interests were on millet and sorghum. The effort launched in 1922, to promote maize as a cash crop, coincided with the livestock quarantine and higher tax demands. This was also a period when tea plantations

adjacent to Nandi and Kipsigis reserves were established. The tea plantations employed African workers who needed maize for food. Due to the above factors, maize was adopted and it became an important cash crop in Nandi in the 1920's. The need for cash also led to commodity production. In 1922 the District Commissioner, Field Jones reported that:

> Quarantine has made it hard for the Nandi to get money to pay the tax. The remedy is to put a large acreage under cultivation and to join wage labour. Maize seeds were issued to the Nandi with the hope of improving cultivation.[15]

Due to the heavy taxation and quarantine, the Nandi needed little coercion by the chiefs and headmen to engage in maize growing. However, chiefs played an active role in encouraging households to engage in commodity production. They used persuasion as well as coercion. They called *Barazas* in which they exhorted people to grow more crops and also distributed seeds. By 1924 the acreage under maize had increased.

Millet and sorghum were grown alongside maize. Maize, however, gradually became both a cash and subsistence crop. Initially maize was a crop mainly cultivated by men. Distinct household fields meant for subsistence crops and those meant for maize came into being. Consequently, three types of fields were found in Nandi in the 1920s. There was the *Kapungut;* vegetable plot near the homestead which was worked on by a married woman with her daughters. Then there was a field in which subsistence crops including millet and sorghum were grown. Each married woman owned such a farm. She worked on it with the assistance of her husband.

Crops from such a farm were used exclusively for subsistence. A third type of field in which mainly maize was planted came into existence. This type of farm was run by men, primarily for cash and secondarily as a subsistence crop. This led to a situation whereby women concentrated their labour in production of indigenous crops for subsistence, while the cultivation of maize was in the hands of men and profits from it were seen as a man's personal property.

The crop failure due to locust destruction in 1928 and 1929 contributed to the decline in the growing of millet and sorghum. In the 1930s continued rainfall during the season for preparation of farms also led to reduction of the amount of millet grown. By the 1930s maize had become the staple crop, millet which was regarded as less productive by the colonial officials had been replaced[16] There was also official encouragement and emphasis on maize growing. The colonial administrators discouraged indigenous crops which they argued was a source of large amount of beer brewing in the reserve. There was a campaign against subsistence crops which could not serve as cash crops. In 1934, maize had become very popular in Nandi. The DC K.L.Hunter, reported that "..... for the first time now the Nandi had had a rare surplus of maize and sold an appreciable quantity".[17] By the following year, acreage under maize among the community producers ranged between 40 and 50 acres.[18] The introduction of water mills also made maize popular as a subsistence crop since the grinding of grain using two stones was time consuming.

Other crops encouraged in Nandi in the 1920s were potatoes, beans, wheat and vegetables such as cabbages. I these crops were experimented on in Nandi by the government. However much these crops were emphasized through distribution of seeds, the Nandi came to rely more on maize. Maize served both as a food and as a cash crop. It also found accommodation in the dietary habits of the people. The sale of maize also provided money which they could use to meet their tax obligation and to purchase imported goods.

The Great Depression led to greater government effort directed towards the encouragement of African agriculture. An attempt was made to fill the decline in European production caused by the slump in prices with African production. African production in the reserves could keep the level of export in the colony high as a whole. Maize in particular, became the source of the colony's income. Cash crop production was further emphasized in Nandi. In 1934, the DC reported that there was a move to encourage the growing of crops which could serve as food and cash crops. These included maize, English potatoes, beans and peas.

The Local Native Council played a major role in encouraging the growing of certain crops. They started a seed farm at Kapsabet in which they produced seeds for crops such as English potatoes, beans and peas. By 1935 rose coco beans had also been introduced. The seeds were distributed to the people through the chiefs. Other seeds distributed in Nandi were from the agricultural department. Distribution of seeds was a form of coercion. It was a method used to induce people to grow cash crops.

Wattle tree was another crop introduced in Nandi during this period. In the 1936 Development programme, Wattle trees were to be planted by the colonial administrators so as to provide trees for fencing in the northern part of the reserve. Cheptarit was the area chosen by the colonial officials to plant wattle trees. Under the supervision of chief arap Malel, land was cleared using oxen plough. Wattle trees were grown and closely monitored by the DC Hunter and the chief. However informants indicated that wattle was grown in Nandi before this; that those who had got employed in settler farms in Uasin Gishu had brought back wattle seeds and planted them.[19] The growing of these trees had not spread widely, but with the colonial intervention it spread fast in the northern part of the district. Wattle trees in Nandi during this period were not grown as a cash crop. People used them before they were mature, for building houses and fencing farms.

From the above, it can be concluded that there was a bias towards cash crops by the colonial government at the expense of subsistence crops. The indigenous crops, millet and sorghum were grown alongside maize but the amount declined gradually. The decline was also contributed to by natural disaster, particularly locust destruction. Maize gained popularity among the Nandi during this period.

4.5 Changes in Technology

As discussed in chapter Three, the wooden hoe was popularly used among many communities in Africa because it adapted to environmental conditions. During the inter war period the technology newly introduced was the ox-plough.

In Nandi, the first ox-plough was introduced in 1925. The ploughs were distributed to the chiefs by the colonial administration. This was a move to increase commodity production among the colonial collaborators, the chiefs. However the plough was not enthusiastically received by the Nandi; they resisted the use of cattle for ploughing.[20] One chief at Kosirai got a plough but he did not use it. He gave it to Nicodemo arap Tangwar who used it. This earned the latter the nickname, "chepkermogomben" because of using the ox-plough. Those who accepted the plough were able to clear a large area in which, mainly maize was grown. They were able to sell maize and get cash which was needed among the people in order to pay taxes and purchase imported goods. The need for cash forced the people to gradually adopt the plough after realizing that those who used them were profiting.

The plough was also popularized by the Nandi men who had been employed in settler farms in the white highlands. The squatters and wage labourers used the plough in settler farms. Some transferred the technology to the reserve. An informant, Melilei arap Sulo, talked of how he got the technology from white settler's farm in Uasin Gishu. When he moved back to the reserve, he was among the first to use the plough in the area around Cheptarit. The plough increased the acreage under cultivation, especially that in which maize was grown. However, its use had side effects. The plough over-exposed the soil making it susceptible to soil erosion.

The Local Native Council also played an important role in distributing the ploughs to the people.

By 1931 the Council had adopted a policy of supplying free ploughs to any person who could produce a team of trained oxen. By 1934 they were spending at least one thousand shillings in providing a plough as a free gift to any man who could produce a team of six trained oxen. As a result, the number of ploughs in Nandi increased. In 1936 there were a total of fifty one ploughs.[21]

Those who used the plough during the same period cleared farms ranging from forty to fifty acres per individual. However, this was not universal; the majority of the Nandi did not grow more than they needed for their own subsistence, because not all people got the plough. This is because new farming methods were taught in missionary owned schools. It was mainly the chiefs and those who had embraced western education and Christianity who adopted the plough. The plough was locally known as *Eleisi* from the initials of Local Native Council – L.N.C. [22]

Another technology was the water powered mills. In 1926 water powered mills were erected in Nandi with the hope of increasing acreage under maize.[23] As already indicated the indigenous technology of using two stones to grind millet was time consuming. The introduction of water mills hastened the change from millet to maize as a subsistence crop. By 1929 there were four water mills in Nandi. Among the first people to own water powered mills were Nicodemo arap Tangwar, Mesken arap Chepkwony, Francis arap Yama and an Indian who had one at Kapsabet along Chebarbar River.[24] By 1939 there were several water powered mills in Nandi.

The new technology had disadvantages. They were introduced without changing land tenure and land use. In 1920s and 1930s land became increasingly scarce due to population increase and land alienation. It became hard to maintain the fallow areas which characterized the pattern of shifting cultivation.[25] Large areas were cleared using the plough. Maize was planted for several years. As a result, soil erosion became a major problem in African areas towards the end of 1930s. The plough did not suit the type of soil in most parts of Kenya with fragile and shallow soil. The popularization of the European hoe and plough also did irreparable damage to the local iron smithing industry.

The immediate result of technology changes was a dramatic leap in agricultural production among the Nandi during the inter-war period. Increase in production is also attributable to the initiative of the local people themselves. The initiative was made in their attempt to respond to encouragement created by the forces of the money economy.

The penetration of monetarised economy destroyed the culture of storing reserve produce which hitherto enabled the society to arrest the incidences of food shortfalls through redistribution. Surplus food was now destined for the market where it was exchanged for money that would, in turn, enable the Nandi to meet their tax obligations and to acquire imported goods that had established a strong foothold in the market.

Generally, the overall picture that emerged in Nandi by 1939 was one of the quantitative expansion of the area under crops. This was due to the new technology. Farming in Nandi was now responding more fully to the impact of commercialization. The 1930s was the period when the integration of Africans into the cash economy was intensified in many areas in Kenya. Nandi was one of this areas.[26] Any agricultural surplus that accrued found its way out into the market to obtain cash or imported goods.

4.6 Livestock Production.

The acquisition of livestock among the Nandi was the most important occupation in the pre-colonial period. This was due to its importance as a source of food and in acquiring many wives. The wives provided labour in farms. However in the colonial period, crop production gradually attained hegemony over all other forms of African production, a position which it still maintains.[27]

From the beginning of the colonial period, livestock production in Kenya was beset by many strains. For the communities which were subjugated through punitive expeditions, a large number of livestock were captured by the colonial government. In the case of Nandi, the punitive expedition of 1905-06 led to the seizure of approximately 16,213 cattle and 36,205 sheep and goats. This was almost half of the livestock population in Nandi.[28]

World War I also affected livestock keeping in Kenya. During the war, cattle were requisitioned from the people through the chiefs for the war effort.

Livestock production also faced the problem of recurrent stock diseases. Rinderpest, East Coast Fever and Foot and Mouth disease were common epidemics in the reserve. Land alienation also led to shortage of grazing land. In spite of the problems which faced livestock production in Kenya, it remained an important economic activity in Nandi during the inter-war period. Shortly after World-War I, money acquired by war veterans was used to buy livestock. In the 1930s as the Nandi increased the acreage under maize cultivation, livestock production was also encouraged. The administration believed that the future of the Nandi economy lay on cattle. There was, therefore, the move to develop crop production sufficiently so that the Nandi would rely more on grain than on milk for subsistence. Animal products would then be exported.[29] The P.C in 1934 reported that "the main line of economic development in Nandi must be in animal products, especially dairying"[30] Therefore, livestock production in Nandi during this period received much attention from the colonial government.

A Veterinary station was established in 1932 at Baraton in which by 1934 there were twenty students in the training programme. In 1936 an insemination programme was started in the district and the Nandi were encouraged to bring their heifers for cross-breeding with a Sahiwal bull at the station. Apart from the above, dairies were set up to buy any local surplus of milk. By 1939 there were six such dairies in reserve.

Despite the important position livestock held among the Nandi community, the activities of the Veterinary Department were not enthusiastically received by the Nandi. The government policy on cattle development was contradictory.

It aimed at the Nandi becoming producers of milk for purchase by the Kenya Co-operative Creameries and processed into dairy products for national and international markets. To realize high profits from the sales, milk production was to be greatly increased. The government lacked a clear policy about which course of action to emphasise.

