1931. Kenya. 1

No. 17195.

SUBJECT CO533/412

Memorandum on the Masai

by Mr. E. V. Buxton

Previous	
Subsequent	

FILE C.

C.V. Buxton — 19 May

Encloses a copy of his memorandum on the Masai with printed appendices

2 To C.V. Buxton (Annex) — 20 May

Sir J. Campbell

See minute on 16.3.4/30

20a See note by Mr Lockwood attached. This is a most interesting paper and I particularly like the 'synoptic' view which the Minister takes of the whole area with which he is concerned. But I wish I felt really sure that a to such proposals could be put into effect. The most satisfactory scheme which was related primarily to the Wakamba Reserve, is in abeyance. Can we really expect C.D.F. officers to be for any of the proposals outlined in the memo summarised in para 70? Subject to any views you may have on this point I agree generally with the action proposed by Mr Lockwood in his minute.

We must be careful not this. On the one hand, Mr Buxton refers in the memo in the explanation that the Kikuyu will give a share attention — he has made the

S.S. since he came in I have + talked to him about the Masai Province. On the other hand, Mr Buxton is not more than a District Commissioner, & it may not make things too easy if a harassed Colonial Government is asked officially by the S.S. for consn of memorandum (46 pages, in length without appendices) however useful & interesting, compiled by a District Commissioner. So I prefer the semi-official action suggested by Mr Flatwood; but I wd. add to the letter (a) expression of mild interest in the memorandum. It has the merit of reviewing the position in the Masai area with which it is concerned, as a whole. (b) Desire to know what view is taken by the authorities on the merits & various proposals. (c) S.S.'s concern about the disposition as to the area of F.F. & desire for further inf.n as to this.

A. C. C. Parkinson
13/6/37

the expenditure with on to the other side of this file

Mr: Buxton is rather wordy, but I have ploughed through all this.

2. The matter is not for me, but one feels that it would perhaps be countrafly wise to take the course of action suggested. After all, this is a very detailed memo: regarding the administration of one quite small area of a large Colony. The subjects dealt with are, emphatically, the business of the Govt: of that Colony. The officer making the suggestions is a subordinate officer of that Govt:. The Acting Chief Native Commr: has already had a copy of the memo:. Would it not be preferable to leave it at that?

I personally do not at all like the idea of sending this memo: on to the local Govt:--even semi-officially--with the comments suggested. The general objections to such a course seem to me obvious--and important.

+ that the memo, as they have it

the letter shd express concn, but the Govt ought to know that we have the memo

3. I very much doubt whether any aid could be expected from the C D Fund. The financial position of that Fund is now well known:--there is very little "free money" now available, for the current year, and there will be but little available next year. The May Committee are clearly contemplating the abolition of the Fund. The Comm's attitude to the "meat factory" scheme has already been disclosed: it is not sympathetic. They think the thing "an administrative necessity", and therefore outside the ambit of the Fund. The "auction rings" would I am afraid not strike them as having much "developmental value". "Survey expenses" they would probably class as administrative expenditure, outside the orbit of the Fund. The "water scheme" is more hopeful: it would

What is the May Committee? TOP.

an economies' cmte in current

of course have to come up, as a detailed scheme properly worked out, from the local Govt:. And there the position of the Fund is such that the Comm: must tend to right shy of undertaking recurring commitments. " Hide drying sheds" are a possibility as regards aid from the Fund--but it is a " fiddling" sort of thing;and the Comm: does not like petty schemes of that type. " Poultry " is open to the same general objection; the amount is so small that the local Govt: could,one would think, meet it. And "colonial development" by the expenditure of £ 500 on poultry obviously gives the enemy an opportunity to blaspheme--they took it,on the May Comm:, I may add! The C D F C is perhaps already rather sensitive to criticism of that kind: it is criticism which the Treasury have already made, as the Dept: knows, I think. " Roads" are another possible object for expenditure from the Fund: but again the criticisms indicated above apply. " Model Villages" the Comm: are not in the least likely to aid. I am afraid all this is rather pessimistic. But we have to remember that,as things stand, the Comm: is going to find not the slightest difficulty in spending such money as it has on major,or at least important, development schemes. All that money goes to " the Colonial Empire". We-as the Colonial Office-cannot grumble if the Comm: is unsympathetic as regards petty schemes, or schemes which are clearly on the border-line as regards " colonial development". Any sums so refused go, ex hypothesi, to bigger and better schemes elsewhere in the Colonial Empire.

The 22nd: June 1931.

[illegible] 23/6/31

[illegible] letter to [illegible] Secretary [illegible] on the lines indicated by Mr Fontwood and Sir Robinson, but without any encouragement to hope for help from the C.D.F. ([illegible] development [illegible] different [illegible])

[While I was reading this letter, Sir Reginald Blyth called and [illegible] a copy of [illegible] letter — addressed to the S of S, but marked "Not Urgent" — in the hand claims to the "one mile zone". He contained words that may be useful to us. I handed it back to him & asked him to write [illegible] & [illegible] to be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] discipline.]

C.A.S. 23.6.31.

Mitchell [illegible] [illegible] letter [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to me [illegible] [illegible] but I had [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] communication [illegible] [illegible]

Sec of State
(through Dr Sheets)

I don't know whether or not you invited Mr Buxton to send you a copy of his memo?

In any case I would not advise you [illegible] more than a phrase of ack[illegible]

Dr C Bolton Coy, an [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(whom you

sent us a copy of a

which he has sent to [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] and that presumably

if any action is necessary on

it it will be taken by the Ag

Dry Labor Commissioner.

I agree with Gen J. Campbell

in thinking that there are obvious
objections to our sending a copy
of the memo to Kenya with comments.
It [illegible] a government

[illegible]

[illegible] memorandum
sent to you by the [illegible] authorities
from Kenya.

In view of what the Governor of
Kenya has said about his people
being allowed to submit a
memorandum to the Joint Committee,
I am of opinion that everything

~~possible should be done to~~

discourage Sir Burton from

doing the same.

E.H.L.

26.6.31

I agree that we must follow proper procedure. At the same time, while things in Sir J. Simon are, to some extent, in the melting pot, and we are seeking light amidst much darkness, we should gladly accept assistance from well-informed quarters. It is all to the good. I think, that officers in the service should be encouraged to submit suggestions to higher authority, so long as these are relevant and put forward in a proper way. It might, indeed, be an excellent thing to regularise such practice, by providing an avenue for suggestions from acting officers in regard to the districts in which they work.

I am sorry to hear what Sir J. Campbell has to say about the C.D.F. As I have not to do with it, I do not know the "ins and outs", but I should think it was most unlikely that a proposal to abolish the C.D.F. would be accepted. I hope the C.O. would oppose that strongly, and its work in relation to unemployed men in this country, added to its undoubted usefulness to the Colonies, makes its abolition appear to be a foolish thing to propose and a still more foolish thing to accept.

The most fertile ground is a necessary and good thing and should be pushed on, wherever the [illegible] comes from. It would not be all loss, as there would be contingent economic benefits, and it should soon be self-supporting. I think the best course would be to send the S/o letter saying that the S. of St has seen a copy of this memo, which he has read with interest. He has no doubt that the copy which he understands has been sent to the acting C.N.Co., will be considered, and he would be glad, at the proper time, to know his opinion of the B.S. suggestions.

V.B.S. 29.6.31.

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Draft herewith as directed.

Various memoranda by Mr Burton have turned up in the last few weeks, & these are I gather the appendices to no. 1 on this file. They are all a little out of date now & I don't think it is really necessary for anyone else to read any of them.

There is one memo however which I have flagged green in the jacket on the opposite side of the file, which does not seem to be an appendix — a memo on how to put advice into the administration. I don't know whether Sir Joseph Bryne will have read this, but I think he might be interested to see it. Perhaps it would be thought worth while to send this in original on the attached letter — as it strikes me as containing various suggestions with which you will be thinking in sympathy.

E.C. Faulkner
7.7.31

Draft to read & submit for Commissioner

170

Sir C. Bottomley

I am not quite sure from the minutes, yet letter to Parsons' opp. carries out the intention.

On the whole I rather incline not to send the other memo. refd. to overleaf: it is much easier to refer to a memo already sent to Home, & the Secretary introduced in the first case, than to forward a voluminous memo. refd. as it is marked 'private'.

A. Lennox-Boyd
8.7.31

Would send it back

W. C. S.
8.7.31

Noted

To Sir J. Byrne – cons. (20) 10/12/ 10 JUL 1931

Sir J. Byrne (S.G.) 25.9.31

Comments in regard to taxation of the Masai

I attach a copy of the memo. referred to. The copy in which it came ~~that~~ I is receiving consn separately.

To reduce the tax to 13/-

would apparently cost about £7,100 which Kenya cannot possibly afford at the present moment. Discussion necessarily becomes ~~time for~~ a little academic.

The principle "from each according to his means, to each according to his needs" has long been accepted, at least, as an ideal, in European countries. I do not know why in Kenya we should adopt any other principle. If, as is alleged, the Masai are actually (as well as potentially) richer than other tribes in Kenya, it is only right that they shd pay a higher rate of tax. The white system of a flat rate of tax is of course anomalous, but the difficulty is to devise another.

Perhaps, has the matter under consn & a decision is in the subject.

In the circs I think this particular subject may be dropped. Sir C. Bottomley will no

doubt if a suitable letter

Thanks to be drafted

16.8.21

Tax 36816/20
Cal Hist. Tax

(Some today)
20/12

I kept this to look up the papers relating to the fixing of the Masai tax at 20/- and it has taken time to trace and collect them.

The reference to Stock tax is confirmed by paragraph 6 of 36816/20 which says "It is considered that the Masai generally can well afford to pay the maximum limit of Rs.10 per annum. Had a stock tax been imposed the proceeds from hut or poll would have reached a far higher figure as the tribe possesses a quantity of stock out of all proportion to the nature of taxable huts or adult males".

I find nothing to suggest that the rate was fixed with any relation to the traditional labour clause of the Native Authority Ordinance.

It is true that in paragraph 7 of their representations as regards native taxation in 30693/20 the Alliance of Missionary Societies speak of taxation in the form of free labour but in dealing with this point on page 3 of his memorandum in 36824/20 Mr. Ainsworth argues that it is irrelevant and the inference is that, in that case, the freedom of the Masai from such labour could not properly be adduced as a reason for increasing the Masai rate: anyway there is no evidence that it was a factor in the decision.

I

I think this might be put by.

23/11/21

Sir S. Wilson

[illegible]

The further question whether the Masai are contributing in relation to what they get can be left for the [illegible] by the joint [illegible] associations

[illegible] 705(1) of the [illegible]

Rs. [illegible] 55

[illegible]

[illegible]

Perhaps Sir J. Maxwell in some letter on other topics

[illegible] 11.11.21

Sir R. Hamilton

Jan should see.

[illegible] 1.12.21

Seen [illegible]

[illegible] 11.12.21

[illegible] 22.12.21

Downing Street,

22nd December 1931.

My dear Byrne,

[illegible] to clear up two points.

[illegible] thanked you for your letter of the [illegible] Sexton's memorandum on [illegible] it is quite clear that he [illegible] Hoasted said about the Masai [illegible]

[illegible] thanked you for the copies of your [illegible] and you add that we have distributed [illegible] to the War Office and the Foreign Office, and [illegible] to Addis Ababa.

Yours sincerely,

L. G.S.

His Excellency

Brigadier-General

Sir Joseph Byrne, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B.

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GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

25th September, 1931.

No. 3

My dear Bottomley,

In answer to your letter No.17195/31 of the 10th July on the subject of Clarence Buxton's memorandum on Kajiado District, I have had referred to Hemsted the statement attributed to him to the effect that an extra sum of Sh.8/- was put on the Masai tax so that road communications might be provided by paid labour instead of forced labour. Hemsted has replied as follows:-

"For some years the Masai paid only Rs.5 while other tribes "were paying considerably more, the reason being that a new "form of tax, i.e., a Stock Tax was under consideration for "some time, and eventually this was found to be impracticable "and in its place the Hut and Poll Tax was raised to Sh.20/-.

"The matter was discussed with Sir Charles Bowring, then "Acting Governor, the late Mr. McClure, who was in charge of "the Masai during a part of 1918/19 and myself, and in view "of their wealth it was agreed that the Masai could very well "afford to pay a higher rate of taxation than other tribes. "I believe two or three million rupees were paid to them "during the war for livestock required for military supplies.

"So far as I remember there was nothing more in it than that, "and I think Clarence Buxton must have been under some mis-"apprehension. I do not remember that the Masai were ever "consulted about the increased tax but paid it willingly "and it was collected in full without difficulty."

"There was never any question of calling on the Masai for "compulsory labour on roads under the Native Authority "Ordinance, as among a sparse scattered nomad population, "unprovided with tools, it was obviously quite impossible."

This....

This question of the Masai tax was dealt with in paras 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 of the memorandum on Native Taxation attached to my despatch No. 481 of the 4th August, 1931, on the general history and theory of taxation in Kenya, and I explained that the real reason for their paying a higher tax than other tribes was - or was supposed to be - their greater wealth per head of population. Wade tells me, however, that he has heard it argued, among others by Maxwell the late Chief Native Commissioner, that quite apart from that it is reasonable that they should contribute on a more generous scale than others to the Colony's revenues in view of the fact that they contribute nothing in the way of communal labour to the maintenance and construction of roads or other local works. Buxton may have been thinking of this.

As a matter of fact the Masai seem to get very good value for their taxation in comparison with other tribes as the following figures indicate:-

The Masai population is approximately 60,000 and the Nyanza approximately 1,000,000, and the Kikuyu approximately [illegible] (actual figures of last estimate are Masai 48,647, Nyanza 1,092,036, Kikuyu 795,934). In the figures of expenditure by Government on native services given in my

despatch.....

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

despatch No. 63 of the 25th January, 1931, the expenditure on Masai is estimated to be £30,683, on Nyanza £150,120 and on Kikuyu £179,296. That is to say the Masai gets roughly Sh.12/- per head, the Kavirondo Sh.3/- per head and the Kikuyu Sh.4/50 per head. In other words a Masai, although he pays less than double as much as a Kavirondo in direct taxation gets four times as much in direct services (and nearly three times as much as a Kikuyu). Again, the revenue from direct taxation in Masai is £17,750, in Nyanza £235,000 and in Kikuyu is £177,888. So that Masai might expect to get about 1/13th of what Nyanza gets and about 1/10th of what Kikuyu gets. Actually it gets about 1/5th of Nyanza's amount and 1/6th of Kikuyu's. So that, looked at from any point of view, it gets about double as much as it ought to out of Government (in comparison with the two large Provinces) even allowing for the Sh.20/- tax as opposed to the Sh.12/- tax.

Yours sincerely,

Sir W.C. Bottomley. K.C.M.G., C.B., C.B.E.
The Colonial Office.
London. S.W.1.

C.O.

Mr. Eastwood.
Mr. Parkinson.
Mr.
Mr. Tomlinson.
Sir L. Balfour.
Mr. L. S. Amery.
Sir G. Grindle.
Perm. U.S. of S.
Parly. U.S. of S.
Secretary of State.

17198/31.

C.O.
R 9 JUL 1931
D

Downing Street.

10 July, 1931.

S.O. for Sir C. Bottomley's signature.

My dear Byrne,

The Secretary of State met Clarence Buxton at [illegible] the other day and was much [illegible] conversation [illegible]

[illegible] serious [illegible] Buxton's suggestions will no doubt be considered and ~~as a matter of interest~~ he would very much like to know at your convenience what the suggestions are.

DRAFT.

H.S. [illegible]

SIR JOS[illegible] [illegible] K.C.M.G.,

[illegible] K.B.E., C.B.

[illegible] BE [illegible] ALLY [illegible] PUBLIC [illegible]

I expect your answer to most of the ~~points~~ suggestions will be that they are impracticable in that although they apply only to one district of one Province of the Colony, they involve very considerable extra expenditure; and incidentally I may say that I think it very unlikely that the Colonial Development Advisory Committee would be willing to give [illegible] schemes.

[illegible] secretary [illegible] I [illegible] [illegible] difficulties [illegible] worry you by [illegible] your observations [illegible] small [illegible] ~~is brought to his~~ [illegible] speech [illegible] ~~[illegible] a junior officer of~~ [illegible] there is one point in the memo. which he feels bound to ask for further information, namely the statement attributed to Hemsted in paragraph 34 page 25 that the extra 8/- was put on to the Masai tax so that road communications might be provided by paid labour instead of forced labour. Would you [illegible] ~~[illegible] time to say~~ whether this remark can be substantiated? I have always heard that there

there is little or no forced labour in the Masai reserve - but equally I have always heard that there is little or no roadwork done; and if the facts are as stated it would seem that there is ~~quite a bit~~ a good deal owing to the Masai on this account. The Secretary of State recently wrote officially about the Masai tax in his despatch No. 86 of the 3rd February.

