

**ECONOMIC CHANGE IN BUNYORE - KENYA,
1902 - 1963**

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JANE YONGE OMASABA

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DECLARATION

"This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other University".

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JANE YONGE OMASABA

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Dr. DAVID SPURLING

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ABSTRACT

The onset of colonialism in Bunyore began in 1902 when the whole of Western Kenya, including the area occupied by the Abanyole, was separated from Uganda and became part of the British East Africa Protectorate under British colonial rule. The British colonial administration affected pre-colonial Bunyore society in many ways. This study focuses on the economic changes that took place in Bunyore between 1902 and 1963, highlighting the effects of these changes.

The Bunyore economy was traditionally one of subsistence aimed at meeting the needs of the people. The Abanyole cultivated crops like sorghum (*amabele*), finger millet (*obule*) and bananas (*amakomia*) among others. They used simple wooden tools, and later on iron tools, in their agricultural pursuits. Shifting cultivation was commonly practised whereby when a field could no longer produce high yields it was left to lie fallow for a given period of time and virgin land opened to cultivation.

The colonial period had far-reaching effects on the pre-colonial Bunyore economy. Colonial rule subjected the Abanyole to many new forces working towards change. New crops were introduced and new methods of farming and agricultural techniques introduced into the economy of the Abanyole. The crops that were introduced included, among others, various varieties of maize, beans, peas, groundnuts, cassava, and coffee. New varieties of trees that would mature faster like the Eucalyptus were also introduced. New foreign fruit trees, like oranges, lemons, guavas, mangoes and papayas were also introduced. Instead of the locally produced tools, better farming tools and ox-ploughs were introduced to make clearing of fields, ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting much faster. As the population increased, shifting cultivation could no longer be practised and better farming methods that

would help conserve the soil were introduced. This included mixed farming, crop rotation, contour ploughing, the use of farmyard manure and other soil conserving farm practices like terracing, planting of grass in strips, afforestation programmes, consolidation and enclosing of farms.

Trade that had initially operated locally as barter trade during times of need now became more regular. Money became the accepted mode of exchange because it was cumbersome trading strictly by barter. Barter trade, however, continued alongside trade in money. The money economy had been ushered in.

In addition to changes that took place in agriculture and trade, colonial rule introduced measures which worked to diversify and transform the economy of the Abanyole in the areas of labour, taxation, technology, land use, communication and population among others. As well as being the product and consequence of colonial policies, the modernization process that accompanied and promoted these changes was influenced by the introduction of formal education by missionaries and the colonial government. By 1963, the Bunyore economy had changed and had been substantially transformed and integrated into the national and world economy.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Abanyole constitute one of the many sub-groups of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya. They inhabit a rugged, rocky and hilly territory in present Emuhaya and Luanda divisions of Vihiga district. Before the advent of colonialism their economy was predominantly a subsistence one.

Economically, the traditional family aimed at self-sufficiency in food production. Specialization in handicrafts was based on either families or clans and this meant that constant exchange (trade) of various craft items and other goods was vital for a family to have all that it needed. Barter was the common mode of exchange. Trade in foodstuffs was necessary during difficult times, when there was drought, an incident of hailstorms or when prolonged sickness in the family would decrease normal food production.

The period between 1902 and 1963 was one of great economic change in Bunyore. It was obvious that change had taken place socially, economically and even politically. Some of the factors that brought about economic changes include the introduction of Christianity, missionary education, colonial administration, the wage labour system, taxation and the coming of Indian businessmen. The impact that each of these factors had on the Bunyore economy has not been dealt with adequately and documented. There is therefore, a need to establish how these factors affected economic change among the Abanyole people. It is also vital to establish and document in a scholarly way the degree to which change had occurred.

1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

A number of economic anthropologists and historians have done studies on pre-capitalist and capitalist African economies. They regard pre-colonial African economies and societies as primitive, static and characterized by primitive technology, lack of cost and benefit estimates, little difference of occupation from domestic activities and absence of market exchange. They see colonialism as having effected a modernizing influence on African societies through the introduction of western institutions and roles. Literature on Kenya's economy during the colonial period exists in abundance although specific literature on the Abanyole during the same period is scanty.

According to Meillassoux, in the article "From Reproduction to Production, A Marxist Approach to Economic Anthropology" in Economy and Society, Vol.1, No.1 (1972), African communities were organized in lineages within which relation of production were perceived in relations to personal dependence between elders and juniors. The economy was self-sustaining because it was based on the direct exploitation of the environment, and goods circulated through the network of kinship, affinity and clientage, exchange and redistribution of gifts.

J. Hopkins, in his book The Economic Development of Kenya (1963), argues that the main concern of the tribal communities of Kenya was survival rather than (the prospect for) growth. The economies were mainly subsistence. Land fragmentation, facilitated by the traditional customary inheritance laws, inhibited high yield production and crop diversification. He shows that the horizons of consumer demand were narrow and could generally be satisfied

through the network of mutual obligations. Changes were only observable with the advent of colonialism and the settler factor. With the coming of a monetary economy, new wants were evoked and the static indigenous economy began to be transformed. Money became more important as new cash crops were adopted.

Although his major concern is to explain how economic factors operated in Kenya to influence alienation of land and the growing of cash crops in colonial Kenya, R. Wolf, has shown how colonialism led to the emergence of a wage earning class and suppressed African peasant agriculture. He states this in his book entitled Britain and Kenya 1870-1930: The Economy of Colonialism (1974).

E. Boserup, in The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economy of Agrarian change under Population pressure (1974), underscores that population growth was an agent of change in agriculture under subsistence production. As population increased the intensity of land use also increased with shortened periods of fallow and frequency of cropping. Colonial policy of commodity production further accelerated this process. As a consequence, ecological catastrophe ensued.

According to F. Hugh in, An African Economy: A Study of Economic Development of the Nyanza Province of Kenya 1903-1953 (1961), land in many African communities was communal property. The family plot was owned by the family and the head of the family was the custodian of the plot. Land was usually handed down among settled farmers from father to son. There was division of labour based on age and sex. The prestige given to the number of wives and cattle contributed to the retarded development of the area.

Hugh further distinguishes two stages of economic development in Nyanza in relation to market opportunities. There was slow development between 1903-1930 because cotton could not be established as a cash crop. The government forced Africans to plant cotton seeking to involve them in a capitalist market economy something not easily accepted. Since, cotton had no food value or immediate benefit to the Africans, they therefore were not interested in cultivating such a crop.

In A History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya (1967), G.S.Were, elaborates on the Abaluyia economy. He states that it was a mixed economy and according to him the Abanyole learnt the skill of pastoralism from the Abarwa. They domesticated animals like goats, cattle and sheep. They also kept poultry and cultivated eleusine and millet among other crops.

According to B. Davidson in his book Modern Africa: A Social and Political History (1983), the European powers who won the First World War continued to crush any form of resistance through a process they called "pacification". After putting down protests, colonial government asked Africans to pay for the cost of colonial administration by paying taxes in the form of money. Although many African communities resented this, they were always forced into it. Taxation money was raised through various ways. One was to make each family head or worker pay an annual amount or to make each hut owner pay tax. Another way was to tax imports and exports. Salaries and other costs of European officials and their families were paid from these taxes. Davidson asserts that sometimes this money was used for the good of the colonized people. They built schools, hospitals and helped construct roads.

Concerning land and labour, Davidson asserts that colonial powers took a lot of the fertile land that Africans had owned rendering them landless. They endeavoured to economically exploit these lands through agriculture. Since

occasionally, such parts being used as pasture ground for the cattle and flocks¹.

The period from 1902 to 1963 saw many changes including the cultivation of new crops like maize, groundnuts and coffee. Osogo also in the same book states that the various Abaluyia clans kept cattle, sheep and goats which were a sign of wealth and were used for food and for the various customary practices such as sacrifices and payments of dowry. Sorghum and finger millet were also grown. Trade was carried out on a local basis through exchange of various implements and grain. About the time of the arrival of Europeans, cowrie shells gained value as a form of currency. Rupees were less valued till later and by and by, with the influence from the British administration, the Abaluyia economy changed.

In the Changing Family among the Bantu Kavirondo (1949), G. Wagner observes that agriculture was the chief mode of production. Economically the traditional family was essentially self-sufficient. Unless abnormal events such as droughts, hailstorms or prolonged sickness upset the family economy, it did not depend upon outside help or trade for its food supply.

Thus, traditional families were economically self-sufficient. The acquisition of cattle was the main ambition of the Abaluyia. There was defined division of labour according to age and sex. With the coming of Europeans the traditional Kavirondo family had to change. The growing of cash crops and the export of other native products ushered in the capitalist economy that had adverse economical changes on subsistence economies.

According to Kitching's book, Class and Economic Change in Kenya (1980), monetary economy opened new avenues in the crop and cattle trade within the capitalist economy. He looks at economic change with a dualist mode of agricultural sector within a rural economic setting during the colonial period.

Van Zwanenberg's Agricultural History of Kenya to 1939 (1972), focuses on the emergence of the colonial economy, emphasizing settler wage labour, urban residence and industrial complexes. The response of the indigenous people to the economic opportunities in the rural areas by the market opportunities in the areas is explained. His other book Colonial Capitalism in Kenya 1919-1939 (1973), points out that the colonialist economy aimed at dominating Africans and relegating them to a dependency state.

R. Tignor, in his book The Colonial Transformation of Kenya (1976), with special reference to the Kamba, Kikuyu and Maasai, shows that settlers aimed at maximizing profits from their farms at the expense of the Africans. He goes on to say that for a long time Africans were denied the opportunity to grow cash crops. He raises the very important issue on as to whether modern changes were hindered by the British administration and why Africans living in the same region with equal exposure to a similar colonial agent never shared the same social and economic experience during the colonial period.

J.M. Hay's Ph.D thesis "Economic change in Luoland in 19th century Kowe, 1890-1945" (1972), is an intensive study done on the Luo economic transformation. She has postulated that the long term economic impoverishment of the colonial rule in Western Kenya took place through the withdrawal of resources required to subsidize the development of the European colonial economy. African families were to meet all their own production needs and yet increase their level of agricultural production. Generally, she looks at the impact of colonial administration on the traditional Luo economy and the influence from neighbouring communities like the Abanyole.

Another book, Polished Pillars (1940), by Twyla I. Ludwig, concentrates on the role of women among the Abanyole. Mr. Baker, one of the founders of the

Church of God Mission at Kima, liked to think of the trained Christian women of Africa as 'polished pillars'. Coming from the bush, from crude heathenism, they were becoming polished in the school at Kima Mission station, to take their places beside Christian husbands and both become pillars in the church of God. At school the young women received the Western kind of education which had a great impact on the economy of the Abanyole.

R. Nasimiyu in her M.A. thesis, entitled, "The participation of women in the political economy of Kenya: a case study of Bungoma District, 1902-1960" (1984), stresses the fact that women played a major role in the economy of Kenya. The Bukusu women, for example, contributed a great deal to the economy of the Bukusu community. It was the women's duty to do most of the farm work like sowing of seeds, weeding, harvesting while men spent time in other non-economical activities. In addition, trade was nearly dominated by women who walked many kilometers to trade. The same can be said of Abanyole women and their participation in the Bunyore economy.

In his Ph.D. thesis entitled "Leadership and Politics among the Abaluyia of Kenya, 1894-1963", F.C. Bode argues that the Abaluyia were incorporated into a new political entity which drew together many formerly independent African peoples and which attracted European and Asian immigrants, creating a new political context which was to have far reaching effects on Africans. Colonial rule ushered in economic forces which worked to transform the economies of the Abaluyia and to integrate them into the world economy. For example, in the first decade of colonial rule the government pressurized the Abaluyia to seek work on the European farms. Taxation was also used to force the Abaluyia into wage labour throughout the colonial period.

Bode also argues that the introduction of new crops and new agricultural techniques and methods, and the elaborate transport and marketing system,

opened opportunities to the Abaluyia to sell surplus crops and to develop new lines of production. High population pressure and colonial restrictions on migration increasingly forced the Abaluyia into wage labour or trade as an alternative to agriculture and as a means of survival.

Although these studies were of great help in the understanding of economic change in general, none of them has given a detailed explanation of economic change in Bunyore.

1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Two general theoretical frameworks were used in this study: The 'underdevelopment' and 'development' theories. The proponents of these theories include Walter Rodney, Edwin Allan Brett and Robin Palmers.

According to E.A. Brett, in Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa (1973), 'development' implies change and progress, while Walter Rodney in How Europe underdeveloped Africa, (1992), views development as increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self discipline, responsibility and material well being. 'Underdevelopment' on the other hand is a condition of dependence, one in which the activities of a given society are subjected to the overriding control of an external power over which it can exert little direct influence. The term 'underdevelopment' therefore makes sense as a means of comparing levels of development. It is not absence of development because every people have developed in one way or another. Moreover, 'underdevelopment' is not an original condition of third world society but is the product for its relationship with the West.

According to Rodney's theory of 'underdevelopment', African economies were never static. The Bunyore economy was also not static at the time that colonialism was established. The economy kept on changing due to constant

trading interaction with their neighbours. In addition to this, Rodney also states that African economies were self-contained and self-regulating and normally aimed at self-sufficiency. Rodney, together with the above stated proponents, argues that colonization brought impoverishment to the existing African economies. This was because the two economies, the pre-capitalist and capitalist, operated at different levels of development in terms of forces of production. This theory explains what happened to the Bunyore pre-colonial economy. The Abanyole pre-colonial economy aimed at self-sufficiency, but with colonial economy they were not able to achieve this. Instead of earning their living by cultivating crops, keeping animals and trading as was the practice before, they started depending on the market more for their needs.

The book of collected Essays edited by R. Palmers and N. Parsons entitled Roots of Rural Poverty (1977), states that western capitalism promoted underdevelopment by permeating third world economies, reducing them to dependency, and then creaming off their surpluses. African economies were then dominated by the capitalist economy.

E.C. Hagen in the Economics of Development (1968), and Gavin Kitching in his Class and Economic change in Kenya: the making of an African petite Bourgeoisie 1905-1960 (1970), state that the penetration of the capitalist economy brought about significant economic, social and political developments. These developmentalists argue that this was so because of the introduction of new crops which opened new markets and opportunities for agricultural produce. To them, this mode of production was advantageous to the African economy since it meant increased output. This theory was relevant to my study because the Abanyole benefitted from the introduction of new crops like maize, cassava, groundnuts, many varieties of beans and peas, sweet potatoes and coffee. It became possible for the Abanyole to have crops for sale, and thereby eliminating their former dependency on some particular

for sale, and thereby eliminating their former dependency on some particular crops only. For the first time they had a cash crop.

The above two theories adopted in this study examine the major framework to be studied; the capitalist mode of production and how the various means of production brought about economic change in Bunyore. M. Blomstrom, and B. Hettne, in The Dependency Debate and Beyond Third World Responses (1984), define articulation as,

the co-existence of different modes of production which rather than being parallel, constitutes a structured, hierarchical whole, characterized by the domination of one mode of production over another².

J. Berman, in "The Concept of Articulation and Political Economy of Colonialism", in the Canadian Journal of African Studies, (Vol.119, No.1, 1985), defines articulation as,

the linkage between two societies whose modes of production are dominated by different developmental or internal logic³.

The theories of 'development' and 'underdevelopment' as explained have been adopted to show whether the Bunyore economy developed or underdeveloped from 1902 to 1963. The concept of articulation on the other hand has helped in examining how the Bunyore pre-capitalist (pre-colonial) economy has been affected by the Western capitalist economic system. In addition, the way the Abanyole produced and reproduced during the colonial period has been investigated using this concept.

1.4 OBJECTIVES

This study of economic change in Bunyore during the colonial period has the following objectives:

- (1) To investigate and describe the pre-colonial economy in Bunyore.
- (2) To find out and to document how the Abanyole have changed economically from 1902 to 1963.
- (3) To assess the main factors influencing the economic transformation of the Abanyole.
- (4) To investigate the influence of modern modes of production on economic change in Bunyore.
- (5) To find out what influence the Abanyole who migrated from Bunyore had on economic change in Bunyore.

1.5 HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses were tested:

- (1) The Pre-colonial economy conditioned the colonial economy.
- (2) Economic change within Bunyore was mainly caused by foreign factors like the colonial administration, the Indian⁴ traders, missionaries and neighbouring communities.
- (3) The acquisition of missionary and formal western education influenced Bunyore economic development.
- (4) Introduction of wage labour was a factor leading to economic change.
- (5) Colonial rule introduced an enlargement of scale into Bunyore society which led to the movement of people on both temporal and permanent basis.

1.6 JUSTIFICATION

Economic history is an indeed young discipline in the African historiography. A lot has been written about pre-colonial trade and agricultural production as major themes in African history. There is also written literature about the colonial economic history of Kenya but it does not comprehensively cover the various regions of the country. Thus, thematic regional studies like that of Bunyore are vital so as to enhance an overall understanding of Kenya's entire economy during the colonial period.

The process of economic change in rural areas is one of the aspects of Kenya's history that needs emphasis since research on it is still incomplete. The existing literature does not give a complete detailed picture of the Abanyole economy. A study of the people is important. This is also to help understand better the history of the Abanyole people, show whether there has been change or not since economy is the backbone of progress of any society.

There is no written or documented study on the economic history of the Abanyole. A study of the people is necessary so as to document its history in totality.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to accomplish the objectives of this study, various research strategies were employed which included the use of primary and secondary data.

Library research was paramount. The existing relevant published and unpublished works were studied in detail in the various libraries in Kenya. This included public Universities and other institutional libraries. A review of pre-

colonial Bunyore economy was noted during research at the Jomo Kenyatta Memorial and the Church of God libraries.

Archival research was done at the Kenya National Archives and other relevant sub-archives mainly the Kima Church of God Mission Archives. The researcher visited relevant government ministries and departments like the Ministry of Agriculture and the Central Bureau of Statistics Archival libraries. The researcher was on many occasions referred back to the Kenya National Archives which proved very helpful.