The PC's report of 1934 seemed to emphasise the first reason, and that this was an important reason to encourage increased maize production. The veterinary department, on the other hand, made it appear that they intended to promote increased dairy production. The veterinary department called for upgrading cattle through breeding with superior stock, combating diseases by inoculation and dipping and controlling overgrazing through placing limits upon herd size.[31]

Stock inoculation was not rejected by the Nandi. In 1937 the DC, H.A. Carr reported an increasing demand in the reserve for inoculations.[32] Upgrading cattle was a different case. The stock chosen for upgrading was Sahiwal breed that is superior for its beef and for drought purposes and not much better as a milk producer than indigenous cattle. Cross breeding with exotic high-producing dairy cattle was not encouraged. The reason being that the move was meant to avoid competition between white settlers and Africans. Oboler argues that, the government wanted to maintain a distinction between native and settler cattle as a way of combating cattle theft.[33] This could not have been the case because by 1930s cattle raiding was no longer popular among the Nandi warriors.

Most of them had become engaged in wage labour so as to acquire money to purchase cattle for bride wealth. In spite of the fact that the veterinary department policy on cross breeding could not result in increased milk production per cow, the government officials expected the Nandi to behave as though it did. Pressure was also placed on them to reduce the size of their herds. This met with resistance from the people.

The colonial officials constantly marveled at the lack of interest the Nandi portrayed in upgrading their stock and their unwillingness to reduce the size of their herds. This led to the rise of the notion that the Nandi were yet another example of the cultural conservatism of pastoralism. In 1934 the DC, K.L.Hunter reported that, the Nandi, especially the leading men frequently visited Baraton; that they saw the results of cross-breeding a purely native herd with exotic stock and were astonished. So far, however, there was no sign of any Nandi endeavored to model his methods on Baraton practice.[34] The Nandi found themselves in a contradictory position. They were expected to produce milk for marketing, yet the breed introduced was Sahiwal which could not yield high amounts of milk. The Nandi could not also reduce their herds; they needed the large stock to meet their subsistence needs. The government, on the other hand, saw overgrazing and soil erosion as a potentially serious problem although Nandi district was not so badly overgrazed as many other parts of Kenya.

In the end, there was the reduction of small stock. This was probably the result of increased cultivation. This could have also been caused by taxes. Most of the Nandi met their tax obligation by selling the small stock.

Nandi reserve was not viewed as critically overstocked. There were no extreme measures to enforce reduction of cattle numbers like that which was experienced by the Kamba. Nevertheless, the Nandi were willing to sell cattle at reasonable price. Cattle, since the pre-colonial period, were bartered with neighbouring communities. The Nandi exchanged a heifer for a bull. This trade continued in the colonial period.

During the 1930s the gold rush created a thriving market for cattle among the butchers of Kakamega.[35] The Nandi took advantages of this market legally or otherwise since the Nandi reserve was under quarantine regulations at various times during this period. In 1938, the Local Native Council passed a resolution that set up cattle markets at ten locations in Nandi, set rates for these markets, and made illegal the sale or barter of cattle elsewhere.[36]

The government effort to encourage livestock production was due to its increasing interest in obtaining returns from African farmers from their animal husbandry. Hides, skins and dairy products were the output from this industry.[37] Shade drying was thus among the technologies introduced to improve the quality of hides and skins. The indigenous technology of drying in the sun was discouraged.

Livestock production was commercialized in Nandi during the Inter-war period. However, like the other sector of agriculture, it was supposed to provide support for, and not competition with, European settler farming. Regulations were placed in livestock production in Nandi such that cross breeding was only with Sahiwal breeds which did not produce any better amount of milk than indigenous breed.

The European settlers had secured control over livestock production in Kenya during this period. They also sought ways of controlling African labour.

4.7 Colonial Labour Expropriation and its Effects in Nandi,1920-1939

The inter-war period witnessed a larger number of people moving to white highlands in Kenya either as squatters or wage employees. In 1920, after the ravages of carrier corps and the influenza epidemic, the average number of workers was 90,000. There was generally an acute labour shortage which hindered the post war recovery and development. However, the number of workers increased, almost doubling to 168,000 by 1926.[38] A combination of commercial relations, coercion and fiscal-taxation, were some of the most effective methods used to encourage Africans into the labour market.[39]

By 1919, the Nandi were developing a taste for imported goods such as clothes, hoes and bicycles. Money was the only way of acquiring such items. The young men then started pursuing wage labour with a favourable eye than before. By late 1920s the desire for cash to purchase blankets, clothes and bicycles was as important as taxation or coercion in pushing young men into wage labour.

The other reason which pulled young men from Nandi into wage labour was the need to acquire bride price. Every young man was expected to contribute to the bride price when they were set to marry. Raiding had been stopped by the colonial government. The young men started to acquire bride price through wage labour.[40]

They acquired money which they finally used to purchase livestock. One informant had the following to say:

> I went to Uasin Gishu where I was employed by Bwana Eastking. The money I got I purchased a cow which was given out as my contribution of my bridewealth, *boreiwonyu* when I was getting married to my first wife.[41]

By the late 1920s the colonial administration had divided Kenya into three labour zones.[42] Nandi district fell into the western highlands, consisting of Trans-Nzoia, Uasin-Gishu and Nandi reserve. These areas involved settler estates employing primarily squatter labour, many of them were Nandi and Kipsigis. Land alienation had made the Nandi experience shortage of grazing land at an early time. Large numbers of Nandi people in the inter-war period moved to the highlands in search of enough pasture for their livestock. Population growth had also caused pressure on the reserve.

The Nandi household being the unit of production, consumption and reproduction was altered due to the penetration of capitalism. Under the migrant labour system, men were drawn out or forced off the land. They left behind the women to maintain production. The women shouldered most of the burden of land cultivation more than had been the case during the pre-colonial period. Most men did not work in the farms. Informants indicated that the age sets of Maina and Nyongi did not do any farming. Most of them sought employment in the adjacent European farms.[43]

Household relations of production were also affected in various ways. It was either in the direction of capitalist exchange or the intensified exploitation of traditional obligation in the service of the labour market. Young men's obligation such as fencing and cultivation were weakened. Obligations to parents and extended kin were loosened. Wives obligations to the husbands were likewise intensified, as they were left to take over work on family land holdings.[44]

Squatting, in particular, interfered with the relations of production in Nandi in various ways. Extended family obligations were severed. Households became individualistic in outlook, especially those uprooted to the highlands. Those households which remained behind were no longer engaging in communal labour at the scale practiced in the pre-colonial period.

Festive communal labour was gradually getting commercialized as capitalism gradually penetrated into Nandi. The beer meant for exchange of labour became commoditized. Beer was measured using a tin *Cheptalian*. The amount of beer corresponded with the amount of work one did. Such labour could engage in cultivation, house building or to harvesting.

Labour was not readily found in the early colonial period. This forced the colonial government to use coercion to ensure a steady labour supply in the settlers' farms. The circumstance changed by mid-1920s. There were many men flocking to the white highlands due to the monetization of the economy, taxation and some degree of coercion. The great depression also worsened the situation.

For the first time there were a large number of unemployed Africans looking for employment in the white highlands. Labour expropriation had adverse effect on labour relations in the African household.

4.8 Trade and Exchange

With the establishment of colonial rule, Indians and Goans established trading enterprises in the interior. These representatives of merchant capital, bought farm produce at very low prices while the Africans bought the imported goods from them expensively. African owned businesses also emerged in the inter-war period. They engaged in running of retail shops, milling of maize and provision of transport. But the colonial state ensured that African traders did not challenge Indian and European traders by formulating laws which discriminated against the Africans. Such laws included the Cotton Ordinance of 1923, the Crop Production and Livestock Ordinance of 1937. These laws also centralized the marketing system by giving the colonial governors wide ranging powers to determine the quantity, quality and price of local produce, the number of traders deemed sufficient in African reserves and the manner in which transactions were carried out in trading centres.

Crude statistical material is available on expansion of African enterprise during these years.[45] In the case of retail shops, a small range of simple consumer goods were sold. They also functioned as "tea shops" or restaurants selling food and drinks. To run such a shop a small amount of cash was required.

Tea was served brewed or sold in small unbrewed quantities. The shops also sold sugar, salt, soap, matches, kerosene and simple hardware goods. These goods would then be exchanged for maize, beans and other surplus food. Crops as well as hides, skins, milk and eggs.

Small quantities of these products having been bulked up in this way would then be sold for cash to an Asian or transported to a larger market. Most of the small African shops in the reserve acted as low-level link in the chain of exchanges joining the African rural producer to a wider market. Such retail shops were numerous in Kenya in the early 1920s; they were particularly many in the leading provinces of central and north Nyanza. Such development was typical of other districts during late 1920s. Kisii and Nandi districts fall into this category.

Retail shops in Nandi like in all other parts of Kenya were initially dominated by Indian and Goan traders. They established shops at Kapsabet, Kaptumo and Kabiyet. For example, Walji and Chekin had shops at Kapsabet. Ross owned a shop at Kabiyet. In 1930s African owned shops came into being. Among the first people to establish shops were Jonathan Kalya, Willie Boit and Koendi arap Saina at Kabiyet.[46] Elijah Cheruiyot had a shop at Kapsabet and at Kaptumo Stephano Koros ran a shop in the 1930s.[47]

Water powered mills were another kind of business established in the inter-war period. They required greater initial investment in fixed capital.

Thus most of the owners were chiefs, headmen and generally those who had access to large and regular income from the use of the state powers.[48] Their trade was very similar to that of retail shops in that it was in form of direct barter. Maize was exchanged for a service. The millers kept the proportion of the maize brought as a charge for the service. The miller would resell the maize at a higher price. Millers got high profits due to their small numbers relative to the population and area of the reserve, competition was less severe.

Transportation was another enterprise which Africans ventured into as early as 1920s in other parts of Kenya. The initial means of transportation were the ox-carts. Ox-carts grew in number and in Kiambu; a number of Africans were running them by 1927.[49] Ox-carts came into being in Nandi in 1930s when commodity production had increased in the area. Towards the end of 1930s Lorries came into existence in Nandi. In 1938 Marko arap Rono and Johana arap Kessio had a lorry which they used to transport maize which they supplied to schools.[50] Malakwen Chepkulul also jointly owned a lorry with Ezekiah arap Ng'etich. They transported maize to market places. In 1920-1921 the first motor road was made from Eldoret through Kapsabet to Chepsonoi on the Kaimosi border. By 1933, a circular road had been opened through southern Nandi. This was started in1926 from Kapsabet. The river Mogong was bridged with wooden bridges made of tree-trunks cut in the forest and carried down by young warriors. The digging of the road was done by the men who were paid by the day.

The Nandi also purchased well known articles such as beads, iron ware, knives and a certain amount of American cloth and blankets. However as already noted the greater amount of any money earned was allegedly hoarded for the purchase of livestock.

Trade in livestock during this period also prospered with visual checks when there was quarantine. A number of livestock were sold outside the district and many more in the local markets when there was no quarantine. Different forms of stock were valued differently. All forms of cattle could be exchanged on barter terms of trade for sheep and goats. Cattle and heifers were valued than male stock for the simple reason that they provided milk and bore the calves which increased the herds.

In 1930s the perpetual quarantine and population growth led to "overgrazing" in the Nandi reserve. Open cattle auctions within the reserve could have created a solution to the pressure of pasture, but the prices were too low such that the people ended up not selling any of their cattle. Thus cattle were not sold except when the trade terms were favourable.