No. 11 on 25543/30.

Yrs sincerely,

(Signed) W. C. BOTTOMLEY.

(Personal explanation)

ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
KENYA COLONY

Preface.

The views expressed in this memorandum are based on an eight years' (1919-1928) experience of administration in Kenya with periods of service amongst the Wakamba (Machakos-15months), Masai (Narok-6 months), Wakisii, Jaluo, Kavirondo (Kisii-7 months), Akikuyu (Fort Hall-8 months), Meru, Itharaka (Meru-15 months), Suk (Kacheliba-9 months), Turkana (Kaloma-9 months), and the settled areas of Naivasha (18 months), Thika-Ithanga Hills - Railway Construction Camps (Fort Hall) Donyo Sabuk, Mau Hills, Kilima Kiu Kibwezi area (Machakos).

1) Through a year's service in the secret rift and the interchange of views with other administrative officers and settlers, I have learned something of conditions in other districts. I feel convinced that I am voicing opinions which are very generally held by officers of the Administration, particularly those of long service.

2) Although these views are held so generally there is no means of their collective expression. For this reason I have felt impelled to submit them in this memorandum in the hope that a consideration of them may lead to some amelioration of the service. Collective action by District Officers would have disposed of any imputation of self seeking or axe grinding to which presentation by an individual might give rise, but as other individuals have not felt justified in taking the risk of prejudicing their careers by submitting these

views, I think it will be clear that they are disinterested. Certainly my friends in the Service have not encouraged me in this course for fear of [illegible] result.

3) Collectiv[illegible] [illegible]ction of [illegible] strict [illegible] [illegible] should be [illegible]

Introduction.

1) The morale of the Administrative Service in Kenya is far from being satisfactory. Whatever the explanation may be, no one who has any intimate knowledge of administrative officers would deny the fact that those who are now in the Service are disconcerted with the circumstances of their work. The fact of this discontent has been recognized and some of the material conditions of the Service have been ameliorated, but the appeal of a career in the administrative field does not lie for the best men on financial grounds, though a reasonable degree of freedom from financial worry is requisite and expected. The appeal lies much deeper in its opportunities of promoting the welfare of the backward races under the British flag and increasing the economic wealth of the Empire, while inculcating ideals of justice, peace and freedom and the sense of honour. A singleness of purpose characterized by leadership and loyalty has been the outstanding feature in Colonial administration.

2) This singleness of purpose has been dissipated if not destroyed in Kenya by certain peculiarities introduced by the presence of European settlers and the development of black and white areas side by side with the added problem of brown traders. The ideal of administration so eloquently portrayed by His Excellency, Sir Edward Grigg, in his addresses to the students of international affairs at Philadelphia, has been obscured by the introduction of a dual policy in which interests may conflict. A possible conflict of interests is recognized by the Secretary of State, and it has been laid down as a fundamental principle that if conflict occurs, native interests are to prevail, but this principle is not interpreted in

the sense that the administration in native areas at any rate is primarily concerned with the development of those areas. Largely owing to the lack of schemes and facilities for progress in native areas a serious conflict of interests has so far been kept in abeyance. In many respects the interests of the various communities which inhabit and develop Kenya are complementary, but this happy state of affairs is not invariable even now, and with the further progress of African tribes, interests may diverge seriously. The adjustment of such interests to avoid conflict and ensure cooperation presents an administrative problem peculiar in an intense form to Kenya and the dual policy, where it is at all applicable, is a source of weakness interfering with sound native administration on its economic side.

5) The solution of this problem calls for the exercise of far-sighted statesmanship. Ideally the interests of each community would be harmonized as they are in certain districts by single control, but in Kenya the channel of control is divided so that ultimately the conflict of interests is intensified by duality of control in separate hierarchies for white and black areas. For the white areas there were Resident Commissioners channelling direct to the the Colonial Secretary, while District Commissioners in the purely native areas channelled through the Provincial or Senior Commissioners to the Chief Native Commissioner who became virtually an Executive Officer in charge of a Department instead of an expert adviser in native affairs with no executive functions. The inevitable friction and duplication of work is generally regarded as a lesser evil

than the inadequate representation of native interests through Provincial Commissioners to the Colonial Secretary, but this duality of control, which is another feature peculiar to Kenya, does not simplify the problem of administration.

4) The third and in some respects the most baffling peculiarity from an administrative point of view is the incredible and irresistible influence of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council who bring such pressure to bear on the Central Government that to a large extent administration is governed by politics rather than principles. So powerful is this influence that officers dealing with native interests realize that what may leave their hands straight [illegible] in Nairobi by the existence of extraneous [illegible] the problem is [illegible] along the lines of [illegible] but [illegible] political expediency. [illegible] of unofficial members carry considerably more weight [illegible] greater attention than those of officers charged with the [illegible] responsibility for law, order and progress in the native areas.

5) The difficult setting of an administrative officer's work is revealed in paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of this introduction. There are undoubtedly features of the present system of administration which [illegible] progress along considered lines impossible. These form the subject of Part I.

PART I

Lack of Policy. No clear Conception of Administrative Officers' Functions.

1) The responsibilities of administrative officers, particularly those in charge of Provinces and Districts were indicated in 1923 by Sir Leroy Gimmero. These instructions have never been brought up to date although the whole face of administration has changed since then. The policy which now governs administration [illegible] in the extreme. Very [illegible] officer on taking over [illegible] instructions indicate [illegible] responsible for his work, [illegible] continuity in ad- [illegible] routine work [illegible] officer [illegible] certainty [illegible] [illegible] be carried [illegible] by his predecessor. [illegible] confidence for the natives and [illegible] course steered by the [illegible] in any district would be [illegible] chart which recorded [illegible] oscillations of a pro- [illegible] to a certain extent by the [illegible] zigzagging to avoid adverse attacks. The frequent changes in the staff of a district and the absence of any settled line of progress causes erratic administration. Each officer is working on individual lines amidst a hail of instructions from all departments on matters of secondary and sometimes trivial import too.

2) The conditions obtaining in Kenya call for a higher degree of elasticity and imagination than is required in administration elsewhere, but the kind of liberty which allows an officer to develop his district unhindered by interference over innumerable petty matters is inconsistent with directional control in the larger issues of policy. In the absence of a broadly-conceived scheme a lower officer much discretion that he develops fads, e.g. roads, tribunals, economic crops or whatever may be his special bent. And there has been recognised policy he would have gladly worked towards the same end goal. Though his efforts would contribute towards the accomplishment of a considered plan he would not feel that his work was hampered by being confined in a wrong groove, provided that the policy is the result of mature consideration and is not merely in the nature of detailed instructions on matters which should be left to his discretion such as means of travel, programmes of work, etc.

3) Loyal service is only possible in such circumstances where loyalty to cause and leader is absent a superficial compliance with regulations must be obtained by rigid discipline. Where such is the case an officer who takes his work as trustee of native interests seriously must face the prospect of friction at every step.

4) Most of the problems which occupy the time and attention of higher authority and lead to so much trouble for those in charge of districts and provinces are due to an initial neglect of the administrative aspects, and a consequent failure to provide, statesmanlike, the lines for progress and the foundations for justice and order. Little interest is taken in a problem of native administration in Nairobi until some crisis is reached. Even then some expedient

to satisfy the immediate needs of the situation is sought while the real problem is burked and remains unsolved. An officer wishing to see high authority on a matter vital to native interests and policy is not even accorded the attention paid to some settler of greater notoriety than worth, and he may be kept waiting indefinitely for a consideration of his information or suggestions. Incidentally the knowledge that this is so does not improve relations between administrative officers and settlers.

Mere Rer Boundary

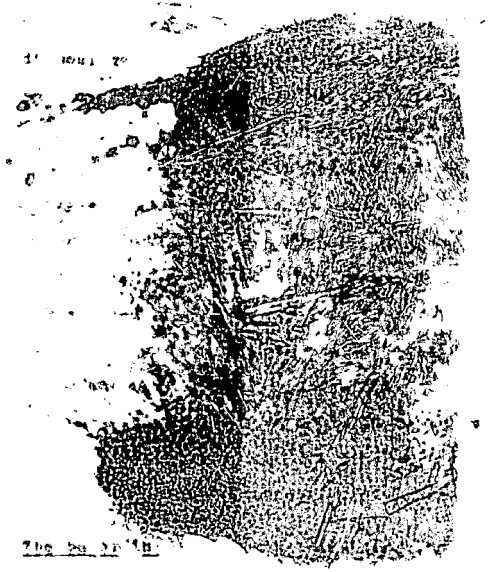
The Position of Provincial Commissioners:

5) There have been various changes in the system of Provincial administration and in the title of officers in charge of Provinces. An attempt was made to divide black and white areas and at one time there were 10 extra Provincial Districts whose affairs were the direct concern of the Colonial Secretary. Provincial Commissioners themselves ceased to have access to the Colonial Secretary or to be regarded as heads of Departments. Their prestige and scope of work suffered in the course of these changes which were introduced as a result of the development of white settlement.

6) Provincial Commissioners cannot in the present system effectively represent native interests so that even if a sound native policy based on the principles of trusteeship laid down by the Secretary of State were adopted it would depend for its execution on a change in the status and authority of those primarily responsible - the Provincial Commissioners and in a lesser degree the District Commissioners. The latter are in a sense the electorate where native areas are concerned. Representations which come through Provincial Commissioners from District Commissioners do not receive the attention paid to representations originating in settled areas

and brought forward by unofficial members. This is true even in Provinces where District Commissioners' meetings are held. Such meetings are not regarded as an essential part of the [illegible] government, and it is difficult [illegible]

[illegible]



The [illegible]

8) The [illegible] of the [illegible] paired by its subordination to other departments [illegible] through administrative [illegible] Whatever are [illegible] useful guide of all work [illegible]

officer is expected to dislocate his own work to convenience the representative of another department touring his district. The inadequate staff and equipment provided for administrative purposes are at the beck and call of all other departments. The proper supervision of a Police unit is now a most onerous undertaking almost amounting to a whole-time job.

9) Provincial and District Commissioners represent a large comparatively silent native population and, as Secretariat Circular no. 94 recognizes, they should coordinate the work of technical services within their provinces and districts. The need for such a circular is eloquent of the conditions which pertain but unfortunately the desiderata indicated in that circular will not be achieved by its issue or receipt alone. There are some formidable obstacles to be removed before the situation will be remedied. The onslaughts of other Departments continue in an ever-increasing degree to hamper the work of administration, while their work rarely contributes to the realization of administrative ideals or proposals, which no longer have first claim on a district officer's time.

Conclusion of Part I

The three points which are emphasized in Paragraphs 1 - 9 are mainly responsible for the inadequate progress in native areas. Districts, even those which are in the European public eye, but particularly those which are not at the moment providing labour or revenue, are starved. Their problems are left unsolved after a succession of representations, the task of their development is superficially tackled if tackled at all. Officers who are engaged in the work of native administration feel that they are in a back

water and that they cannot count on interest or encouragement. If the administration is to rise to its high duties in the intricate situation which has been brought about by the Dual Policy, duality of control and the pressure which can be exercised extra-officially on matters of native interest, attention must be given to these three points. If Government fails to remove these disabilities, the morale of the administration will deteriorate still further. The spirit animating the Service depends on the view which Government takes of the functions of administrative officers. Men of the type of Sir Fred Lugard of Sir Michael O'Dwyer would not be content to work in such an administration and would not give of their best. Not only would it be better to appoint men of the type of the ex-Sergeant Major or Home Civil Servant, the purely disciplinarian or the man trained to office routine, but Government will be unable to obtain men of greater intelligence and character for the administration. Such good administrators as it has obtained have been increasingly disappointed and have lost effectiveness through petty interference and lack of support. If Government requires a larger-minded loyalty based on the understanding of broad principles and the personal touch, it will have to adopt a different attitude towards the administration. Such a loyalty and understanding would come if Provincial Commissioners were in the confidence of the Government. They would then represent the needs and aspirations of native races and transmit the instructions of Government after their views had received their due and sympathetic consideration. District Commissioners would loyally work to implement a policy which had been laid down after the views which they had formed had been fairly weighed.

11) Government should guide its officers in the larger issues and trust them in the smaller ones. Walking themselves on firm ground, District officers would then inspire confidence in the native, a vital factor in the forced development of child races. In the dangerous process of rapid growth, to quote Lord Lawrence in affairs in the Punjab, "It is not our system but our men who will influence the course of events. A system which represses or prevents leadership is disastrous to Kenya.

12) Enough has been said to indicate the feeling of many administrative officers of long service and short who are keen on their work in regard to the larger issues. A further part of this memorandum will be devoted to some, but by no means to all, of the lesser matters which hinder sound administration, but their subordinate importance should be recognized and no remedial measures in regard to matters of secondary importance will satisfy the claims of administrative officers as trustees for native

PART II

In addition to the difficulties which have their origin [illegible] political peculiarities of Kenya there are obstacles to [illegible] fundamental nature.

[illegible] office has [illegible] of districts [illegible] correspondence, [illegible] office's work [illegible] the [illegible] officer, [illegible] and in the circumstances [illegible] seem better to muddle along. The less an administrative officer is sent in his office, the better. The time which [illegible] spent masterfully in coping with correspondence and routine work [illegible] adequate to the demands made upon it is time lost [illegible] administration proper.

2) The work itself requires some classification, for a good deal of it would be done more satisfactorily by less highly-paid officials. It is uneconomical to employ on work such as registration, police administration, treasury work, etc., officers who are recruited and paid to shoulder the responsibilities of real administration. A Commission of Enquiry would find that a mass of the work performed by the Administration and still more of the time taken up in its performance is not really administrative work at all. Administrative work is proportionately neglected.

3) Not only is an officer handicapped by an inadequate office but also by insufficient means of transport. Government's attitude to mechanical transport has been indeterminate if not definitely hostile. A letter on the subject of porter transport is attached. It received no reply. A study of the live stock returns of Southern Turkana would reveal the waste of animal transport. The cruelty of employing donkeys to carry between Kolosia and Marigat or Kolosia and Kaokolibe is horrible. In times of drought it is no less cruel to use camels in Turkana. They require all day to graze and the night for rest. The strain put on them by super-imposing the usual two safaris soon tells on their condition. The time wasted in these archaic methods of travel is prodigious. Both forms, human and animal, should be used far more sparingly and should only be resorted to in exceptional circumstances.

4) In regard to judicial matters administrative officers feel that their work as magistrates has not been helped by the provision of proper courts and that it has been subjected to most improper interference. The remedies for errors in judgments are provided in appeal, confirmation and revision. The institution of enquiries and

the attention paid by Government to complaints or petitions submitted by those who are dissatisfied with a judicial act is opposed to the proper administration of justice and should be discontinued. At the same time as the Kenya Order in Council 1921 recognises there should be a certain freedom from intra-judicial interference so when a natives are parties to the case. It may happen that an administrative order is just and administratively sound, though judicially illegal or of doubtful legality. In such cases an officer feels that he will get no support from the Chief Native Commissioner and no help in providing a legal remedy for the offence.

B) The attitude of Government towards labour recruiting by Administrative Officers is still far from satisfactory. I believe most firmly that Administrative Officers will never win the confidence of the natives so long as they are expected to assist in the provision of labour. The forceable recruiting of porters for the King's African Rifles details proceeding on leave from Wem to Sagana is indefensible.

C) It can hardly be denied that up to the present an administrative Officer has mostly come into contact with natives over labour recruiting and tax collection. Although the work of administration should lead to conditions in which revenue increases indicative of propperity, there should be no direct connection. Administrative Officers recognise the immense value to natives of the opportunities afforded by European settlement for bettering their condition and in times of famine of saving the lives of their dependents. They do not oppose recruiting or the natives' freedom of choice to work for wages, but for Administrative Officers to seek for popularity or approbation by any sort of direct assistance in labour recruiting is a scandal,

which must lessen their chances of being disinterested leaders - their ideal role. In this matter of labour provision, the policy of Government has not been fair to the administration.

The provision of labour for European farms really lies at the back of the Dual Policy and is responsible for much of the [illegible] which Administrative Officers feel in regard to that policy. If, for instance, in a district like Meru conditions of prosperity and [illegible] ment prevailed it is doubtful if labour [illegible] members. The success of administrat[illegible] [illegible] coming out to work. [illegible]

[illegible] get as [illegible] [illegible] with the r[illegible]

[illegible] affecting [illegible]

These causes for complaint do not [illegible] the steps for their removal are [illegible] frustrated through existing rel[illegible]

housing and adequate accommodation for office and at [illegible] the conditions at some stations have been disgraceful for many years and have contributed to inefficiency and have disheartened officers who have realized that frequent representations in the past have been unavailing. Such conditions are uneconomical.