Primary data was from oral tradition or information obtained through oral interviews, prepared questionnaires and group discussions. Research questionnaires are appended at the end of this thesis. The literate respondents filled in the questionnaires themselves while those who were illiterate were allowed to answer orally, the questions and the researcher with the help of trained research assistants filled them in. The questionnaires were either closed or open-ended. Among the people interviewed were prominent elders in Bunyore, Chiefs, the Abanyole elite, peasant farmers, the Clergy and other early Christian converts and businessmen. The researcher was able to get the informants through the help of mainly the chiefs, elderly Abanyole elite and prominent businessmen.

Tape recording was also very useful in helping preserve more important interview information. All the tapes are in the custody of the researcher. Note taking and observation were also done alongside the above method especially for the more obvious economic changes.

Finally, the writing up of this dissertation was done after collecting all the necessary data, and analyzing the data using the stated objectives and hypotheses and with the help of my supervisors.

END NOTES

1. Osogo, J., Life in Kenya in the Olden days; The Baluyia. Oxford University Press, London, 1966, p 19.
2. Blomstrom, M., and B., The Dependency Debate and Beyond Third World Responses. Zed Books Limited, London, 1984.
3. Berman, B.J., "The Concept of Articulation and Political Economy of Colonialism", Canadian Journal of African Studies. Vol.1, No.1 1985.
4. Colonial records refer to the early people of Asian origin who started business in different parts of Kenya as Indian traders. In this study I refer to them in the same way.

CHAPTER 2

PRE-COLONIAL BUNYORE SOCIETY

2.1 THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT

The original meaning of the term Abanyole or Aba-Anyole implied those of the lineage of Anyole¹. These were the descendants of Anyole. This term, as will be seen, has changed to encompass different groups of people. According to oral traditions, Anyole was the son of Mwenje, and Mwenje was the son of Matiebo. Mwenje and Matiebo lived in Bunyoro in Eastern Uganda at least before the 13th century when the ancestors of the different Abaluyia communities started migrating into what is today Western Kenya². Oral traditions relate that the ancestors of the Abanyole, just like other Abaluyia communities, came from Egypt (*Emisiri*). They then migrated to Bunyoro in Eastern Uganda.

Mwenje's son Anyole had three sons. These were Ndeka (also called Amutete), Amuli and Siratsi. These three are the founders of the Abamutete, the Abamuli, and the Abasiratsi clans of the Abanyole. Abanyole are also referred to as the Banyore. The first Abanyole who arrived in Western Kenya made their first settlement around Maseno, at a place called Esianganyi on the Bunyore hills (*ebikulu bie Ebuhandu*). The hills were thickly forested with much game, ranging from elephant, lion, leopard, buffalo, certain species of buck and gazelle to bear³.

At that time, the country was thinly populated with a people the Abanyole called *Abarwa* believed to be of Nandi origin⁴. The Abanyole fought and

chased away the *Abarwa* and made their dwelling in the numerous caves on the hills. As they increased numerically they moved downhill to occupy more land. With time they even had to fight their Maragoli and Kisa neighbours in order to get more land for occupation. The country they settled in came to be known as Bunyore country (*esibala sia Abanyole*)⁵.

The Abanyole are not a homogeneous group because the clans that eventually came to form the community do not have a common immediate ancestor. Rather, they include clans both of Abaluyia and non-Abaluyia origins. For instance, apart from the first three clans we have mentioned, who are descended directly from Anyole, clans like Abamangali and Abatongoyi are of Samia origin⁶. The Ababayi clan hived off from the Babayi of Bukusu⁷. The Abasakaami and Abalako came from Luoland, while the Abasikhale and Abasiralo are of Maragoli origin. Moreover, the Abamatsi are descended from the Nandi (*Abarwa*)⁸. There are also many other Abanyole clans which are not direct descendants of Anyole. Thus, the Abanyole do not constitute a homogeneous composition.

2.2 LAND USE, LAND TENURE AND RELATED CUSTOMS

In the pre-colonial period the Abanyole lived in homesteads known as *amatala*. A single homestead was known as *litala*. The head of a single homestead was known as *omukhulundu we litala*. A clan could have several homesteads depending on their numerical strength. The Abanyole being typically polygamous an *omukhulundu* had more than one wife. Each wife had her own house (*inzu*) and took care of the property given to her by her husband. This included land, cattle, sheep, goats and fowls⁹.

Traditionally, the significance of land was determined by three major factors. First, its economic use, secondly, the social and political structure of the

Abanyole, and thirdly their religious beliefs. Economically, land was valued for the purposes of crop production and animal husbandry. Every head of a family acquired land on which his wives and children cultivated and grazed their cattle. The bigger an area a clan occupied the more powerful it was considered to be. With the increasing population pressure on land, clans had to protect their land from neighbours who may have wanted land for expansion. Land was also very important for religious purposes. Pouring of libations, offerings and making of sacrifices were central religious practices of the Abanyole. Sacred trees, rocks and water masses had to be protected for such religious purposes¹⁰.

Among the Abanyole land was acquired in several ways. Inheritance was the most common and was widely practised. Land was passed on from father to son, a patrilineal land system. Once a son had been given land by the father, he had the right to use it. The Abanyole recognized the individual rights of use of land within their family units. For example, two blood brothers never cultivated the same piece of land. Each one of them had absolute possession of his land because in the event of his death, the land reverted to his heirs. Any member of his clan could not just claim the land even if the deceased had no sons to inherit it. Such land could, with the agreement of the family, be given to one of the brothers. If not, the land would be given to his nephew or a member of his sub-clan (*esilibwa*). Such land could also be inherited by a son-in-law to till it as a gift¹¹.

Abanyole women never acquired land. They only made use of the land given to them by their husbands to cultivate. A renowned pastor with the Church of God Mission had the following to say concerning women and the acquisition of land,

Women were guardians of the land given to them by their husbands. They had absolutely no rights to acquire land like their male

Women were guardians of the land given to them by their husbands. They had absolutely no rights to acquire land like their male counterparts¹².

Sometimes to acquire land the Abanyole had to fight for it. If a clan needed more land for settlement they would easily move to settle on any unoccupied land. But as the population increased and demand for land went high, it became necessary to use force to acquire land. The clan determined the direction of territorial expansion¹³. The Abanyole clans frequently fought with their Maragoli and Luo neighbours over land. Many of these wars were only brought to an end with the coming of the missionaries who advocated for peace and not war¹⁴.

A man could also acquire the right to use land from his relatives (clansmen), friends or become a tenant. A polygamous man was allowed the right of as many pieces of land as the number of his wives. The land that could be put under cultivation depended on the strength of the wives. Each wife only retained the plots under active cultivation given to her by her husband. The primary unit of production was the wife, her children and the support of her husband. In pre-colonial Bunyore, a hard working woman was one who harvested a considerable amount of grain because husbands set their wives free to cultivate as much land as was at their disposal¹⁵. According to one of the women informants, hardworking women were respected and their granaries never ran dry¹⁶.

A person could grant another person a piece of land for cultivation, occupation or both, for a short period or a long period of time. Such a piece of land was taken as a gift and the person owned it for as long as he behaved well and was on good terms with whoever gave him the land. For instance, when a man gave land to his brother-in-law or sister-in-law in consideration of his marriage to his sister or daughter, he had no absolute right to repossess

the land if the brother-in-law died or left a son (*omwiwa*). If the brother-in-law died without a son to inherit the land, the second brother in-law who came to inherit (*okhukalusia*) the man's sister could acquire the right to use the land provided the sister was willing to marry him and she did not wish to return to the clan of her late husband. If the sister or daughter died, the brother-in-law or son-in-law could not be evicted from the land, particularly if he had sons who were '*abewa*' and were on good terms with him¹⁷.

Sometimes one could acquire the right to use land of another clan. Such a person was known as a tenant (*omumenya*). He was obliged to perform certain duties and conform to certain conditions of the community. He had to give customary gifts to his landlord after every harvest. A tenant remained a tenant, but if he managed to purchase a piece of land in the dominant clan, he acquired absolute right to its use and was assimilated into the community as an *omumilwa*¹⁸.

2.3 PLANTING, WEEDING AND HARVESTING

Pre-colonial Bunyore agricultural activity was characterized by the cultivation of finger millet, sorghum, nuts, bananas and some types of pulses. The Abanyole had an organized farming system. They knew their seasons very well. A year had two planting seasons: The long rains planting season (*oburaki bwomwika*) and the short rains planting season (*oburaki bwesubwe*). Seeds were planted from towards the end of March to early April (the period of the long rains) and harvested between July and August¹⁹. Crops normally planted during this period included sorghum (*amabele*), finger millet (*obule*), pulses and nuts (*tsimbande*). Bananas (*amakomia*) could be planted any time of the year so long as there was sufficient rain²⁰. During the short rainy season, planting began in September, and by December crops were ready for harvesting. Most legumes were planted during this time. Other crops included

sweet potatoes and a particular type of sorghum known as *esuti*. Sorghum (*amabele aka amarole*) that had been planted during the first planting season would be cut to sprout again to produce one more harvest²¹.

Land was hoed for planting during the dry season. It was the duty of men to clear the land of all bushes and unwanted trees²². *Injeso*, a kind of a sharp knife, was used to cut down the bushes. A long wooden tool called *lihaya* was used to dig land that had been tilled before. It was cut from the branches of a hardwood tree known as *esikomoli*. The breaking up of virgin land was done by both men and women using an iron hoe (*esili*). Normally women did most of the farm work²³.

All weeds and plant remains when dry would be burnt and the ashes mixed up with the soil. Some people would heap leaves in one place and leave them to rot, then later on mix this up with the soil. This practice, though rudimentary, was a way of adding nutrients to the soil²⁴.

No sowing of seeds would take place until the Abasiékwe, one of the Abanyole clans, under the leadership of a rainmaker, gave an assurance of the coming of the rains. The rainmaker locally called *omuchimbi weifula* was respected even among non-Abanyole people. A good example of this are the Luo of Seme. Jean Margaret Hay states in her thesis about them that,

If the rains were late in coming, the Luo elders might choose to call in a Luyia rainmaker (*jajimboth*) who would sacrifice a sheep or goat on behalf of the minor lineage²⁵.

As for the Abanyole, clan elders would visit the rainmaker beforehand, taking gifts like seeds (*tsimwo*) and a rake (*olubibo*). After offering sacrifices the rainmaker would assure them that they could go home and begin planting because in due course it would rain. A similar visit would be paid to those who prevented hailstorms (*abachimbi abamachina*).

A number of cultural practices were observed during this time. In front of every house there was a tree known as *olusolia* where family sacrifices (*emisambwa*) and offerings were made. The seeds to be sowed would be taken there to be blessed before they were planted. This was done by the head of every homestead. The senior wife (*omukhaye mukhulundu*) of the home had to sow and also harvest first before anyone else. All the junior wives (married) in that homestead and their children worked on the farm of the senior wife from the time of preparing it up to the harvesting period. Junior wives could only embark on their farm plots once work on the senior wife's field was over²⁶.

Seeds were broadcast randomly (*okhumitswa*) on the prepared fields. Inter-cropping was commonly practised where millet, and sorghum would be planted on the same piece of land. Legumes like cowpeas and nuts (*tsimbande*) would either be broadcast on the same piece of land with finger millet and sorghum or be planted on a separate plot. Because the soil was fertile, crops sprouted very fast once there was sufficient rain. The Abanyole would meanwhile live on the previous year's harvest.

Eating of the first fruits was done by the head of the homestead (*omukhulundu we litala*), and after this elders of different homesteads would come together and curse birds so that they could not destroy the mature grain. All this could only be done after the death of any adult man in the community. Such a death was believed to remove any misfortunes from the people. The grain would dry up before being eaten if there had been no such a death. This custom was taken so seriously that if one went visiting and found one's hosts eating the first fruits of the harvest, and one had not yet eaten of the first produce at one's own home, one would never join them lest one brings a curse upon oneself.

The Abanyole used a sharp metal implement called *injeso* and a sickle (*ikhonono*) to harvest the heads of sorghum and finger millet. Grain was dried on a specially prepared ground known as *olutse*. This was cleaned of all grass and smeared with cowdung (*obusingo*). Finger millet would be put on the *olutse*, covered with banana leaves and left to ferment for about two weeks. After fermentation, it would be dried and husked (*okhuhulwa*) using logs made out of an *olusolia* tree. Mostly it was women who did this kind of work. They would then winnow and store the grain. Sorghum on the other hand did not require fermentation. It was simply dried in the sun, husked, winnowed and stored.

2.4 STORAGE OF GRAIN

Before the grain was stored, it was first treated so that it could not be attacked by weevils (*tsinguŋ*). This treatment was referred to traditionally as *okhupulwa*. A specific kind of ash, made out of burnt river weeds and other plants, was mixed thoroughly with the grain. This was adequate protection against weevils. Apart from finger millet and simsim all other grain was treated with this ash. Once this had been done, the grain was stored in different sizes of baskets (*ebitela*) and pots or in granaries²⁷.

A big basket called *esitela* woven out of the *ebienjele* plant was smeared inside with cowdung. It was then put on a raised ground known as *omukukhu*. After it had been filled with grain, it was covered tightly with a piece of a broken pot and the edges neatly smeared with cowdung. It remained covered until need arose for its use. Every homestead had a bigger basket than *esitela* known as *isikha*, which had a storage capacity of about 100 kilograms. This belonged to the head of the household, and all his wives brought in grain to be stored in it and used later on. Every woman in the homestead had her own storage granaries, pots and baskets. This was

because agricultural production was geared towards self-sufficiency. Other food crops were stored on raised ground above the cooking fire place known as *khunungo*. These included pulses and bananas²⁸.

2.5 LABOUR

Division of labour was based on sex and age. Men were primarily responsible for selecting land. The tending of livestock and arranging for livestock transactions was wholly a male duty. Other duties for men included construction of houses, fences, hunting wild game, building of granaries and providing protection for the family. A man also took care of his three legged stool (*esirebe*) and beer pipe and swept his yard (*omukitsi*). In addition, the head of the homestead was the decision-maker of the home²⁹. Both men and women tilled the land.

Women on the other hand provided most of the labour needed on the farms. They sowed, weeded, harvested and stored food crops. It was also their duty to sweep, grind grain, to cook, clean out the cattle pen, fetch water, gather firewood and generally care for the entire welfare of the home. Women actually did the greater bulk of the work in the home, while the men did minimal household chores³⁰.

Children were trained at an early age to share the duties of family life. This shaped them into responsible future men and women. Young boys helped their fathers and were trained to be like them. They were taught about herding cattle, hunting wild game, and birds. At the age of six, boys began to herd goats and as they grew older they also herded sheep and cattle. After circumcision they left this work to the younger boys. Young boys also provided farm labour, especially hoeing the land, sowing, weeding and

harvesting. After circumcision they were taught how to defend the society against any hostility³¹.

Young girls helped their mothers in the household chores like fetching water, gathering firewood, wild roots, fruits, vegetables and grinding grain for everyday meals. They were also taught how to nurse their younger siblings, to run errands and to make themselves useful in various ways in preparation for their future motherhood. Because of the importance of children in providing all kinds of labour, families aimed at having as many children as possible.

Hoeing, planting, weeding and harvesting called for communal labour. Normally during the planting season the senior wife's land had to be cultivated first by the members of the extended family (*abakuka mulala*). All the junior wives and their children gathered together to work on her piece of land. Friends also joined in to assist in return for a feast later on, and the friends who helped too could also invite them later for a similar reciprocity. This communal work was referred to as *obuhuba*. Communal labour economy was mainly drawn from the extended family and friends. Other duties that called for communal work apart from agricultural practices included the building of houses, fences, hunting expeditions and the herding of cattle, goats and sheep.

2.6 THE REARING OF ANIMALS AND POULTRY

Animal husbandry was another important activity in the pre-colonial Abanyole economy. Herds were normally small, and the more cattle one had, the richer and more respected he was in the community. The common way of acquiring livestock was through bride wealth payment (*ikhwe*). The marriage ceremonies involved a complex system of transfer of cattle, sheep and goats between the two families carried out over a number of years. The father of

the bride divided the bride wealth amongst his wives, brothers and other kin. In this way, brothers who had sisters were assured of getting cows to marry once their sisters got married.

Livestock were also acquired as spoils after a battle or through exchange for surplus grain. A big basket of grain of about forty kilograms was worth a goat. Four to six sheep were worth a bullock.

Livestock was also acquired through inheritance, especially from a father to his sons. Some people on the other hand acquired livestock through a system known as *okhwechekha*. Here a man who had a lot of livestock would give out some to his friends or relatives to graze. Thus, a man could keep his own animals and fowls or keep some of them among his friends and relatives. It was encouraged as a check against any pestilence. Normally the reward for the person grazing the livestock was the first young animal born of either the cow, sheep or goat. The average number of livestock per homestead was generally low, possibly only two. However, the richer homesteads kept large herds of cattle, sheep and goats.

Cattle had both an economic and social value. They were reared because they provided meat and milk as a source of protein, skins were used as bedding or clothing, while horns were shaped and used to send messages. Ghee and butter were derived from milk. Ghee was used in cooking different types of dishes. It was also used to soften skins so that they could be used for clothing, bedding and as leather straps³².

Goats were domesticated for sacrificial purposes. Their meat was eaten and skins made into clothing. Sheep were also reared mainly for sacrificial purposes. They were also given out as gifts. Both goats and sheep were

exchanged for either cattle or grain and also played an important part in the payment of bridewealth.

The keeping of fowls was a common practice among the Abanyole. Every homestead had a considerable number of fowls for purposes of sacrifice or exchange in trade. Fowls were also useful because of their meat and eggs. However, only men ate these products since it was taboo for a woman to do so. In fact, this taboo was so serious that one of the early Christian converts remembers that,

any married woman found eating chicken or chicken eggs would be sent back to her home and a cow paid for such a forbidden practice³³.