Barter trade survived alongside the monetized trade in the inter-war period in Nandi. Merchant capital was established by Asians and Arabs but Africans soon joined in to compete with them. Trade accelerated the commercialization of livestock keeping and crop production. On the other hand it destroyed the iron smithing industry by usurping its market. The above economic changes led to class differentiation in Nandi.

4.9 Class Differentiation

Integration of Kenya into the capitalist system led to the transformation of African household into commodity producers. This was a process which was set in motion by the colonial administrators. They encouraged the production of commodities especially among the chiefs so as to secure collaborators. Bruce Berman points out that, African acceptance of British domination had been linked by 1914 with the spread of commodity production and class formation in the reserve.[51] The material pillar of legitimacy of the colonial state was found in the continued growth of peasant commodity. Capitalist forms of production and exchange were adopted in the reserves. This paved way to the emergence of an African petty – bourgeois. Berman argues that;

> .....From the beginning administrators sought to transform conquest into orderly control through African subordinates willing to exercise delegated power, and that the encouragement of African commodity production had as important objective to provision of stable and "legitimate" source of income to accommodate these collaboratord.[52]

They included chiefs, headmen, courts or Native Tribunal and Local Tribunal and Local Native Council members. The wealth that this group of people was able to accumulate upset the internal balance of the indigenous social formations, encouraged internal class formation and exploitation, leading to internal struggles and factional conflicts. The chiefs and their opponents struggled for wealth and power. Exploitation fell most heavily on the vulnerable members of the society unable to compete for the available rewards, the young, the very old, women, those already poor and dependent with the context of indigenous society.[53]

Wage labour was another factor which contributed to class formation in the African reserves. Wages created both the impoverished mass of unskilled labourers as well as an important minority group earning higher wages. Average wages permitted accumulation for investment in trade, commodity production and thus led to the process of class in the reserves. Those who got western education early benefited from this.

Accompanying the development of commodity production and average wage earning was participation in trade by Africans. As discussed above Africans responded to opportunities created by peasant commodity production. They invested profits and moved into petty trading as middlemen, principal beneficiaries were rich farmers.

The process of social differentiation and class formation was linked to commodity production, trade, wage labour and western education. In Kenya, there was differentiation between districts and households. Central Kavirondo and Central Province led in commodity production, education and trade in colonial Kenya.

In the case of Nandi, chiefs managed to engage in commodity production as early as the 1920s. Chiefs were given ploughs by the colonial administrators in 1925. They then cleared large farms and produced, mainly maize for the market. The chiefs managed to engage in trade through investing profits got from commodity production. They then managed to purchase such assets as water mills and could run retail shops.

The Nandi chiefs like Willie Boit, Elijah Cheruiyot and Jonathan arap Malel managed to accumulate wealth during this period. For instance, Arap Malel engaged in trading, he stored small quantities of maize at Mutwot trading centre and sold them to Asian traders, before 1935 when maize was bought by Kenya Farmers Association (K.F.A) [54]

In the 1930s the effects of western education began to be felt in Nandi. Those who embraced education got employment as clerks and teachers. This group managed to get a steady income to supplement what they got from commodity production. James arap Chemai at Kamoiywo and Jeremiah arap Birir at Kapsabet are examples of Nandi who embraced education. In the 1930s they were teaching as well as engaging in commodity production.[55] Most of those who embraced education were also Christian converts.

Conclusion

In this Chapter the integration of Nandi fully into the cash economy has been examined. The changes and continuities in the spheres of crop production, technology, land and labour patterns have been noted. Trade was also examined, and it is argued that it was mainly in the interest of Indians. Social differentiation is also discussed; it was accelerated in Nandi due to the penetration of capitalism. Those in the apex were the chiefs, the western educated and those who engaged in trade and commodity production.These are the people who benefited most during the colonial period. It has been argued that, the colonial economy partially destroyed Nandi economy through its taxation and labour policies.

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER FIVE

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DURING WORLD WAR II AND POST WAR PERIOD1940-1963

5.1 Introduction

World War II was the major turning point in the history of Kenya. Before the war, the economic, social and political change in Kenya had been steady and unhurried. After the war, the slow pace increased in momentum until it became uncontrollable. The economic development in Nandi, during World War II and the impact of the war on the economy will be analysed. The economic development from the end of the war to independence and the responses of the Nandi people will also be examined.

5.2 World War II and Nandi Economy

The war provided an impetus to the development of settler agriculture. The need for essential commodities for the war led to the provision of a loan by the United states to the colonial government. The White settler agriculture directly benefited. Their agriculture was mechanized at a fast rate. High prices were also offered for agricultural products. All crops important to the war were purchased at a high price. Wrigley points out that;

> Above all in 1942 the prices of primary products, both for external consumption, began to move sharply upward and this rise, which contrary to all expectations, was to be sustained for a whole decade began a revolutionary transformation of the Kenyan economy.[1]

The purchase of these commodities was organized by the metropolitan government. By the end of the war, almost all the exports of Britain's colonial empire were being purchased by the government departments in London. Colonial governments established marketing boards and other public agents that set producer prices and quotas to purchase commodities from the colonies. For instance, the Maize Produce Control was created in Kenya and it guaranteed minimum maize price. For the first time settler producers were in a position of being able to sell everything they could produce at profitable prices.

The war subjected African agriculture, on the other hand, to mixed fortunes. The need to maintain internal self sufficiency while at the same time realizing surplus for the purpose of the war, led the colonial government to encourage agricultural production in African areas. Africans, like settlers, were encouraged to put every available acre under cultivation of crops.[2] The stress on production led to the worsening of soil deterioration facing African areas since the 1930s. The war led to temporary shelving of this problem.

After the war, the government attempted to solve the problems facing African areas. It formed the Worthington plan in 1946, which established the African Land Development Programme, (ALDEV). The policies of ALDEV failed to remedy the problems in African areas. In the most affected areas such as central province, the Mau Mau movement came into being.

This was a reaction of the Africans to the economic problems facing them. The Mau Mau movement led to the declaration of a state of emergency in 1952. In 1954 the Swynnerton plan was put forth in the hope of solving these economic problems facing African areas, which were threatening the legitimacy of the colonial state.

The outbreak of the World War II led to a complete reorientation of Kenya's economy to meet the dictates of the war. The colonial state mobilized both human and physical resources to the war effort. There was a campaign of the African people to increase the production of basic grains especially maize. From the African areas, it became obligatory to contribute foodstuffs such as maize, beans and meat to feed those engaged in the war. Chiefs ensured that the requisitioning of these necessities was successful. Africans were expected to offer labour; many were conscripted into the carrier corps and into the King's African Riffles. (KAR)

The war demands led to accelerated crop production in African areas to meet the war demands. In Kenya, there was a difference in crop production between the different districts. The disparity depended on the interests of colonial officers in a district and partly due to the situation in the districts.[3] For instance, in districts like Kiambu, Fort Hall and Nyeri, market forces were strong enough to produce rapid expansion of output and sales due to their proximity to Nairobi.

Other districts like Kericho and Nandi depended entirely on the export of maize as a low value and high weight crop, which suffered from high transport cost, increased by the bad state of many roads.[4]

The slow acceleration of crop production in Nandi was contributed to by the locust invasion of 1939 which destroyed crops. This was followed by food shortage in the district in 1940. In order to curb the problem, and also to meet the war demands, the administration issued maize seeds, beans, potatoes, banana suckers and Muhogo plants.[5] As a result large tracks of land in Nandi were cleared and cultivated. Unexpected influx of money during the World War II, in the form of remittances, paid by the government to the dependants of Nandi soldiers. The Nandi contingent was one of the largest ethnic contingents. As a result, there was suddenly an abundance of cash in the reserve. The money was converted into cattle and purchase of ploughs.[6] The increase in the number of ploughs resulted in the cultivation of large areas in Nandi. The main crop grown was maize. G.Kitching states that the war years and after in Nandi district saw a marked expansion of maize monocropping with the plough.[7] The colonial government encouraged crop cultivation in Nandi during the war, but by 1941, it became concerned with the scale on which the change was taking place.

In 1941 the DC P.F.Foster suggested that the Local Native Council be urged to set aside certain areas for grazing which would be an offensive for any person to cultivate. He stated that:

> Owing to the increasing number of ploughs in this district, the grazing areas in Mosop are in danger of being destroyed unless properly controlled. The practice today is for any Nandi with a plough to cut up a large portion of virgin land wherever he desires.[8]

However, this concern was contradictory to the war demands. The colonial administrators were faced with the dilemma of ensuring either that soil degradation was avoided in the reserve, or that there was enough crop production to meet the war demands.

In May 1941 a resolution of separating grazing and cultivation land was passed by the Local Native Council.[9] However, in 1943, there was a sudden dramatic increase in the amount of land ploughed on which maize was planted. This was due to response to the war demands. From the district, 20,000 bags of maize were exported in 1944.[10] The contradictory government policy on crop production is further illustrated by the approval of the DC P.F.Foster of the increase in maize cultivation in 1943. He reported about the Nandi that:

> The tribe has never been self sufficient as regards its food supplies, being used to purchasing large amounts of maize and millet from its neighbours. In 1943 they found out that neither money nor cattle could purchase food nor they went through a very lean period.....The shortage taught the Nandi a lesson and there was a large increase in area under cultivation.[11]

However, the 1942 shortage of grain was just the usual down turn due to drought which recurred in 1948, 1949, and 1952. Its impact was felt adversely due to the destruction of pre-colonial mechanism of storing and distributing the produce. Nevertheless it is quite clear that the area under maize in Nandi increased markedly during the war.[12]

The war also stifled agriculture in African areas and one way by which this was done was through pricing. While the settler produce enjoyed high prices, African produce was subjected to control regulations. For instance in 1942 the maize control regulations were applied. All maize was supposed to be offered to the buying agents of maize control who bought at the fixed differential prices.

To justify this differential pricing system, it was argued that any price increases in African produce would cause serious inflation since the supply of imported consumer goods was regulated by allocations of production capacity rather than by effective demand.[13] It was also thought that increases in prices were not required in the case of African growers whose opportunity costs were much lower. This led to the withholding of part of the increase from African producers. This was the beginning of centralized marketing and managed prices, a permanent feature of post-war economic policy.

The lower prices for maize produced by Africans during the war prevented Africans from taking full advantage of war time opportunities.

In Nandi, people reacted by marketing their maize in what came to be known as "black market."[14] Some people reacted to these low prices by withholding their produce. For instance, in 1947 the Provincial Commissioner warned the DC to be careful on the amount of maize produced. He referred to a case in which the Nandi had claimed to be having no maize but later exported 50,000 bags of weevily maize.[15]

Apart from the low prices, agriculture in Nandi suffered from the negative effects of requisitioning which the World War II engendered. During the World War II, it became compulsory to contribute foodstuffs ranging from maize flour, potatoes and beans to feed those engaged in the war.[16] Coercion was used to ensure the success of these requisitioning. The chiefs were used to meet this need.

The other food requirement by the military was meat. To meet this need, a livestock control was established. Its task was that of "persuading" the Africans to sell some of their cattle. Prices offered by the livestock control was so low that it was hard for the Nandi to sell their cattle.[17]

The increased wartime demand for cattle led to favourable prices at first. However, by the end of 1940, the DC noted that voluntary cattle sales were no longer possible at the prices offered by meat control Board.[18] There was then the need for requisitioning cattle in future. In 1942, the DC recorded that 2,650 cattle were "purchased" but at lower price than market prices.