9) An officer on transfer from one station to another finds that he is mulcted through breakages and many incidental expenses for which he gets no reimbursement. Transfers are not only burdensome through the extra expense involved and the business of setting up house again in totally different circumstances, but an Officer is almost always plagued with a myriad queries about any claims he submits, which claims often fall far short of what the move has actually cost him.

10) The assumption that administrative officers should entertain officers of other departments who visit their districts involves them in much extra expense as well as causing dislocation where an officer has to alter his programme. There is no reason whatever why officers of other departments should not make their own arrangements. They - particularly Heads of Departments - receive ample travelling allowance. If a District Officer wishes to invite anyone to stay with him he can always do so but there should be no obligation of assumption in the matter.

PART III

1) Before summarising the suggestions for ameliorating the Administrative Service, it will be well to urge that a wide and careful examination of the Service be made, for if this appreciation of the present position is erroneous, Government will not be seriously concerned about finding remedies. The inclination to dismiss of some points on the ground that they refer to a period which has passed will not satisfy the Administration unless there are grounds for belief that their recurrence is impossible. That largely depends on the degree of confidence which administrative officers can repose in Government. There is a general feeling that administrative officers are not given a fair deal. This loss of confidence is most serious. Its removal by a frank treatment of the points raised in this Memorandum would be of incalculable benefit to the Service and more important still to the future of Kenya.

2) That future is the subject of investigation at this moment by the Closer Union Commission under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Sir Hilton Young. Two main issues are involved - Kenya's Constitution possibly providing for an unofficial majority, and Kenya's relations, with adjoining territories perhaps amounting to federation under a Governor General of Eastern Africa. The functions and interests of the administration are vitally affected by the decisions which will be made regarding both questions. The attitude of the leaders amongst the settlers towards these issues has been clear and consistent. Provided that an unofficial majority secures for them supreme authority in Kenya and that the Governor General is so placed as to be more susceptible to Kenya opinion than to any other, they would

welcome the delegation of some powers at present exercised by the Secretary of State to the head of a federated East Africa. Without a constitutional change giving an unofficial majority they fear a subordination of settler interests to surrounding native interests. The attitude of those responsible as trustees for the native interests in Kenya is far from clear and the subject has never been referred to officers in charge of districts. In this matter, as in the question of Indian rights, Administrative Officers have been left completely in the dark, and their views have not been sought, though their work is more definitely affected than is that of any settler. Once again the administrative aspect is obscured by political currents and interested motives. If the points brought out in this memorandum are irrelevant, the fears and hopes of farmers are more so, the real question in both cases is whether administration can be more efficient and economical in an imperial sense.

3) The failure to consult or even inform administrative officers in regard to affairs such as the Indian Question, and the final and pronouncement to the Civil Service Association that Administrative Officers are not concerned with Governmental policy has led some officers to the conclusion that a complete separation of native areas from white areas is desirable. It is a very natural conclusion for only so, it seems, will their views carry any weight. This disregard of the views of an administrative officer is not resented on the ground that it is galling to his sense of his position, and the kudos attached to it, but because his work is handicapped.

4) The statement made by His Majesty's Government in appointing the Closer Union Commission showed that such separation was not to

be desired but rather that a closer link was required whereby immigrants should share in the responsibilities of Trusteeship for anti [illegible] officers would welcome this sharing of their [illegible] were satisfied that it did not mean that the [illegible] were at the mercy of self interested politics [illegible]

[illegible] issue of the fa[illegible]

[illegible]

It may be said that these very difficulties help to breed the type of administrative officer required in Kenya and that the Kenya official just as the Indian official must adapt himself to circumstances.

That is true up to a point, but when an officer is constantly faced with the alternative of doing what he believes to be right and suffering for it or acquiescing in what he knows to be wrong and receiving approbation for it, he requires courage and a sufficiency of private means to discharge his duties to the satisfaction of his conscience. Even so, his sense of loyalty will be continually strained for he will feel his loyalty to those for whom he is responsible pulling in one direction and his loyalty to his seniors who are swayed by pressure from the unofficial side pulling in another.

7) If an unofficial majority is granted to safeguard the interests of the settlers and to secure for them the fullest opportunity for development, some steps should be taken to give to the administration of native areas opportunities not less full for carrying out their duties as Trustees.

8) Some recommendations are made in Part IV, but there is one point which must be mentioned in regard to Federation. The ~~difficulty~~ distrust which is felt in Uganda and Tanganyika of Federation in which Kenya would have a predominating influence, would be to a large extent removed if the difficulties experienced by the Administration in Kenya were frankly faced and an equitable solution found. Many officers would welcome the larger outlook which Federation would introduce and the larger experience which would result for an East African Service would in the long run give stability, cohesion and greater success in administration and method.

PART IV

1) The following recommendations for the improvement of the Administrative Service are put forward tentatively as a basis for discussion. If Government is satisfied that the state of affairs described in this Memorandum is hindering sound administration, it will presumably take steps to find some remedies which may or may not be proposed here. Alternatively it may be content with the present state of affairs.

2) The policy or lines of progress in each district or province should be more clearly indicated in a general way by the revision of Sir Percy Girouard's instructions and in regard to each district by an examination of all the "handing over" reports of the district and a consideration of the problems which have emerged or arisen. There must be ample data in regard to each district, even Turkana, to enable Government to determine the proper policies where variation from, or adaptation of the main principles are necessary. Some districts are more backward than others and it is often said that an officer must go slow and get to know and be known by the natives. That is true, but whatever the pace it is as well to ascertain the direction. If administrative work is not susceptible of general principles or considered policy, still less is it susceptible of detailed instructions issued by circular. Once the principles and policies have been decided upon there should be no further need of the numerous circulars which emanate from the Secretariat and Native Affairs Department on matters of native administration. As problems arise, land tenure, native authority, etc., the real issues should be studied and determined without undue delay.

e) District Offices should be run on business lines having regard to the work to be performed. A common system of filing and registration of correspondence should be introduced for all District offices. Adequate staff should be provided. The incompetence and inefficiency of some Goan clerks throws much unnecessary work on administrative officers and involves incredible waste of their time. The tests for clerks should be much stricter, including a thorough knowledge of English and a much higher standard of typing. In Certain stations there should be at least one shorthand clerk.

f) Proper courts should be established and magistrates should be absolutely free from any extra-judicial interference.

g) Dissatisfaction with housing conditions has been well-nigh.

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No.B16/30

Office of the Senior Commissioner,
Ngong. 15th. October 1929.

The Secretary,
The Agricultural Commission,
Nairobi.

With reference to your letter of 30th. September intimating that I should not be called as a witness but that a written memorandum could be submitted I forward parts 1 & 2 of my evidence as I understand that the report of the Agricultural Commission is now being drafted. It had been my intention to submit further parts No.3 dealing with agriculture in the Limuru area where I have interests as a Settler and No.4 summarising points from the first three parts and suggesting lines for economic adjustment between agriculture in the native and non-native areas.

As I have been on 14 days local leave since the receipt of your letter I have not been able to complete parts 3 & 4 which I hope to submit in the course of this month.

2. Parts 1 & 2 were written as introductory statements with the intention of provoking discussion and the appendices would have been used in illustrating points or answering questions.

Clarence E.P.

District Commissioner, Kajiado.

EVIDENCE TO BE GIVEN BEFORE THE AGRICULTURAL COMMISSION.

Three memoranda have been submitted by the officers in charge of the Masai Province and the two districts of [illegible] and Kajiado. The memoranda have been [illegible] by the Hon. Acting Chief [illegible] No. 14 of 4th February. [illegible] are, it is true, [illegible] but they have [illegible] qualifications [illegible] of progress since [illegible] the situation is [illegible] particular problem [illegible] attention. [illegible] whatever incidental [illegible] remains that the [illegible] continues in [illegible] Masai which [illegible] attempts [illegible]

[illegible] That is [illegible] to invite your attention for it is really the key to the whole situation. The economic value and progress of the Masai depends primarily on the disposal of their surplus stock. The importance of providing outlets cannot be overemphasised. I am afraid that I underemphasised it in the memorandum which I

submitted in February. Last year some success had attended auctions at Kajiado and Rombo. The rains having been fairly well distributed stock was in good condition and fetched prices which averaged out at 100% higher than this year. For reasons explained by the Senior Commissioner there is only one outlet for stock from the whole Masai Reserve of 15,000 square miles - namely Ngong. In 1916 Mr. Hemsted advocated that the Masai should be compelled to sell 50,000 head annually.

In 1929 the Senior Commissioner reports that the Masai are more willing to sell than they were in 1920 but the number exported for slaughter does not appear to have increased since 1923 and amounted in 1928 to 10,000 head. The solution of this problem will lead to the solution of others for it provides the means whereby numbers can be profitably kept down and schemes for further development financed. Without a solution to this problem all efforts in other directions will prove abortive and will if anything tend to increase rather than minimise the difficulties which result from economic waste and the civilised setting which restricts to a large extent the nomadic habits of the Masai. In the economic field the realisation of the stock assets in the Masai Reserve would mean a lowering of the cost of living particularly in the provision of a meat ration for labour.

Although more willing than in the past, the Masai are not eager to sell their stock and attach a sentimental value to the stock which they do offer for sale. The characteristic Masai pastoralist who owns 100 or more head of stock, reckons his wealth in numbers and is disinclined to part with more than need be to obtain money for his lax and simple needs.

For this reason the Masai will not help to find markets for themselves except in a small way amongst the Wachagga and perhaps in the neighbourhood of Makindu. They cannot be expected to regard the question of outlets for surplus stock in the way that it is regarded by those who have responsibility for their welfare and economic development. At present a Masai most ready to sell would find it extremely difficult to get rid of stock at any price and those unwilling to sell cannot be blamed for retaining surplus stock.

If this situation can be altered and the marketing of stock be made easy for the Masai there is every reason to expect that the intelligence of the Masai will triumph over their prejudices. If it did not there would be some justice in applying a limitation of Stock Ordinance in certain circumstances.

The solution of this problem must depend on the markets available both for the class of stock now in the Reserve and for any improved type which may be produced. There would appear to be 3 main markets for fresh meat Tanganyika (Moshi and Arusha) Nairobi and Mombasa. A stock route via Ngong is always open but owing to the difficulties which Masai experience in getting their stock there and the presence of East Coast fever, this outlet is more satisfactory to the buyers than the sellers, and even at this sole outlet stock is often unsaleable.

Although the administration can do much to assist in the solution of this problem the provision of outlets can only come through the co-operation of those engaged in commerce, and the Veterinary Services.

A notable contribution to the welfare of the Masai and the prosperity of the Colony would be made by this Commission if its recommendations pointed the way to the proper disposal of surplus stock in the Masai Reserve.

Closely related to the problem of outlets comes that of the improvement of stock - the aiming at quality rather than quantity. Success in this direction depends on education and water schemes both of which are treated in detail in the three memoranda - Here too there is a danger of misunderstanding.

The signs of progress which are quoted relate to the poorer Masai who either inherited no stock but acq[illegible] 2 or 3 head by working, or else owned [illegible] disposed to adopt a Kikuyu style of [illegible] shamba in addition to tending a few [illegible] these [illegible] valuable and [illegible]

[illegible]

conditions in [illegible] details concerning the herds which hav[illegible] the dr[illegible] year. The conclusion to wh[illegible] water and grazing requisit[illegible] be trusted to produce a marketable [illegible] improve the quality of their herds by [illegible] of stock keeping. I do not suggest tha[illegible] they have not [illegible] to learn from Veterinary Science but that the utmost skill

will be defeated in the face of such conditions as pertain in the greater part of the Kajiado district at present. If therefore the surplus stock are to be of marketable value the first essential is the distribution of water to balance the grazing. It is unnecessary to repeat what has been written about the schemes to achieve this end. I would only appeal to this Commission to recommend that more effective steps than have been possible in the past be taken without delay. If a programme of work and estimate of cost could be drawn up by those best fitted for such work, funds might be obtained through the Colonial Development Loan.

The [illegible] of such importance to the Colony as well as to the Masai that I do not think it should be delayed until the Masai are prepared to pay for it. I would urge the early inception of a much [illegible] comprehensive scheme of water conservation whether [illegible] Masai want it and are prepared to pay for it, or not [illegible] outlets for stock it will be a sound [illegible] that conditions are so altered that the Masai w[illegible] keep their stock in good condition. It will [illegible] possible to aim at breeding an improved type, for ranching in some areas and dairying also [illegible] others. That is where the benefits of education will realized. The provision of native stock instructors should therefore be taken in hand at once. At present the education at Ngong is in the nature of vocational training for individuals who will live for themselves either earning wages or as settled farmers in the Ngong hills. The primary need of stock instructors for the large cattle owners should be recognised and a curriculum drawn up adapted to that end - e. g. on lines comprehensible and acceptable to the Masai. The experimental side of the work at Ngong is most valuable

both for demonstration purposes and for actual research but its lessons and conclusions are for a remoter future and in the meantime a study of the actual conditions in the Masai villages and their methods of stock husbandry should lead to veterinary education suited to their present level of knowledge.

I have endeavoured to put in clear perspective the needs of the present situation. There is nothing original in this expression of them. They have been imperative needs recognised by officers in charge of the Masai areas for many years. They may be traced in Mr. Sandford's history of the Masai published in 1918. Though attempts have been made to meet these needs with limited means it should not be inferred that adequate progress has been made and I have asked to be allowed to give evidence because I hope to see the progress of the Masai and the development of their assets accelerated by the recommendation of this Commission.

District Commissioner
Kajiado
19. 9. 29.

NB. 50 000 head of stock died of rinderpest & disease in the Kajiado district during August & Sept. 1929. The evidence on the scale of losses will no doubt be taken as an indication of progress. Progress, but the best which I could have pitched on is a comparing that was not been established at Ruwaya £100,000 & that losses would have made habitable & safe pastures large areas at present useless.

should be spent on direct services in this district.

[illegible] it is true that the hospitals mentioned in paragraph 7 do not [illegible] patients from neighbouring reserves I cannot regard the service as [illegible] unless who [illegible] to Nairobi, as [illegible] for [illegible] in this [illegible] transport [illegible] Indian to [illegible] treatment, I do not [illegible] hospital [illegible] on the basis of [illegible] received [illegible] being [illegible] treated [illegible] to give the [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] the native hut and poll tax [illegible] I cannot see [illegible] as a direct service to [illegible] these areas [illegible] I am [illegible] [illegible] military [illegible] after the war [illegible] the [illegible] of supply and [illegible] by developing the Reserve as a granary was not taken. In the circumstances it would [illegible]

would seem to me that the whole cost of this area should be excluded from the calculation of direct native services and that it should be regarded partly as an Imperial charge and partly as an indirect service, otherwise some portion of the tax derived in this and other districts must be hypothecated.

6. The basis of classification is not given or the nature of agreement about it but it is evident that a great deal depends on this and further information is certainly required. If for instance the salary of the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services was divided on a basis of population the figure debited to natives can hardly be said to portray the actual position. A further question arises in connection with the functions of administrative officers and clerks. On the information available it is difficult to say if the addition of 45% to the salaries, as proposed in paragraph 12, is reasonable. The actual cost of houses in native areas might be given and it would be worth considering whether such cost had not been covered many times over by the surplus of revenue over expenditure in native areas in the past, as well as whether such housing should be classed as a service to natives. Moreover the functions of the administration are of such an impartial character that it would only be fair to charge to direct native services the proportion of their time actually involved in such services. It would seem more accurate to include the administration, Police and Prisons with the Judicial, Secretariat, Treasury and Customs Departments in the general system of Government which should be paid for by indirect taxation. If however it is held that some proportion of an administrative officer's time is a direct native service I would suggest that in purely native areas,

such ....

such as this, 66% would be an outside figure and in mixed districts 50%. In neither case should I regard the Asian Clerks as a direct service to natives. Their services to Native Councils are remunerated from the Local Native Funds. Their regular work is almost entirely taken up in connection with the general system of Government and the collection of the indirect taxation by the issue of licences.

7. The provision made under the sub-division Native Areas (or Provincial Administration) contains items which cannot be classed as direct services to natives such as station hands conservancy etc. No allowance has been made for these. The Non-native inhabitants of the native areas are as much concerned in some items as the natives.

8. The details of the £8670 mentioned in paragraph 12 "Administration" are not given but if they included such items as ploughs and oxen for prison farms, which apparently come under the same vote, it is difficult to see the distinction between their cost and that of Prisons which is quite rightly excluded.

9. Although it is natural to treat the Native Affairs Department as a service to Natives, it has not been my experience in seven districts to find the Department of any assistance to native administration or in any way a direct service to natives. The recent change in the position of the Chief Native Commissioner would appear to suggest that the Department is in fact part of the machinery of Government.