Moreover, a bad man would trick his wife by secretly putting an egg inside the fire and in pretence he would go outside to chat with his fellow men. On hearing the egg burst, he would run inside pretending to find out what the problem was. Once the broken egg was removed from the fire, he would inform the other men and they would leave for his wife's parents' home to demand a cow for such behaviour. This was only done to a lady whose parents demanded a lot of cattle for bride wealth. Sometimes the man continually did so until he brought back at least some of those cattle³⁴.

2.7 COMMON GRAZING LANDS

It was the clan elders who decided which land to set aside for communal grazing. In selecting such land the leader (*omwami*) had to bear in mind the availability of water for drinking for the peoples' stock and the proximity of a salt-lick (*enyenyi* or *esilongo*) in the vicinity for the cattle³⁵.

Each clan had its own communal grazing land. There was no restriction for cattle to go from one grazing land to another as long as the people belonged

to the same clan. If people of one clan wanted to graze their cattle on the common grazing land of another clan, permission had to be sought from the elder in charge of that grazing ground. There were laws governing grazing so that in case some cattle were killed there, then proper compensation would be given to the owners. On the other hand, if a man sent his cattle to another grazing ground unlawfully and one of the cattle killed an animal belonging to someone else who was entitled to use the pasture land, he was ordered to pay compensation of another head of cattle of the same sex³⁶.

Diseased animals were never taken to the common grazing grounds. This helped prevent the spread of disease. Such cows would graze and drink separately until they recovered³⁷.

Trees growing on common grazing lands were never cut, apart from small trees (*tsisimbo*) and thatching grass which anyone of that clan could cut to use as firewood or for building purposes³⁸.

Cultivating near grazing lands was also forbidden, and if cattle destroyed crops grown near or on grazing land, there was no charge against the owner of the cattle. However, if your land adjoined a communal grazing land, you were required to make a hedge (*okhulomba olukaka*) that would keep the cattle off your crops. If cattle damaged the crops because there was no hedge, then no compensation was given³⁹. There was a possibility that cattle would damage crops on cultivated lands. When this happened and crops could not sprout again, the owner of the cattle had to pay for the damages done. In case a herdsboy left cattle to damage young crops which were able to sprout again, the owner of the crops had the mandate to punish the boy there and then. This mainly was corporal punishment⁴⁰.

Such a careless herdsboy would be whipped thoroughly and he had nowhere to report the case, Enos Ayoti said.

Cattle owners did not individually take their stock to the communal grazing lands. All cattle belonging to one clan would be brought to a central point and under the care of the herdsman (*omwayi*), they could then be taken for grazing. A herdsman was usually an adult male. He was normally accompanied by young boys who were learning how to take care of large herds of animals. Cattle were brought to the central point from any time in the morning until ten o'clock. Each stock owner knew his stock well and the herdsman would graze the cattle for three days (*ebisala bitaru*) then another man would take over. This rotation went on from homestead to homestead. Only very old weak men did not take part in this activity. Such a practice ensured that time was not wasted by having many people do a job that could be done well by one man. Those who remained at home engaged in other activities.

In the afternoon after cattle had grazed enough, the herdsman took them to drink and lick salt (*enyenyi*) before bringing them back home. Cattle were returned at around four o'clock and stock owners could come to collect them from the central gathering point⁴¹.

2.8 LOCAL INDUSTRIES

Economic specialization among the Abanyole included such activities as iron working, wood carving, salt making, weaving and basketry, pottery, roof thatching, and cloth making.

2.8.1 IRON WORKING (*OBURULI*)

According to John Osogo, blacksmithing was common among the Abanyole. He singles out the Abamangali clan of Bunyore as a distinct iron working and iron making clan. Those who specialized in iron working and making were

known as Abaruli or Aberanyi. The art of smithing was restricted to this clan only and they were reluctant to teach it to others for fear of competition⁴².

The raw material for this activity was a special local stone known as *oburale*. This was easily got from the Samia hills and some parts of Wanga. In Bunyore the ore was found in insignificant amounts in Em'mangali. The ore was usually smelted in open furnaces of clay using firewood as fuel⁴³. While hot it would be shaped into various implements of different sizes. These included various kinds of weapons like spears (*amafumo*), arrow heads (*obura*), swords, various types of knives for cutting meat, slaughtering and harvesting like sickles (*tsikhonono*) and blades (*tsinyembe*). Other products were bull hooks, low bells, hoe-blades, axes, adzes and ornaments like plain and twisted armlets (*emisambo* and *emikasa*), bracelets, necklaces, and finger rings (*tsingaka*)⁴⁴.

Iron working was a thriving activity because of these many implements. They were exchanged for other goods, animals and grain. This exchange was done among the Abanyole themselves and also with their neighbours.

2.8.2 WOOD CARVING (*OBUBATSI*)

Wood working was another important activity. Wood carvers were known as *Ababatsi*. *Ababatsi* normally learnt their craft from their father or maternal uncle, working as an assistant wood carver for a number of years in the neighbourhood before starting their own work.

The wood worker used tools like axes, hatchets, adzes and knives of different shapes to carve out his objects. The objects included handles of hoes, digging sticks, mortars and pestles, milking jugs (*etsiharî*), meat and vegetable bowls, stirring paddles (*emikho*), threshing paddles, beehives, bellows of the smithy,

parts of musical instruments such as the musical bow and the sound box of *limuka*, *litungu*, *olukhuche*, *esilili* and *esukuti*. Other things were spear shafts, bows and arrow shafts, wooden arrow points of many shapes and sizes, shields, clubs and the wooden part of swords and dagger sheaths (covered with leather casing), and the three-legged stool (*esirebe*), to name but a few⁴⁵.

In every clan there was a family that specialized in wood carving. Each wood carver specialized in a few objects only. The traditional specialists worked only in response to orders that people had placed. Payments for work done was in kind, either in grain or in animals. This was a male dominated art⁴⁶.

2.8.3 POTTERY (*OBULONGI*)

Cooking was made possible by the use of pots. They were made of various desired sizes. Pots were made for the purposes of storing grain, liquid, and medicine. Clay was also moulded into utensils of different types. All these products were the work of women. The making of pots involved many stages that required proper skills. It would take from two days to two weeks to make pots depending on their sizes⁴⁷.

Clay for pottery was chosen from different deposits containing different colours. The colours that were used mostly were black (*amamwamu*), brown (*amalando*), grey (*amasembe*) and red (*amakhanyu*). All these clays had a certain amount of sand so that all products moulded would dry and bake well when subjected to fire. This clay was dug up along river valleys. A potter by trade had a right to obtain clay from the land of another with the landowner's consent free of charge. This consent could not be refused neither could the potter be charged anything⁴⁸.

The shape and size of the pots made depended on their use. For instance, *isongo* was a medium-sized pot with a curved neck used for storing millet, while a water pot (*isongo yamatsi*) was shaped like the above one with a narrower neck. *Eyafuka* was a necklace pot used for storing sorghum and for cooking ugali (*obusuma*). *Eyambeba*, literally a pot for rats, was used for cooking meat and chicken. Initially it was used for cooking rats. *Oluchio* was a flat bowl used as a dish from which to eat vegetables and meat. *Eyamunyu* was a small pot used for cooking vegetables⁴⁹.

Other objects made from clay included spouts or nozzles of the smiths' bellows and pipe bowls. The Abanyole expanded their art of pottery from skills acquired from their Maragoli neighbours especially through Maragoli women who got married in Bunyore⁵⁰.

2.8.4 BASKETRY AND WEAVING (OBULUKHI)

Like pottery, basketry was a flourishing activity. This was exclusively men's work, each expert specializing in a particular technique. Although in every clan there was a family known for its art of basketry, the Abayingu of Mundirri from the Owanakhale clan were known throughout the whole of Bunyore for their admirable skill in basketry and weaving⁵¹.

Although there was no special season for basket making, the craft thrived most after harvesting when the demand was greatest. The raw materials used included thin napier-like grass (*olusi*), bamboo, a reed that grows along river valleys called *likhambi* and a traditional wild fruit tree called *ebienjele*.

Various types of articles were made. These included different types and sizes of baskets. For example, *enaboto* was a large, bell shaped basket with a flat bottom and a narrow opening at the top, often measuring a yard or more in

diameter. It was used as a grain bin. *Esimwelo* was a medium size basket with a carrying capacity of about twenty kilograms. *Akhanaboto* was a basket with a handle. Other objects included quail cages (*lebihulŋ*), wicker doors, beer strainers, woven hats, mats, trays (*tsindelū*) and fishing baskets (*emilubilo*). This activity was male dominated although women normally lined the finished baskets with a thin cow dung coating⁵².

2.8.5 SALT MAKING (OKHULOMBA OMUNYU/OBUSALU)

The making of traditional salt, known as *obusalū*, was a very popular industry in Bunyore. This was a women's activity. They would cut specific river reeds (*amakuku*) and dry them in the sun. They would then mix them with some wet reeds and burn them to ash. The ash would then be filtered and the filtrate burnt to evaporate. The residue known as *obusalū* was used as salt⁵³.

Sir Harry Johnstone pointed out in his book that the Abaluyia made salt by burning reeds and water plants and then processing the mixture to produce a hard brown salt⁵⁴. This applied to all Abaluyia communities including the Abanyole. Sometimes the salt would first be filtered and used for cooking. It acted as a softening and sweetening agent to especially hard foods. When used in this manner it was referred to as *omunyu okwokhuselekhela*⁵⁵.

2.9 HUNTING

Hunting was occasioned by a scarcity of meat. Hunting was also a way of spending leisure time, and as such it was part of the social culture of the Abanyole. It was done mainly by adult males during the dry season when there was little or no agricultural work, preferably after harvest. Dogs, spears and arrows, sticks and traps were used to hunt. Different types of animals were hunted by different hunting techniques. For instance, the big animals like

lion, gazelle and elephant were hunted by a group of many young strong skilled men. In the case of the elephant, young warriors would mark the route the animals used when going to drink water. As one respondent remembers,

A big trench would be dug on their well known route and it could be covered with small sticks and grass so that the animals could not suspect anything. As soon as they stepped on this grass, they would automatically fall into the pit. Young men would come and spear the elephant to death, skin it and share out the meat⁵⁶.

The meat would be consumed locally but if it was too much the people would exchange it for grain from their neighbours, relatives or friends.

The hunting of birds was done mostly by boys. Abanyole hunted and ate many species of birds with the exception of birds like the owl (*likhule*), which were used for sacrifices and were believed to be a bad omen. There were special traps that were used to catch birds but many would be killed using stones or sticks⁵⁷.

Trapping of quails (*tsisindu*) was very popular. The most conspicuous feature of quail trapping was the pole (*omulake*) technique. A string of cages (*ebihuli*) containing the male decoy quails were attached on the pole. The pole measuring about twenty to thirty feet long was normally anchored in the ground like a flag post. From its base a number of narrow paths radiating in every direction would be made with traps (*obulitsa*). As the males sang in the early morning hours, the other quails would follow the sound and on reaching the pole would follow the paths and be trapped. Quails were usually trapped in the months of July, September and October. Quails, apart from being a delicacy, were also valued in marriage ceremonies. A quail was tied around the neck of virgins as a sign of purity and dignity on their wedding day. Because of the importance attached to quails they were a common commodity of barter trade⁵⁸.

2.10 GATHERING

Gathering of fruits, seeds, mushrooms, vegetables and insects was a common economic and social activity, done by children, men and women alike. The vegetables that were gathered included Asystasia schimperi (*esitipa*), Solanum nigrum (*lisutsa*), bean leaves (*likhalapa*), cow pea leaves (*likhubi*), Amaranthus (*tsimboka*), Gynandropus gynandra (*libokoi*) and pumpkin leaves (*lisebebe*), among others.

Mushrooms were also gathered and formed a very important part of the Abanyole's diet. They were appreciated as a relish. There were different types of mushrooms of different sizes and colours. Some were edible while others were poisonous. Examples of edible ones were; Termitornyces rabuorie (*obukotswe*), Termitomyces magovensis (*obukofuma*) and Termitomyces magovensis (*esiamachele*)⁵⁹.

Another very interesting thing to note is that the Abanyole also ate insects like white ants (*tsiswa*), grasshoppers (*amatete*), locusts (*tsis/tse*) and some types of caterpillars (*amasaa*). They were gathered during different times of the year by children, women and men alike.

2.11 TRADE

Trade was important in pre-colonial Bunyore. Agricultural production aimed at meeting the basic needs of the people, and in case of any surplus, it would be exchanged for other commodities that the Abanyole did not have or produce. Trade thrived most in very difficult times like severe drought that caused famine or in the event of a devastating war, or severe sickness, that caused scarcity of food. Normally anyone who had granaries of grain would give out

to people coming to borrow grain from him. This would be repaid at a future time once food became available after harvesting. On returning what had been borrowed, it was customary for an additional amount to be given in return over and above the actual amount of grain borrowed⁶⁰.

For example, if one borrowed a big basket full of sorghum (*okumwelo kwa nyangande okwa amabele*) which filled with about twenty kilograms of grain, on returning what one had borrowed, another additional smaller basket with about two kilograms of sorghum would be taken over and above the amount borrowed. This was a way of appreciating what had been done to one during the times of hardship. There were no cases of people who borrowed grain and never returned it without appreciating in this manner. To some informants, the additional amount was like today's profit margin. The only difference was that there was no exploitation of the person in need by the person who had, unlike today when business aims at the highest profit margins, especially with the liberation of trade⁶¹.

People exchanged what they had for what they did not have. Trade was organized on the basis of exchange or barter. This mainly involved the exchange of implements and grain. It was only about the time of the arrival of Europeans that cowrie shells gained value as a form of currency among the Abaluyia communities⁶². In Bunyore only the clan elders were in possession of this currency. Just like other Abaluyia communities, the exchange value of commodities among the Abanyole was measured in direct quantitative terms. For example, sorghum or finger millet was measured to fill the basket or pot in which it was exchanged⁶³. Three hoes were worth a goat or a sheep, three goats or three sheep were worth a cow and six hoes were worth a cow⁶⁴. One she-goat was worth eight hens, while one hoe was exchanged for two small baskets (*esitinyilo*) of eleusine. Like the Ababukusu, the Abanyole exchanged one cow for one granary (*esitela*) of eleusine⁶⁵. One granary of

eleusine was also worth a spear, a bullock or eight she-goats. These measurements, however, varied from one community to another⁶⁶.

Both internal and external trade was carried out in pre-colonial Bunyore. Internal trade transactions were carried out from home to home among the Abanyole. Various clans were well known for their prowess in specific crafts. For instance, while the Abayingu of the Mudirri clan from Owanakhale specialized in basketry and weaving, the Aberanyi clan were known for iron working. The various sizes of pots and baskets were exchanged for the amount of grain which would fill them. Iron implements had a higher value than grain. Other goods that were exchanged internally were birds like quails and fowls, sheep, goats and cattle.

Inter-marriage made it possible to find a clan with more than one craft specialization. Thus, internal trade, was not restricted between one clan and another. Rather, it went on from family to family, neighbour to neighbour and even beyond tribal lines. Pre-colonial trade in Bunyore was not really aimed at amassing wealth but at meeting the basic needs of all the people in the community. Bunyore pre-colonial trade was not therefore a specialized occupation. It was normally determined by the ability to carry the commodity that one had to the homes of neighbours, or in limited cases a recognized trading point to exchange this with willing buyers for what one did not have.

In the late 19th century external trade between the Abanyole and other communities was on the increase. There were recognized trading points, normally under trees, where trade transactions were carried out. Mulusolia was a recognized trading point in Bunyore where the Maragoli, the Luo and the Nandi converged for the purposes of exchange of trade commodities. Trade transactions were carried out under a big indigenous tree called Olusolia. Mulusolia was near the present day Luanda market. The various different

communities brought their commodities for barter trade. The Luo were well known for fish (*tsinyeni*) and grain, particularly sorghum (*amabele*). One informant remembers trade transactions between the Abanyole and the Luo at a place called Bar Ogalo near the present Rata. Bar Ogalo market, like Mulusolia trading point near Luanda, was not held according to a fixed schedule of 'markets days' like those of today. Trade was only carried on when the need arose⁶⁷.

Jean Margaret Hay, writing about the Luo of Seme from Western Kenya, states that in the late 19th century trade between the Luo, Maragoli and the Abanyole expanded significantly. This period also ushered in the beginning of fixed market places under the authority of market elders⁶⁸.

Wagner, writing about the Abaluyia, also gives a detailed account of the exchange of trade commodities between the Abanyole and the Luo. The Abanyole exchanged different kinds of grain, such as sorghum and finger millet, bananas, sweet potatoes and baskets, for fish which the Luo caught in Lake Victoria. The Luo also had plenty of cattle, goats and sheep⁶⁹. Sometimes when the grain harvest was poor in Bunyore, it would be plentiful in Seme, and so the Abanyole would exchange their other commodities like baskets and bananas for grain⁷⁰. From oral information I gathered that there was a famous Luo hunter called Orege who used to organize a meat market at various places between Mariwa and Luanda where the animals he hunted would be slaughtered and sold to the Luo and the Abanyole alike⁷¹.

Market place activity kept changing, depending on whether people had enough to meet their needs or not. To many informants, trade markets were famine related phenomenon and that is why there were no specific market days at that time. Pre-colonial traditional markets satisfied the primary needs of the Abanyole and even their neighbours.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE BUNYORE ECONOMY FROM 1902 TO 1930

3.1 INTRODUCTION

By a Royal Charter of 1888, the Imperial British East African Company claimed to have the right to administer and control the East African hinterland up to the shores of Lake Victoria. This included present day Western and Nyanza Provinces of Kenya. However, it was not until the British East Africa Protectorate took over the area East of Lake Victoria in 1902 that actual administration of the region became possible¹. The protectorate included parts of present day Eastern Uganda and Western Kenya.

The Western part of Kenya, just like the rest of the country, now came under British rule. Sir Charles Eliot, who had been appointed the Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate in 1900, endeavoured to find new sources of revenue to finance the colonial administration and also to pay the outstanding debt incurred in the building of the Uganda Railway and to maintain the rail road².