DC,P.F.Foster argued that it was not unnatural that sales ceased to be voluntary and a system of individual requisitioning has to be adopted.[19] This was an official acceptance that price incentive was not used as a measure to persuade Africans to sell their cattle. According to some informants, it was mainly bulls which were requisitioned for the war effort, each household being expected to give a bull when it was the turn of their *kokwet* to meet the war demands.[20] The chiefs and the headmen made sure that each household contributed. In case a household defaulted, the chief and headman would get any of their livestock.[21]

From the foregoing, it can be deduced that while the war created official pressure for growing more food crops in the reserves, the demands made necessary by the same war led to an increase in outflow of surplus from Nandi. This surplus outflow was in terms of requisitioning for grain and cattle.

The effects of World War II were also felt in the labour sector in Nandi. Recruitment of Africans into the army followed the pattern of area quotas, propaganda, pressure on chiefs and many other methods of compulsion that ranged from sudden round-ups to legal conscription. In the case of Nandi, many young people joined the war due to land propaganda. Before the war, the Nandi were promised by the governor Sir Henry Moore the return of the alienated land at Kaimosi and Kipkarren if they collaborated. Those who served in the war were to be given land.

However, these promises were not honoured. After the war, the DC told the people that there would be no change in the land situation.[22] He also wrote to the PC and denied that the Governor had promised that alienated land would be returned. Thus the majority of the Nandi joined the war expecting to be rewarded with land, since there was shortage of grazing land, but this was not forthcoming after the war.

Thus during the war, the Nandi experienced a dramatic rise in labour out-migration. This drove a large number of able-bodied men out of the subsistence sector. This had the effect of transferring the labour burden to the female folk who in most cases assumed leadership of their respective households.[23] It then followed that much of the surplus realized among the Nandi during the Great War were got from the effort from women labour. The task was too much on some women who opted to move into most of Kenya's urban centres as prostitutes. Their number increased greatly such that in 1948 in a memo to the PC, the DC for Nandi noted that "The presence of large numbers of Nandi prostitutes in all the big towns of Kenya has been the cause of so much concern for many years."[24] Due to this concern, the local Native Council passed the ordinance which stipulated that:

- No woman or girl over the age of 12 years shall travel from the Nandi district to any place outside the Nandi district without the written permission of the chief.

- No African driver of any vehicle shall convey in any such vehicle any woman or girl from the Nandi district unless such woman or girl is in possession of a valid permit to travel, issued by the chief.[25]

The war, from the above discussion, led to adverse effects on Nandi economy. The war demands led to encouragement of agriculture at all costs. It also led to the requisitioning of cattle and foodstuffs such as maize. Recruitment of the Nandi male in the war led to changes in labour division. The burden of producing subsistence crops and that of meeting the war demands fell on the woman. Not all the women managed to carry out taxing duties and some opted to run away to urban areas. There were further changes in land tenure system as a consequence of the war

5.3 Changes in Land Tenure

Individual land ownership among African households started in the late 1920s.[26] Land was the most important dimension of growing inequality among African households. The emergence of a small holding agricultural economy meant that household incomes came to depend heavily on the size of the cultivated area. The loss of indigenous labour power to wage labour, made African small holder agriculture extremely "extensive" in form and thus led total farm output and income to depend very heavily on the size of cropped area.[27] Land alienation led to land shortage among many communities in Kenya. Most groups were inhibited from further expansion. Land shortage brought about the desire to look for more land. But the difficulty of finding land elsewhere increased.

However, the process of individual land ownership took place at different times in Kenya. This was due to pre-colonial land tenure, population pressure and the penetration of market forces.

In the 1930s,the process of individual land ownership took place in Kipsigis. The Kipsigis used customary Land tenure and cultivation rights to sanction their enclosure and conversion of large tracts of land to individual property. This was a process against which others could protect themselves only by following suit until all land in Kipsigis was individually owned.[28] In Nandi, the process of individual land ownership occurred in the early 1940s. Informants pointed out that it started after a visit to Kipsigis country by protestant church leaders. They found out that the Kipsigis people had enclosed individual land. On return they enclosed large tracts of land.[29] The process was intensified in the late 1940s by the colonial government policies. According to P.K.Magut, those who benefited most were chiefs, headmen and protestant church leaders.[30]

The government policy which accelerated individual land holding in Nandi was that contained in the Worthington plan established in 1946. The African Land development programme (ALDEV) was formed under the Worthington plan. One of the programmes undertaken by ALDEV was the setting up of Africans in co-operative group farming schemes. Group farms were to be farmed in accordance with what was viewed as good soil conservation practice. The schemes also served as demonstration farms for government approved soil conservation techniques.

One such demonstration farming scheme was established at Ndalat in Nandi. The techniques demonstrated included fencing of harvested fields as cattle paddocks which were later rotated back to cultivation. People outside the scheme who would follow the same programme were permitted to claim and enclose land.

In Nandi land enclosure towards the end of the 1940s was so popular that it became necessary to erect measures to control it. In 1949 the Local Native Council passed the following resolutions "No person was to fence land more than two acres except with permission from the chief and *kokwet* elder. The chief and kokwet elder would not give permission for land to be fenced; it would not interfere with cultivation rights of other inhabitants and watering places used by others. Secondly, they were to do so when they were satisfied that the person fencing the land intended to improve his farming methods and to carry out measures of soil conservation"[31] Thus, the 1940s witnessed a major phase of individualization and commoditization of land in Nandi.

This gradual socio-economic change was further accelerated in the 1950s when the government adopted the Swynnerton plan. Among the major provisions of the Swynnerton plan was the allotment and tilling of individual plots of land in areas of high agricultural potential. Nandi fell into this category. Thus land in each location was subdivided and allotted among adult males. In some cases female household heads with minor sons were allocated pieces of land.

Parcels of land allocated were not less than ten acres and in many areas averaged twenty acres.[32] Such amounts of land were not enough considering the fact that the Nandi were mixed farmers. They needed large farms to graze their livestock.

On the other hand, people who had already enclosed large tracts of land were allowed to register these same tracts, which in many cases were larger than average land holdings. Alienated land in Kaimosi and Kipkarren were returned to the reserve and people from more crowded locations claimed plots in these areas. Squatters in the white highlands were also allowed to return to Nandi district to make land claims. The demarcation of plot boundaries took place in 1954-1955 and the survey of boundaries began in 1956.

However, not all people were content with the division of land. Several people felt that the land allocated to them could not be enough to graze their cattle.[33] This became the concern of the local administrators who sought to move the Nandi to some of the sparsely populated areas in East Africa. For instance, in 1956 the president of the Nandi District Council informed the council of his journey to Tanzania and Maasai to find out whether there was room to settle the Nandi.[34] There were also plans to move the Nandi immigrants to Musoma in Tanzania in groups of 30 families.[35] As a result of these plans a large number of Nandi people moved to Tanzania and some went to Maasai.[36]Nandi land was not overcrowded like other districts although not all people got land in the district.

This was not the end of changes in land ownership in Nandi. During the period of transition to self government, the laws discriminating against other races in the white highlands were removed. Land in the former white highlands was open to ownership by Africans in 1960. White settlers in fear of post-independence political development began to leave the country. The British government advanced loans to the new government of Kenya so that it would buy out European farmers and sell the land to Kenyans.

Some of the land bought from European farmers was redistributed by sale to the landless or the poor in form of settlement schemes. In Nandi an example of such scheme is Kipkarren settlement scheme. Most of the land in the white Highlands was transferred as intact large holdings to owners of Kenyan nationalities. This was assumed would safeguard export production.[37]

Most of the Nandi who were able to acquire credit from their large land holdings in the reserve managed to acquire land in the former white highlands in Uasin Gishu and Trans-nzoia districts. Thus most of the rich Nandi moved out of the reserve. Nandi was one of the districts whose patterns of pre-reform land holdings had largely been free of fragmentation. It was therefore easy to consolidate household holdings. The process of individualization of land accelerated the process of social differentiation in Nandi. So did further changes in crop production.

5.4 Crop Production

As was the case with land, ALDEV policies affected the crops grown in Kenya up to 1954, when the Swynnerton plan effected drastic changes in agricultural developments among the Africans. The policy promoted by ALDEV on crops grown was that Africans were to be limited to growing subsistence crops and discouraged from growing cash crops. Cash crops, it was argued, tempted them to overuse the soil in an effort to maximize profits.

In Nandi, the colonial administrators endeavored to discourage the expansion of land under cultivation. The argument was that, the Nandi were basically pastoralist yet there was a tendency of cultivation overtaking livestock keeping. There was then a campaign to maintain grazing land, so that it would not be cleared and cultivated. In the real sense, there was fear that too much cultivation would destroy the soil. Addressing a team of Nandi farmers on agricultural policy in 1950, the Provincial Agricultural officer said:

> We cannot afford to ignore the encroachment of such cash crops as maize and wattle in indiscriminate patches through the natural grazing, without consideration of the losses to the grazing area involved, also difficulties which would arise in affecting good grazing control if extension of such practices continues to be tolerated. The LNC must forthwith regulate against any further arable extension in these areas unless the district team gave specific approval for arable practices designed to fit in with and assist the grazing.[38]

It can be deduced from the above that there was fear by the colonial government of the amount of cash crops grown by the Nandi. The fear was that this would lead to the Nandi encroaching on grazing land thus causing soil degradation due to poor agricultural methods practiced by Africans.

However, monoculture in maize in Nandi gained popularity from the 1930s when maize was adopted both as a subsistence and cash crop. In 1952 the Provincial Agricultural Officer wrote to the Director of Agriculture in Nairobi that;

> ....for agronomic reasons we are directed to suppress maize monoculture and this policy if successful will, in the long run, reduce the amount available for export.[39]

Maize was produced in high quantity in Nandi during this period. This was causing concern to the colonial administrators. The traditional and fallow systems were no longer practiced. Maize was grown in one place for eight years.[40] This was due to lack of land for further expansion.

The other commodity which had gained popularity in Nandi during this period was wattle. The amount of wattle grown in Nandi had increased tremendously such that a permit was recommended in 1953 for sale of wattle bark.[41] The bark was sold to the East African Tanning Extract Company at Eldoret. By October 1953 marketing permits for delivery of 50 tonnes of wattle bark had been issued. In the following year, wattle bark permits for movement of 195 tonnes of bark had been issued.

Charcoal was produced from the trees and sold at Eldoret town. Wattle trees were mainly grown in the northern part of the district. It can be concluded that wattle trees were becoming quite popular in Nandi due to the presence of market.

In the 1950s, the Mau Mau movement in Central province changed the colonial policy towards African agriculture. Under the Swynnerton plan other crops such as tea and coffee were introduced in Nandi. However, maize continued to dominate the commodities produced in Nandi for some time. In 1955 following the demarcation of individual plots in Nandi, Africans were for the first time allowed to plant profitable cash crops. These were crops that hitherto had been forbidden for them to plant. They included coffee, tea and pyrethrum. Tea gained popularity fast among the Nandi.[42] At first, a few demonstration farmers in each area were allowed to plant tea. For instance, Shadrack Chemei Baiywo in Aldai, was the first farmer at Kaptumo to plant tea.[43] However by 1958, the number of farmers in Nandi district growing tea were not less than 50.[44]

Sunflower was also experimented on in the northern part of the district. This crop was encouraged at a time when it fetched high prices. Sunflower was grown up to 1956 when the prices fluctuated and discouraged the growing of this crop.[45]

The other cash crop encouraged during this period was Irish potatoes. The agricultural officers in a meeting in 1953 commented that; "everybody should plant a small acreage of Irish potatoes for sale."[46] Irish potatoes were encouraged to meet the demand from outside. For instance, in 1956 Irish potatoes were encouraged to target the market in Sudan which was then supplied from Italy.[47]

The growing of maize dominated in Nandi up to 1954 when the Swynnerton plan opened the chances for other profitable cash crops to be grown. The Swynnerton Plan concentrated on the production of cash crops at the expense of subsistence crops. The "progressive farmers" were given the first priority to grow these crops so that they would act as examples. However, this accelerated class differentiation in Nandi. There further occurred changes in Livestock production with a number of socio-economic consequences.