10. The value of the services rendered by Agricultural or Veterinary officers depends entirely on their co-operation in the administrative plan. Although I have

had ....

had an Agricultural officer working in the Moro district and a Veterinary officer in this district, the results of their work has been negligible. The Veterinary officer spent much of his time investigating complaints of cross cross outside the district. It is evident that both his salary with adjustments and those of the [illegible] Depot will be charged as native services [illegible] only so in a small and indirect degree, so far as the usual area is concerned. [illegible] results in this area [illegible]

[illegible] of the allocation of Veterinary [illegible] as proposed in the estimates [illegible] influence [illegible] would it be [illegible] [illegible] native area [illegible] largely accounted over [illegible] [illegible] fear of contradiction [illegible]

[illegible]

12. [illegible] research work [illegible] direct service to native as well as other [illegible] The proportion of the cost which could be fairly charged as a native service would depend largely on the benefits derived. In Tanganyika Territory Veterinary treatment is given free of charge but this is not so in [illegible] it might be [illegible] those who pay for treatment [illegible] for research, [illegible] only those who do not get treatment do not benefit by research.

13. There is no separation of [illegible] without [illegible]

it is impossible to appreciate the comment on Educati
A sum of approximately £22,000/- was spent by the
Education Department in this district during 1929.

14. The only item under "Forests" which could fairly be included would be the cost of reafforestatio in Native Areas wherever this work can not financed from Local Native Funds.

15. The cost of Medical Services are given as £56,775 in Native Areas apart from £5,891 spent in the Northern Areas and £120,000 outside Native Reserves. Regarding the medical services within the Reserves it is not stated whether any deductions have been made for treatment of persons, native or non-native, other than those of the particular reserve. The dresser at Kajiado for instance saves the Township and Government personnel rather than the tribal. There are no other dispensaries apart from one improvised by the Principal of the School Loitokitok for which no provision has been made in the estimates, though applied for. It is probable that the sum spent in the Northern Areas concerns the garrisons rather than the tribes which inhabit those areas. With regard to the £120,000 spent outside Native Reserves it is not stated whether any deductions have been made for hospital fees and not attempt has been made to estimate in accordance with the percentage of cases from Native Areas.

16. It is not apparent why the Police in the Northern Areas should be regarded as a direct service to the Native Areas more than in this district. They form in both places part of the system of Government.

17. The arbitrary basis of calculating as native services a proportion of Public Works Recurrent is not, in my opinion, fair. The only road for which money was provided in 1929 in this district was the main road

from Ngong to Kajiado which forms part of the trunk road from Nairobi to Arusha. The results of the money spent where of negligible importance to the Masai. This also applies to a road made by the Ulu settlers. Most of the road work in the Masai Province appears to have been done with Local Native Council Funds and those roads are used by the general public and those employed in the system of Government at least as much as by the Masai or for the development of their trade. It should also be remembered that much of the work on trunk roads such as that passing through Meru and Embu has been done by unpaid labour. The only item which could reasonably be charged is that included under native reserve roads as distinct from trunk or main roads.

18. The figure of adjustment in connection with housing is very difficult to understand even if it is at all admissable. The housing in most purely native districts has been miserably inadequate. In the circumstances adjustment may be very wide of the mark and it is regretable that the actual housing in the native areas was not started and costed.

19. The question of the Northern Areas has already been mentioned. The Policy has been indeterminate and the cost unreasonably high. It is unfair to mulct the tax paying native with the cost of indecision and neglect. For this reason it seems that the sum of £107,358 should be excluded and that only when a policy involving taxation and development has been adopted, should the Northern Areas be counted in the calculation which forms the subject of this despatch.

20. Famine relief has been largely necessitated by neglect of Native Areas in the past. Comprehensive

Schemes ....

[illegible] of developments including [illegible] Stores, has been accounted for [illegible] and other disaster but no [illegible] been taken to implement them. In the circumstances [illegible] unreasonable to include the amounts of 248,[illegible] as [illegible] in [illegible] and were not inevitable. [illegible] ment of Famine Relief, the [illegible] in connection with purchase and sale of [illegible] in Native Areas is certainly a legitimate [illegible] to native services.

23. [illegible] of the Locust campaign would [illegible] as in any sense a service to [illegible] it is not included.

[illegible] 23 it would appear that in the [illegible] is being prepared no separate [illegible] of the cost of service rendered [illegible] as opposed to those rendered [illegible] ries. It is not apparent to me [illegible] an analysis as the [illegible] the despatch and I should [illegible] figures be examined [illegible] the [illegible] terms [illegible] adopted.

[illegible] not place the interest of the figures [illegible] as an indication of the development of Native Areas. It is not so much a question of the benefits which natives derive, wherever situated, as of the attention paid to the prosperity of the Native Areas The natives outside their Reserves are certainly entitled to direct services particularly as the money paid for their tax is derived from sources outside the Native Area.

24. In the second place it is important to distinguish between the cost of the general system of Government in which all communities are concerned and those [illegible]

these services which are purely of direct benefit to natives.

[illegible] His Excellency suggested to the Milton Young Commission that the proceeds of direct native taxation should be allocated to purely native services, and that the native contribution to other services should be limited [illegible] taxation. It is therefore necessary to dis[illegible] [illegible] Government expenditure and to [illegible] the services which form the machinery [illegible] and which should be chargeable against the [illegible] direct taxation.

[illegible] will remain certain [illegible] of a research [illegible] director, and the equitable arrangement [illegible] for those who enjoy [illegible] to pay for them. It is [illegible] impossible to [illegible] [illegible] on account requirements in [illegible] [illegible] most administrative officers will [illegible] [illegible] taxation to [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] that the time has come to consider it in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] issues.

[illegible] services to natives within a [illegible] area [illegible] [illegible] director to those out [illegible] it in as much as [illegible] [illegible] environment do well [illegible] himself to [illegible] that such services [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible] the whole of [illegible] to be allocated [illegible] [illegible] in which [illegible] huts are [illegible] [illegible] allocate [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

on an agreed classification basis of contribution from those benefitting thereby against a universal poll tax. The advantages of a universal poll tax have been so fully explained in previous correspondence that it is unnecessary to stress them.

29. The need for a specialised application of the common services as explained in paragraph 3 of the memorandum on Native Policy is apparent in this district in connection with water boring, Veterinary and Medical Services. The arrangements as regards each have been far from satisfactory. Proposals have been made for ameliorating these services in this district and it is only necessary to note the general principle that Native Areas should pay for these services and that this being recognised those responsible for these native areas should decide on the lines of application best calculated to benefit the inhabitants. It is of little use to a native area to have departmental officers under the law under themselves. They are required to give whole time service in accordance with the plans of the Administrative Officers in charge who are in the best position to apprehend the needs of the natives. A special difficulty arises in regard to Veterinary and Medical Officers who are largely debarred from enjoyment of private practice by service in native areas. It is at least worth considering whether such officers working in native areas should not now receive higher rates of pay by way of compensation, while at no distant date it should be possible to confine the activities of married officers to the native areas leaving the settled areas as a field for private practice on a basis of guarantee, with the addition of a land grant in such areas.

30. ....

30. The consideration of estimates on the foregoing lines might well result in a reduction in the cost of the machinery of Government at any rate to a figure which related to the amount which could, on a sound economic basis, be raised by indirect taxation. The indirect tax in fact might fall proportionately and progressively on those most benefitted by the establishment of civilised Government. The amount of the hut tax and of the universal poll tax would depend on the two principal factors (a) the capacity of pay (b) the requirements of the native areas. The Masai agreed to pay 20/- instead of 12/- on condition that they were not called upon to work unpaid under the Native Authority Ordinance. It is generally agreed that this form of forced labour is uneconomic and unjustifiable and that all labour should be paid for at current rates. That being so the distinction between the Masai tax and that of other tribes has lost its significance and the tax should be considered on other grounds.

My conclusion regarding the subject of this despatch so far as they reflect on this district are given in the attached schedule. I would ask that they may be considered in connection with the estimates for 1931.

District Commissioner.

[illegible]

[illegible]

This commission [illegible]

which [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

I do not know whether the memoranda which have been prepared in the different native areas will give to this Commission any historical survey of the developments which led to the announcement by Government of a Dual Policy. There must be many here who can give a fuller account than I can, and I shall not attempt to give more than two or [illegible] impressions which mark for me definite stages in the [illegible] air policy.

[illegible] after the armistice I was in the Akamba Reserve, [illegible] service there I went to Naivasha for [illegible] saw something of conditions [illegible] as on European farms. The Akamba, like [illegible] the War were spending [illegible] their time [illegible] drinking by night and [illegible] independent in native [illegible] opinion was [illegible] the native [illegible] not let me be [illegible] of pure selfishness [illegible] European [illegible] value to [illegible] settlement [illegible] in times of famine of [illegible] air [illegible]. There is room for [illegible] what is for the good of the [illegible] left to his own devices (as we had to be with few [illegible] assist him) he was not improving himself, even though it was no mean performance to support himself and [illegible] tax in the conditions which pertained in his Reserve. The situation was met by the issue of instructions which amounted to direct Administrative order to able bodied natives to go out and work on European farms, and the inception of public works and the encouragement of native agriculture within the Reserves - It would be interesting to note the degree of encouragement given to native

agriculture at this time by the appointment of and instructions to agricultural officers and the place found in the annual reports of the Agricultural Department.

The general effect was undoubtedly that natives in large and even increasing numbers left their reserves in search of work or peace, 80% of the squatters on my farm left Fort Hall in search of the latter at this time. Encouragement was however given to native agriculture and in particular to cotton growing in Kavirondo. Though I served in the Masai Reserve and South Kavirondo during 1922 and 23 I will pass on to the arrival of the Parliamentary Commission and the first mention of the Dual Policy. After the Commission had met the Lumbwa, Eldoret and Kitale settlers it was evident that labour difficulties were attributed to the cotton growing in Kavirondo. Mr. Evens who was with that Commission will remember as well as I do the views which were expressed and I think he was present at a discussion of this new problem. The Leader of the unofficial members and the member for the Trans Nzoia decided that further investigation must be made but that if it was the case that native production prevented the flow of labour than native production must be stopped. Mr. Ormsby Gore thereupon suggested the Dual Policy and the circular which was issued to administrative officers after the visit of the Commission contains the germ of that policy. I have no doubt that some members of this Commission were present at the discussions which took place over the drafting of that circular.

The point which emerges is this.-

The economic results of native agriculture had been viewed in their relation to the labour supply and not

fundamentaly on an agricultural or true economic basis - there was no desire to accelerate production in native areas but rather to control the extent of it so that there should be some force at work, direct by administrative order, or indirect by the economic pressure of increased population and lack of food to produce labour at a wage which a settler can comfortably pay.

A passage from Kenya Days Summaries the attitude wards native areas in this balancing of the relative advantages of labour reservoirs or productive reserves. It was at this time also that the aspirations of the native agriculturalists began to arouse fears and jealousies in the European agriculturalists of which I became more aware in Fort Hall and Meru 1925 to 1927. The question of competition is indeed a thorny one, and it may perhaps be desirable for other than economic reasons to restrict the field, as for instance in coffee growing to one set of growers, but it should be recognised when estimating the value of native products that there has been a strong bias on the unofficial side towards agricultural instruction by the European farmer rather than by Government but because it is believed that a native will thereby be better equipped to cultivate in his own reserve and to increase mass production that way but to ensure the settlers mass production and to prevent competition.

Coffee is probably the best example of this, and the difficulties which surround the problem of native grown coffee first attracted my attention at this time. In answer to my enquiry the Director of Agriculture said that he had recently replied to a similar enquiry from Sir Robert Coryndon and that he had thought of 16 reasons why natives should not be allowed to grow coffee and 17 reasons why they should be allowed to, so the 'No's' had it by a narrow margin in 1924, and Administrative Officers were instructed to discourage the growing of coffee. It would be a

Pity giving up Clemon trees to plant a crop coffee with planted by natives. For a [illegible] example of [illegible] and [illegible] Kenya [illegible]

digression to pursue this subject further at this point, but the problem was again brought to my notice last month when a Jiji Masai complained that labour was [illegible] more [illegible] got for their [illegible] now that [illegible] were [illegible] to [illegible] corres[illegible] [illegible] reason of the [illegible] [illegible] to say, but two [illegible] [illegible] European [illegible] firms [illegible] very [illegible] response and the Indian [illegible] will take the cream [illegible] the trade [illegible]

The next impression with [illegible] conclude this [illegible] shows how the Dual Policy [illegible] further developed into [illegible] land and labour [illegible] provide a complete solution for the problem [illegible] [illegible] in the [illegible] and [illegible] the fear of competition [illegible] with the development of that extremely [illegible] the economic advantage of using the [illegible] [illegible] Northern Frontier [illegible] years ago. In [illegible] quantity [illegible] was given for exp[illegible] the Northern Fr[illegible] garrisons and when I went to Nor[illegible] early in 19[illegible] [illegible] quantity of rice had been [illegible] but requisitioned [illegible] the Commandant of the [illegible] [illegible] was largely dominated by [illegible] [illegible] growers [illegible] Swahili and Nagiar residents. The [illegible] [illegible] partly employed [illegible] they [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] it was evident that [illegible] [illegible] growing [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Copy attached 64

ing the problem of this development I addressed a letter to the Director of Agriculture. An Agricultural Supervisor was sent and toured the district for a month and later 5 tons of rice seed were obtained from Mwanza. The natives were persuaded to plant this seed. In the meantime some interesting events occurred in connection with the food supply for the Northern Frontier.

I quote from the Annual Report for 1926

"Very considerable amount of maize was sold from Kaisai at 1/50 a 60 lb. load delivered on the backs of women in Mar Mera. The crop was mostly bought by Swahili hawkers and resold to the Indian Mill owners at about 3/- a load. The Indian Mill owners retailed at prices which reached as much as Shs.6/50 a load. During November the supply officer King's African Rifles was notified that maize could be bought at 2/- a load. At first he refused to purchase having made all necessary contracts. One month later an application was received for 20,000 lbs of maize. About 5,000 lbs had been collected in the first week when the authority to purchase was cancelled". Native women who had brought in maize for many miles at my urgent request had to be sent to the kraals to sell their maize for what they could get. The natives who had been encouraged to grow crops, were not assisted to market them or to store them for their own use in the future. It you must surely be desirable on economic grounds that maize and rice should be grown for the Northern Frontier by unpaid labour, on land of no capital value and which adjoins the Northern Frontier Province rather than that it should be grown where the cost of production and transport added to the capital cost of purchase of development must make it a more highly priced product.

That was uppermost in my thoughts whenever I looked at the King's African Rifles S.T. estimates and watched the fortnightly convoy of 10 ton lorries arriving from Nairobi. Much of the maize it is true, was grown in the Nanyuki district, and the competitive instinct was sufficiently strong to prevent the King's African Rifles growing maize themselves at Isiolo although it could be shown that it was cheaper for them to do so, though ~~for~~ of course more easily than for the Meru to grow the maize themselves instead of going out of their reserve to grow it somewhere else and have it brought back through their reserve.

If there is any justification for a restriction of competition in, say, the coffee field, I submit that there is no justification for restricting the Northern Frontier market for maize and rice by neglecting the development of the Meru Reserve. That is what I had in mind when I wrote in my handing over report.

Subsequently in an unofficial memorandum to the Colonial Secretary Sir Edward Denham I wrote a possible conflict of interests is recognised and it has been laid down as a fundamental principle that if conflict occurs, native interests are to prevail, but this principle is not interpreted in the sense that the administration in native areas at any rate is primarily concerned with the development of those areas. Largely owing to the lack of schemes and facilities for progress in the native areas a serious conflict of interests has so far been kept in abeyance. In many respects the interests of the various communities which inhabit and develop Kenya are complementary but this happy state of affairs is not invariable even now, and with the further progress of African tribes, interests may diverge seriously. The adjustment of such interests to avoid conflict and secure co-operation presents an administrative problem peculiar in an intense form to Kenya

effects of the locust infestation would not have been so serious.

Native production has certainly not developed as it should and the factors which seem to me to retard progress are the result to a large extent of the political situation. Questions of closer union and an unofficial majority are of such great political interest that they distract from interest in anything so crude as the common mass production of raw stuffs on a scale to make the Railways pay their way on low rates and to effect a substantial reduction in the cost of living. If interest is taken it is usually of a suspicious kind with thoughts of the labour supply or competition of [illegible] ultimately of the swamping of the European island in a sea of native interests.

The result of this political situation is the handling of [illegible] native [illegible] in uncertainty. [illegible] any direction.