The chapter will focus on the transformation in addition to the direct impact of colonial rule, of agriculture, labour patterns, trade and marketing in Bunyore. Among the factors that brought about this transformation were the coming of the missionaries and the Indian traders. In this chapter we shall also see the different methods that were applied to make the railway pay, which included settler farming in the white highlands and the role African labour played to make this a success, and the introduction of a taxation system on Africans.

The Abanyole living in the Maseno, Kima and Luanda regions were always among the first in Bunyore to be affected by these factors. This was because these places were more easily accessible, unlike the remote parts of Bunyore. As early as 1905, a Mission Station of the South African Interior and Mission Compound (S.A.I.M.C.) was started at Esikomoli (Kima). The following year the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) set up a station at Maseno³.

Colonial rule had far reaching effects on the social and economic life styles of the Abanyole. The changes that were ushered in included the introduction of new crops, new agricultural methods and technology, and a money economy.

3.2 THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW CROPS

The foreign crops that were introduced in Bunyore during the colonial period included maize, different varieties of pulses, groundnuts, simsim, coffee and sisal. Informants differed on when these crops were first seen in Bunyore, when the Abanyole embraced them in their diets and also when they started cultivating them. However, they agreed on the fact that the British administrators, the missionaries and the Asian traders played a significant role in the introduction and spread of these crops⁴.

Many of these foreign crops were first cultivated on the Maseno Estate as early as 1903. In 1923, when the government established Bukura Farmers' Training Centre, these crops were also cultivated there⁵. Sisal was first introduced on the Maseno estate in 1903. In 1906 maize was introduced. This was the speckled or veri-coloured variety⁶. The Abanyole call it *amatuma akakipendi*, which simply means maize that has different colours.

At first the Abanyole did not eat much of this maize or cultivate it. But come the 'Opande' famine of 1907 they had to eat it⁷. By March 1907, the famine

hit hardest because Indian traders had bought up all the food grain they could in the district. The scarcity of food brought a conflict in Bunyore, the inhabitants of which were attacked by the Maragoli people who believed that it was owing to the Bunyore rainmaker that their bananas were destroyed by hail⁸. One of the informants said that his father and others survived the famine because they could work for 'Bwana' Savile on the Maseno estate and be given roasted maize in return⁹. Later on they learnt to eat the maize roasted on the cob or boiled. With time they also cultivated just a few stalks of maize in their sorghum fields. But after World War I the acreage under maize increased tremendously, especially with the introduction of the white variety¹⁰.

Those who embraced Christianity around Kima and Maseno regions were advantaged to get free maize seeds to plant. They were shown how to plant maize on the Mission demonstration farms¹¹. By 1914, few people grew maize, and sorghum and finger millet still played a central role as the staple food of the Abanyole.

Apart from this veri-coloured maize variety, the missionaries also helped introduce a number of exotic fruits in Bunyore. These included oranges, lemons and guavas among others. Many Abanyole took time before they ever ate or cultivated them. An informant who lived at the Church of God Kima Mission Station at the time retorted,

Why should we have cared to plant fruits while God had put an abundant supply of wild fruits in our country?

For a long time they only admired the ripe fruits on the trees, for the 'Muzungu' would punish you if he found you climbing, for example, a guava tree. The 'Muzungu' would ask,

Are you a monkey to climb trees?

Despite this, many of these fruits began growing on the Abanyole fields accidentally probably due to seed dispersion by birds or wind. The Abanyole who proved to be staunch Christians were given some of the seeds to plant in their Christian villages (*amatala kabakristayo*)¹².

Attempts were first made to cultivate groundnuts in 1904. During the same period extensive public works were carried out, when the Kisumu-Yala road was being constructed¹³. This enabled more farmers to penetrate the interior of Bunyore. A campaign to grow more groundnuts and simsim was carried out in 1909. Between 1909 and 1911 seeds were issued in North Kavirondo District by the colonial administrators for crops like simsim, groundnuts, maize and potatoes. The Governor of Kenya, Sir Perry Girouard, between the years 1910 and 1911, instructed Provincial and District heads to pay greater attention to the production of agricultural crops and the establishment of markets and trading centres as a step to opening up the reserves¹⁴. During sub-locational or locational meetings (*baraza*) Headmen and Chiefs encouraged people to cultivate these crops not only for consumption at home but also for sale in the trading centres.

The period before the First World War was one of modest agricultural experimentation in the field of crop and livestock production¹⁵. During the war years of 1914 to 1918 there was low agricultural productivity, not only in Bunyore but in Nyanza Province as a whole. This was partly because of the withdrawal of large numbers of men for the Carrier Corps¹⁶. Out of some 200,000 Kenyans who were conscripted about 92,900 were from Nyanza Province¹⁷. The Abanyole constituted some of them although their exact number is not known. Between 1917 and 1918 there was an acute food shortage. There was also a bad harvest that year because the long rain crop was partly ruined by the excessive rains of July and August. The short rain crop also suffered a severe blow due to a total failure of the October rains¹⁸.

A serious famine broke out which the Abanyole called *keya*. It was felt in many African areas and the colonial government had to import food to meet the distress. Cassava flour was introduced as relief food¹⁹.

In addition to the importation of food, the colonial government encouraged the Abanyole to grow enough food for their wants. The Agricultural Department in North Kavirondo District issued Africans with various seeds of maize, beans, rice and onions. In Bunyore, maize and bean seeds were issued. The Abanyole and other people of the southern division of North Kavirondo District were also urged to cultivate the swampy areas for more food²⁰. The *keya* famine was accompanied by the outbreak of Spanish influenza and smallpox that claimed the lives of many Africans. The diseases spread following the demobilization of the porters after the First World War²¹. In 1919, there was a good harvest in the country and the famine was checked²².

Between 1920 and 1921, there was increased agricultural activity and a ready acceptance by the Abanyole of foreign seeds. This, indeed, as we shall see, was a period of economic recovery in Kenya²³. As early as 1921, there was an aggressive approach in the development of African agricultural productivity from the Colonial government. The Colonial government provided better seeds and a rudimentary agricultural extension service for African areas.

In 1923, the government set up an agricultural training centre in North Kavirondo District known as Bukura Farmers' Training Centre. This centre became operational in 1924. Demonstration farms were established here and Africans from all over Kenya were taught new agricultural methods and techniques. This embraced activities like proper land use through practices such as crop rotation, soil conservation and farm labour allocation. Those who went through the training graduated as agricultural instructors. Africans came from as far as Baringo district to train here²⁴. Different types of seeds for

crops and trees were also distributed from here²⁵. In the course of the same year, the flat white variety of maize (*zea mays*), in Lunyore *amatuma akesungu amalafu*, was introduced by the Agricultural Department to supersede the former veri-coloured varieties (*amatuma akakipendi*). Other seeds that were distributed included cassava cuttings, new varieties of pulses, sweet potatoes and groundnuts. These seeds were distributed free of charge. There was a rapid increase in planting and production of various types of crops²⁶.

As maize flour became popular among the Abanyole, the technology for grinding maize seeds also advanced. Initially the Abanyole would grind maize on a grinding stone. This was a tedious and slow manual work bearing in mind that maize is harder to grind than finger millet or sorghum²⁷. Other techniques that were adopted for grinding maize included a hand driven mill (*erego*), water driven mills and oil powered mills respectively²⁸. Bunyore produced maize for consumption and for sale. In 1923, maize from Bunyore sold at two shillings for a load of 60 lbs at Kisumu²⁹.

In 1924, the Local Native Councils (LNCs) were established all over the country to assist Africans. The LNCs were established for a number of reasons. They were to deal with issues relating to education, road networks, agriculture and trade in the African reserves. African farmers were particularly helped by distribution of seeds to plant. The LNCs endeavoured to try to get the Abanyole, the Maragoli and the Tiriki of North Kavirondo District who occupied the southern areas of the district to go for co-operative ploughing³⁰. During the same year, agricultural staff were posted in African reserves to help boost agricultural productivity³¹. Although this was on a small scale, it showed an interest by the colonial government to improve agricultural productivity³². The government also concerned itself with the

introduction and distribution of other agricultural implements like 'jembe' (a kind of digging hoe) and 'pangas' (a kind of broad-bladed machete).

In 1927, a large maize seed distribution was carried out by the agricultural officers in conjunction with colonial administrators. It was hoped that the planting of maize would help ease the food shortage once the crops matured. In the southern part of North Kavirondo District, a total of nine hundred and ninety-four bags of maize seed were distributed in March that year. Bunyore location received two hundred and ninety-five bags, North Maragoli two hundred and eighty-seven bags, South Maragoli two hundred and thirty two bags and Tiriki one hundred and eighty bags of maize seed. Groundnut seeds were also issued from Bukura Farmers' Training Centre³³. The seeds were distributed to help boost agricultural productivity. Farmers were encouraged to use ox ploughs.

By the end of 1928, agricultural productivity was at its peak in Bunyore. Prices for farm produce were very encouraging. For instance, while in Kakamega township a bag of maize was going for a maximum of eleven shillings, at Luanda market the same amount of maize was going for as much as fourteen shillings. Agricultural progress in Bunyore was also reflected in the outcome of the 1928 Agricultural Show. This was held at Seme near Maseno on 30th October. Both Central and North Kavirondo Districts participated. Bunyore got the winning exhibit and was awarded the S.O. Hemsted Shield. Their exhibit was well staged and displayed a comprehensive assortment of the products of the location like maize, cow peas, red beans, bananas, finger millet and sorghum³⁴.

Through to the year 1929, the whole of North Kavirondo District had sufficient food. The Food Control Ordinance maintained food prices at the lowest possible level. By 1930, the effects of the great depression that had

hit the world due to a collapse of the world market system could be felt even in Bunyore³⁵. Maize, beans, simsim and other farm produce fetched very low prices at the markets. All the same, the LNC and the Department of Agriculture continued issuing seeds of various types of grain and vegetables to all locations in the district. Bunyore in particular received ten bags of bean seeds and small quantities of vegetable seeds³⁶.

Although earlier on some Abanyole had shown a reluctant attitude in incorporating the new crops into their traditional farming systems, by 1930 their response to the introduction of new crops was encouraging. These crops included maize, groundnuts, sweet potatoes and cow peas. Coffee and sisal that had been introduced on the Maseno estate had not been planted by any Omunyole on his farm. The same applies to exotic fruits which were planted only in the Mission compounds. This was because Africans were not allowed to plant cash crops. In addition, there were some basic requirements the Africans needed to fulfil before they could engage in cash crop farming which as we shall see later were difficult to meet.

3.3 NEW AGRICULTURAL METHODS AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

The Abanyole practised subsistence agriculture relying on rudimentary technology³⁷. All seeds were planted by the broadcasting method. Shifting cultivation was the only way to ensure soil fertility. The type of shifting cultivation that predominated involved the rotation of fields rather than of crops. A field would be abandoned for another when its yields declined. Different crops were inter-cropped on the same plot³⁸. The Colonial

government condemned this practice, termed it unproductive, and aimed at bringing about change³⁹.

Change in the type of tools used was the first major observable adaptation the Abanyole embraced, although at first they refused to cultivate their farms using these tools, claiming that they would render their fields infertile. The missionaries did a remarkable job in encouraging their new Christian converts to use these new tools by telling them that they would do a much better job than their local hoes⁴⁰. 'Jembes' were known to have been imported from German East Africa to Nyanza Province as early as 1905. By the end of the First World War, a good number of the Abanyole were using the 'jembe' and 'panga' on their farms. They bought or exchanged these tools for locally produced grain with Indian traders at Luanda and Yala trading centers. A 'jembe' or a 'panga' at the Luanda Indian shops was worth two or three rupees⁴¹. The increased use of 'jembes' made the hoeing of land much faster. Although there are no statistics available in terms of the distribution of these tools in Bunyore, informants affirmed that every home had at least one 'jembe'⁴².

Ox drawn ploughs were first introduced by Mr. Horne in North Kavirondo District in 1913⁴³. Only a few Abanyole cultivated using ox ploughs⁴⁴. This was for a number of reasons: first and foremost was the fact that their farms were small and yet the initial capital required for a plough was high. Secondly, most of Bunyore had a rugged and stony terrain which did not favour ploughing.

The imposition of colonial rule meant that all land that was not in actual occupation in Bunyore as well as throughout Kenya was declared Crown Land. Africans were left with only small pieces on which they worked for their subsistence. This actually meant that the Abanyole could not expand to any

new land when their original pieces of land were exhausted⁴⁵ or to undertake the cultivation of new cash crops. Moreover, the Abanyole could not fight for more land from their neighbours as had been the case before. This, of course, compelled them to abandon shifting cultivation which had been instrumental in the preservation of soil fertility and accept new agricultural methods. As population increased this situation even worsened. In 1923, Bunyore had a population of 1097 persons per square mile⁴⁶. It was followed by North Maragoli which had a population of 698 persons per square mile. The least populated area was Kabras which had a population of 45 persons per square mile. The population pressure in Bunyore led to a rapid deterioration of the soils and soil erosion. The government had to start serious soil conservation campaigns by encouraging farmers to practice mixed farming, the digging of terraces and use of farm manure⁴⁷.

The new agricultural methods were put into better practice in the 1920's especially following the establishment of Local Native Councils in 1924 and the posting of Agricultural Officers to the African reserves⁴⁸. Demonstration and Agricultural Farmers' Training Centres like Bukura helped boost crop and animal productivity. Planting in lines was encouraged rather than planting by broadcast method. Lines made weeding and harvesting of crops much easier⁴⁹. Bukura Farmers' Training Centre served an extensive region in advancing new agricultural methods. This included not only North Kavirondo District, but also far away regions like Baringo District⁵⁰.

Due to an increase in the production of maize and its incorporation into the local diet, maize flour mills also increased. Maize was becoming the staple food. Its flour was used for making porridge and 'ugali' (*obusuma*). Africans who owned hydro and oil driven engine flour mills increased in numbers. For example, Paul Agoi set up an oil driven engine flour mill at the South Maragoli meat market and Mr. Kramer of the Church of God mission stated that he was

pushing the erection of others in Bunyore⁵¹. The 1927 North Kavirondo District Annual Report recorded that there were 411 'native' owned flour mills, of which 209 were hand driven (*etsirego rego*), 96 were hydro mills and 6 were oil driven engines⁵². It is not known statistically, however, how many flour mills there were in Bunyore then. Informants concur that as early as 1930 the Abanyole who owned hand driven mills (*etsirego rego*) included early Abanyole entrepreneurs like Joel Mukoya and Mbalanya Omwakwe of Luanda trading centre. In time these very people also came to own oil driven engine flour mills (*ebia biamafula*) at the centre. Simekha of Ebutongoi also owned a water driven flour mill⁵³.

In 1927, the Forestry Department in Nyanza Province started an afforestation program with its base at Maseno. The government had a long standing desire that the neighbouring locations around Maseno would ape this new technique in their agricultural practices. The tree that was chosen for experimentation was the Eucalyptus species. This species was chosen because it can withstand white ants that were prevalent in the Province then. The region also received adequate rainfall suitable for its growth. In addition Eucalyptus was a fast growing species that could soon provide timber for fuel and building purposes. Three different species of the tree were chosen; Eucalyptus Paniculata, Eucalyptus Microeonyx and Eucalyptus Paniculata Iron Bark. The government hoped the Africans around Maseno would embrace the afforestation program to their advantage since the region had few trees. The colonial government, however, feared that setting up areas in the reserves for forests would create suspicion among the Africans. One administrator commented that,

We know this happened in Machakos and it will happen here too⁵⁴.

Despite what had happened elsewhere in the Colony it was hoped that the programme would succeed. Initially, the Abanyole were very resistant to this

new development but they later on found out that this was actually for their good.

The Abanyole, apart from being cultivators, also practised animal husbandry on a small scale. The colonial government endeavoured to improve animal husbandry. In 1929 the Veterinary Training Centre at Maseno which had been established earlier on expanded quite fast. The Chief Veterinary Officer ordered for sahiwal maiden heifers. A poultry farm was also proposed to be started. In 1930, Maseno was proposed to be a 'native' training centre funded from departmental funds⁵⁵. Later we shall see the influence and effects that this department had on the animal husbandry of the Abanyole.

In conclusion, by 1930, the colonial government had strived to bring changes in the traditional agricultural practices of the Abanyole. Many Abanyole were beginning to appreciate the introduction of new agricultural implements like the use of 'pangas', 'jembes' and sickles, which made farm work less burdensome. This was because the wooden implements used before limited the land that could be brought under cultivation. More energy had to be used in digging especially if the soil was hard. The use of the 'jembe' made digging much easier. Harvesting the heads of finger millet and sorghum was made much easier by the sickle. The 'pangas' were used to clear bush. Many Abanyole therefore worked hard to get money to purchase these implements from Indian traders at Luanda.

The establishment of Bukura Farmers' Training Centre in 1923 benefitted the Abanyole in several ways, the most important of which was the distribution of higher yielding seeds to the Abanyole people free of charge. Of the seeds distributed maize was more readily accepted. Both the veri-coloured and the flat maize variety were planted by the Abanyole, who boiled and roasted it either when green or dry or ground it into flour. The availability of maize flour

mills helped popularize the growing of maize. Although ox drawn ploughs were being introduced, the Abanyole had not adopted them by 1930. Afforestation programmes and animal husbandry programmes were still in their infant stages by 1930.

3.4 LAND OF EAST AFRICA INDUSTRIES, MASENO LIMITED

The colonial government introduced the 1902 Land Ordinance under which land at Maseno owned by both the Abanyole and the Luo was acquired by the East Africa Industries, Maseno Limited. This was an estate which was to be used for various purposes that included cash crop production of maize, coffee and sisal, animal husbandry and forestry. In addition, the estate was to have demonstration farms for the benefit of the Luo and Abanyole as well as a model village, dispensary and school. Mr. S.O. Savile was appointed the Estate Manager. Sisal was the first cash crop to be introduced on the estate in 1903, while maize was first grown in 1906. Coffee on the other hand was first experimented with on the estate after 1920⁵⁶.