5.5 Livestock keeping

This period saw the establishment of various marketing enterprises aimed at easing the problem of overstocking in the reserves. In discouraging expansion of cultivation the colonial administrators emphasized the fact that the Nandi were mainly cattle keepers. However, this was contradictory in that the colonial administrators formulated several measures to reduc

The requisitioning for cattle to meet the war demands continued until 1946. After this, other methods of inducement to sell cattle were introduced.

For instance, a tax was introduced on those who owned more than nine herds of cattle. This was a measure which the Local Native Council was directed to formulate in 1945. In the same year, a cattle census was undertaken. This occurred at a time when a large scale programme of constructing cattle dips was beginning. The measures to reduce herd size, the tax on large herds, cattle census and dipping were seen to be rejected by the Nandi.[48] Dipping was rejected by the Nandi. It was viewed as a measure to carry out census. The tax also proved very difficult to administer. In 1946, the Local Native Council decided to lift the excess cattle tax for 1947 but reinstated it in 1948.[49] The Nandi were quite against this government policy.[50] The DC H.K.R.Thorp in 1947 reported about a group of Nandi who spread propaganda against government schemes involving land and cattle.[51] In 1947, this opposition was demonstrated against by groups of Nandi at Kilagan Kaiboi, and Kabiyet locations. These people were opposed to the building of dips in their areas. This opposition continued until the DC threatened military intervention.[52] The tax was withdrawn. However, by 1950, dipping had become universally popular due to its effectiveness in combating thick-borne diseases.[53]

The reduction of livestock came naturally with the expansion of cultivated area and the beginning of fencing in the late forties. In 1947, 6,041 head of cattle were sold at official auctions.

By 1949 sales jumped to 10,473 herds and the DC H.K.R.Thorp noted that 281 of these had been heifers. By 1950 auction sales had disposed off 16,744 slaughter stock. In 1951 14,677 herds had been sold and in 1952, the figure had risen to 17,522 herds and all cases increased number of heifers were included in the livestock sold.[54] It follows that, the number of livestock owned by each household was reduced. Those with few acres could not afford to maintain large herd due to absence of grazing area.

The number of cattle in Nandi was also affected by the by-laws passed in Uasin Gishu and Trans-Nzoia in 1947. The settlers during this period had prospered and their agriculture had been mechanized. They thus intended to reduce the number of squatters and eliminate their stock within three to five years. These laws were never fully effected but individual settlers became strict in enforcing livestock limitation rules thereby producing a considerable drift of people and livestock from the farms back into the Nandi reserve.[55] Thus the level of sales undertaken in Nandi did not satisfy the District officer.

The above trend changed with the introduction of the Swynnerton Plan in 1954. The plan put into consideration veterinary concern and enhanced the productivity of livestock in the reserves.[56] The plan emphasized that, in areas suited to mixed farming the farmers must abandon the traditional ways and embark on modern methods of stock keeping. The farmers were taught how to control the size of stock and to maintain productive grass. Improved types of stock were open to Africans.

In addition to the above, campaigns to eliminate ticks from frequent dipping were expanded. The government also embarked on construction of dams all over the country so that livestock could have drinking water. Breeding places for grade cattle were also established in several centres throughout the country.[57]

In Nandi district, the individualisation of land led to the improvement of livestock keeping. Land title holders were required by the government to keep a certain number of livestock according to the government determination of carrying capacity of individual plots.[58] The culling of cattle was not hard because from 1955 on, upgrading of indigenous cattle through artificial insemination with Guernsey bulls was started. Such measures were enthusiastically received. In 1958 the DC R.H.Symes wrote that:

> It is planned to open an A.I centre at Kabiyet immediately and bull camps are being encouraged whenever there is a demand. Baraton stock is being pushed out as fast as possible and there is a definite feeling of revival over stock matters..... Destocking has been pressed with the outmost vigour but has been met by those of Nandi themselves in proportion to their realization that with enclosure stock holding must be correlated to avail grazing.[59]

The Nandi reduced the number of their livestock because they were aware that the cross breeds produced more milk.[60] However, the ownership of pure breeds of European dairy stock was denied to Africans until 1960.

From this time, Africans were able to purchase those breeds directly from white settlers who were leaving the country. For instance, in 1961 Kiprugut arap Tanui who was a clerk at Kapsabet County Council purchased pure breeds from a white settler in Njoro.[61] By 1963 there were many cross breed and pure breed cattle in Nandi. However, the majority of the people still kept their indigenous livestock. There were further changes in the marketing sector

5.6 Marketing

The main feature characterizing the marketing during this period was the establishment of Marketing Control Boards. These boards were created by the colonial government to control prices of agricultural products so as to avoid the effects of price fluctuations in the international market. However, as already indicated the prices offered for agricultural products from African areas were not equivalent to those offered for products produced by the white settlers. The reasons advanced for this disparity were first that, high prices would lead to inflation in the colony. That is, Africans would possess too much money yet the colony was given quotas as to what it could import. The other reason given was that agricultural products in African areas were not expensive.

Nevertheless, during the war there was a boom in demand for agricultural produce arising from military demand.[62] There was also an increase in purchasing power within the African districts arising not only from increasing farm incomes, but also from cash remittances received by families from army conscripts.

In Nandi, the expansion of market- oriented agriculture led to the expansion of a network of local markets in Nandi. These centres acted not only as stations for the transfer of surplus from the reserves but also offered opportunities for moderate local accumulation. The main commodity produced was maize. In 1947 the price of maize was fixed and authorized buying agents given the sole right to purchase maize from the African districts. The DC H.K.R.Thorp reported that:

> Maize prices were controlled and laid down in official gazette. A certain number of agents were allocated the right to buy maize. In 1947 maize per bags costed Ksh.11.65 from Ksh.9.55 in 1946.[63]

Among those allocated to buy maize in Nandi were settlers who bought the maize to feed labourers in farms and tea estates. There were also Indian traders who purchased maize from the reserve. However, there was an increasing number of African traders who carried their produce directly to the control and thus by-passing Indian traders.

The prices offered for maize were too low compared with those got from the "black market." The majority of Nandi opted to sell their agricultural produce to the Luhya in southern part of the district.[64] To remedy the problem of prices of maize which was causing the Nandi to divert the produce, the question was discussed by the Local Native Council in 1949 and it was agreed that marketing and transporting be handled by the Nandi themselves hoping that it would improve their position[65]

This did not change the situation as the black market in produce continued. In 1953, an Assistant Agricultural Officer expressed shock at the great loss in revenue by the African District Council due to large quantities of maize which was being removed and sold outside the district through the black market. The members of ADC were aware of the practice but voiced the fear that the present price structure of African grown produce, and particularly maize, was the source of the practice. They urged the government to increase the price of the crop.[66]

Apart from the low prices, the Nandi who engaged in trade in maize faced problems in delivering their maize to the Kenya Farmers Association in Eldoret. For instance, in 1954 councilor Jonah Kessio lamented before the Council over the difficulties faced by Nandi maize traders. He pointed out that maize from Nandi to KFA in Eldoret was discriminated against.[67] This complaint was also voiced by Isaack Koskei in an ADC meeting in 1955. He had the following to say:

> That unless the KFA could provide the same services for the sale of Nandi maize as is existing in Nyanza province then the government should be requested to change its agency for assume the duties itself through the maize control.[68]

It can be concluded from the above that there was discontent in the price of maize as well as how KFA was handling maize from Nandi. Maize from Nandi was discriminated against due to its competition with maize from the white mixed farmers in Uasin Gishu district.

The marketing of other cash crops such as sunflower and potatoes was also through the marketing board. Sunflower was bought at the same price from Africans and Europeans. Potatoes were encouraged in 1956 to target the market in Sudan which was supplied from Italy as indicated by Marketing officer Nandi, Elgeyo Marakwet and Uasin Gishu districts to the Assistant Director of Agriculture already indicated.

The marketing of livestock was also controlled by the colonial state through the livestock control. The prices offered were fixed at a level that did not match the expectations of the sellers. These prices were substantially below those prevalent in Nandi for slaughter stock.[69] However, the process of individualization of land holdings led to the reduction of livestock. The Nandi sold their stock not because of price incentive but due to lack of grazing area.[70]

In spite of such hardship, there was a group which benefited from trading in agricultural products. Large profits were reaped by the transporters. This was due to increased demands for transportation as production and demand arose. Individuals like Jonah arap Kesio, Isaack arap Koskei and Arap Koendi who owned Lorries during this period in Nandi accumulated wealth.[71] These people also engaged in "illegal" trade. When the prices of black market were higher than those of control boards or when there was a local shortage, they took the opportunities to acquire large profits by moving produce between surplus and shortage areas. They also sold to black markets outside controlled channels.

Road transport by then had been improved so that by 1950, a car could move from Kapsabet through Kaptumo, Marapa, Serem and Chepsonoi back to Kapsabet. Simple roads in other parts of the Reserve had also been made fit for motor traffic so that cars could reach all the main centres in Nandi.

It can be concluded from the above that the state was controlling the market of agricultural products in African areas during this period. The African reacted in different forms against the control boards. The economic changes brought about class differentiation in Nandi.

5.7 Class Differentiation

In the interwar period, the causes of differentiation were found out to be trade, commodity production, collaboration with colonial state and to a small extent western education. In the period during the Second World War and after, these factors accelerated differentiation besides the government policy which was aimed at forming a class of collaborators who would perpetuate the interests of the colonizers.

Commodity production by this period had been adopted by many Nandi people. There were, however, those who had access to such tools as the plough and towards 1963 others owned tractors. Before 1954, it was mainly access to the advanced technology which enabled certain people to produce more than others. The individualization of land ownership led to the disparity in the amount of land held by the people.

Those with large farms were able to cultivate larger areas in which they planted commodities such as maize. Western education by this period had penetrated into the Nandi community. There were Nandi working as clerks and teachers. This group was able to use their salaries to accumulate wealth in the reserves.[72] For instance; they could buy grade cattle and land. Trade as mentioned earlier led to class differentiation. During this period, the transporters were able to acquire much profit. Thus the owners of Lorries became richer compared to the other people.

The Swynnerton Plan also marked the beginning of a class of collaborators different from chiefs and headmen. They included teachers, pastors, clerks and assessors in "native courts." This was a class of Africans who had acquired large tracts of land before the official division of land. Their large tracts of land were registered while the rest got land ranging between 10 and 20 acres. Land in the Swynnerton Plan was the main basis of social differentiation in Nandi.[73]

The plan also led to the formation of collaborators. A few chosen individuals, the so called progressive farmers, were given special treatment regarding implementation of agricultural policy.