[illegible] clearer guidance in [illegible] of native agriculture and it is my hope that this [illegible] will [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] of the past may [illegible] it [illegible] well thought out plans for the future. [illegible] answer is required to the anxieties [illegible] agriculturist so that he can whole heartedly [illegible], support and insist on a policy of [illegible] in native areas.

In the past we have been concerned to point the under development of native areas, not with a view to getting them developed but with a view to getting the land. The question of beneficial occupation is raised and comparisions are made between native and European methods of Agriculture. The logical cycle might be to encourage natives to leave their reserves to work on farms and

then to take their land because it was not being put to an economic use. With the gazetting of native reserves that phase is passing but economic pressure will certainly insist on the development of native areas either by the native owner or some other agency. They cannot remain indefinitely undeveloped. The administration and natives require assistance and support in carrying through definite plans for the economic development of those areas and I hope that this Commission will insist on such plans being drawn up by the Administration and Agricultural Dept. After a thorough investigation of all aspects, including labour and competition, a definite scheme of progress could be adopted and the necessary services provided. It means probably the study of each native area by an authority no less competent than the Feetham Commission or this Commission.

So far I have dealt with the influence of the European agriculturalist and the effect of his fears or hopes regarding labour and competition, but at the moment my interest is focussed on the European pastoralist of whom in a small way I am one myself. The question of competition in this field occurs in the disposal of pastoral areas and the opportunities for markets. Instances such as the removal of the Masai from the Nakuru-Naivasha and Laikipia areas need not be quoted. Interest turns on the disposal of pastoral areas now and in the future. If stock economics are urged to support claims for alienation those responsible for pastoral tribes would like to have a clear exposition of those basic economics which justify alienation when claims conflict. A case of this nature will come before some members of this Commission in connection with the Masai claim for the railway boundary between Athi River and Simba. Without touching on native rights I should like to put the purely economic aspects of the

situation before this Commission because the settlement of that claim must inevitably react in the field of production. The demand for fresh meat and dairy produce is increasing rapidly every year and the Masai could be used to meet the demands of the Mombasa and Nairobi markets. Their chances of doing so will certainly be reduced if the mile wide is alienated even if roads of access are provided. It is not a question of comparing skill or [illegible] but of circumstances contributing to the cost of production. The capital cost of demarcating and fencing the boundary and roads of access which quarantine regulations would necessitate added to the cost of fire breaks and the provision of water for this narrow strip of farms would bring no adequate economic return.

It would appear that the interests of [illegible] economic [illegible] are best served if the [illegible] in slaughter stock, dairy produce [illegible] and [illegible]

That brings in the question [illegible]

I have drawn attention in the first part of [illegible] After my experience in Turkana I have no certainty that assistance will be forthcoming. The facts are there: the Turkana had no outlet for stock. Their stock were dying of starvation, and at the same time it was proposed that the Turkana should be taxed. I suggested a veterinary survey with the special object of [illegible] to Kaikia Nakuru Rev no Eldo [illegible] later the Turkana came and complained that So[illegible] large herds of cattle were entering their grazing grounds and driving them from watering places. The complications which ensued need not be mentioned here. 7000 head of stock owned by Somalis in Laikipia were forcibly removed into Turkana and the Northern Frontier contrary to the expressed wishes of the officers in charge of the district to which they went.

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The grazing fees which it was proposed those officers should [illegible] would have been no compensation for the consumption [illegible] under which the Turkana required for their stock [illegible] is not the point. The question I should like [illegible] answers one to answer is this " If the [illegible] to be evicted and forced to sell their stock [illegible] sell in the Kilutiani, Naivasha, Nyeri, [illegible] obliterates so that the cost of [illegible] reduced?

[illegible] cannot be [illegible] that the influence of the Europe[illegible] pastoralists [illegible] behind encouraging the stock de[illegible]lopment of native areas so as to avoid competition [illegible] the lower [illegible] remunerative value of their stock and [illegible] increase. That is a point [illegible] like this Committee to consider for it is of very great importance in tackling the economic progress of the Masai.

Mr. Buxton has not yet sent in the appendices, and as his argument is to some extent dependent upon them, it would seem best to wait for these before takin any action.

The memorandum is full of interest, and the concrete proposals made are summarised on page 41. The chief objection to them is that even leaving out the stock subsidy of £10,000 they cost £13,150 plus £4,000 annual expenditure for one district of one province of the Colony ~~only~~. Some of them, however, would seem suitable objects for the C.D.F., e.g., (b) Establishment of auction rings, £450; (e) Hide drying sheds £250; (f) Introduction of poultry, £500; (h) Establishment of model farms; and I really do not know why ~~the~~ (d) Water schemes and (g) Improvement of roads, should not come under the C.D.F. too.

As regards auction rings (i.e., reguler auctions at Ngong, Kiu, Manga and Laitokitok with fenced quarantine areas), it would appear from para. 61, page 37 that all that would be required is a loan. The subject could be linked on conveniently to the ~~passage~~ deal now under consideration ~~of the~~ regarding marketing organisation.

~~For~~ Other points of interest :-

P.25. Mr. Hemsted is alleged to have stated that the Masai agreed to pay an extra 8/- tax so that road communications might be provided with paid labour in place of forced labour as in other colonies. This has certainly not been done in the past. A despatch has recently been sent (No. 11 on 25543/30) saying that if the present flat rate system of taxation is continued

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in Kenya, and the Masai continue to pay 8/- more than the flat rate, then there must be special expenditure on development works.

Page 26. ~~Tropical~~ Tribal boundaries.

Page 31. The present organisation of the water boring experiments leaves much to be desired. I think we have gathered that for ourselves; see on 17.4.43.

Page 40. The idea of model villages seems a good one, but I doubt whether it would really be practicable for the Land Bank to finance them.

When the Appendices come, and subject to any further observations which they may suggest, the right course would seem to be to send Mr. Moore semi-officially a line explaining that Mr. Buxton has ~~left here~~ handed in, on obtaining informally permission to do so, a copy of the memorandum of which the original has been sent to Mr. Wade; say that we realise that it relates only to one district and one province of the Colony, and that ~~several~~ some of the schemes ~~are~~ may be impracticable on the grounds of expense if for no other reason, ~~and~~ but say that there might be a chance of getting something from the C.D.F. for some of the purposes (specifying which); suggest that if the Local Government agrees, they should have a shot at getting the whole cost of them either for this district alone or for the whole Province.

Acting Chief Native Commr. v. Hansell

undiscouraged by former failures

+ We can say we feel Campbell agrees, but we require Govt. to carry most of the burden for discouragement. ccf

Jackson
9.6.44

Dear [illegible]

you [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

You must, as [illegible] Colonial Office [illegible]

[illegible] permission to [illegible]

[illegible] that [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

you would care to look in and we will try to fix a time. Or better still, come and lunch one day after Whitsuntide. I should be very glad if you could.

Yours sincerely,

aed

86, EATON PLACE,
S.W.1.

19th May 1931.

Dear Mr. Parkinson,

I enclose a copy of the Memorandum on the Masai and I have sent a copy to Mr. Wade, the Acting Chief Native Commissioner in Kenya. There is one point which might be taken up here and that is the question of the meat factory. Lord Passfield, whom I met at lunch the other day, expressed a wish to discuss this and Veterinary policy with Mr. Montgomery and some officer from Tanganyika.

The appendices are not ready, but I will send them in a few days. They are all available in Kenya.

I was very grateful to you for the interview you so kindly gave me. There has not been time to prepare a memorandum for the Joint Committee as yet. I want to read all the evidence which has been given. The Settler delegation will be arriving in a few days and it may be that I should like to quote from my experience to correct or modify some of their statements.

Yours sincerely,

Clarence F. Buxton

P.S. I gave your message to Mrs. Moore.

Thanks. S. O. 20/5/31

I N D E X.

SECTION I.

General Principles 1.

In the Kenya White Paper of July 1923 it was stated "There can be no room for doubt that it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level but the lines of development are as yet in certain directions undetermined". It may be possible to define more precisely and at the same time more comprehensively the practical lines of development for the Masai of the Kajiado District.

Although this definition of policy is only attempted in regard to this district, it is recognised that the district forms but a small part of Masailand, and that Kenya Masailand is linked to larger issues and interests in the Colony, while another part of Masailand brings the Masai into relation with the field of administration in the Mandated State of Tanganyika Territory. It is not intended that the administration of this district should be conducted on lines which ignore external considerations. The development of the district should contribute to the economic wealth of these territories. Further, the field of development is not confined to the activities of one Department. It is hoped that a definition of policy will assist officers of all departments who may work in this district to relate their work to the solution of the many difficult problems which a policy of progress will introduce. The memorandum on Native Policy deals with the subject under the headings:-

(a) Political.
(b) Social and
(c) Economic.

but their interactions in this district are so close that the three must be considered together. This is also apparent in paragraph 8 (b) of the memorandum where it is stated "The objective to be achieved is a general improvement in the standard of native life, alike in economic conditions, in home circumstances and in the physical health of men, women and children, together with the spread of education

cumstances and issues which affect the position of the Masai in this district. It is also clear that a progressive policy should not be applied without regard to internal conditions. The district falls within the area of land which has been kept available for native occupation, in which the natives can be allowed to develop on their own lines in a process of continual evolution. The ideal ought to be to preserve all that is good in the arts and customs, the social and political organisation, and the moral code which they already possess, and to build up from that foundation".

Although circumstances will continually influence the pace or method of applying any policy which can now be defined some idea must be formed of the general direction to be followed and as the guidance of definite principles is necessary the foregoing quotations have been made.

SECTION II.

The District 3. The district forms the eastern part of the Masai Province and includes within its boundaries the following tribal sections: Loitokitok, Matapato, Kaputiei, Il Dalel Ingutuk, Sigirari, Ladokilani, Ngurumen, Salei, Il Damat and Kekonyuki. There are also a small section of Purko though the majority of that section live in the Narok district, as do also some Il Damat, Kekonyuki and Ngurumen Masai. The population of the District is given as 6,000 in the most recent census, but for various reasons I do not believe this figure to be an under estimate. No vital statistics have been kept up to date.

SECTION III.

Main Factors 4. There are three factors which must be considered and studied so that policy may be related to ascertained facts as well as to guiding principles. They are (a) the human element (b) the material assets of the tribe and (c) the economic opportunity.

The Human Element.5.

The all important factor is the human being. Generalizations are rarely very fair, owing to the diverse personalities amongst those who make up a family or tribe. Many and various opinions have been expressed about the Masai and often those who are barely acquainted with them hold the strongest views. A true understanding of human characteristics of the average Masai and of the mental background of the tribe and its present outlook is essential for the successful direction of Government's efforts.

6. Mr. Sandford, the Official Historian of the Masai in 1918 gave the following estimate of the tribe after an exhaustive study of their history. "The Masai are a listless, conservative slothful people, inadequately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be incompetent to deal with the idle body of warriors whose raison d'etre has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently insubordinate to render ineffective the Councils of their seniors. They have been concentrated in one area where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and once possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organisation, alertness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability; they have always realised that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard fines, they are probably the most backward administered native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate". After

The Human Element (Contd.) 7.

The cumulative effect of these events on the Masai and perhaps of the personal influence of the Officers who have been in touch with them, would appear to have made a great change in the outlook of the Masai if the statement by Mr. Sandford was a true estimate of their attributes and qualities in 1918, or if that of Mr. Hobbley in his recent book was correct of his time. Mr. Sandford further states "The Masai were among the first tribes which came into contact with the Administration but their conservatism has been so great and their subservience to antiquated tribal custom and tradition so powerful that it has proved impossible as yet materially to alter and renovate their ideas". That view seems to be held so generally that it is important at the outset to examine the truth of it in the light of present experience and also to compare it with other opinions.

Sir Charles Eliot described the Masai as "perhaps the most remarkable people in East Africa". In one despatch he said "I regard the Masai as the most important and dangerous of the tribes with whom we have to deal in East Africa, and I think it will long be necessary to maintain military force in the districts which they inhabit". In his report on the East Africa Protectorate dated 8th April 1903, Sir Charles Eliot also writes "I agree with those who do not think the Masai are a formidable element in East Africa. It would, of course, be unwise to irritate them, and there is always some danger of misunderstanding in dealing with a people of whose language we are profoundly ignorant. But it appears to me that, even with the last year, the Masai have become more amenable". "One company from the 3rd Battalion King's African Rifles at Nairobi is composed of Masai. There is no doubt of the warlike powers of this tribe under their own system, but military authorities differ as to their

qualifications for service in a disciplined army. Colonel Hatch's last report on their capacities is, however, very favourable, and his only criticism of them is that they cannot stand service on the coast". "There are many advantages in employing the Masai as soldiers and Police, for they are little disposed to cultivate, and if we are effectively to stop their ancient occupation of cattle raiding, we must give them something else to do. In some ways they answer well, they are extraordinarily active, and have better notions of honour and loyalty than most tribes".

8. During the last two years I have seen the manner in which Masai have reacted to a great variety of circumstances and personalities, some of which affected elders, some the moran, some the boys. During the last month while accompanying Dr. Philip on a medical survey I have had an opportunity of listening to discussions on questions of health with the women, and watching the children - My opinion of the Masai is this - They do not lack intelligence. In discussing any matter of interest to themselves they express their point of view clearly and give reasons for what they propose or resent.

As regards manners and general demeanour they show tact and respect in spite of the fact that they are the most candid critics of persons or schemes. Their outspoken comments are invariably made courteously, for they are endowed with a natural dignity. It is perhaps unnecessary to mention their courage except that so many who do not know them deplore the decadence of the Masai and instance their failure to enlist in the Kings African Rifles or Police. No one who has seen moran in a lion hunt, or having lion wounds dressed, can do other than admire them. These lion hunts are of frequent occurrence, and whereas in the old days when shields and large manyattas were permitted twenty or thirty moran with shields would attack lion, nowadays parties of 2 to 5 without shields will fearlessly attack lion in defence of their cattle and individual Masai have

[illegible]

Dr. [illegible] will [illegible] of their simple [illegible]
Bitton, but after training two years for the Olympic
[illegible] union of their athletic prowess.
[illegible] speak of their spiritual [illegible]
[illegible] superficial [illegible] an extraordinary
[illegible] the trials which [illegible] suffered had [illegible]
[illegible] ways a kindliness
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] Dr. [illegible] will [illegible] race out of their [illegible] nation, but after training two years in the Olympic [illegible] opinion of their athletic prowess [illegible] want speak of their spiritual [illegible] superficial [illegible] An extraordinary [illegible] the crisis which [illegible] suffered had [illegible] ways a kindliness [illegible] regularly for [illegible] not.

[illegible] amused [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] seem to be the [illegible] clue to the [illegible] family [illegible] and it reveals very little. The reader, therefore, [illegible] understand that the Masai are in no sense negro [illegible] to the Bantu tribes with which he [illegible] as the works of our most prominent later Africa [illegible] In their [illegible] development as in their language, they [illegible] widely different from the natives of [illegible] such [illegible] respect [illegible] modern [illegible] other position in [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] tution but are not [illegible] economics.

10. These individual characteristics are confined within an extraordinarily strong community sense. Until 1930 it was well nigh impossible for an individual Masai to adopt a line of his own. He regarded the approval of the Masai elders as of binding force on himself. This was most noticeable in the case of veterinary treatment of cattle. The Masai community sense prevented individual Masai from getting their stock inoculated. The interest of this embargo at this point lies in its indication of tribal authority particularly as Mr. Sandford considered that their authority had little influence.

The tribal authority exercised amongst the Masai is of a peculiar nature. In the first place there is a strong public opinion formed by constant discussion of matters which concern them. A reluctance is shown to discuss any matter with an alien about which a Masai public opinion has not been formed. Various influences contribute to the forming of this opinion. The laibon throws the bones and prophesies success or failure. He is the Priest King who mediates between God and the tribe. His place as spiritual adviser is recognised, each section paying contributions in stock to its laibon. He has no proper executive or judicial functions, but his opinion is sometimes given on a case on appeal. No appeal would ever be made from a laibon's opinion, which indicates the respect paid to his opinion and advice. His advice would find general expression through the laigwenak, who represent the executive though their influence increases as they grow older and a gradual substitution of advisory for executive powers takes place. A special cohesion is found between the moran and the next senior age but one described as the ol piron. A special responsibility rests on the Ol Pion age for the conduct of the moran and the moran look to that age class for support and advice. The Moran themselves as a class enjoyed, and still enjoy, a privileged position as the heroes of the tribe. There is evidence that the gazetted headmen and native councillors

who are l'aigwenak and laibon are afraid of displeasing them and try to shift the responsibility for controlling them on to Government. Finally, the women are not less influential amongst the Masai than amongst other tribes, though their interest is perhaps more closely focussed on inheritance questions.