The Maseno estate was of benefit to the Abanyole in many ways. To begin with, the Abanyole who got employment there as early as 1903 to work on the sisal farm were able to earn money for the first time in their lives. Their contacts with the colonial administrators exposed them to a new people and a new culture. With the money they earned they bought clothes and tried to ape the European way of dressing. The crops grown on the estate were later on adapted and grown by the Abanyole.

Demonstration farms were used to educate both the Abanyole and the Luo in better farming methods. One informant stressed the fact that the use of the ox plough was first introduced to the Abanyole at the Maseno estate. The Estate Manager educated the Africans who were working on the estate on

how to cultivate using ox ploughs besides the use of the 'jembe'. Through the Veterinary Training Centre many changes were gradually introduced in the traditional Abanyole animal husbandry practices and gradually there were sahiwal breeds in Bunyore.

Although the establishment of Maseno estate had good objectives meant to benefit the Abanyole and many other Africans, it also brought some negative effects. The East Africa Industries, Maseno Limited, acquired the estate which comprised land formerly occupied by the Abanyole and to a small extent by the Luo. The central portion of the estate, for example, had previously been cultivated by people from as far away as Mr. Kramer's Mission (Kima) and from the foot of the hill in Karateng' and by some people from Seme. These people travelled far distances to cultivate this land. The acquisition of the land by the East African Industries, Maseno Limited, meant that these people lost land and no longer continued enjoying shifting cultivation as a mode of farming. This reduced crop productivity from then onwards. Moreover, without shifting cultivation it meant that their other pieces of land could never rest which encouraged soil erosion because of over use of the available land resulting in poor yields. This was also the first time in history that some Abanyole had become squatters on their traditional land. It is not really known how many families became squatters. Archival records show that about eighteen families were involved⁵⁷. Informants claim that many more families than these were involved⁵⁸.

According to a letter written to the District Commissioner of Central Kavirondo District in 1928 by the Estate Manager Mr. Savile, the East Africa Industries, Maseno Limited, acquired this land under the 1902 Land Ordinance. Under this new Land Ordinance the 'natives' lost their traditional rights over land. In fact, in 1928, one of the Colonial administrators reported the following on some 'natives' living on the farm,

--they have already been warned and that they have no right to be where they are⁵⁹.

One of the Abanyole among others who suffered loss of land in this way was among others Ayubu Abiha whose land was taken over by the veterinary department, except for the village ground where the huts were situated. At the time of the acquisition of the estate by the East Africa Industries, Maseno Limited, his family had been living there for a long time. Ayubu's father Mbeya Walikutsa was 'the owner of the soil' (*omwene liloba*), yet by 1928 they were being required to move from their land, a portion initially marked on the plan as 'Native huts and cultivation'⁶⁰.

It was unfortunate that apart from their land being taken away from them, they were being ordered to move, yet they were not promised compensation for disturbance or loss of livelihood. In fact, no arrangements were made with regard to occupants of the land at the time of granting the freehold of the company. It was, however, verbally arranged that in the event of acquiring land occupied by Africans, the arrangements should be made with their Chief to allocate them other land⁶¹.

In addition to Ayubu Abiha, the other Abanyole who suffered this adverse effect were Ham Gweya, Odeya Mundia, Sifuta Mundia, W. Ananda Mundia, Jebusa Mundia, Anyanza Muhanda, Oluaha Mukoli, Mboko Okwengu, Mukara Mukala, and Ochieng Nyasibi. These people had been living there when the sisal company started in 1902. They now became squatters on their own land⁶².

Another negative effect that some of the Abanyole faced was inter-tribal conflicts between them and the Luo. This was because the Luo people of Sagam location (Central Kavirondo Luo) and the people of Bunyore location (North Kavirondo District) conflicted over boundaries on the edge of the

Maseno estate. Both communities lost a number of their people as a result of this although the exact number is not known. At a meeting of the North Kavirondo District Local Native Council held in January 1927 the Abanyole wanted to find out if it was true that the government was giving the land back to the Luo of Central Kavirondo District while it actually belonged to the Abanyole of North Kavirondo District. This problem was never solved.

All in all, the East Africa Industries, Maseno Limited, had its benefits as well as its shortcomings. Some of the objectives that were set from the beginning were never achieved. The model village and the dispensary that were to be established were never built. However, those objectives that were accomplished were of benefit not only to the Abanyole but to Kenya at large. Part of the farm is still operational today and is called Maseno Farmers' Training Centre.

3.5 TAXATION AND WAGE LABOUR PATTERNS

3.5.1 TAXATION

Direct taxation as a regular system was unknown in pre-colonial Bunyore. Its introduction exposed Africans to a cash economy which was unknown to them. Tax was first introduced in North Kavirondo District in 1903. The Africans were to pay a hut tax of three rupees. Its actual collection was done in 1904 by Swahili soldiers who had been employed by the colonial administration. In other parts of the Colony, the first hut tax collection began as early as 1901 when Lord Lansdowne, the Colonial Secretary, sanctioned the levying of tax not exceeding two rupees on every hut a man owned⁶³. Initially, tax could be paid in kind and this included hoes, domesticated animals, fowls, equivalent labour, and also in rupees⁶⁴. The East African Hut Tax Ordinance of 1903 which specified that the hut tax should not exceed

three rupees for each hut remained in force until 1910 when it was replaced by the Native Hut Tax and Poll Tax Ordinance⁶⁵. During that year a poll tax on men over the age of sixteen was added to the original hut tax. Below is a table showing statements of hut tax collected for some of the locations in North Kavirondo District in 1912⁶⁶.

Comparative figures of Hut tax collection for the years ending 31-3-1911 and 1912 in some locations of North Kavirondo District.

Locations	1910-1911		1911-1912		Increase/Decrease	
	No of Huts	Tax in Rupees	Huts	Tax	Huts	Tax
Bunyore	7344	21978	7511	22593	167	615
North Maragoli	7844	23442	7634	22887	-210	-555
North Tiriki	2778	8180	2445	7677	-333	1497
South Tiriki	1796	5067	1729	5193	-66	126
Nyangori	2289	5802	2158	6480	-131	678
South Maragoli	5344	15081	5381	16107	37	1026
Kisa	6959	18438	6835	20460	676	2022

Adapted from Nyanza Province Annual Report., 1912, KNA, PC/NZA/1/7, p 29.

In Bunyore location there was a substantial increase in the tax collected between 1911 to 1912 over the 1910 to 1911 tax collection. Bunyore location had the second highest tax collected after North Maragoli. This was due to two reasons; more effective colonial administration and a natural increase in huts.

The colonial government used taxation as one of the primary fiscal measures to compel Africans to move into the labour market. Increased taxation was actually a vital instrument for driving the Abanyole, just like other Africans in Kenya, to sell their labour. Tax was increased from three to as much as eight rupees by 1920⁶⁷.

It was very hard for men to evade paying taxes, and this meant that they had to find a way of paying these taxes. Tax could be paid either by selling farm produce or animals or by working for wages⁶⁸. Defaulters were whipped, their huts confiscated and they would serve a prison sentence of up to three months⁶⁹. The Abanyole men preferred working away from home to get money to pay tax. Before 1910, the only kind of wage labour they were involved in was working on the East Africa Industries, Maseno Limited, and with the Public Works Department, where they were involved in construction of roads and bridges in Bunyore and surrounding regions⁷⁰.

3.5.2 LABOUR PATTERNS

3.5.2.1 *Labour Patterns Before the First World War*

Many scholars have discussed in detail migrant wage labour in Kenya during the colonial period. Richard Wolff, for example, identified three major phases of migrant wage labour in Kenya. 1895 to 1914 comprised the first phase of the establishment of settler dominated agriculture. Settler farming was intended to form the backbone of Kenya's economy. The second phase, 1914 to 1919, was to carry on objectives of the first phase, but the mobilization of labour for the Carrier Corps during the First World War introduced another change into labour patterns. Lastly, the period between 1919 and 1930 was one that ushered in the establishment of a regular labour supply. North Kavirondo for all intents and purposes was to be a labour generating district from the start of colonialism as opposed to a labour absorbing one. This phenomenon of labour generating has been said to be one of the most salient features of underdevelopment⁷¹. We shall see how not only North Kavirondo district but Bunyore in particular was affected by this crude colonial policy.

The colonial government, in order to generate this labour, had to create necessary conditions for the emergence of a group of people who would have no alternative but to offer their labour power for sale. This among other things included taxation. In this section, we shall see why the Abanyole were compelled to work for wages by the policy of African reserves. This policy, combined with taxation, essentially prevented Africans in the reserves from having access to enough land to meet all their needs. It was part of the colonial policy which completely froze the existing boundaries and strived to ensure that a surplus population was created in some African reserves like North Kavirondo District whose main source of subsistence was wage labour⁷².

The Abanyole worked either for the government or for private employers. Wage labour in Bunyore can be traced to as far back as 1903 when the East Africa Industries, Maseno Limited, became operational. The planting of sisal, and later on maize, and coffee, and the rearing of animals on this farm needed manual labour of all kinds, which the Abanyole provided. In 1904, more Abanyole were employed to work on the construction of a new road from Kisumu to Yala and other extensive public works in the region. The Abanyole also supplied the greater part of the labour needed for the Kisumu-Uganda road in 1910⁷³.

The Abanyole not only went in for wage labour in order to pay taxes but many times they were forced into it by acute famines that hit them. Between 1906 and 1908, there was a severe famine and many Abanyole flocked to work on the Maseno estate in order to get at least some food. One of the oldest informants, Enos Ayoti, did not hesitate to tell me:

The *Opande* famine was very severe, many survived it by working for 'Bwana' Savile at Maseno who would give us roasted maize and some 'posho'⁷⁴.

In 1910, a rinderpest epidemic killed fifty percent of all the cattle in North Kavirondo District, and this caused great difficulty and a shortage of food. By the time the new poll tax (*obushuru bwomurwe*) was being introduced, adding to the yoke of the previous hut tax (*obushuru bwe inzu*), the Abanyole had to look for salaried labour to pay tax and meet other basic needs⁷⁶. Aseka has this to say about the above,

The state was set for the genesis of labour migration especially among the Banyore and Maragoli, as a means of easing their precarious economic situation⁷⁶.

The two named locations were the most populated in North Kavirondo District. The produce from land was not sufficient to meet the daily needs at home. Thus, there was no surplus for sale to get money to pay taxes. This forced both the Abanyole and the Maragoli into wage labour.

The Abanyole, like their fellow Bantu Kavirondo, worked in the service of Europeans particularly on maize and sisal farms, in areas like Maseno, Kaimosi, Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu, either as squatters or contract labourers. Employment was never on a permanent and pensionable basis. The wages were too low. In 1911, the wages with the government ranged from four to five rupees per month. This was far below the needs of the people. Hence, we cannot say that good wages pushed the Abanyole into wage labour. Many of them were compelled to go out of the district for salaried jobs in order to meet tax demands. The 1910 poll tax actually aimed at capturing adult males over sixteen years who did not have to pay hut tax and who may not have really needed money, to compel them to seek wage employment. From 1910 up to 1920 the amount of tax required kept rising and had more than doubled from three rupees to eight rupees per person⁷⁷.

The Governor of Kenya, Henry Belfield, restating the essence of colonial policy in the years 1912 to 1913, said the following,

We consider taxation as the only possible method of compelling the 'native' to leave his reserve for the purpose of work⁷⁸.

Earlier on, in 1912, the Native Labour Ordinance had authorized compulsory recruitment of labour for public projects. Under this ordinance even children and women like their male counterparts could be forced to work⁷⁹.

3.5.2.2 *Wage Labour Patterns during the First World War*

By 1914, some 10,394 men registered themselves for employment other than military service in North Kavirondo District, and by 1919 this figure rose to 13,946⁸⁰. Although there are no separate statistics for Bunyore, the Abanyole constituted some of them. Such colonial demands for African labour, gravely affected the traditional pattern of labour utilization. In pre-colonial Bunyore exchange of labour for payment was virtually unknown. Labour was always mobilized through the kinship system for the good of the community⁸¹.

During the war period of 1914-1918, the colonial government required people to act as porters on a regular basis. Labour was also needed in the building of roads and bridges within the various locations of North Kavirondo District. Not many Africans were employed on European farms. This was because during the war a number of European farms closed down. Many Europeans went into the armed forces and African labour was absent⁸².

Between 1917 and 1918, large numbers of porters were sent to the Carrier Corps from North Kavirondo District. The total number of people who went in for wage labour from either Bunyore or the district could not be established. This was because only a very small proportion of the men who went to neighbouring farms in Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu and Muhoroni were

registered. The greater bulk of the Africans who left for wage labour outside the district were never registered⁸³. On asking one of my informants concerning this, he said that it was hard to tell who went in for wage labour because of the vastness of the area. All he remembers is that he was told all men above sixteen years were working away from home⁸⁴. The average monthly wages for the years 1916 to 1918 were as follows⁸⁵.

YEAR	AVERAGE TERM OF SERVICE (months)	AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGE(Rs)
1916-1917	5.89	5.11
1917-1918	6.15	6.11

Adapted from DC/NN/1/2 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1918-1919, p 22

Between 1916 and 1917 the hut tax was raised from three to five rupees. Besides earning money to pay taxes, the Abanyole also used money to buy food in case of famine, clothes, bedding, shoes, livestock, farm implements and bicycles among others. The above table reflects the fact that on average the wages were very low and men had to work on a six months contract or be squatters on European farms. Such a work plan aimed at subordinating the Africans to their European employers.

3.5.2.3 *Wage Labour 1919-1930*

By 1919 there was a serious famine (*injala ya keya*) and a serious epidemic outbreak of influenza. Insufficient rain also affected grain production. Due to these difficulties there was an increased recruitment of labour compared to the previous years because people required money to buy food, pay tax and meet other needs. The Nyanza Provincial Commissioner gave no estimate of the total number of Africans who went in for wage labour employment outside their home districts. In 1919 he commented,

the famine was very severe and a large number of starving 'natives' flocked to Kisumu from North Kavirondo District to obtain work and food⁸⁶.

Bunyore being nearer Kisumu, a large number of Abanyole must have been among them.

The famine coincided with a greatly increased labour demand from the Europeans settlers who had returned to their farms after the war. Moreover, labour was required by the Public Works Department on the building of roads and bridges⁸⁷. Such high demands for labour meant that the colonial government had to look for a way of recruiting labourers. In 1919, the Chief Native Commissioner issued a circular directing District Officers and those in authority under them to recruit labourers. He wrote:

It is the wish of the government that 'natives' should come out into the labour field...⁸⁸.

This meant that the Colonial government had to use all means to secure labour and also end desertion by labourers which had become prevalent. Forced labour and the 'Kipande' System then became operational. From 1919 up to the great depression there was the establishment of a regular labour supply.

In Bunyore, as in the entire Protectorate, African Chiefs and elders were repeatedly reminded that it was part of their duty to advise and encourage all unemployed men in the areas under their jurisdiction to go and work on plantations⁸⁹. They were also supposed to provide communal labour for public work programs. Prospective farm labourers were promised a house, a blanket and 'posho'. One of the informants who worked for a 'Muzungu' on his coffee farm in Kiambu said,

I went to work because I was promised 'posho', a blanket (*omulungeti*), a house (*inzu*), a water container (*lidebe*) and above

all money (*etsilupia*) to pay my tax. No one could resist such an offer at that time¹.

By 1919, the whole of North Kavirondo District had about 5,206 men registered in Kisumu for work in the Protectorate and an estimate of another 3,000 unregistered men who had gone out to work outside the district. It is possible that they were more than this. Only 68 of the registered men worked inside the district². Although the above statistics are for North and Central Kavirondo Districts, Bunyore was probably represented.

The Native Registration Ordinance that had been enacted in 1915 was to be implemented after July 1920 with the introduction of the infamous 'Kipande' registration system. It was formally promulgated in the Native Registration Ordinance No.56 of 1921³. The requirements of the system were that every adult male over 16 years carry a 'Kipande'. This showed his name, registration number, the rate of his pay, the nature of his work, the duration of his employment, his general behaviour and character, the name of his employer and his resident district or town. The 'Kipande' was enclosed in a metal container with a string and had to be worn around the neck at all times⁴. This was because under section 14(1) of 1915 Ordinance,

any Magistrate, Justice of peace, employer or his agent on his farm or premises or his agent, Registration Officers, or any other person authorised thereto, by the Governor may at any time demand from any 'native' the production of the metal case issued to him under the Ordinance. Refusal to produce the metal case--- shall be an offence⁵.

The introduction of the 'Kipande' was an attempt to systematize the labour control system. Once registered, a worker could not be deregistered. The 'Kipande' thus facilitated the enforcement of labour contracts in that the early practice of Africans running away from a bad employer before the six month contract ended to a better employer elsewhere was not possible. For example,

were traced, returned to their employers and prosecuted accordingly⁹⁵. This was because of the details contained in the 'Kipande' which made it easy to trace a deserter. Local Chiefs also played a key role in helping to trace deserters who returned to their homes. One informant who experienced the effect of this system, Micah Siibo, remembers with a lot of bitterness how two of his workmates were locked up for three months in a Kitale prison for trying to desert their work before their contract expired. He was not happy that the 'Muzungu' owner of the sisal farm, on suspecting that they had escaped, ran and caught up with them on his horse. He whipped them thoroughly and took them to the District Commissioner who decided their fate. Siibo was lucky not to be jailed for three months because he was under age. He was returned to the very farm, and his Abanyole friends later joined him after completing their jail terms⁹⁶.

The 'Kipande' system served as a means of control of a regular labour supply for all employing agents. It also helped locate deserters from the labour force especially on settler farms. Desertion was viewed as a criminal offence and a servant (*omuboyi*) could not desert work from his master (*bwana*)⁹⁷. In addition, the system uncompromisingly gave administrative support to the existing system of low wages and conditions of work. This system, as long as it remained enforced, was disliked by all Africans. They resented its racial bias since it only applied to them and not Asians and Europeans⁹⁸.