The resources aimed at developing agriculture in African districts were concentrated in developing those people. For instance, they were given and upper hand to plant such cash crops as tea before the rest of the Nandi.

They also managed to keep grade cattle before the others.

5.8 Conclusion

Nandi economy during the World War II was accelerated due to war demands. However, the labour demands by the war extracted labour from the district leaving the burden of agricultural production to women. After the war, and as the agrarian crisis in African areas were worsening, the government then promoted ALDEV. ALDEV blamed the problems in African areas on poor agricultural methods. In Nandi their policies were basically aimed at reducing the amount of cultivated land and the number of livestock. This policy was not successful. In 1954 the Swynnerton Plan was introduced. This brought changes in land tenure, crops grown and livestock kept. Individualisation of land went hand in hand with introduction of cash crops. Much emphasis was now put on cash crops growing at the expense of subsistence crops. The above developments in addition to western education and trade accelerated class differentiation in Nandi.

ENDNOTES

[1]C.C.Wrigley, "Kenya, the Patterns of Economic Life 1902-1945" in V.Harlow and E.M.Chilver (Eds) *History of East Africa Vol.II* Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1967,264.

[2]G.Kitching, *Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of an African Petite Bourgeoisie 1909-1970*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980, 102.

[3]Ibid, 108.

[4]Ibid.

[5]NDAR 1940 KNA: DC/NDI/1/4.

[6]Ibid.

[7]G.Kitching. Class Economic Change in Kenya, 146.

[8]NDAR May 1941 KNA: DC/NDI/1/4.

[9]LNCM May 1941 KNA: PC/RVP/6A/11/28.

[10]NDAR 1944 KNA: DC/NDI/1/4.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Kitching, *Class and Economic Change in Kenya*, 146.

[13]C.C.Wrigley "Kenya: The Patterns of Economic Life 1902-1945" 253.

[14]NDAR 1946 KNA: DC/NDI/1/4.

[15]NDMC 1947 KNA: DC/KAPT/2/1/5.

[16]Interview with Stephen arap Kirwa, 22/8/2009, Chemundu.

[17]Interview with Kibirgen arap Terer, 16/8/2009, Kosirai.

[18]NDAR 1940 KNA: DC/NDI/1/4.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Interview with Kimng'eny arap Lagat, 13/8/2009, Mutwot.

[21]Interview with Kibirgen arap Terer, 16/8/2009, Kosirai.

[22]NDGD 1947 KNA: PC/RVP/6A/11/28.

[23]Interview with Kipkemboi Matelong, 14/8/2009, Lelmokwo.

[24]NDGD 1948 KNA: PC/RVP/6A/11/28.

[25]LNCM 1947 KNA: PC/RVP/6A1/11D/2.

[26]Kitching, *Class and Economic Change in Kenya*, 280.

[27]Ibid, 281.

[28]R.S.Oboler, *Women, Power and Economic Change*: *The Nandi of Kenya*. California: Stanford University Press, 1989, 171.

[29]Interview with Esther Chesimo, 22/8/2009, Chemundu.

[30]P.K.Magut, "The Rise and Fall of Nandi Orkoiyot, 1850-1957" in McIntosh B.G (Ed) *Ngano: Studies in Traditional and Modern East African History*, Nairobi: Historical Studies, No.1, East African Publishing House, 1969, 106.

[31]LNC 1949 KNA: PC/RVP/P6A/1/11D/2.

[32]DC Nandi Confidential handing over notes 1958, KNA: DC/NDI/2/2.

[33]Interview with Simon arap Mugun, 19/9/2009, Olessos.

[34]Native Agriculture, 1955, KNA: AN 1/5.

[35]Native Agriculture, 1953, KNA: AN 32/61.

[36]Interview with Kibet arap Mabei, 16/9/2009, Kaptel.

[37]C.Leys, *Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neocolonialism.* London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1975, 36.

[38]Native Agriculture. K.N.A AN 32/64.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Interview with James Barkogor, 16/8/2009, Kosirai.

[41]Native Agriculture, KNA: AN/32/61.

[42]Interview with Kibet Kabomoet, 10/9/2009, Kapkangani.

[43]Interview with Songok Joseph, 19/8/2009, Kaptumo.

[44]DC Nandi confidential handing over Notes 1958, KNA DC/NDI/2/2.

[45]Native Agriculture, 1957, KNA: AN 1/51.

[46]Ibid.

[47]D.C.Kapsabet to PC.Nakuru, 1956 KNA: DC/KAPT/2/1/3-8, Native Ploughing.

[48]Oboler, *Women, Power and Economic Change*, 168.

[49]NDAR 1948 KNA: DC/NDI/1/4.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid.

[52]DC Confidential Report, 1950, KNA: DC/NDI/1/5.

[53]Kitching, *Class and Economic Change in Kenya*, 237.

[54]Ibid.

[55]G.O.Ndege, "History of Pastoralism in Kenya 1895-1980" in W.R.Ochieng and Maxon R.M. (Eds) *An Economic History of Kenya*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Limited, 1992, 102.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Interview with Dorcas Chesaina, 13/8/2009, Mutwot.

[58]D.C. Nandi Confidential Handing Over Notes 1958, KNA: DC/NDI/2/2.

[59]Interview with Lepoo arap Boen, 17/8/2009, Kosirai.

[60]Interview with Kimeto arap Twolio, 12/8/2009, Sangalo.

[61]Kitching, *Class and Economic Change in Kenya*, 179.

[62]D.C Kapsabet to Provincial Agricultural Officer, Nakuru 1947, KNA: DC/KAPT 2/1/5.

[63]Interview with Kiplilan Boit Muryero, 1/9/2009, Kurgung.

[64]Native Agriculture 1949 KNA: AN 32/63.

[65]Native Agriculture 1953, KNA: AN 32/61.

[66]Native Agriculture 1954, KNA: AN 32/60.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Native Agriculture 1955 KNA: AN 32/59.

[69]Interview with Stephen arap Kirwa, 22/8/2009, Chemundu.

[70]Kitching, *Class and Economic Change in Kenya*, 181.

[71]Interview with Stephen arap Kirwa, 22/8/2009, Chemundu.

[72]Interview with Rachael Tanui, 8/8/2009, Mutwot.

[73]Interview with Esther Cheseret, 19/9/2009, Kaptumo.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 CONCLUSION

The purpose of the study has been to detail the economic history of Nandi district from the eve of colonial period to independence, the main focus being the colonial period. The study was aimed at illustrating the theme of economic change and continuity at a time when the main economic policy options emerged.

It is evident that by 1894 the Nandi were largely, though not wholly self-sufficient economically. The economy was based on household labour, communal ownership of land, the use of the hoe and shifting cultivation. The study also demonstrates the dynamism, diversity and productivity of Nandi indigenous economy in both crop and animal production. It shows that there were a number of social mechanisms to reduce the impact of food shortages or famine which occasionally affected the area. There was also trade within and between Nandi and their neighbouring communities.

The major ideas in this study include; the evidence of how the early colonial rule in Nandi was characterized by pure appropriation of livestock in form of booty during the conquest. The pre-colonial institutions related to stock raising were destroyed and cattle were used in settling all manner of alleged offences against colonial law and order. In the most part of the colonial period, the colonial policy was against the development of an African stock industry in Nandi.

The inoculations and vaccinations were mostly aimed at preventing the spread of diseases to settler stock. However, towards the end of colonial rule, the introduction of cross-breeds and pure breeds was enthusiastically received.

As for crop production the major changes introduced in the colonial period was the replacement of indigenous staple crops by maize. Maize production was enhanced by the fact that it was both a commodity as well as a subsistence crop. Nandi became a major producer of Maize. From 1954 cash crops were introduced. Tea gained popularity in Nandi and attention was focused on it at the expense of food crops.

Labour alienation during the colonial period affected Nandi economy as highlighted in the study. For primitive accumulation to be possible, cheap African labour was necessary. The Nandi were coerced into labour migration at the interest of colonial capitalism. Taxation and land alienation were used in the early colonial period to extract labour from Nandi. However, forced labour gradually developed into voluntary migrant labour as the Nandi became increasingly "trapped" within the colonial economy. Through its labour policy the colonial state interfered with the basic unit of production in Nandi, namely household labour. Withdrawal of labour from the subsistence sector worsened as colonial state matured and as market forces penetrated.

Taxation, as shown in this study, was also instituted as an instrument of maintaining the colonial state. Taxes provided revenue for the colonial state apart from forcing the Africans into wage labour. Taxes kept on rising and it affected Nandi economy. The Nandi responded by selling their small stock. More importantly they expanded commodity production to ear cash for taxes. This was coupled with the need to buy imported goods, and aided by imported hoes and ploughs; extensive cultivation became widespread, resulting in fear of soil degradation by the colonial officials in the 1940s. The process of articulation of colonial capitalism with the indigenous Nandi economy and the dynamic mechanism of social change resulting from this process led to the deepening of stratification and differentiation of the local population. The chiefs and others in the civil employment formed the early group of wealthy accumulators. They were later joined by the educated elite and those who had embraced Christianity. This group accumulated wealth in various forms including running of shops, Lorries, water mills and teaching in schools. They also engaged in successful farming. Availability of capital enabled them to purchase modern technology. On the other extreme were the poor people who relied on wage labour for subsistence.

In other words education, civil employment, cash crop production and the enclosure of private land deepened the process of social differentiation among the Nandi. Social life became characterized by intense competition and Individualisation rather than by close kinship ties.

The study of Nandi economy shows that capitalist penetration did not completely succeed in uprooting and dislocating all facets of the pre-colonial economy of the Nandi. For instance, household units remained the basis of production however much they were affected by continuous labour withdraw

The other thing the study shows is that by 1963 the Nandi had realized marked increases in their production potential, but they had exceedingly lost the command they had hitherto exercised over surplus and the means of production, particularly labour. In spite of advanced technology introduced by colonialism in terms of broad bladed hoes, ploughs, it must be stressed that the expansion of agricultural production remained basically dependent on the same techniques evolved by the Nandi.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF INFORMANTS, DATES AND PLACE OF INTERVIEW

NAME	DATE	AGE	LOCATION
Cecilia Cherubet	11/8/2009	70	Ngechek
Kiptoo arap Sorgor	11/8/2009	89	Ngechek
Dorcas Cherotich	11/8/2009	65	Ngechek
Kimaiyo arap Sortum	11/8/2009	70	Ngechek
Daudi arap Kemboi	11/8/2009	65	Ngechek
Irene Tanui	08/8/2009	62	Mutwot
Rachael Tanui	08/8/2009	60	Mutwot
Bot Kanga	08/8/2009	77	Mutwot
Bot Barno Moindi	08/8/2009	63	Mutwot
Melilei arap Sulo	12/8/2009	69	Mutwot
Kibitok arap Tirop	12/8/2009	70	Mutwot
Kipkoen arap Maasai	12/8/2009	85	Mutwot
Kipngeny Lagat	13/8/2009	64	Mutwot
Solomon Busienei	13/8/2009	72	Mutwot
Dorcas Chesaina	13/8/2009	89	Mutwot
Tapargaa Chelimo	13/8/2009	78	Mutwot
Joseph arap Cherangut	14/8/2009	82	Lelmokwo
Peter arap Kili	14/8/2009	79	Lelmokwo