Further reference will be made to matters of social organisation, but the human being whose life is ordered by this tribal authority is the object of consideration at the moment.

11. From the foregoing estimate which for the moment omits reference to the defects in character, it will be evident that in the Masai we have to deal with some fine human material. There is plenty of good to be developed and there are many indications that the Masai are not unreceptive individually or ultimately as a tribe, of new ideas, though they do not jump at innovations.

12. Yet, in spite of the qualities which have been recognised the Masai for the most part continue in their restricted area to lead the same lives which they did before British influence began. Their style of living, their environment and dwellings have changed little if at all. There are certainly indications that the old spirit of conservatism and lawlessness have given place to a desire on the part of some for better things. As illustrations it may be mentioned that individual Masai are ready to have stock inoculated and are allowed to do so by the collective opinion of the tribe. Even prior to the removal of this embargo, the Loitokitok Section expressed their readiness for the treatment of all their herds as advised by the Veterinary Officer if a definite order was given to this effect. They could not however dishonour a general agreement with other Masai by asking for it of their own free will, but would gladly accept the decision of Government. Another instance of a more remarkable nature was

[illegible] the Chief's [illegible] near [illegible] year [illegible] tens [illegible] their [illegible] [illegible] by Akamba [illegible] further instances of individual progress [illegible] all tractor drivers are now Masai and [illegible] voluntary recruits for the Nyeri training Depot [illegible] keen recruits for the embryo Masai Police Service. [illegible] considerable advance in [illegible] schools, and the [illegible] of the Masai towards these schools, due [illegible] reasonably to the influence of Mr. Whitehouse.

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION. The Social Organisation of the tribe has led to somewhat [illegible] age divisions focussed on the warrior class which probably exercises even at the present time the greatest influence, though far less than in the past. Much also depends on the period reached by the moran and the point of [illegible] importance to [illegible] in weighing their influence in any [illegible] the tribe forward in [illegible] - the present age of moran age [illegible] of celebrating their Eunote and [illegible] becomes more responsible members of the community. [illegible] will marry and settle [illegible] There will then be a period of some [illegible] years during [illegible] tations to stock their [illegible] laikas [illegible] will be at a minimum, and the tribe will [illegible] most to profit by, and acquiesce in, [illegible] it is true that their [illegible] on [illegible] initiative.

[illegible]

INTERSECTION DISPUTES. [illegible] international [illegible] have appeared during the last two years relative to a dispute about a grazing area near Mashuru. It was a dispute of minor importance between the Kaputiei and Il Dalal Legutuk and the Masai settled the question themselves.

The Kaputiei headman also made a request that Ol

There are probably not less than 500,000. With the exception of a few shambas where maize, bananas and sugar cane and sweet potatoes are grown for home consumption at Loitokitok and Ngong, the Masai have no other form of property. Their land which, with the exception of shambas and certain areas used by influential Masai such as Kimruwai is held communally, though there are individual or family water rights. It has been described in the report submitted for the Agricultural Commission 1929, which is attached as appendix I.

The area, though large, is but a small portion of that which was occupied by the tribe when Joseph Thomson visited Masailand in 1882 and is in that part of Masailand which he describes as follows:-

"The Masai country is very markedly divided into two quite distinct regions, the southerly, or lower desert area, and the northerly or plateau region. The southerly is comparatively low in altitude, that is to say, from 3,000 to nearly 4,000 feet. It is sterile and unproductive in the extreme. This is owing, not to a barren soil, but to the scantiness of rainfall, which for about 3 months in the year barely gives sufficient sustenance to scattered tufts of grass. The acacia and mimosa have almost sole possession of those dreary plains, except near the base of some isolated mountain, or other highland where small rivulets trickle down, to be speedily absorbed in the arid sands. No river traverses this region, and many parts are covered with incrustations of natron, left by the evaporation of salt-charged springs. We have seen something of this lower region in the flat reach of Njeri and the forbidding desert of Dogilani, together amounting to 2/3 of district. Except in the immediate vicinity of the higher mountains, such as Mount Meru and Donyo Engai, the country is to a large extent uninhabited. To summarise this tract we may say that it is triangular

in general shape, the apex towards the [illegible] to thirty miles [illegible] beyond to Baringo as a special [illegible] lar outline. [illegible] to [illegible] Kilima-ang, Mount [illegible] Naapuk (Longido) [illegible] the foot of Meru, [illegible] and [illegible] the plain at the bases of the bordering highlands Mau and Karto.

The country is sufficiently characterised when the fact is stated that it is region of later volcanic activity which in a very recent geological period has produced the cones and craters already referred to. These results of volcanic energy may to some extent be accounted for - though the statement may seem to savour for reasoning in a circle - by the lower region as an area of depression having subsided or sunk from the higher level of the flanking table-lands.

The potential economic resources of the district relate to stock and the stock carrying capacity of the land. It is evident that the land could carry a much larger number of cattle if water supplies were developed so as to balance grazing and water, and if agriculture and ensilage added cattle fodder to pasture.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY. (?)

The third important factor in the economic opportunity [illegible] to be useless to develop the [illegible] [illegible] ability [illegible] [illegible] and converted into cash which will increase the purchasing power of the district and so influence the imports into the Colony. The assets in stock (dairy produce, beef, hides, manure) are in great demand in the neighbouring areas. There

in general shape, the apex towards the north reaching to within thirty miles of the equator, and extending beyond to Baringo as a species of trough or deep, irregular cutting. The Masai are only to be found at all seasons about such favourable situations as the base of Kilimajaro, Mount Meru, Ndapduk (Longido) Gelei, Kisongo, to the west of Meru, Donyo Engai, and along the edge of the Plain at the bases of the bordering highlands Mau and [illegible].

The [illegible] is sufficiently characterized when the [illegible] that it is [illegible] egion of latar volcanic activ[illegible] which [illegible] geological period has produced the [illegible] as already referred to. These results of volcan[illegible] may, to some extent, be accounted for - though the [illegible] may seem to savour for reasoning in a [illegible] by [illegible] region as an area of depression having [illegible] the higher level of the flanking [illegible]

The [illegible] economic resources of the district [illegible] and the stock carrying capacity of the land [illegible] evident that the land could carry a much l[illegible] number of cattle if water supplies were develo[illegible] so [illegible] to balance grazing and water, and if agriculture and [illegible] added cattle fodder to pasture.

[illegible]MIC OPPORTUNITY. (7)

The third important factor is the economic opportunity, for it is useless to develop the stock assets of the Masai beyond the requirements for home consumption unless there are markets for such products and their surplus stock assets can be absorbed and converted into cash which will increase the purchasing power of the district and so influence the imports into the Colony. The assets in stock (dairy produce, beef, hides, manure) are in great demand in the neighbouring areas. There

can be no question that the Masai could make a substantial contribution to the wealth of the Colony by the development and marketing of these assets, and to the reduction of the cost of living by competing in the local market for dairy produce and beef. This raises the issue which is discussed in the 2nd part of the evidence prepared for the Agricultural Commission (included as appendix (II). There can be little doubt that the Masai have been excluded from the local meat market because the European vendors of stock have feared the lowering of the price of cattle. The evidence given before the cost of living Commission makes it clear that the margin of profit for other stock owners is not great. The result of Masai beef being placed on the market might close the market altogether to a more expensive method of stock raising. During the last year both the Mombasa market and the Tanganyika market have been closed, admittedly on the grounds of competition as well as veterinary restrictions. It is not improbable that the support given by other vendors of meat to the proposal for the establishment of a meat extract factory is derived from a desire to see the Masai meat diverted from the local market. At present the only outlet for stock is through Ngong. The steps which have been taken in the last year to organise auctions at Kiu, Loitokitok and Manga convince me that there is a demand for Masai cattle on the Mombasa, Nairobi, Wachagga and Moshi markets. These markets would not of course absorb the stock available for sale and it would appear possible to market Masai cattle by export if a canning and meat extract factory is established.

The economic opportunity for Masai beef has been mentioned first because as I pointed out in part I of the evidence given before the Agricultural Commission, (see appendix 3) an outlet for surplus stock is an essential preliminary

to the proper development of dairying, but there can be no question that in the milk of Masai cattle the tribe and Colony have the most valuable asset. The Chief Veterinary Officer has given it as his opinion that the milk of native cattle is second to no other milk in [illegible]. So far the value of this product has been [illegible] and in 1928 no less than 40,000/[illegible] realized for [illegible] lbs of ghee. A large quantity of ghee is still [illegible] into the Colony and there can be little doubt [illegible] pound of ghee could be disposed of with proper [illegible] organization either locally or for export, though buffalo ghee [illegible] a [illegible] considerable significance would still be [illegible]. In [illegible] the question of milk, butter and cheese [illegible] development of competition with others might arise, it would perhaps be possible to induce the Masai producer in some co-operative association under direct European Supervision to improve the quality, as is being attempted by the [illegible] creameries. The value of Masai hides has [illegible] and there has been much concern about the quality of the hides, many of which have been thrown into the sea in a putrid condition. It would appear that the market for properly cured hides is not likely to fail. There is also the possibility that in time the hides may be locally cured making use of the locally grown wattle and that the Colony might export wattle extract instead of hides, [illegible] by increasing [illegible] the hides by paying freight on a more highly [illegible] article per lb. avoirdupois [illegible]. During the last year some attention has been paid to the value of Masai cattle manure, both dung and bones. A large quantity of the former has been sold this year. It is not improbable that as the Agricultural tribes, such as the Akikuyu and Akamba, realize the value of these manures, they will conserve them for their own use and will be unwilling to sell them. The main source of supply will then be the purely pastoral tribe and the position of the Masai area

in relation to the Coffee farms may give importance to this aspect of their stock assets.

It would therefore appear that there is a great op- [illegible] way for supplying some of the economic needs of the [illegible] development of the Masai cattle assets and [illegible] Masai while profiting themselves, [illegible] material [illegible] of the Colony and [illegible] community [illegible]. It is inevitable that [illegible] must entail [illegible] interest [illegible] competition [illegible] the market for [illegible] in [illegible] in the provis[illegible] would seem unfavorable [illegible] ment [illegible] when [illegible] equally [illegible] the protection of such requisites [illegible] produce and beef [illegible] possible costs.

[illegible] Dr. [illegible] as [illegible] of the [illegible] factors [illegible] same conclusion [illegible] regards [illegible] long [illegible] their traditional [illegible] new stock [illegible] ideals. [illegible] assisted to aim at quality [illegible] purpose of dairying and meat [illegible] old ideals of numbers and colour.

Par. 19.

[illegible] main line of development, which will ma[illegible] success in the first, but which also con[illegible] social and political aspect of the future, is that the Masai should be assisted in every way to settle permanently and to abandon what remains of their nomadic mode of living.

Employment of Masai. 20.

The third objective is ancillary to the other two, but also relates to every activity in the district, however directly, or indirectly, connected with the first two. It primarily concerns the mental, physical, and moral development of the Masai whatever stage may be reached along the other lines. It is to teach the Masai to take part themselves in every way possible in the work of development and administration. In the past it has been found necessary to employ aliens to perform most of the tasks involved in administration and development and it is not immediately possible to dispense with the services of others, but in some directions as hut counters, ox drivers, police, school teachers, the Masai are already replacing others. With the wider field opening there will be a variety of opportunities, and the Masai must be prepared and encouraged to do the work themselves.

SECTION V.

The Present Position. 21.

These three objectives, the development of stock industry, the settlement of the Masai and the employment of the Masai must now be viewed in relation to the present position so that the immediate requirements of the situation may be realized and the work of the various departments co-ordinated. It will also be desirable to visualize the consequences of such a policy so that one step may lead to another in a process of continual development, and that preparation may be made in time for the requirements of each new phase.

22. MASAI STOCK. During 1929 immense numbers of cattle died of rinderpest and starvation. It is impossible to know the exact numbers, but approximately 95,000 hides passed through Kejiado Station alone. Every location, except Laitokitok, was attacked by rinderpest. The Laitokitok herds suffered as acutely as any from starvation, in spite of their favoured position on the slopes of Kilimanjaro. In 1930 record rains fell all over the district, but owing to the poor con[illegible] of the cattle during the previous year very [illegible] occurred and the Masai were still suffering fro[illegible] shortage of milk. Rinderpest passed thro[illegible] Laitokitok area during the latter [illegible] present position in regard to Masai [illegible]ock is that [illegible] ture has culled and immunized to s[illegible] the district is not over-stocked. The rains of 1930 replenished springs and rendered available for a longer period than usual the wet [illegible] grazing grounds. With the exception of a few [illegible] which escaped rinderpest, all cattle over two years of age, and some younger, are now immune to rinderpest. If cattle are required as a means of subsistence only, the Masai are in a favourable position.

23. MASAI STOCK MENTALITY. Circumstances have changed to some extent the views of the Masai in regard to their cattle. Although it cannot be said that as a tribe they have adopted a more progressive outlook, it is noteworthy that there is now a tolerant attitude towards any Masai who wishes to have his cattle inoculated and that a number of individuals have requested that a Veterinary Officer shall double inoculate some of their cattle. A strong desire for outlets for stock is also apparent. This indicates a recognition of the need for a purchasing power or tax paying capacity through stock. The sentimental value which a Masai puts on his cattle

[illegible] been tested in open market at Lejiado, Ngong and [illegible] to [illegible] stock [illegible] Elkeri in the [illegible] [illegible] were functioning [illegible] there were supposed to be started in [illegible] [illegible] appreciate the value of [illegible] to [illegible] their children and [illegible] purchased by the local [illegible] by school [illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] Naitotok. There are indications [illegible] during [illegible] of hides has received [illegible] and a useful pamphlet has been issued by Agricultural Department, but it is doubtful if any real [illegible] has been made. The Indian duka owners have [illegible] same rough classification and pay slightly more for [illegible] stock to the duka [illegible] quality of some hides than of others, but weight [illegible] one [illegible] that while [illegible] are [illegible] only [illegible] more than a small proportion of [illegible] purchase price in cash.

26. WATER SCHEMES. The conservation of water has been demonstrated in the treatment of springs at Loyengalani and Embarasha and by the construction of three dams along the Elgasil and Lejiado rivers. The first example in each case was paid for by Local Native Council. It

was encouraging to note that the ideas were taken up by Seggi Ole Lenana who paid 750/- for a dam and Ole Mbere Matapatu head-man, who paid 800/- for a reservoir and trough.

27. Three boreholes were sunk in the Simba area. Water was found at between 380 and 480 feet in large quantities - approximately 70,000 gallons daily yield. A windmill has been erected at each borehold and circular tanks of 20,000 gallons capacity, with troughs, are being constructed. Some auxiliary pumping apparatus is required as the wind is not constant. Ox driven gear, if efficient, will be installed and experiments are being made.

28. The Masai have responded to the opportunities suggested to their minds by these hitherto undiscovered water supplies and have voted and paid during 1930 a cess of 5/- per capita of the adult male population for the service of a loan sufficient to keep one water boring machine continually at work in their district and to erect six windmills per annum.

29. SCHOOLS. Two schools have been established in the district, one at Kajiado in 1926 and the other at Laitokitok in 1930. The Kajiado School is limited to literary education at present owing to the inadequacy of the water supply for irrigation purposes. It therefore serves the purpose of a primary school for all the sections except Laitokitok and pupils proceed in due course to Laitokitok where their literary education is carried to the elementary B. standard and where they are taught agriculture. A considerable area - probably 3 square miles - has been allotted to the Laitokitok school. It is being developed so that the school will be self-supporting, thereby reducing the cost to the Local Native Fund who are responsible for boarding expenses. Its development will serve as an example of mixed farming, which may be possible in other parts of the district. The rations stimulate an appetite

for cereals and vegetables which has already spread beyond the limits of the school. The boys are taught to break in and drive oxen.

30. MEDICAL. There is one recognised dispensary in the district for which drugs are provided by the Medical Department. It is situated at Kajiado, a windowless corrugated iron building 16 ft. by 8 ft. with an earth floor in the charge of a Kikuyu dresser. At Laitokitok the Principal of the school started a 4 bed hospital and dispensary and the Education Department pay the salary of a native dresser. The Masai have great faith in vaccination and have repeatedly asked for it during the last two years. The Laitokitok section and some Kaputiei Masai, as well as a few villages round Kajiado had been visited by a vaccinator who has since been withdrawn. Dr.Philip's medical survey will indicate the prevalent diseases and the attitude of the Masai to the steps which he has suggested for remedying the situation.