The decade of the 1920's was a golden age for the European settler farmers. Coffee, sisal, maize and tea farms in the country increased their productivity due to an assured regular labour supply. After 1922, labour migrants generally were able to engage themselves to work for the employer of their choice. Aspiring workers had become more sophisticated in their awareness of the different wages, working conditions and housing arrangements which prevailed in different estates and in public and on private farms⁹⁹. One

informant told me he only went to work after knowing well the conditions under which he could work¹⁰⁰.

In 1923, there was an increase in the number of people registered for wage labour in the whole of North Kavirondo District. According to the records of that year, 1496 Africans were signed on contracts of service, an increment of 116 over 1922. This was indeed a small number for this labour generating reserve considering that the district was one of the most populated ones in the Colony with a population of over 296,952 people¹⁰¹. Some informants told me that they used to sign their labour contracts in Kisumu since it was nearer to Bunyore than Kakamega¹⁰². This probably accounted for the small numbers recorded for North Kavirondo District. Moreover, the fact that during this year there was an increased amount of money in the district, as reflected in the higher taxes collected, meant that more Africans had gone out for wage labour even though they were not registered. The amount of hut tax collected by the end of 1923 was Sh. 1,174,440 as against 1,026,252 that had been collected at the end of 1922. This was 97.87% of the expected estimate¹⁰³. Trade was also particularly good that year. There are no records for separate locations but the statistics imply that all locations were represented, including Bunyore.

From 1924 to 1930 the whole of North Kavirondo District was visited by large numbers of labour recruiters. In 1925, for example, this was prompted because the previous year labour had been difficult to obtain. For example, the Executive Engineer asked for two hundred and fifty men for Eldoret and only twenty-seven were obtained. This was probably because the previous year the Africans got enough money to pay their taxes¹⁰⁴.

Sufficient labourers did not simply arrive when required by the different employing agents, and this meant that a method had to be devised by which people would be informed about the available opportunities of wage labour.

The labour recruiters were either Europeans or Asians who did this work as a profession. They were very useful to settler farmers and other employers during periods of labour shortage. Such recruiters found labour for different employers from the reserves by persuading a man to leave his home, sign his registration certificate and provide the man with the means to travel to the different employers who needed labour¹⁰⁵. They had to seek the permission of the District Commissioner and the area chief before embarking on a recruitment exercise.

Informants do not recall seeing any European or Indian recruit labour in Bunyore. They remember vividly that the recruiters would use Abanyole as labour agents (*abasanyi*). An agent (*omusanyi*) had been a labourer himself at one time on any of the farms. He would go around in all villages talking to young men and convincing them to agree that he takes them to work for a good 'Mzungu' on his farm. Since there would sometimes be more than one labour agent in an area, people wanted to know which 'Mzungu' offered the most attractive terms. They would choose to go in for an employer who was not harsh, provided good housing, enough maize flour (*posho*) and a better salary. They would also be given a blanket, a container for fetching water and at least a steel pot (*sufuria*) for cooking¹⁰⁶. Indimuli of Eb'bayi was a well known labour agent in Bunyore¹⁰⁷. Such labour agents were paid on a per capita basis. Their service was a necessary part of the labour scene. Without them, the employers would have had considerable difficulty in communicating his needs and conditions to potential employees¹⁰⁸. There continued to be a regular supply of labour to the different employing agents. By 1926 in North Kavirondo District, 50% of the able-bodied adult male population aged between 15 and 40 years were in employment from the reserve. There was also an increase in child labour, especially in coffee and tea estates. Child labour was cheaper than adult labour¹⁰⁹.

Labour recruitment in 1927 was very vigorous, and according to the District Commissioner of North Kavirondo at the time, the whole conditions of labour recruitment were most unsatisfactory¹¹⁰. Informants could not recall changes in labour recruitment process in Bunyore. One of them said,

Labour recruitment before the 'locust famine' (*Nyangweso*) period was the same as after the famine¹¹¹.

The labour agents were paid between one and three shillings for every head of labourer they recruited¹¹². Probably these monetary gains made them aggressive and not do their work to the satisfaction of the District Commissioner.

In 1928, North Kavirondo District recorded the highest number ever of Africans in employment. There were 25,182 Africans working outside the district. In the whole country it was only Central Kavirondo District that rivalled them with an estimate of 23,834 Africans in active wage labour. North Kavirondo District had been the usual happy hunting ground for labour recruiters¹¹³. Bantu-speaking groups were preferred by European employers because they had proved to be hard working. In 1929 and 1930, North Kavirondo District again led in the field for the greatest labour exodus of Africans in employment in the whole of Kenya. No other district came within 10,000 of the North Kavirondo District output because Central Province which also provided a high proportion of the African labour that year did not fall within that range¹¹⁴. Bunyore's population of 29,612 persons ranked second to North Maragoli's of 29,998 in North Kavirondo District. By 1930, the figures had risen to 25,735 Africans in employment. Bunyore supplied 10 % of the total Africans in employment from North Kavirondo District. Maragoli on the other hand contributed 10.1 % of the labour force from the district. The whole of 1930 showed a steady flow of labour with few difficulties and an increasing percentage of tax payment¹¹⁵.

The Abanyole were willing to go and seek wage labour employment. Some of them preferred to squat on the European farms, returning occasionally to the reserve to check on their families, friends and other relatives. The able-bodied young men in active employment were hardly at home to participate in their traditional roles in the economy of the community. Thus, the withdrawal of labour from traditional use undermined the material production of the lineage-based Bunyore peasant economy with respect to agriculture, animal husbandry and craft activities. Women, children and the older people had therefore to take up these responsibilities. Although Bunyore was drained of active male involvement in economic development, those who remained behind had to work extremely hard to fend for the families and more often than not produce surplus for sale. Thus, the usual expectation of peasant economic production like agriculture deteriorating did not happen.

3.6 TRADE AND MARKETS IN BUNYORE 1902-1930

The exchange of commodities within Bunyore and between the Abanyole and their neighbours is an old pre-colonial phenomenon. Markets were established as the need for trade in various commodities arose¹¹⁶. During the period under study Bunyore traded not only with her neighbours but also with foreigners like the Indians and the Swahili. These people brought in goods like 'Merikani' cloth, shoes, ornaments, salt, sugar, 'panga's, 'jembe's, knives and bicycles and bought locally produced different types of grain, hides and skins. Trade in simsim, maize, green grams (*pojo*) and beans was the most important.

With the completion of the Uganda Railway which reached its terminus in Kisumu in 1901, a large number of Swahili as well as Indian traders flocked into the interior of Kavirondo and started a flourishing trade with the natives. Before 1904 in Bunyore, as in the rest of Kavirondo, sorghum (*amabele*) was

the only agricultural produce which was sold for money¹¹⁷. Trade and marketing patterns in the 1902-1930 period were greatly affected by early colonial policy. Roads were only constructed where the government felt there would be some commercial gains. The Kisumu-Yala road, which was first constructed in 1904, aimed at tapping the agricultural productivity of that area. For example, the introduction of the hut tax in 1903, and later on in 1910 the poll tax, was supposed to have a chain effect on the traditional African economy. This was because to pay tax the Abanyole, just like the other African peasants, had to produce more crops for sale. This would automatically increase trade. Increased trade meant a greater dependence on imported goods which made Africans to produce even more crops for sale than before. Seeds of simsim, beans, maize and potatoes were issued by the administration with the view that the Abanyole would sell the surplus in nearby trading centres¹¹⁸.

The earliest and largest trading centre in Bunyore was Emukasa. It was also commonly known as Otieno, since it developed mainly during the reign of *Omwami* Otieno, who was Chief of the Abanyole during the first two decades of colonial rule. Some referred to Emukasa as Mulusolia because trade transactions were carried out under an *Olusolia* tree. The two names actually refer to what came to be famously known as Luanda trading centre¹¹⁹.

According to informants, this trading centre existed before the coming of Europeans. It was active only when need arose, especially during crises such as epidemics, severe drought or locust invasions that caused famines¹²⁰. Initially, the Abanyole exchanged goods with their Luo and Maragoli neighbours but as time went on, even the Abarwa, other Abaluyia groups, Swahili and Indians converged here for purposes of trade¹²¹.

Indians played a major role in the changing trade and marketing patterns in Bunyore during the colonial period. One Indian informant, who was born and has lived doing business at Luanda market, clearly remembers the history of Indian settlement in Bunyore. His grandparents were employees of the Uganda Railway. Their attempts to engage in business began at Kisumu but stiff competition pushed them out of business. With the completion of a road from Kisumu to Yala in 1904, they, together with other Indians, were encouraged to try their luck in business in the interior. They constructed grass thatched shops at Yala and for a long time exchanged clothes for sorghum or sometimes money¹²². Yala became a prosperous trading centre by 1909, especially with the thriving trade in simsim. Simsim cultivation had been established in the fertile Yala valley¹²³. The Abanyole living along the river valley and in the immediate hinterland benefitted from this trade a great deal¹²⁴. They sold a load of 21 lbs of simsim for one rupee to the Indian traders. In 1910, Allidina Visram, a pioneer Indian trader in East Africa, was running two motor wagons on the Yala road because of the increased simsim trade. Apart from simsim, maize and sorghum were also important items of trade¹²⁵.

Between 1910 and 1911, when the colonial government proposed that the railway construction would begin with a new terminus at Butere¹²⁶, there was a shift in trade from Yala to Luanda. This was because Luanda was strategically placed. Some Indian traders left Yala to begin business at Luanda where they were joined later by many other Indian families from Kisumu. They erected either grass thatched shops (*duka*) or used old oil drums (*amatebe*) to construct their shops¹²⁷.

The Kisumu-Yala Railway changed the face of business in Yala and Luanda trading centres. Yala suffered a great loss of Indian businessmen because many opted to go to Luanda, which being nearer to Kisumu had an advantage

over Yala. Hence, the building of the railway accelerated the decline of Yala as a commercial centre, probably also because Luanda was strategically placed in relationship to the producing hinterland¹²⁸. Agricultural produce could easily reach the centre and be transported by rail to its various destinations. The surroundings of Luanda had a high population density which meant that there was a ready market for goods from the Luo, Abanyole and other Abaluyia communities living near Luanda. The Abarwa are also known to have come to Luanda for purposes of trade.

The 1920's was a period of economic recovery in Kenya as a whole and in Bunyore in particular¹²⁹. It was time to experiment on many foreign manufactured goods that the Indians sold, like sugar and salt. The Abanyole also used new agricultural instruments and planted new crops. Initially, they feared using sugar in their diet because they believed that sugar was made from human brains (*obwongu bwomundu*)¹³⁰. For the Indians to sell sugar, a thorough campaign had to be carried out so that the Abanyole would accept it. Tea would be made in big drums by the Indians during market days at Luanda and the Abanyole would be encouraged to drink it. One informant said he found the tea so sweet that he convinced his friends to come and taste some of it. Gradually, more Abanyole got to like sugar and would even buy it from Indian shops at Luanda. Salt was more easily accepted because it was familiar to them. It actually substituted the traditional salt¹³¹.

In 1923, there was plenty of money in the district and during that year trade was brisker than in the previous year. Hides fetched as much as fifteen shillings per frasila, while maize was costing one shilling and fifty cents for a 60lbs load. The Abanyole preferred to sell their maize produce at Kisumu since the same load fetched two shillings, an extra fifty cents more than what the traders were offering at Luanda. Simsim on the other hand was sold for four shillings per frasila¹³². Trade in cattle did not thrive much because the

Abanyole did not have to sell their cattle, since they only sold them to get cash for hut tax. At least there was enough money to pay tax¹.

Although Luanda was a thriving market centre, it was only established officially as a trading centre by the Colonial government in 1924. There was hardly any demand for plots then. A European quarter was set aside for plot allocation in 1923 but in 1924 it was abandoned². None of the informants ever knew that such a thing existed. The European quarter may have been abandoned because most of the trading done was on a small scale. Just as in other trading centres, Indian traders actually lived out of meagre existence by itinerant trading. Such conditions discouraged European traders³.

Between 1924 and 1926, there were numerous applications for plots at Luanda and all the applicants were Indians. In 1927, Luanda had 22 plots. Application for more plots remained high even though in the entire region crop failure had resulted in bad trade⁴.

The 1928 agricultural produce was very encouraging in Bunyore. Prices for farm produce were also very good. For example, while at Kakamega a bag of maize was sold between eight and eleven shillings, the same load at Luanda fetched as much as fourteen shillings. A bag of simsim was sold for between four and four shillings and fifty cents while a frasila of groundnuts was priced at three shillings and sixty cents⁵. The Indians at Luanda bought as much produce as they could from the Abanyole and sold it again to other traders at Kisumu, who in turn supplied it elsewhere, especially to the European farms⁶.

In 1929, Luanda continued to have numerous applications for Indian plot allocation. A total of 25 plots were occupied by Indians. A request by Indian traders for the extension of the trading centre was strongly opposed by the

Abanyole. This was because of the dense population of Bunyore location and the need to cultivate all available arable land. It is interesting to note that the main objective of the vast majority of the applicants was to make money by a gamble in land and that trade was really a secondary consideration. There was also a general anxiety by the Indian traders to obtain a corner plot, partly for speculative reasons. Traders had a prosperous year¹³⁹. There continued to be an increase in the application for plots but all were refused¹⁴⁰.

The Kisumu-Butere railway which was completed in 1930 changed the routes of trade and transport in the region. Luanda and Butere progressed to prosperous trading centres within just a few years. Some of the Indian traders at Luanda then were Pabar, Merral Asal, Patel, and Sadan Fundi among others¹⁴¹. Fundi was a nickname the Abanyole had given Sadan. Informants do not know his other Indian name. The commodities that were sold in the Indian shops included blankets, 'Merikani', wire, salt, bicycles, clothes, hats, boots, pipes, 'jembes', 'pangas' and beads among other things. The Indian traders either sold them for money or exchanged them for agricultural produce like maize, beans, cowpeas, simsim, green grams, hides and skins among others¹⁴².

There were other smaller trading centres in Bunyore. Trade transactions in these places were small compared to a trading centre like Luanda. Esibuye market near the Bunyore-Kisa border was the most significant. Abanyole traded there with the Kisa, Idakho, Marama and sometimes the maragoli. The Abanyole exchanged various weaved items and manufactured goods bought from Indian traders at Luanda with grain from their neighbours. The Maragoli traded mostly in pottery.

The history of the Abanyole in the period up to 1930 was characterized by a steady process of westernization which, following a slow start, soon

transformed in many respects both their living conditions and the outward appearance of their country¹⁴³. There was a road and a railway line linking up Bunyore and the rest of the Colony. This meant that there was considerable increase in the local traffic and in goods as well as a progressive trade with the rest of the Colony¹⁴⁴.

Trade also influenced the mode of exchange from barter to a monetization of the Pre-capitalist Bunyore economy. Both money and barter co-existed as modes of exchange for sometime¹⁴⁵. Those who benefitted from trade and the money economy like *Omwami* Daudi Otieno purchased bicycles among other things¹⁴⁶. To conclude, the subsistence Bunyore economy was steadily being integrated into the world wide Colonial mercantile system.

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CHAPTER FOUR

WESTERN EDUCATION AND CHANGE IN BUNYORE DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

4.1 PRE-COLONIAL BUNYORE EDUCATION

Education in pre-colonial Bunyore was central to society. The content of indigenous education embraced the understanding of the physical and social environment. A child had to learn the climatic features related to the physical surroundings, which dictated the nature of economic activities that were carried out, including cultivation, hunting, fishing, gathering and animal husbandry. Handicraft specialization was also taught and passed on from one family to another¹. Proper behaviour, norms and values of Abanyole culture were also taught. Education was a lifetime process, important for the cultural and socio-economic well-being of the Abanyole².

Children began to be taught as soon as they were able to speak and comprehend things. Young girls used to be taught by their mothers and grandmothers. This teaching entailed baby sitting, fetching water, firewood, gathering wild fruits, mushrooms and vegetables. They were taught and shown the different traditional herbs (medicines) and what these herbs treated. In addition to this, they were also taught how to smear the floors and walls of houses and how to cook. At about the age of eleven years they would start staying with an old respected woman (*omukonia*). They slept on beds (*esirri*) made out of strong sticks and tied with ropes³. Every evening the *omukonia* would light a fire and all the girls who used to share her hut would

sit around to listen to her tell them about their future roles and expectations as housewives and mothers. She would also tell them stories of old with specific themes geared towards wise decision-making in life. The older girls who were being groomed for marriage would be told how to be good responsible home makers.

Young boys on the other hand were taught by their fathers and grandfathers. Boys under the age of ten worked and helped their sisters and mothers in the various household chores. Before they were initiated, they could accompany the older boys to go and herd animals. They also helped in gardening. When they attained the age of sixteen years they would be initiated. This was an important time of education for them, because this was when they took on adulthood responsibilities⁴.

During initiation they would stay together in a hut called *erumbi*. This was a special hut built in an old man's home. He was a respected elder in the community who had gone through all the initiation rites. His role made him attain a new status. Whoever attained this status which preceded that of an elder was referred to as an *omutili* or *omwemeli*. The history of the Abanyole would be told to them over and over again. From it they got to know their historical background. They would also have story telling sessions. These were either fairy tales, fiction or life experience stories all aimed at helping them make serious decisions in life.

The initiation period lasted from three to six months during which initiates were also taught how to be good husbands, fathers, future elders and leaders in the community. All these teachings were done in the evening around a fire (*esitioli/khuluyia*). Sometimes the *omutili* would invite other elderly men to give the initiates words of wisdom and general advice about how to live in the

society. This embraced agricultural practices, animal husbandry, ceremonial activities, war tactics and defence, hunting expeditions and similar topics. In all, boys of ages sixteen to twenty-one underwent a vigorous educational training.