John arap Matelong	14/8/2009	80	Lelmokwo
Kipkemboi arap Matelong	14/8/2009	75	Lelmokwo
Cheborirei Cherono	14/8/2009	72	Lelmokwo
Tapkili Bot Anna	16/8/2009	65	Kosirai
James Barkogor	16/8/2009	80	Kosirai
Kibirgen arap Terer	16/8/2009	89	Kosirai
Augustine arap Mabei	16/8/2009	71	Kosirai
Andrew arap Yego	17/8/2009	71	Kosirai
Leboo arap Boen	17/8/2009	65	Kosirai
Kimeto arap Kili	17/8/2009	80	Kosirai
Chemaiyo Kolil	16/8/2009	79	Kosirai
Tapnyolei Chepkirong	!7/8/2009	85	Kosirai
Prisca Taprandich	17/8/2009	75	Kosirai
Kibii arap Tiongoi	16/8/2009	78	Kosirai
Bot Cheptanui	16/8/2009	65	Kosirai
Johanna Bundotich	17/8/2009	80	Kosirai
Catherine Chepsongok	17/8/2009	76	Kosirai
Joseph Songok	19/8/2009	72	Kaptumo
Arap Borgok	19/8/2009	85	Kaptumo
Esther Cheseret	19/8/2009	82	Kaptumo
Amon Cheseret	19/8/2009	79	Kaptumo
Divinah Kurgat	20/8/2009	65	Kaptumo
Elizabeth Busienei	20/8/2009	62	Kaptumo

Stephen arap Kirwa	22/8/2009	76	Chemundu
Silvesti Murei	22/8/2009	79	Chemundu
Paulo Busienei	22/8/2009	85	Chemundu
Peter Birech	22/8/2009	65	Chemundu
James arap Karani	22/8/2009	69	Chemundu
Esther Chesoimo	22/8/2009	69	Chemundu
Clement Kimeto Misoi	25/8/2009	70	Kabiemit
Kipkosgei Masan	25/8/2009	65	Kabiemit
Jane Chemaiyo	25/8/2009	60	Kabiemit
Kibitok arap Tabut	25/8/2009	84	Kabiemit
Daniel Maiyo	11/8/2009	87	Kabiyet
Philip Samoei	11/8/2009	73	Kabiyet
Christopher Borborei	11/8/2009	72	Kabiyet
Joseph arap Chesilm	11/8/2009	80	Kabiyet
K-meson arap Sigilai	12/8/2009	70	Sangalo
Kimeto arap Twolo	12/8/2009	70	Sangalo
Kiprotich arap Kirwa	12/8/2009	75	Sangalo
Chemesunde Bot Karonei	1/9/2009	82	Kurgung
Tapunei Chemaiyo	1/9/2009	90	Kurgung
Kiplilan Boit Muryero	1/9/2009	70	Kurgung
Regina Cheptobok	1/9/2009	75	Kurgung
Sosten Cheptobok	2/9/2009	78	Kurgung
Salome Chematia	2/9/2009	71	Kurgung

Taputmoi Chemaiyo	6/9/2009	86	Kabisaga
Kipkoroit Maiyo	6/9/2009	69	Kabisaga
Kibet Talam	6/9/2009	70	Kabisaga
Tirop arap Koin	6/9/2009	87	Kabisaga
Christopher Baiywo	10/9/2009	75	Kapkangani
Kibet Kabomoet	10/9/2009	65	Kapkangani
Christina Cheruto	10/9/2009	60	Kapkangani
Adijah Chelel	13/9/2009	79	Kamoiywo
Sarah Chepkochoi	13/9/2009	78	Kamoiywo
Roselyn Chemai	13/9/2009	79	Kamoiywo
Jennifer Chepkemboi	14/9/2009	69	Kaplamai
Nelly Chepkinyor	14/9/2009	60	Kaplamai
Christopher Birir	14/9/2009	72	Kaplamai
Peter Kosgei	14/9/2009	68	Chepterwai
Christopher Randich	14/9/2009	72	Chepterwai
Kimaiyo Samoei	15/9/2009	83	Chepterwai
Kipserem arap Sang	17/9/2009	72	Nandi Hills
Johanna Bett	17/9/2009	65	Nandi Hills
Simeon Maiyo	!7/9/2009	70	Nandi Hills
Chepkwony Birir	17/9/2009	80	Nandi Hills
Simeon Mugun	19/9/2009	65	Olessos
Dinah Chepkasi	19/9/2009	60	Olessos
Arap Chepketon	19/9/2009	80	Kilibwoni

Hosea Tek	19/9/2009	82	Kilibwoni
Tapkurgoi Chemisik	20/9/2009	74	Kilibwoni
Job Kossut	20/9/2009	71	Kilibwoni
Kipkorir arap Bor	25/9/2009	78	Chebarus
Julius Kogo	25/9/2009	79	Chebarus
Jane Chelagat	25/9/2009	69	Chebarus

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE.

1. Origin, migration and settlement.

a) Where did the Nandi come from?

b) Did the Nandi leave their place of origin alone or with other groups?

c) Do you know any of those groups of people?

d) Were those groups of people related to you in any way?

e) Why did the Nandi leave the place they were occupying before coming to their present land? Around what time did the Nandi leave their place of origin?

f) In their place of origin and during the course of their migration, what economic activities did the Nandi engage in?

g) Did they leave their place of origin as a single group or did they leave in waves of clans, subgroups etc?

h) Around what period did the Nandi settle in the area they presently occupy?

i) When the Nandi entered their present area did they find any groups settled in the region? If yes, who were these groups? What became of them with the coming in of the Nandi?

j) Did the Nandi emerge as a distinct group at the course of their migration or have they only emerged as a homogenous group in their present area of settlement?

k) What factors do you consider facilitated their emergence as a distinct group?

2. Land

a) How was land acquired if pre-colonial period?

b) What was the pattern of land ownership during the early period of settlement in this area?

c) Who owned the land? Was it owned by an individual, the family, the clan or the tribe?

d) What was the role of elders in matters of land ownership?

e) What rights over land did an individual have, and how long did these rights last?

f) How did the Nandi, Pass over land rights from the old to the young?

g) Did women have access to ownership of land? If no, why?

h) How did the community control the use of land in Nandi?

i) How did the Nandi allocate land for various types of use e.g. cultivation, grazing and hunting? How were a person's right to land protected?

3. Agriculture

a) What crops were grown in the pre-colonial period?

b) Where were they grown and why?

c) Was there mixed farming?

d) If yes, which crops were mixed?

e) If no, how were the crops planted?

f) How was the agricultural calendar?

g) How was the risk of crop failure minimized? e.g. different crops for different seasons.

h) What use was the harvested food put to?

i) Who was responsible for storage/disposal of surplus food?

j) What was the aim of agriculture in pre-colonial period?

k) What relationship existed between agriculture and other social activities i.e. was agriculture different from for example, politics and social organizations? Was it a way of life or was it part of social pattern of life?

4. Hunting, gathering and industry.

a) Which crop did the Nandi gather from nature?

b) When was the gathering of crops done?

c) Which animals were hunted and when?

d) How was industry organized? Was it communal or individual?

e) Were the products 0f industry and hunting of any economic value to the parties concerned? Explain.

5. Labour

a) During the pre-colonial period how was labour organized?

b) Did people work communally or individually?

c) How was communal labour organized?

d) How could one increase the labour of his household?

e) What tasks were performed by

a) Men.

b) Women.

c) Men and women

d) Children.

f) What implements were in use in pre-colonial period and how did these implements influence the amount of land cultivated and the division of labour between men and women?

g) Was there labour scarcity in the pre-colonial period?

h) Did the Nandi have any form of exchange? If so, with whom, and what commodities?

i) What was the medium of exchange?

j) Were there trading centres?

k) Was there a group of people specializing in trade? If so why? If no, why not?

COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

1. Land

a) What agricultural changes did the colonialist bring?

b) How did the changes affect Nandi land ownership and usage?

c) How did alienation affect the Nandi?

d) Were the alienated lands settled by the Nandi before the coming of the colonialist?

e) In what ways do you consider that the people of Nandi benefited from these changes Vis-a -Vis the old system of land ownership?

f) In what ways do you think the changes in land ownership hindered the development of the people of Nandi?

2. Labour.

a) How was labour organized during the colonial period?

b) In what ways do you think colonial policy at any one time influenced the mobilization of labour?

c) How did such policy regarding labour affect agriculture in Nandi?

d) What activities were women involved in?

e) What activities were men involved in?

f) Did there exist migrant labour in Nandi?

g) Where did the people go to work? Which particular group of people went out to look for work during the colonial time? i.e. were they the young men, old men, women, young girls etc.

h) Why did people have to leave Nandi to go to work?

i) How did the people in Nandi ensure that they met the colonial demands to pay taxes?

j) How did such episodes as the wars 1914-1919 and1939-1945 affect labour and agriculture in Nandi?

3. <u>crops</u>

a) What crops were introduced during the colonial period?

b) Were they immediately adopted by the people? Explain.

c) How did the new crops affect the existing arrangements of food production?

d) How did the new corps affect soil fertility in Nandi?

e) Did famines become more frequent with the onset of colonialism?

f) What were the government efforts to food crops among the Nandi?

4. <u>Trade</u>

a) How did the Nandi sell their corps of farm produce?

b) How far was the transaction to the farmer?

c) Did the Nandi take any initiative to produce more food to sell to the colonial officials?

d) What was the colonial government's effort to boost trade in food crops?

e) Were there any imported Asian and European goods among the Nandi? If so, name them.

f) What were their effect on Nandi technology, industry, trade and agricultural production?

g) During the colonial period, were there markets for selling agricultural products in Nandi?

h) What major products did the people of Nandi sell at these markets?

i) Where were the markets located? Can you name the ones you can remember?

j) Who were the major traders in these markets?

k) Describe how the trade was conducted.

5. <u>Technology.</u>

a) What factors influenced the type of technology used in agriculture at the eve of colonial setting?

b) What changes were introduced during the colonial period?

c) What was the effect of the introduction of mechanization in Nandi district?

d) How do you compare the implements that were in use in the pre-colonial period with those introduced during the colonial period?

e) Were the implements accessible to everybody?

f) Was there a group of people or individuals who accumulated wealth and land during the colonial period? What was the economic or social status of these people?

g) What would you say the Nandi benefited from colonial rule? What were the bad effects as far as the Nandi agriculture is concerned?

1. Land

a) What agricultural changes did the colonialist bring?