31. MODEL VILLAGE. One result of Dr.Philip's survey has been the building of a model village near Kajiado. The proposal was put to Seggi that he should lead his people in an effort to live in more hygienic circumstances and to experiment in stock husbandry on the lines taught at the Ngong School. He responded to the appeal provided he was not committed to great expense. A start was made with 1000/- from the Medical Propaganda vote and to this sum Seggi added 850/- for a corrugated iron roof and the Local Native Council voted 3000/- to complete the farmyard. The village contains a 3-roomed house built of pise de terre, cement floors, a kitchen, store, fly-proof latrine, outhouse. The farmyard contains stabling for 20 cows and 20 calves with 4 loose boxes for calving cows. There are also (a) dairy (b) store for calves food (c) hut for herd boys, cement drainage to liquid manure pit, hide drying shed, manure dump, cart shed, donkey shedand cement pedestal for hay stacks. The whole village is enclosed in a thick thorn Zariba.

[illegible] Masai have [illegible] their readiness to experiment [illegible] necessary [illegible] an opportunity of obtaining [illegible] by many methods.

VETERINARY. [illegible] Masai Reserve is in quarantine for bovine [illegible] disease. The only [illegible] stock at present is via Ngong. This outlet serves [illegible] and [illegible] proposals are now being canvassed for the eradication of rinderpest in the Masai Reserve as an extension of the [illegible] which began in South Africa and has reached the northern boundary of Tanganyika. The position [illegible] is of some interest to the Masai who are aware of the [illegible] as it affects many of their near relations. It is claimed that there has been no outbreak of rinderpest for the past six years in Tanganyika Masailand. The result of this has been a gradual increase in the number of susceptible animals. Owing in part to a lack of markets to absorb surplus stock a point has been reached where overstocking is becoming a problem and extra grazing has to be leased from farm owners. Owing also to the danger to which these susceptible cattle are exposed by reason of the proximity of [illegible] and the movement of some [illegible] herds [illegible] reason it is usual to pro[illegible] incidentally be [illegible] of the 1896 outbreak of rinderpest which broke the Masai as a tribe. The Masai have this in mind and prefer to obtain immunity for their herds by keeping alive a mild form of rinderpest and transmitting it to susceptible herds.

34. ROADS. The communications of the district amount to a section of the main Tanganyika road from Ngong to Manga and some tracks which have been cut to Trading Sites at Lanaran, Meto, Mashuru, Selengri and Laitokitok. A road from Simba Station to Laitokitok was opened in 1929 but was impassable for a large part of 1930. A bridge has now been constructed over the Kiboko river, but it will be isolated after the first big flood. It should be mentioned that the Masai have for many years paid a tax of 20/- instead of 12/-. Mr. Hemsted, who was officer-in-charge of the Masai when this tax was imposed, stated that the Masai agreed to pay this extra 8/- so that road communications might be provided with paid labour in place of Masai labour forced out under the Native Authority Ordinance. If this is so, an enormous sum from general revenue must be due for communications in the Masai Reserve.

35. TRADE. The trade of the district with the exception of three small shops run by Masai in the Laitokitok section is in the hands of Indians, Somalis and Abyssinians. The trading centres have been gazetted since 1916. A few new plots were allotted during 1927 or 1928 to Indians who wished to evade the application of the Sugar Ordinance and to have sites outside the mile zone. During 1929 and 1930, when milk was scarce and hides plentiful, some increase was noticeable in the volume of trade, but normally there would appear to be no expansion of trade since the War. The auctions which were held at Laitokitok in 1928, 1929 and 1930 proved the possibilities of the Wychagge market. The auctions at Kajiado and Manga in 1929 gave some indication of the willingness of the Moshi and Arusha traders to buy Masai stock. The difficulty lay with the quarantine restrictions. These restrictions confine the selling of cattle to Ngong or Nairobi. Masai appear reluctant to go to this market and prefer to sell, or barter, for donkeys to Somalis.

who do most of the stock trading.

36. LOCAL NATIVE FUND.

The trading licences paid by the Indians for the most part, and the stock trading licences paid by the Somalis, go to general revenue, but the Local Native Fund benefits by plot rents. It also benefits by rents and royalties paid by sand and fuel concessionaires though the position regarding these concessions is unsatisfactory owing to the uncertainty regarding the mile zone boundary.

37. BOUNDARIES. The boundaries of the Masai Reserve were gazetted in October 1926 but unfortunately the objection which they lodged to the exclusion of the Railway Zones from their reserve and the misunderstanding regarding the Chulu triangle were never considered. Considerable dissatisfaction is felt over this matter by the Masai. It has been investigated by various competent bodies and authorities, but no decision has been given. The South boundary of the district is the arbitrary line established in 1890. It divides the Masai and by reason of the difference in veterinary measures it creates an awkward situation for both territories. Concessions have been granted to adjust the traditional rights in water and grazing. The Masai regard this boundary as an unmitigated nuisance. For purely administrative convenience a nominal boundary follows the Rift Valley dividing the Kajiado and [redacted] districts.

38. GAME RESERVE. A factor of the present situation is the Southern Game Reserve, which embraces most of the district and extends to the railway. It has recently been the subject of some discussion and a suggestion has been put forward that some bargain should be made with the Masai for its retention as a Game Park. A copy of my views on this proposal is given in appendix 4.

[illegible]

[illegible] understand that [illegible] and [illegible] to expect [illegible] for the repression of crime by the [illegible] of offenders and by the active encouragement [illegible] work and personal example in improved methods. The allotting of Tribal Retainers to headmen to increase their executive powers has given them an opportunity of carrying out their duties more efficiently. Three of them, Ole Kenga, Lengenjik and Lago have made good use of these increased powers in apprehending stock thieves. The Laitokitok headmen collected the tax in their location during 1929 and 1930. Two educated Masai have been engaged as hut counters and headmen's clerks, in pursuance of the policy of employing Masai as far as possible in the services required in their country.

Non-Native Industries.

40. Mention must be made of the two non-native industries in the district. Hitherto they have affected the [illegible] They have provided a small local [illegible] as rents to the [illegible] Water Supplies and in [illegible] have provided 6,000 gallons daily at circular [illegible] and troughs at Cairn Mill, Ngirigiri and Olololigoshi, and 2,000 gallons at mile 46. They also provide water at a trough near the Lake and are in process of building a milking shed. The marble quarries have taken out ex-

32. NATIVE AUTHORITY. The functions of the local native [illegible]
[illegible] Samburu have [illegible] travel or so [illegible]
in their [illegible]

[illegible] that [illegible]
[illegible] and responsibility to expect
[illegible] better the repression of crime by the ap-
[illegible] of offenders and by the active encouragement
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and troughs at Cairn Mill, Ngirigiri and Ololoitigoshi,
and 2,000 gallons at mile 46. They also provide water
at a trough near the Lake and are in process of building
a milking shed. The marble quarries have taken out ex-

tensive prospecting licences and the Magadi Soda Company have applied for a diatomite concession.

41. There are two small, but important, forest areas at Laitokitok and Ngong. The latter has been exploited by Kikuyu squatters and educated Masai. The Local Native Council recommended that concessions should be granted to individuals who should be obliged to plant with wattle an area, double the size of the concession, on the Ngong Hills. The Laitokitok forest has provided cedar poles for the building of the school. Some mature cedar has been used for bridging and others felled for seasoning.

42. The present position may be summarised as follows:-

(a) The Masai of the Kajiado district have seen some examples of the manner in which they can improve their country and make a more efficient use of their resources for production. Some of them - influential Masai too - have shown a desire to make more of their stock and land.

The lines of future development have been indicated to them through the schools, dairies, water conservation schemes and model village.

(b) The district is not at present over-stocked as the cycle of increase to the point of overstocking, followed by drought and disease was completed in 1930, while the grazing and water were immeasurably increased by the record rains of that year.

(c) The vast majority of cattle are immune to rinderpest, though susceptible to pleuro pneumonia.

(d) The lines of indirect rule have been indicated and steps in that direction have evoked response and promise success.

(e) The position of underground supplies of water has been proved in the Simba area. A field for further boring between Emambarasha and Ol Nonyo Orok

has been approved by Water Boring Superintendent.

SECTION VI.

43. REQUIREMENTS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT.

The details of most of the proposals which follow have been given in letters to the Provincial Commissioner in connection with estimates for the Colonial Development Loan etc. as original subjects (vide appendix 4). Some of these proposals may have been discussed and considered but no information was available on April 11th 1931 of any action being taken to implement these proposals.

44. OUTLETS FOR STOCK.

The Reserve is at present closed, with the exception of the unsatisfactory outlet for cattle through Ngong. Regular auctions are required at Ngong, Kiu, Manga and Laitokitok. These outlets will not absorb all the stock which should be sold annually. The Chief Veterinary Officer states in his letter of 1st April 1931 that the local market is supplied many times over, but it is probable that with a fall in the price of meat there would be an expansion of the local market. It has been affirmed by all who have studied the subject that more meat should be eaten by the native population.

If the local market will not absorb the surplus stock, it is essential that a canning and meat extract factory should be established. It appears however that the scheme has been primarily considered in connection with the Akamba Reserve, where conditions are very different and the scheme amounts to a reconditioning scheme as an alternative to extending the Akamba Reserve.

Large subsidies have been voted for growers of maize and in effect of wheat. If the principle of equal treatment of communities, in accordance with their several needs, is adopted, there is a strong case for subsidising the Masai stock industry. The subsidy might take the form of a grant bringing the economic value of stock to the price at which in present circumstances the Masai

consider it reasonable to sell [illegible] only 40/- per bullock [illegible] the value put by the Masai on [illegible] meat [illegible] have been made [illegible] a solution of the curious [illegible] towards any bonafide [illegible] I suggest that a factory should be [illegible] the River of Simba with the [illegible] a [illegible] measure to [illegible] should be bought at the prevailing market [illegible] meat [illegible] (vide also appendix [illegible] proposal submitted for a loan from the Colonial Development [illegible] appendix 5).

45. VETERINARY POLICY: LEADING TO REMOVAL OF QUARANTINE RESTRICTION.

The great difficulties hitherto in regard to stock for which as fresh meat has been the quarantine restriction. Veterinary policy is [illegible] which will remove the quarantine and allow free movement. There are certain vested interests which prefer to keep the Masai cattle in quarantine, but there is unquestionably the danger of disease spreading if measures of protection, or eradication, are not taken. This is at the moment a good opportunity to eradicate rinderpest by dealing with young stock and arranging for the treatment and quarantine of all fresh outbreaks. The proposals put forward by the Chief Veterinary Officer have not met with the complete approval of the administration, largely because the peculiar system of [illegible] country have not been [illegible] with or regard [illegible] no advantage to the [illegible] but [illegible] the Tanganyika Masai to the Kenya Masai. It is however important to get a Veterinary policy worked out which should be the same for both Masailands (vide Minutes of meeting with the Tanganyika officials at Laitokitok Nov.21.1930 - appendix 6). A preliminary step

consider it reasonable to sell [illegible] only 40/- per bullock [illegible] the value put by the Masai on [illegible] Masai [illegible] have been [illegible] a solution [illegible] the surplus [illegible] towards any confiscation of [illegible] I suggest that a [illegible] Pathi River of Simba with the least possible delay and [illegible] a [illegible] crazy measure to make the initial [illegible] stock and [illegible] be bought at the prevailing market [illegible] each [illegible] of the [illegible]. (Vide also Appendix [illegible] the proposal submitted to [illegible] from the Colonial Development [illegible] appendix 5).

4. VETERINARY POLICY LEADING TO REMOVAL OR QUARANTINE RESTRICTION.

The great difficulty hitherto in regard to [illegible] for stock as fresh meat has been the quarantine restriction. Veterinary policy is [illegible] which will remove the quarantine and allow free movement. There are certain vested interests which prefer to keep the Masai cattle in quarantine, but there is unquestionably the danger of disease spreading if measures of protection, or eradication, are not taken. It is at the moment a good opportunity to eradicate rinderpest by dealing with young stock and arranging for the treatment and quarantine of all fresh cattle [illegible]. The proposals put forward by the Chief Veterinary Officer have not met with the complete approval of the administration [illegible] largely because the peculiar [illegible] of the country have not been fully understood. [illegible] no advantage to be gained in the [illegible] to the [illegible] of bringing the Tanganyika Masai to the Kenya Masai. It is however important to get a Veterinary policy worked out which should be the same for both Masailands (vide Minutes of meeting with the Tanganyika officials at Laitokitok Nov. 21. 1930 - appendix 6). A preliminary step

most necessary is a stock survey by a competent veterinary officer in company with an administrative officer who knows the Masai and their country and who could help in a stock census while studying the incidence of disease.

46. WATER SCHEMES. The conservation, or provision, of water has so far illustrated the possibilities, but if there is to be a systematic development of the Masai along the lines of settled farms, a comprehensive survey is required of the water and pasturage and expert advice regarding the relative merits of discovery, development, storage, etc. If water is provided in certain areas by the Abyssinian tube wells, in others by the larger water boring plant, or by a pipe line from Ol Doiyo Orok or Ol Sinnet, there is no reason to suppose that the Masai will not adapt themselves to a situation such as that recommended by Professor Lewis. At any rate it is necessary to know the stock carrying capacity and potentialities of the area and the best means of developing by water schemes and ensilage those potentialities, otherwise work will proceed haphazard.

47. The water boring experiments in the Reserve have left much to be desired so far as organization is concerned. The Director of Public Works has laid it down that 50 per cent. of the water boring plants shall be employed in the settled areas and 50% in the native areas. The contracts which are made in respect of them are the same. A District Officer accepts, usually on behalf of the Local Native Council, the same responsibility as a farm owner. The provision of transport, the supervision to prevent waste of time and the financial arrangements, are matters over which a farm owner exercises a very different influence to that of a district officer. It is sufficient to say that the present arrangement which sounds so fair is in fact quite unsuited to the native areas. Alternative proposals were put forward by a Committee of Provincial Commissioners more than a year ago. Although the Masai have paid 20,000/- for a continuation of the scheme, and although the site for the next group of bores has been

selected and approved, no boring has begun pending the adoption of a new scheme. I recommend a consideration of the Sudan Government Scheme. The plan of making the Masai pay for the water they actually use will assist in limiting stock. Masai have however expressed a desire to pay by a general cess.

48. COMMUNICATIONS.

Money and expert assistance is required for the development of road communications. Proposals have been put forward with an application for a grant from the sum provided by Native Reserve Roads in 1929, 1930 and 1931 and also from the Colonial Development Fund. Except for a sum spent on the main road to Tanganyika no money had been voted from general revenue for roads in the district until 1930. A sum of £300 was voted last year, but most of it reverted to the Public Works Department, who undertook to build a bridge, which they did in 1931 hypothecating a similar vote for that year. If Mr. Hemsted's statement is correct regarding the additional 8/- tax for roads, the district is entitled to £2,400 per annum on that account alone. Development largely depends on supervision and marketing facilities. It cannot be denied that the present roads, or absence of them, results in a great waste of time and effort and a heavy depreciation on vehicles. This situation should be remedied as early as possible in accordance with the proposals as submitted by the District Commissioner two years ago. The maintenance of roads by road graders, drags and ditchers etc. might provide Masai with employment as ox-drivers, for it will be some time before there is sufficient volume of traffic to keep roads surfaced by wheel friction.

49. BOUNDARIES. The boundaries of the Reserve are at present a source of constant inconvenience. All the facts regarding the mile zone boundary have now been before Government for more than 2 years. Delay in settling this matter is hindering progress by causing suspicion and dissatis-

factice [illegible] the Masai. A decision to include this [illegible] of the [illegible] required.

The unsatisfactory [illegible] boundary has been [illegible] Masai [illegible] the area of Masailand may be [illegible] Tanganyika are closely allied to [illegible] tok. It appears that the Tanganyika Masai oppose this as they fear that the Kenya Government may take more land from the Masai and cause congestion in their area.

50. HIDES. The marketing of hides requires for its proper development the enacting of the hide grading rules, the provision of proper hide cleaning and drying facilities and the purchase on mark or selection by some reputable firm as suggested by Mr. Bishop. At present the marketing organisation is almost exclusively in the hands of the petty Indian traders. It is very necessary that marketing skill and trading morality should be taught through schools and that the Director of Education should lend support such being included in the curriculum with a demonstration shop at the school.

51. MEDICAL. The medical provision for the district at present is inadequate, but as Dr. Phillips will be putting forward a scheme which will, I trust, include the [illegible] and sub-staffing of a hospital at [illegible] [illegible] for maternity work, I will [illegible] [illegible] reference.

52. CO-ORDINATION OF EDUCATIONAL WORK.

A great deal of overlapping is found in the educational institutions provided by the Veterinary and Education Departments. Many efforts have been made by the Director of Education and the Administration to co-ordinate the educational system, so that the institutions may serve

to fit the Masai for the altered conditions of life.