Once the initiation period was over, the young initiates were considered to be adults and marriage was always their next step. This ushered in a new phase of responsibility. They could no longer enter their mothers' kitchen or bedroom. The next stage after this was that of being an elder (*omukhulundu*) who was responsible for decision making in the community. From this level onwards education still continued. This was the general state of pre-colonial education in Bunyore.

4.2 MISSIONARY EDUCATION

Missionary activity in Bunyore began only after 1902 when the various Abaluyia communities of Nyanza were brought under British rule⁵. The completion of the Uganda Railway in 1901 opened the interior of Western Kenya to missionary activities. Missionaries of various sects and denominations the Church Missionary Society (Anglican), Quakers, Church of God, and the Mill Hill Fathers, mushroomed in Western Kenya. In Bunyore, however, there were two major missions at work, that is, the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) and the South African Compound and Interior Mission (S.A.C.I.M.). These missionaries were the chief purveyors of Western education in Bunyore.

In 1904, Mr. Wilson was sent by Mr. W.A. Baker, a British missionary living among the Zulu of South Africa, to start a station of the S.A.C.I.M. at Kima. Mr. Wilson travelled by rail to Kisumu and continued into the interior arriving at Kaimosi Quaker Mission the same year. There he discussed his vision with

Mr. Willis and Mr. Rees, who were Quaker missionaries, before he returned to South Africa. In 1905, accompanied by his wife, he came back and started a mission station of the S.A.C.I.M. The Bunyore leader *omwami* Otieno offered him land at Esikomoli where the Wilsons built a long grass thatched rectangular building which served as a church hall. In 1906, Benson, a Norwegian, Richardson, an Australian, and John Bila, a South African, joined the Wilsons to work with the nascent Bunyore church⁶.

The missionaries had a big task facing them. First and foremost, they had to learn the local language so as to be able to evangelize among the Abanyole. Their work was nevertheless not in vain. The first Abanyole who embraced this new faith included Yohana Owenga, Matayo Sikalo, Jairo Opetsi, Yusuf Okwemba, Miriam Atetwe, Stefano Kheyabala and Phoebe Muchilwa from the Esikomoli area. Benson, who had been sent to open another station at Emusire in 1906, got more converts. They were Daniel Malala, Filipu Esitianga and Nichodemus Amachuku.

The first converts were attracted through basic evangelism. The missionaries did this in several ways. Many times they used gifts of clothing and blankets to lure the Africans into the faith. Many of them found the new faith appealing because it was not as enslaving as their culture and tradition. For example, Christian women were allowed to eat all types of food, unlike before when they were forbidden to eat some types of food like chicken, eggs, parts of a cow like the liver, the heart and the kidney. The Abanyole women were forbidden to eat mostly the very nutritious and delicious foods. The first thing they were taught in the church was to read the Bible. Many did not know how to write. Teaching was done in Lunyore. It was quite difficult for the first converts to comprehend this new faith, but the constant explanation, the encouragement and enthusiasm of the missionaries helped the Abanyole to gain the basic truth of their new faith⁷.

The period between 1910 and 1930 established the early foundation of the Church in Bunyore. The Kramers and the Bakers did remarkable work during this time. Between 1912 and 1916, Es'songolo, Esalwa, Ematsuli, Ebunangwe, Emusire and Mumboha churches emerged. Early Abanyole converts started organizing themselves in groups to preach and evangelize in these new spheres of contact⁸. The churches also acted as elementary educational institutions. This was because converts were taught about the new faith here. They were also taught how to read the Bible. Since the Bible had not been translated from English into Lunyore, the missionaries would write sections of it in Lunyore, for the Abanyole to use as guidelines for their faith⁹. The first Christian converts received a lot of opposition from their fellow Abanyole. To encourage these converts to press on, the missionaries thought it wise that all converts stay together at the church compounds. They lived in Christian villages called *amatala kabakristayo*. Here they were taught how to read the Bible and any other thing concerning this newly found faith¹⁰.

The Church of God in Bunyore owes a lot of gratitude to the Baker family. Arriving in 1914, with their young daughter, their presence began to tell on the tempo of development at Kima Mission. There were more Abanyole converted and baptized. These included Musa Otundo, Noah Opinyi, Daudi Otieno, Paulo Ndengu, Isaka Esilaba and Peter Akutekha. Together with the Kramer family they travelled in the interior of Bunyore on bicycles or on foot, and they spread the gospel into the unreachable corners of Bunyore and beyond.

One of their early educational impacts was the translation of the New Testament into Lunyore. They used Daniel Asiachi and Jairus Asila, two Abanyole converts, to help in translation. Despite their linguistic handicaps, they did a remarkable job. This translation became widely accepted in Bunyore

and even among other Abaluyia communities where the Church of God spread the gospel. The Church Missionary Society also used the same translated Bible at that time¹¹.

The Baker's daughter is particularly credited, not only because of her participation in Bible translation, but also because she started the first teaching classes among the children. She actually established the very first aspects of the foundation of the elementary education system in Bunyore and elsewhere in Kisa, Butso, Idakho and Isukha. The present schools and education system of the Church of God owe much to her inspirational unflinching love and dedication to education. She also taught Elementary Nursing at Kima hospital and the new Christian Abanyole music, especially Sunday School music. She also started the 'Dorcas society' among the women, which today is called the Women's Society of the Church of God in East Africa. Her pioneering work among the women in Bunyore is tremendous.

This was the initial contribution of the Church of God Mission in Bunyore to education. The missionaries' urge to spread the gospel to the Abanyole enabled them to educate the early converts how to read and write. By 1918, the Abanyole who had been converted to Christianity were also quickly changing their way of life. Clothes to them were becoming the rule rather than the exception. The Abanyole converts encouraged their friends and close relatives to accept the new faith. One woman informant was convinced to accept Christianity by her elder sister who on accepting Christianity had been taken to stay at the Kima Mission Station. She liked the new life and the freedom that she had started enjoying in the new faith¹². Apart from being instruments of early education in Bunyore, the missionaries also performed a socializing role in the colonial world and brought about economic change¹³. During the difficult times of severe food shortage they distributed relief food to the Abanyole. They also encouraged the Abanyole to accept new food

stuffs like salt and sugar. Moreover, when it came to the introduction of new crops they were always in the front line¹⁴.

The Church Missionary Society established a Mission station at Maseno in 1906. By 1908, they had started the Maseno Out School. In 1927, they opened a new station in Butere and started a school there too¹⁵. Both these schools played a vital role in the education progress of Abanyole. The Maseno Out School being on the border of Bunyore and Luo served both the Abanyole and Abajaluo pupils. Although Butere was not in Bunyore, it did play an important role especially in the education of the Abanyole young women who joined it after completing standard four. They were trained as teachers¹⁶. Between 1917 and 1920 the 'natives' who attended the Maseno Out School were taught elements of reading, writing and arithmetic, besides two hours a day of religious instruction. Basic elementary education was taught for two hours daily¹⁷. The only school that the Church Missionary Society started in Bunyore before 1930 was Ebwali Out School. The C.M.S. had started a Church at Ebwali in 1924. This had been spearheaded by Esau Oriedo, a former Church of God adherent who was ex-communicated from the Church of God because of a traditional dance that was part of his wedding ceremony. All those who danced with him during the ceremony were sent away. They later established an Anglican congregation at Ebwali under the umbrella of the Church Missionary Society of Maseno¹⁸.

The first elementary school that the S.A.I.M.C. missionaries established in the heartland of Bunyore was the Kima Out School which opened its doors in 1921. The following year the Church of God took over the running of this school plus the entire mission because the S.A.I.M.C. could no longer run their mission due to financial constraints¹⁹. Jairus Asila, one of the first pupils of the school, clearly remembers the curriculum at the school. It involved reading, writing and arithmetic. Geography and hygiene were also

taught. The first examination was in vernacular (literacy) which used to be done in standard four. Here one had to show his prowess in reading and writing before a certificate was issued to him²⁰.

By 1923, the Abanyole were still not very enthusiastic about missionary education. Only a handful of them seemed interested. They regarded missionary educators as a threat to their traditions²¹. Those who attended school were taught literacy education for about two hours and the greater part of the day they did work of a technical nature. It was not unusual for boys to desert school because they disliked being forced to work for any length of time. Below are statistics of the number of Out Schools in North Kavirondo District run by the various Missions²².

Missions	Number of Schools
Mill Hill Mission	104
Christian Missionary Society	75
Friends African Church	88
Church of God	31

Adapted from KNA, DC/NN/1/4, 1923, p 37.

These Out Schools were used for the elementary teaching of literacy and religion. In Bunyore the Church of God was not only operating an Out School at Kima but also at other places where it had established sister Churches like Ebutongoi²³. The following year Out Schools run by the Church of God in Bunyore increased by four, and by 1930 they had shot up to forty-five in the whole of North Kavirondo District. Education in Bunyore till then was entirely in the hands of missionaries. It included literacy, technical and evangelistic instruction.

In 1927, Jairus Asila, one of the early Abanyole converts who had embraced missionary education after finishing elementary education at Kima, was employed as an interpreter at Kima Mission. Together with another Omunyole,

Daniel Asiachi, they helped translate the New Testament into Lunyore. Daniel Asiachi was an expert in Lunyore, while Jairus Asila's knowledge of both English and Lunyore played a significant role in the translation work of Miss Baker and Mrs. Kramer²⁴. Before 1930, education for boys seemed to take the upper hand over that of girls because parents preferred their daughters to help in the household chores and then get married.

4.3 WESTERN EDUCATION FOR GIRLS IN BUNYORE FROM 1930 TO 1963

By 1930, a new phase in the life of Abanyole girls' education was started. Miss Baker and Mrs. Twiyla I. Ludwig for a long time had desired to help the Abanyole girls get at least elementary education. Their male counterparts had gone very far ahead of them. Mrs. Ludwig asked the following questions in the opening words of her book, Polished Pillars :

How could the African home become a centre for the spread of Christianity and education if the mothers remained heathen and ignorant? How could a young man who had given his life to God's word do his best, when by his side was an untrained wife?²⁵.

She deeply believed that their work would only go forward if the girls were trained and educated. She therefore endeavoured to have a closer relationship with Abanyole girls so as to know their inner thoughts about life. She also wanted to discover if the bondage imposed upon African women, which to her was 'slavery', was really slavery in their eyes. She dismissed Zakio, their male cook, and engaged a young lady called Ndosio. She also employed other ladies, like Neva and Anjilimi. She started teaching Ndosio how to cook, Anjilimi how to wash dishes, make beds, set the table and clean the house and Obwe how to use a sewing machine. These girls soon became Christians. This made Mrs. Ludwig and Miss Baker very happy. They were also able to

learn many things concerning the norms, values and generally the culture of an OmuNyole woman through these girls.

Meanwhile preparations were being made to build the Girls' School and especially erect a dormitory so that the girls could be boarders. Mrs. Ludwig and Miss Baker also prepared some Abanyole women to help in teaching once the school opened its doors. Mariamu, one of the earliest women converts, applied to enter the sewing class. She learnt how to sew on the sewing machine as well as by hand. She was very brilliant and her work won first prize in a Government Industrial Show. Mariamu kept on with her classes until the School actually started in 1931.

Earlier on in 1928 another girl, Obujer're, who had been enrolled in the vernacular class passed with high marks. Her teachers, Miss Baker and Mrs. Ludwig, were very happy since God was bringing together worthwhile pupils suitable to start the school. Herbert and Flora Enderre had just returned from the Jeanes School at Kabete where they had been sponsored by Mr. Ludwig for a teaching course. To him Herbert would be a valuable Agricultural teacher, since prior to his going to Kabete he had been trained for four years at Bukura Farmers' Training Centre. Flora, his wife, had learnt how to knit while there. Mrs. Ludwig hoped Herbert would teach in the boys school and also help in the girls' school.

In 1929, having sorted out the issue of teachers, it was now necessary to think about the construction of the School. Mr. Ludwig estimated that it would cost a thousand dollars to build a dormitory so that an ideal home environment would be created for the girls. The Missionary Board of America and the Education Director of Kenya Colony proved not to be of any financial help in this building programme against the expectations of the missionaries at Kima. Mrs. Ludwig wrote again to the Church of God in America, which

responded and sent them clothes. It was suggested that a sale of the clothes be organized to help raise some funds. Pupils in the boys school made tickets showing the prices of the different kinds of garments, and Mariamu sewed them on the garments. The sale was advertised far and near. The sale was very successful and one hundred and twenty five dollars was raised. This was used to purchase cement.

In September, one and a half months later, another sale was organized. Since this was the maize harvesting season, the Abanyole took their maize to Luanda for sale to get money to buy clothing at the sale. The price of maize had dropped and the Indians were only paying one shilling and fifty cents for a bag of maize and at this price the Abanyole could not buy clothes at the sale. It was decided that the Abanyole exchange maize for clothes and a lot of maize was brought in. It was later sold at a profit of nine hundred dollars. This thrilled the women beyond expression. They shouted "*embwo, embwo, Nyasaye*" meaning "thank you, thank you, God". The work of construction began and Abanyole Christian women carried the bricks to the building site and fetched the needed water. Men were hired to lay the bricks and to mix the cement, but Phoebe, one of the first women converts, rubbed with her feet the disintegrated granite and mud used in the plastering and between the bricks. She was the first woman in the district to do such a thing.

In April 1930, Mr. Baker (the British missionary who started the Kima Mission) laid the corner stone for the girls' school at Kima. Embedded in the cement under glass was a sheet of paper which bore these words,

that our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner stones, polished after the similitude of a palace.

These words Mr. Baker believed were to be used to describe the women of the future whom training in the girls' school at Kima would produce. He

likened the trained Christian young women to polished pillars, coming from the bush and crude heathenism. To Mr. Baker, they were becoming polished in the school at Kima station to take their places beside Christian husbands and both be pillars in the Church of God. When the first dormitory was completed, it was named the Rosalyne House.

Mr. Ludwig called for a Church committee meeting in 1930 comprising some Abanyole early Christian converts like Daudi Otieno, who was an important personality in the development of both boys and girls schools. Twelve girls were chosen to be the first pupils in the school. These were girls who were committed, virtuous and thrifty Christians. They paid tuition fees of fifteen shillings and were admitted on June 4th, 1931. They were among others Leyah (Leah), Magureta (Margret), Niva, Alice, Grace and Sarah Kalebo. Those to teach in the school were as follows: Mariamu was the sewing teacher, Flora, the knitting teacher and Herbert the teacher for agriculture. Obujer're became the first woman to be in charge of a dormitory (hut mother).

Teaching began and when the School Inspector visited the school in October 1931, he was so impressed and wrote a good report that the Director of Education sent one hundred and twenty five dollars to help in the completion of the school. This money was used to buy twelve iron beds. In the same year another box donation from the United States of America was received. It contained sheets of unbleached muslin for single beds, pillow cases from floor sacks, quilts pieced out of scraps from rags, pencils, pieces of chalk, erasers, writing tablets and other school materials. Mrs. Ludwig's dream had come true. This remained the only girls school in the area even up to 1963.

The Kima Girls' School continued to expand and by 1933 a second dormitory had been built to accommodate fourteen more girls who were admitted. The dormitory was named Gladys in honour of Gladys Kramer. Esinali was chosen

to be the hut mother of the dormitory. By 1934, the girls' boarding school had forty-two girls. The dormitories were crowded and the girls had to share the twenty-six available beds. The school continued to expand so fast that there was need to build the third dormitory. The Principal was Mrs. Ludwig. She was assisted by two European teachers, Mrs. Rogers and Miss Baker, and four African teachers. These were Mariamu Jerimiah, Margaret Ibrahim, Grace Amaoye and Alice Kamusa. These Abanyole women pioneers after accepting Christianity were taken to stay at the Kima Mission Station where they were educated and trained to be teachers. They later married Christian husbands. Jairus Asila helped the hospital group that consisted of eight girls of standard two. The curriculum involved reading, writing, arithmetic, vernacular, domestic science, agriculture, drill, sewing and knitting. Mrs. Ludwig's subjects were sewing, domestic science, English, drawing and Bible. Mariamu was the sewing teacher²⁶.

When the North Nyanza Inspector of Schools visited the Girls' School in 1935 and saw what the girls did in home economics he said that,

I might almost go so far as to say that this part of the girls training is the most prominent feature of the training given by this Mission Society.

This meant that more emphasis was laid on this than on academic excellence.

The attendance of the School was as follows:

Table : Attendance Register

Class	Day		Boarders	
	Roll	Present	Roll	Present
Std I	29	26	-	-
Std I	6	6	-	-
Std II	9	9	-	-
Std IIX	-	-	9	9
Std III	-	-	2	2
Std IV	-	-	2	2
Std V	-	-	2	2
Std VI	-	-	1	1

Adapted from KNA, PC/NZA/3/6/108, 1935.

The Kima Central School admitted girls here but they were few compared to the enormous number of boys. Parents preferred their girls to help in home making and get married as soon as they matured. It was no wonder then that at the girls' school, the number of girls after standard five were very few indeed.

In 1936, work on the new dormitory began but it was not ready for occupation until early 1937. The dormitory was named Margret House in honour of Margret, the first girl to pass the Vernacular Examination in the district and the first one to serve as a hut mother. The dormitory housed twenty-eight girls. During the same year a building containing five classrooms and an office was used for the first time. It had been built out of baked bricks, had iron roof and cemented floors.

Domestic science was a more highly elaborated subject than the other taught subjects. This was because the missionaries initial dream was to make the Abanyole girls good home makers for their future Christian husbands. The girls were taught how to make various kinds of flour from local roots and

grain. They used them to make different kinds of puddings, cookies, cakes and bread. Jams, butters, jellies and sauces were made from local vegetables and fruits. They also learnt how to make soap and starches from local fats and roots which were used for washing. They used corn husks, reeds, grasses and sisal to weave beautiful baskets of various sizes. In addition, they were also taught how to prepare dyes, and how to sew by hand and machine. The missionaries hoped that they would sell some of these things to their friends and at the nearby market to help raise money to build more dormitories for the girls. In their fourth standard, arithmetic classes were given so that the girls would know all the calculations concerning home making. For instance, Mrs. Ludwig had the girls, during the arithmetic class, solve problems like this:

If one and a half cups of butter is needed in a recipe to make twenty little cakes, which will serve five people, how much butter is needed to serve twenty four people, four cakes each?²⁷

The domestic science department thus aimed to meet the needs of the "modern African home". Two Abanyole girls helped in the teaching of this subject. They were Chuma and Akhanakha, who had Government Domestic Science Teachers' Certificate²⁸.