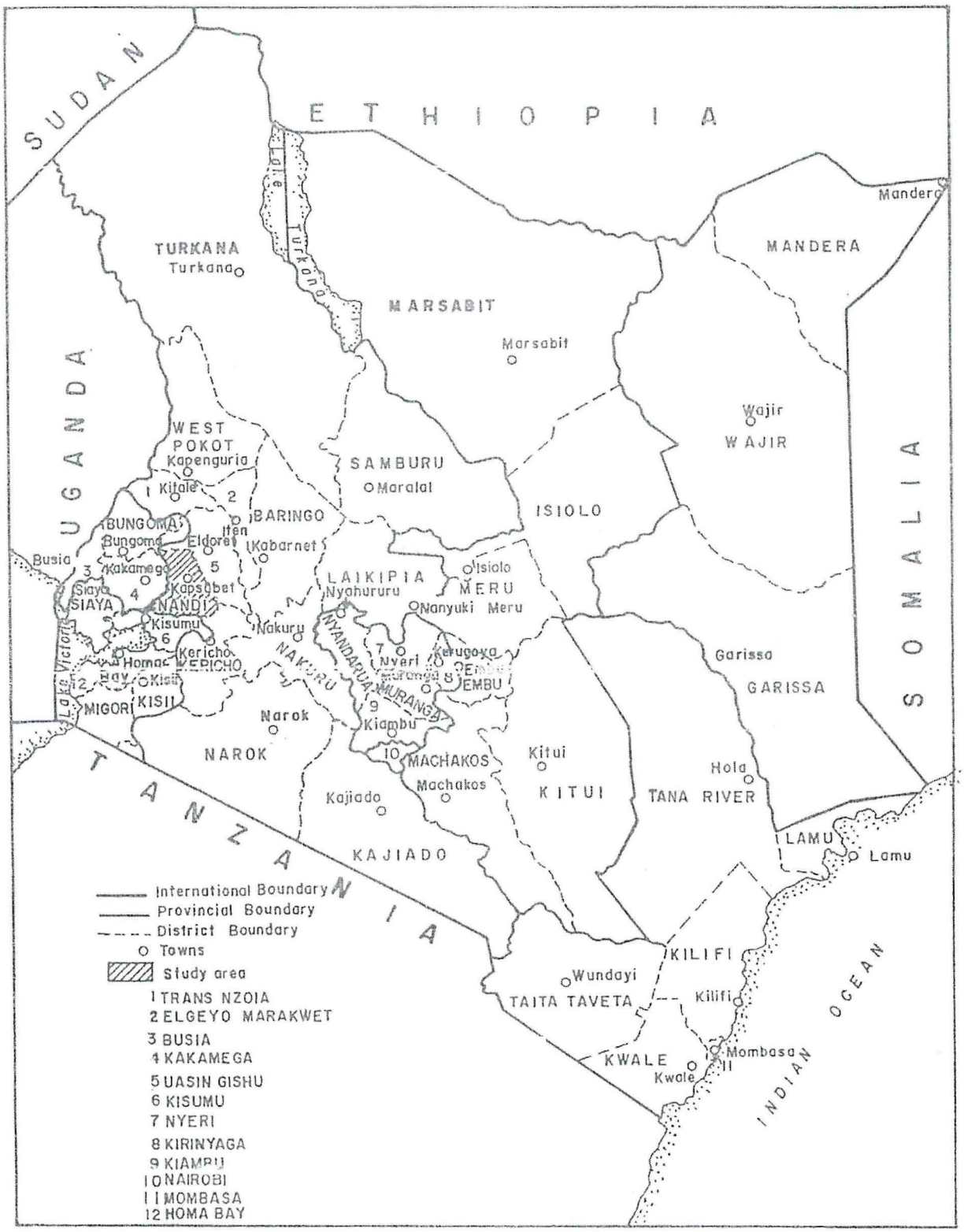
b) How did the changes affect Nandi land ownership and usage?

c) How did alienation affect the Nandi?

d) Were the alienated lands settled by the Nandi before the coming of the colonialist?

e) In what ways do you consider that the people of Nandi benefited from these changes Vis-à-vis the old system of land ownership?

f) In what ways do you think the changes in land ownership hindered the development of the people in Nandi?



Map 1 Location of Study area in Kenya.

Source: Republic of Kenya, Nandi District Plan 1989 - 1993, Nairobi: Government Printers, 1989



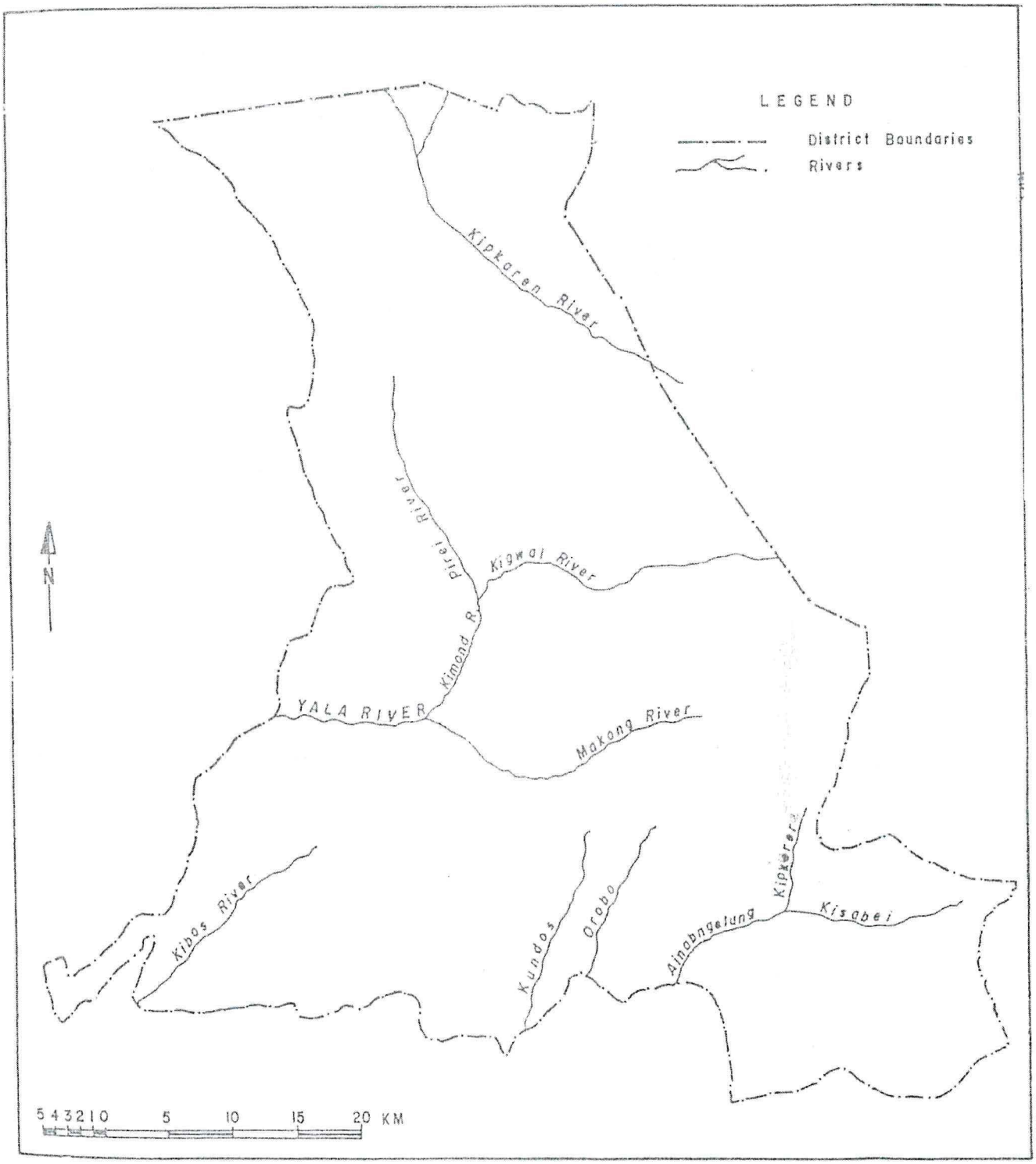
AP.2 Administrative Boundaries of Nandi District

ource: Republic of Kenya, Nandi District Plan 1989 - 1993, Nairobi overnment Printers, 1989



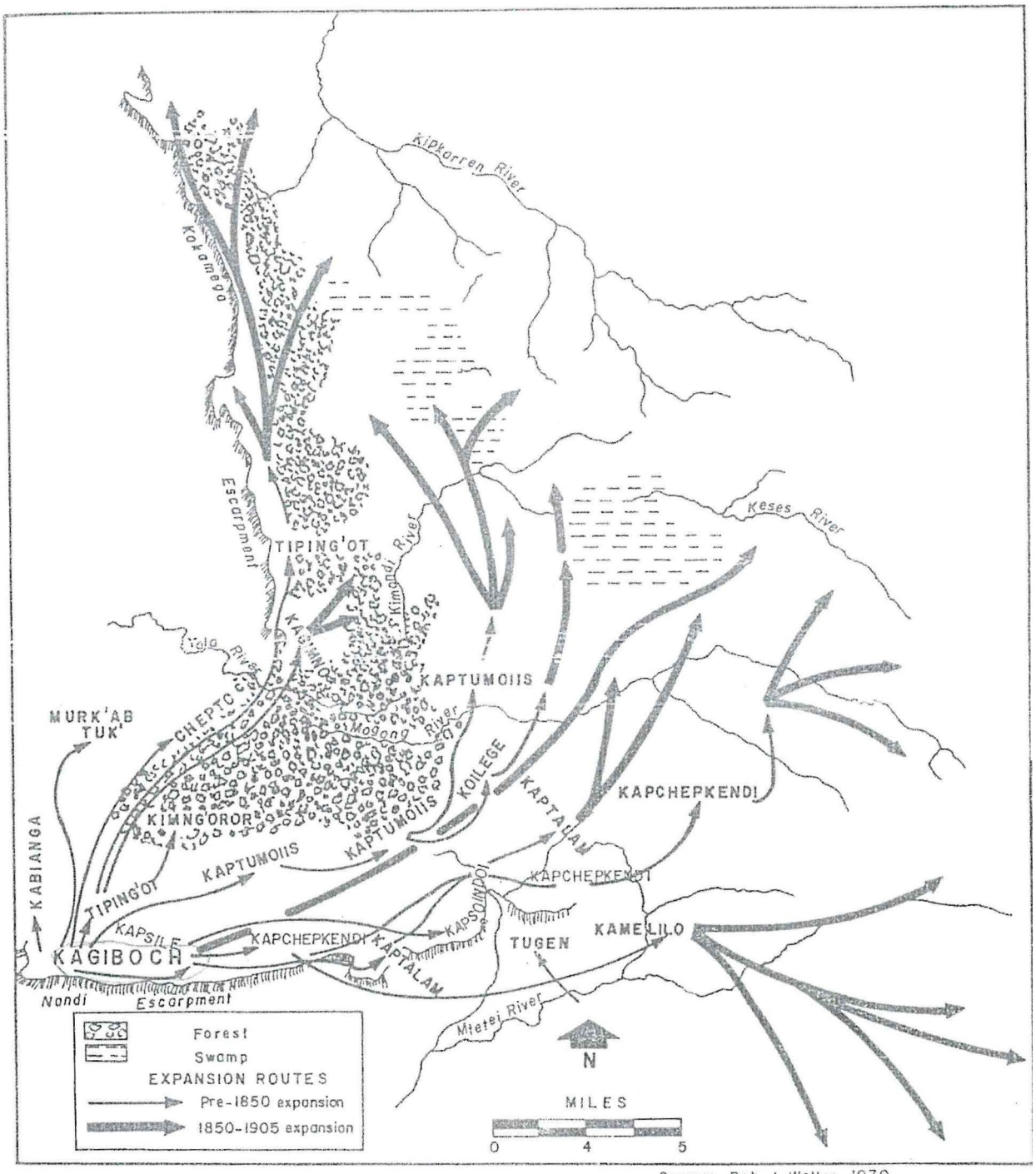
MAP 2 Administrative Boundaries of Nandi District

Source: Republic of Kenya, Nandi District Plan 1989 - 1993, Nairobi Government Printers, 1989



MAP 4 Drainage Basin of Nandi District

Source: Republic of Kenya, Nandi District Plan 1989 - 1993, Nairobi: Government Printers, 1989



Source: Bob J. Walter, 1970

Map 5 The Nandi Expansion.