53. EMPLOYMENT OF MASAI.

The educational system will not only serve to provide intelligent farmers, but Masai capable of filling the posts which indirect rule necessitates, and which the development of village life in altered circumstances will introduce. Encouragement should be given by providing adequate staffs, clerks, tribal retainers or police, road foremen, etc. for headmen and by paying adequate salaries. At present the money provided is insufficient. Many educated and semi-educated Masai are being wasted for lack of opportunity. Masai trained at the Teachers School will certainly be required for leadership in the life of settled villages.

54. POULTRY. The importance of poultry as a means of keeping down flies has been pointed out to the Masai and Seggi has agreed to keep poultry in his new village. It will be necessary to provide poultry, such as the Rhode Island Red to appeal to the Masai superiority complex. An important development in food supply and a product for export might be introduced.

55. MODEL VILLAGES. The establishment of settled villages will cost a good deal. No exact figures are available, but Seggi's village has required three tons of cement and two tons of lime, while his roof, for which he paid separately, cost 850/-, mostly in corrugated iron and sawn timber. Dairy utensils, carts, ploughs, will also be required and glass for windows. As soon as a reasonable estimate can be obtained from the figures noted in connection with Seggi's village, financial arrangements should be made to assist any Masai prepared to follow Seggi's example. There are two reasons why Masai cannot at the moment be expected to make progress without this financial assistance. With no outlets for stock and a depressed market for hides, cash is not easy to obtain. Furthermore, the Masai are distinctly cautious and like to get good value for money, or rather

stock. It is characteristic that Seggi was not prepared to pay money in the first instance when the idea was new and in his imagination but dimly perceived. When it came to a question of a roof, he knew what he wanted and was prepared to pay for it. This will be true of other Masai when Seggi has proved to their satisfaction the experiment he is making.

36. LIMITATION OF STOCK. If disease is eliminated, water and pasturage increased, and outlets for stock provided by auctions and a canning factory, it will be necessary to carry through a limitation of stock policy so that deconditioning may be prevented and full use may be made of the economic opportunity. A great deal of preliminary investigation is required to ensure that a Limitation Policy is adopted which will be beneficial to the Masai and can be recommended to them as such. Questions of inheritance, food requirements, average increase as well as those of numbers of stock and people, distribution and the carrying capacity of stock areas, require careful study so that data may be available. A limitation scheme should be attempted in regard to the three bore holes near Simba. Take for example a village at one bore with 1,500 head, whose annual increase is 300, of which 150 are males. Let us suppose 50 beasts are required for meat consumed in the village and that 100 may be regarded as surplus, plus 100 as a set off against the female increase. The village would be required to dispose of 200 in instalments probably to suit factory requirements or the dates fixed for auctions. If the auctioneers tickets, or canning factory receipts did not reach the tally for the first quarter the appropriate number would be branded and if not sold within a reasonable time, depending on opportunity, they would be seized and sold compulsorily, the cash value being remitted to the owners.

It is not impossible that Seggi will realize the necessity for limiting stock near his model village, if he is content with his cows, following the example of [illegible] [illegible] fact of in[illegible] will be protection from [illegible] disease, [illegible] some extent an insurance against accidents.

The cost of these proposals will be considered in the next section which deals with the [illegible] which must be encountered.

SECTION VII.

38. Difficulties which must be faced.

The foregoing section envisages the main requirements in regard to services for the Masai so that the policy adumbrated in Section III may be implemented. The provision of these requirements and, if provided, their acceptance by the Masai, raise problematical difficulties which must be faced if success is to be achieved. The path is not easy however simply the lines of development may be stated or recommended.

39. Finance. The first difficulty which must be faced is that of finance. A large sum of money is required. The Masai, though comparatively rich in cattle, are poor in wealth in cash. Great difficulty has been experienced in collecting the tax and cess and large fines are [illegible]. Money has not been hoarded [illegible] in the Savings Bank. The Local Native Council has a balance of about 20,000/- and is committed to expenditure [illegible] in its revenue, excepting the sum collected but not spent on water supplies. The first essential is to estimate the cost of the services required. It is by no means easy to estimate with any degree of accuracy as so much will depend on the manner in which works are carried out. A great waste has been noted in many works undertaken in native areas, sometimes due to lack

of co-operation, sometimes to inefficient personnel inadequately supervised. Some details, with estimates, have already been given for the services recommended, but it should be remembered that if bonifaction work is concentrated in localities and grouped so as to facilitate supervision, substantial economies on the estimates for work as single items should be realized. Cement and other materials can be ordered in bulk at reduced cost.

STOCK SUBSIDY.

60. A sum of £100,000 has been applied for from the Colonial Development Loan in connection with the establishment of a meat canning factory, but the only sum which concerns the point raised in this memorandum is the cost of the subsidy to the Masai stock industry. Assuming that the factory will deal with 20,000 head of stock from the district and that an average subsidy of 10/- a head will be required, the total subsidy would amount to £10,000. As has been said, this would be a temporary measure to meet the initial difficulty of the sentimental value attached by the Masai to their cattle. In time the quality of the meat should improve and marketing education through auctions would teach the Masai the economic value of the stock, so that the subsidy would be unnecessary. It is worth considering whether the costs of a canning factory could not be reduced by operating intermittently factories established at Moshi and on the Kenya main line, with a single staff.

AUCTION RINGS.

61. At Kiu, Manga and Laitokitok proper auction rings and fenced quarantine areas are required. A sum of £150 each - total £450 - would be required. At present when auctions are held the auctioneer deducts 2/- per beast sold, which works out at 4% to 5% commission. This is excessive and I would suggest a fixed fee to the auctioneer and as Masai pay 4% to 5% without protest that a further 2% should go to the expenses of building the

auction ring until the debt was paid off.

SURVEY EXPENSES

62. The scheme proposed by the Chief Veterinary Officer for the eradication of rinderpest will apparently cost 554,000/-, of which 300,000/ will be recurrent expenditure. I am not concerned to criticise these proposals on technical grounds. Tanganyika are spending 200,000/- per annum on the control and eradication of rinderpest and pleuro pneumonia in their Masailand. Treatment is given free of cost to the Masai. The Kenya Masai require the services of a Veterinary Officer competent to do a stock survey in the first instance. He should be accompanied by an officer to make a survey of the water and grazing and an engineer to advise regarding water schemes. I would suggest that a sum of £5,000 be devoted to this purpose. Future expenditure would depend on their recommendations. The proposal really amounts to the appointment of certain experts to make investigations in the Native Areas in the same way as the Feetham Commission studied the problems of the Settled Areas. In addition to this survey, veterinary service is required for opening the stock routes via Kiu, Laitokitok and Manga and for the treatment of stock for pleuro and rinderpest wherever individual Masai ask for it and are prepared to pay the schedule costs. Masai have asked for this in the past but have not been accommodated, although there are 12 Veterinary Officers in the Department, as well as Stock Inspectors and inoculators.

WATER SCHEMES.

63. The water schemes comprise water boring at a cost of roughly £6 per diem - say £2,200. The erection of windmill, reservoir, troughs and auxiliary power for pumping (preferably or driven) might amount to £250 and allowance might be made for development of water at six places, say £1,500.

An Abyssinian tub-mill which [illegible] £200 might be regarded [illegible] which individual [illegible] be required to [illegible]

The possibility [illegible] in the Chilu hills, or [illegible] considered by an expert the [illegible] also applies to a pipe [illegible]

64. ROADS. [illegible]

65. HIDES. The only financial [illegible] in the case of [illegible] drying sheds. [illegible] must be cleaned and [illegible] tered. Hitherto the [illegible] Masai can expect betto[illegible] cording to the [illegible] this reason it [illegible] expense of erecting [illegible] the Colony Zosen [illegible] prepared hides and [illegible] not facilitated sales [illegible] possibility of sales [illegible] great importance [illegible] sheds should be erect[illegible] from registered dri[illegible] anteed quality in [illegible] quality has been [illegible] realise a higher value [illegible] be encouraged to make the necessary arrang[illegible] pay for them. In the first instance it would be desirable to erect sheds at 10 centres and to pay for an instructor at each - a capital outlay of about £250 and a recurrent charge of £180 until the Masai can be trusted to carry on without the aid of an instructor.

66. POULTRY. The importance of introducing poultry has been emphasised as a means of tackling the fly borne diseases, with the additional advantage of providing a diet variation. The Masai despise the poultry keeping tribes such as the Akamba and are not likely to buy poultry; but there is reason to believe that they, or a few of them, will experiment, as Seggi is prepared to do. If this should happen it will be desirable to import a really good strain. Lordly birds might overcome the prejudices of the Masai. The experiments might be carried out at centres - Laitokitok, Kajiado, Simba, Ngod and Tribal. It is impossible to estimate with accuracy the cost of erecting vermin proof chicken houses, or of purchasing and importing the fowls, but in view of the importance of starting this innovation it would be well to devote £500 to it.

67. MEDICAL. Dr. [illegible] be proposing plans for medical work in the Masai Reserve and an estimate of cost.

68. MODEL VILLAGES. The type of village in which it is proposed that the Masai should be encouraged to live will vary according to local conditions. It is impossible to estimate the exact cost until the experiment which is being carried out in connection with Seggi's village has been completed and tried. Apart from the question of design, which may vary the cost, it is doubtful whether pise de terre or sun-dried bricks, thatch, or corrugated iron, stone or cement blocks, local timber or imported, sisal poles or bush trees, should be used. It appears probable that a village will cost between £100 and £300. Provided the economics of development are sound, individual Masai should be enabled to obtain loans from the Land Bank or Agricultural Credits, but care would be necessary to prevent abuses or wasteful expenditure. Very rarely, if ever, should cash actually pass to individual Masai. The cost of materials or labour should be paid through the District Officers

unless some trustworthy firm of contractors could be persuaded to undertake the work. Financial arrangements should be made for the construction of six villages at an average cost of £200 each.

69. EMPLOYMENT OF MASAI. The cost of adequate services in the Masai Reserve, as in any other area, is dependant on the actual requirements in personnel or equipment for the preservation of law and order, and on the proportion of the revenue which can be devoted to benifaction or eleemosynary services. The matter has been discussed in connection with the formation of a Native Civil Service. It also enters into the controversy over the question of native taxation and services. No special financial provision is necessary, but it is doubtful if the Masai are getting a fair proportion of their tax for payment of headmen, tribal retainers, clerks, etc.

70. SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS.

(a) Stock Subsidy	£10,000	
(b) Auction Rings	450	
(c) Survey Expenses	5,000	
(d) Water Schemes	3,900	Recurrent annually.
(e) Hide drying Sheds	250 £180	" "
(f) Poultry	500	
(g) Roads	1,850	
(h) Model Villages	1,200	
	£23,150	

71. The tax paid by the Masai of the District amounts to 125,000/- in addition to which every adult male pays a 5/- cess to the Local Native Fund - a total of 20,000/- to 25,000/. Other Local Native Council Revenue amounts to about 20,000/- per annum. This means that a sum of about 160,000/- might be available in present circumstances for expenditure on direct services in the district. The principle suggested by Sir Edward Grigg to Sir Hilton Young is not however in practical operation owing to uncertainty regarding the classifica-

tion of direct services (vide Appendix 7) for two letters on this subject.

I would suggest that financial provision should be made as follows:-

Items 70 (a) (c) and (e)	£16,659	from General Revenue or surplus balances.
70 (b) (3) (a) & (f)	5,100	from Colonial Dev. & Welf. Dev.
70 (h)	1,200	from Kenya Land Bank.

12. FURTHER EXPENSES.

The Veterinary Scheme for the eradication of rinderpest has not been included because its benefits to the Masai of the Kajiado district are uncertain. It would be preferable to consider these and other proposals involving expense after the survey has taken place.

13. CHANGE OF PERSONNEL IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

It has become a truism to say that no officer of any department can achieve much in a native area until he has been there long enough to win the respect and confidence of at least some members of the tribe. This is perhaps more true of the Masai than of any other tribe. They are slow to give their confidence and it takes some months, if not years, to establish such personal relations that advice will be accepted, or measures adopted, in response to suggestions. During the last few years there have been many changes in the staff of the district. There have been six District Commissioners since 1927. A Veterinary Officer worked for 7 months in the district. A Medical Officer for 4 months. There have been 4 Principals of the Kajiado School since 1927. There was no Assistant District Commissioner during 1929 until November. During 1930 four different officers filled the post. There is now no Assistant District Commissioner and it is unlikely that one will be appointed this year. The Masai

have frequently represented to Government their dislike of these changes. They urge, with reason, that it takes time for an officer to know them and vice versa. It has been evident at meetings of the Local Native Council that the presence of a stranger makes the Masai reticent. They are not comfortable.

74. There is no real solution to this problem. Changes are inevitable. There is also a danger of parochialism in the outlook of officers who are left too long in an area like the Masai Reserve. At the same time, it should be recognised that the personnel of the Government Service matters more than the policy and that unless the district is adequately staffed and frequent changes avoided, progress will be erratic and may even lead to reaction which will delay or jeopardize further development.

75. INCONSISTENCY IN POLICY.

Changes in personnel have not unnaturally led to changes in policy. The Hilton Young Commission commented on the lack of policy in native areas. It is pertinent to refer to the evidence which I submitted to that Committee on this subject (See Appendix 8). If the proposals made in this memorandum, or others which may result from discussion, are to take effect, some steps will have to be taken to ensure that future action is consistent with them. The relative responsibilities of the district officers and the Central Government requires further investigation. Some clear guidance should be given to an officer taking over a district so that his work may be directed towards a stated objective.

76. MASAI MENTALITY. An almost incalculable difficulty lies in Masai mentality. Amongst those who know the Masai there is great difference of opinion. Some regard the moran system and class as the greatest obstacle to progress, others the Laibon class - others again note the inertia or apathy of the Masai as a whole.

The great difficulty lies in stimulating new ideas without arousing suspicions or hurting susceptibilities. This is where anthropological study can help. The Masai must adapt themselves to new conditions and some of the customs and the balance of tribal authority or prestige of persons and classes is bound to shift. These adjustments may lead to trouble and resentment, however beneficial, unless the situation is understood and explained sympathetically by officers who believe in the future of the Masai and wish to help them as much for their sake as for the welfare of the territory of which they form a part. Mr. Whitehouse, who has made a profound study of the Masai and speaks their language, has been asked to consider the proposals in this memorandum and to state where Masai mentality is likely to obstruct their fulfilment.

SECTION VIII. THE NEXT PHASE.

77. The proposals which have been made envisage a situation in which the Masai will gradually settle down in a series of stock farms, dairying and ranching, according to circumstances. Should this be achieved, village life may be expected to develop in which careers as veterinary assistants, transport riders, sub-assistant surgeons, cart builders, oxen trainers, leather workers, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., will be open to educated Masai. There is no reason why Masai should not make use of ponies as do the Basuto and there is certainly reason to expect that equestrian sports would appeal to them.

SECTION IX. CONCLUSION.

The conclusion to which I come after studying the problem of the administration of the Masai is this. The opportunities for helping this interesting tribe to settle down usefully and happily are immense, although the Masai have been slower than other tribes

to realize that peace, no less than war, has its attrac-
tions and triumphs. At the same time, if the Masai are
hustled unsympathetically they will be obstinately op-
posed to progress. There are really two dangers.
Many people - perhaps most - regard the Masai as hope-
less, doomed to die out except as museum specimens like
the Red Indians. If this view prevails, the Masai and
some herded in one reserve may live together for some
years yet, but ultimately stagnation will say their
vitality and the decadence which is already proclaimed
by some will become an actual fact. There is no doubt,
for instance, that the warriors are less moral and more
inclined to drink than in the old days when they kept
themselves fit for raids.

The other danger is that the processes of develop-
ment may be hurried on in a spirit of excessive opti-
mism and that opposition may be stirred up and disap-
pointment may lead to reaction. The Masai of the Lajiedo
district are, I believe, ready to benefit by comprehen-
sive measures of development. Some steps have already
been taken - notably at Laitokitok. The boys who will
be leaving Laitokitok School during the next two or
three years will stand at the parting of the ways. The
call of the ancient tradition of warrior hood will be
strong, but there are indications that they may prefer
to follow another line of life. They can be helped if
the external circumstances of their lives are changed
in the directions indicated, but only if these proposals
are implemented in a comprehensive scheme, which must
include the education of girls. There is great danger
in tackling piecemeal the problems of water conservation
or eradication of disease. The general lines of develop-
ment must be thought out and provided for in a consistent
comprehensive policy. Unless this policy is applied by
those who appreciate the Masai point of view and have
their confidence, it cannot succeed in the true sense.

There is an obligation on us to see that it does succeed.

It is also my opinion that the prestige of the Masai may well be greater in the future than in the past before British administration began, and that the best African statesmen may be found amongst them. They may be the leaders of African opinion and serve as a counter-poise to the agitator class which is already beginning to emerge among an adjoining tribes. These are cogent reasons for giving attention to the problem of the Masai.