In addition to the above curriculum, the girls' school also had a maternity department that taught obstetrics. The first four pupils were Neva, Esther, Khasante and Leyah. Teacher Mariamu's daughter Leyah was the only one who finished the course and was later employed in the hospital at Kaimosi. Miss Lima Helmer and Mrs. Ludwig taught the obstetrics class. In the latter part of 1934, the British Government gave money to build a maternity ward and a delivery room in connection with the girls' school. The Local Native Council also contributed some money towards this project. The building was dedicated on July 4th, 1935. Miss Freda Strenger joined the staff that year to help in the training of the girls²⁹.

In 1938, seven of the twelve girls obtained their Elementary Teachers' Certificate. They were absorbed to teach at the girls' school. During the same year a new group of four girls decided to study Maternity Nursing. Only two of them completed the course and passed an examination given by the Medical Officers in 1939. They were Sarah Kalebo and Rita Paulo. Sarah Kalebo was among the first twelve girls to be admitted when the girls' school started and Rita Paulo was among the fourteen girls who were admitted in the second intake.

The Principal of the school endeavoured to make public the then Bunyore Girls' School. She took advantage of every opportunity to present the girls' handicraft at every Government Show. The first ever exhibit the girls made was sent to Rhodesia where they received very high honours. Their subsequent exhibits at the Jeanes School, Kabete, Agricultural Show at Mumias and Kisii awarded them many prizes. The Governor of Kenya Colony was particularly impressed by their exhibits at the Kisii Show.

The girls attending school at Bunyore Girls' were continually making an impact on the entire society. During their vacations they taught the members of their families many new things that they had been taught at school. This included new agricultural practices, new cooking methods and they also imparted the new religious faith especially to their non-Christian family members. Khasante one of the girls at the school when asked what she did during the vacations said,

I tried to teach our people at home that agriculture is not drudgery, but an honour to our women. I taught my mother and six other women how to plant corn, finger millet (*obule*), sorghum (*amabele*) and even potatoes in rows to make it easier to cultivate. I helped five women to dig humus pits, and taught them how they could produce humus to build up their soil. I helped dig a ditch around a hill and planted napier grass (*olusi*) in the ditch to prevent soil erosion. I believe many people will learn from it.

The Principal hoped that more classes and dormitories would be built to admit more girls. In 1938, seventy-two girls applied for admission into the school but not all of them could be taken because dormitories were already crowded. It was only until 1940 that more pupils could be admitted. Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Litondo were used as a model of an enlightened Christian African family to the girls at school. Both of them were teachers at the Mission schools and their lives were a testimony to the girls that a wife was the husband's companion and not a 'slave' who would never go to school and also get a good job like teaching³⁰.

4.4 GENERAL WESTERN EDUCATION IN BUNYORE UP TO THE END OF WORLD WAR II

There was more attendance of boys than girls in all the Out Schools from 1930 onwards. Between 1931 and 1951 classes at the C.M.S., Maseno School were divided either into two or three streams. The teaching language was either Dholuo or Lunyore. The teaching of English was still nascent. Maseno had both an Elementary School and a Junior Secondary School. The curriculum at the Junior school included carpentry, masonry, tailoring, clerical work and teaching. Fees at the school increased from sixty shillings for new entrants to the Elementary school and sixty-five shillings per annum for those already in school. The Junior Secondary School charged as much as one hundred and fifty shillings per annum. Those who were admitted for the teacher training course were educated free³¹. The tuition fees was quite high for an ordinary Omunyole parent to afford. Jako, a retired teacher, remembers that he had to work very hard alongside his guardian to get the needed tuition fees³². The few who managed to go through the school had to really work hard to raise the tuition fees which kept increasing.

The District Education Board of North Nyanza was started in 1934 to coordinate the educational services at primary level and to give financial grants-in-aid to voluntary bodies owning schools. These funds were either very little or not available. During the same year, Mr. Benson of the Jeanes School, Kabete, organized a meeting for teachers at Ebwali Sector School in Bunyore³³. This was aimed at encouraging the teachers to go on with their good work and also encourage school-age children to attend school. Parents were also encouraged to release their children to attend school although some of them were not very willing. The total attendance of pupils at the Kima Central School in 1935 increased to two hundred and nine because many parents took their children to school. According to the Inspection Report on the primary school, there were ten teachers in all. This was the highest number of teachers in a 'native' school in the district. Four of these teachers were missionaries of the Church of God. They comprised Mr. S.P. Rogers, the Principal, Mrs. Rogers, the Assistant Principal, Miss Baker and Mr. Ludwig. The African teachers included Jairo Asila, Timothy Litondo, Daudi Otieno, Nehemia Amakoye, Wilson Mutavi and Zabulon Ashikhubi. Asila with a salary of thirty-five shillings per month earned the highest salary payable to African teachers. Twenty-five shillings per month was the lowest payable salary³⁴.

These African teachers showed that Western education was becoming an avenue to economic prosperity. Educated Abanyole got 'white collar' jobs or good technical jobs, unlike those who never went to school. While at school the pupils spent the morning hours doing gardening work and in the afternoons, they learnt education and nature study. The teachers divided the work among themselves. Mr. Rogers taught arithmetic in standard six, Bible study up to standard five and also trained the teachers and supervised the primary school work. Mr. Ludwig taught drawing, while Mrs. Rogers taught English, geography and history. She was also in charge of music in the whole school. The African teachers assisted in the teaching of vernacular, carpentry

and tailoring. Agriculture and nature study were also part of the curriculum at the school.

There were fifteen African teachers in training for the Lower Primary Teachers Examination. This was a temporary measure to train the teachers needed as quickly as possible. Emusire Sector School also served an important role in admitting school-age children to school. There was an increasing need for more sector schools to meet the demand of school-age children. Those who graduated from sector schools and needed to go for further studies either joined the Government African School at Kakamega or Maseno³⁵. John Owuor, who taught at Kima Central School as a tailor and instructor from 1936 to 1947, was a graduate of Kakamega Government School³⁶. In 1938, he was reported by the Educational Inspector of North Nyanza District to be the only keen and efficient Omunyole teacher³⁷.

Bunyore had a number of primary schools, which among others included Kima Central School, Bunyore Girls' School, Ebwali Sector School, Ebusakami Sector School, Ekambuli Intermediate School, Es'songolo, Eb'bayi, Esalwa and Emusire. Kima Central School, the largest school in Bunyore had a population of one hundred and sixty-three pupils in 1938. The number of pupils had dropped compared to 1935. The number of African teachers had increased to seven. In 1939, the number of pupils at the school dropped to one hundred and fifteen out of which ninety were boarders. The school Principal believed the decrease was mainly due to the fact that the sixty shillings tuition per annum could not be raised by many parents. Moreover, some of the pupils in Standard Four were not up to the required standard and needed to be discontinued. The LNC came to the help of the school by giving a grant of four hundred and twenty-two pounds to the school³⁸.

During the Second World War period, the system of education was interfered with, not only in the entire Colony but also in Bunyore. Money was scarce and there arose a serious food shortage and a famine which the Abanyole nicknamed the 'hunger cup' (*injala ye sikombe*), because relief food and food sold at the market was measured in cups. It became a rule that pupils could only attend the boarding schools by bringing their own food. This too proved disastrous because many pupils dropped out of school since they could not get their own food.

In 1943, Miss Jarisch, the newly appointed government Lady Supervisor of Female Education, gave more attention to the education of the girls in the district following a low school attendance by girls in 1942. There were only five boarding schools for girls in the whole of North Kavirondo District. Bunyore Girls' Boarding School still remained the largest and admitted the highest number of students³⁹.

4.5 POST WAR EDUCATION IN BUNYORE

One of the biggest post-war priorities in Bunyore was the need to extend and develop educational facilities. In 1949, a Junior Secondary School was established at Emusire by the Church of God missionaries. This school aimed at admitting pupils who qualified from the primary school. After the Junior school such pupils, if they passed, joined teacher training colleges which had been established at Mwiwila and Vihiga. Mwiwila, on the border between Bunyore and Kisa, was a mixed college run by the Church of God Mission, which trained T₃ teachers⁴⁰ (T₂, T₃, T₄ were grading scales of teachers at that time depending on the level of grade they had attained in elementary and primary school). On the other hand, Vihiga was a branch of the Jeanes School, Kabete, and trained only women as T₄ teachers. Among the first intake were some Abanyole women who later contributed tremendously to the

development of education in Bunyore by their services as teachers in Bunyore. These are Tabitha Kiyangu Olenja from Ebwali and Mary Nyakowa from Ebuhando Musikulu⁴¹. Tabitha Olenja remembers that during her training at Vihiga they went for teaching practice at Emusire and Ekambuli schools situated in Bunyore besides teaching in surrounding schools in Maragoli⁴². Other teacher training colleges in the district were at Butere, Nyang'ori, Kaimosi, Mukumu and Mumia's.

Adult education programs were another feature of the post-war education plan. This was run under an organization called Maendeleo ya Wanawake. Among the subjects the women learnt were sewing, knitting, child welfare, cleanliness of persons and home, laundry, cooking, pottery, woodwork and weaving⁴³. Mrs. R. Emery was in charge of women's homecraft working in 1952. During her term in service, new institutes were opened in the district. These included Es'songolo in Bunyore, Bushiangala, Eshikunga, Vigena, Sabatia, Butere and Kidinyi. The women would meet for their classes in churches, which were not the best places in which to work. This was because it was not possible to build ovens, keep cupboards and hang diagrams in the church. Women were also taught new agricultural methods so that they could be able to produce enough food for the family and for sale. They could be given seeds of vegetable, fruit, trees and also be taught the importance of compost manure. In the Colony wide Competition by Coates and Clarke, the Es'songolo women's group from Bunyore won the third prize. This was a remarkable achievement⁴⁴.

Agricultural education during the year 1952 was commendable. Progress and emphasis lay in improving the standard of agricultural instruction in the schools. The District Agricultural Officer, the Assistant Agricultural Officers and instructors did an excellent job in the district in preparing schools for the Watson Shield Competition through the plot system. Bunyore schools led in

the competition again. Agricultural teaching in the Bunyore schools was maintained at a very high level.

In 1952, there was a marked decrease in the number of girls attending primary schools, especially in standards one and two, as indicated in the Table below.

STD	BOYS		GIRLS	
	1951	1952	1951	1952
I	9889	7556	4075	2921
II	6784	7415	3473	2954
III	6180	6656	2439	2669
IV	4849	6035	1569	1953
V	4752	2970	1140	495
VI	1759	70	121	5
TOTAL	34,213	32,654	12,817	10,997

Adapted from KNA, DC/NN/1/34, NNDAR, 1952, p 32.

This was due to the increase in school fees and the introduction of the uniform fee. Teacher training facilities were extended especially for T₂ teachers. One could be trained at Siriba Teachers' college. It was hoped that this would keep pace with the development programme at school.

There was continued emphasis laid on education all over the Colony by 1956. North Nyanza District was well served with educational institutions, either run by the Regional Education Board, the District Education Board (D.E.B) through the LNC or by the missionary societies. Bunyore and Maragoli locations had the largest number of schools in the district⁴⁵. In 1957, the southern division of the district, comprising Bunyore, Maragoli and Tiriki, had the highest number of children attending primary schools in the Colony as shown in the table below. This amounted to over eighty percent of the total number of pupils in schools in the district. The efficient schools were those managed by

the Church of God Missionaries in Bunyore, Kisa and Butsotso locations. Bunyore location had the second highest number of schools in the district after North Maragoli. Bunyore had thirty-seven schools while North Maragoli had fifty-three schools. The table in the next page clearly indicates this⁴⁶.

Distribution of schools by location in North Nyanza District

LOCATIONS	PRIMARY	PRI. TOP	INTERMEDIATE	TOTAL
N. Maragoli	45	3	5	53
S. Maragoli	30	1	4	35
Nyangori	19	-	4	23
Tiriki	25	-	2	27
Bunyore	32	-	5	37
Marama	21	-	4	25
Kisa	14	1	3	18
Idakho	25	1	4	30
Isukha	30	-	3	33
Kabras	19	-	2	21
Bunyala	10	-	1	11
Butsotso	14	-	2	16
N. Wanga	12	-	2	14
S. Wanga	14	1	2	17
Mukulu	7	-	1	8
Buholo	6	-	2	8
TOTAL	325	7	46	376

Adapted from KNA, DC/NN/1/38, NNDAR, 1957, p 23.

The number of schools in the two locations had increased by 1959. North Maragoli was leading with sixty-six schools and Bunyore was third with forty five schools. See the table in next page⁴⁷.

Division	Location	Number of Schools		
		Primary	Intermediate	Total
Vihiga	N, Maragoli	56	10	66
	S. Maragoli	40	7	47
	Nyangori	21	5	26
	Tiriki	31	5	36
	Bunyore	36	9	45
	Total	184	36	220
Central	Idakho	30	5	35
	Isukha	36	5	41
	Kisa	17	3	20
	Total	83	13	96
Lurambi	Kabras	24	3	27
	Bunyala	12	2	14
	Butsotso	16	3	19
	Total	52	8	60
Mumias	Uholo	7	2	9
	N Wanga	15	2	17
	S Wanga	14	2	16
	Wanga Mukulu	7	2	9
	Marama	20	4	24
	Total	63	12	75
District Total		184	69	415

Adapted from, KNA, DC/NN/1/40, NNDAR, 1959.

There were more boys than girls seeking secondary education in the district between 1958 and 1963. Following the establishment of a day secondary school at Chavakali in 1959, Bunyore, Tiriki and Nyangori locations also started pressing for their own day secondary schools. Bunyore was requesting that Emusire be upgraded to a recognized Day school. Already there were other boarding secondary schools in the district at Kakamega, Mumia's and

Butere. Boys, however, would still be admitted at Kamusinga, Maseno and Alliance High schools if they excelled⁴⁸.

Female education on the other hand continued to be of great concern to the missionaries. Vihiga Division (Southern Division) showed a higher percentage of girls' attending school, this being over fifty percent in some schools within the location. Here parents were willing to pay up to forty shillings a year to have their girls trained⁴⁹. Bunyore Girls' School continued to be the biggest school and admitted the largest number of girls in the district. In 1961, the school admitted five hundred and fifteen girls. The other girls' schools in the district included Goibei, Kaimosi, Mumia's, Eregi and Mukumu⁵⁰. By the time of independence control of schools in the district was more of a District Education Board responsibility than a mission responsibility.

The emphasis on agricultural education was also on the increase. The basis of agricultural policy up to when Kenya gained independence was to spread the basic principles of elementary agriculture by educating the agricultural staff and the 'native' authority. Concentrated efforts were placed on the conservation of soil, preparing manure, land consolidation, enclosure programs and cash crop production by having a series of field days for intensive training throughout the district⁵¹. One assistant agricultural inspector and one instructor were put in every location to work on school 'shambas' during the year 1958. They also gave lectures in schools in an attempt to make the

children know and be interested in better agricultural methods. Young Farmers Clubs were to be started in all Intermediate Schools⁵². Bunyore benefitted from agricultural education programme at Bukura Farmers Training Centre in 1960 organized by the Principal. These were a group of courses for farmers engaged in land consolidation that ran over ten days. Other locations that benefitted were Marama, Wang'a, Uholo, Kisa and Kabras⁵³.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The missionaries spearheaded the development of Western education in Bunyore. The Church of God Mission played the biggest role followed by other Missions. In the initial stages the missionaries did not achieve much because many Abanyole had not grasped the importance of education. As more Abanyole became Christians and obtained some basic education, they realized education was actually for their own benefit. That was why in 1930 women came in large numbers to Kima Mission station for communal labour during the building of the Bunyore Girls' School. In subsequent years the Abanyole themselves were asking for more schools for their children. In 1960, for instance, they pressed for the establishment of a day secondary school in their location. This was later on granted to them.

Through Western education Abanyole were able to read and write and this marked the beginning of literacy in Bunyore. The large number of schools in Bunyore by 1963 was a clear indication of this marked literacy level. Although for a long time the LNC did not contribute much to education in Bunyore, the missionaries were determined in this field. The Abanyole's acceptance of Christianity also encouraged the missionaries to help the African the more. It was only after 1960 that the LNC started playing an active role in education in Bunyore. This did not, however, pull down the efforts of missionary work. As early as 1927 Miss Baker had started working on a Bible Translation project. With the help of two Abanyole converts and early educationists, the first Lunyore New Testament Bible was produced, that was used not only in Bunyore but in other places as well. Any of the sub-Luyia groups that understood Lunyore made use of it. Thus, for the first time the Abanyole had consigned their language into writing.

Western education went far beyond the elementary level. Abanyole girls were given special educational attention and they were able to bring about development in Bunyore through their careers and other learnt skills. The early women teachers at Kima, like Mariamu Ibrahim, Mrs. Litondo, Grace Amaoye, and nurses like Sarah Kalebo and Rita Paulo's contribution to the society is remarkable. They contributed to the religious, social and economic well-being of the Abanyole. There were very many girls who went through this school

both from within Bunyore and from outside Bunyore as well. By 1963, Bunyore Girls' was the best and largest boarding school in the district.

Besides classroom teaching, women were also taught through 'Maendeleo ya Wanawake' all the skills that they needed to be good homemakers and be able to build the nation.

By 1963 some of the Abanyole educated men and women held responsible positions in the society. Mr. Elijah Enane was the first educated Omutyole to be a Chief in the late 1950s. In 1961, he got a scholarship to go to Britain for further studies and on coming back he became a District Officer and later served in many other capacities in the country. John Owuor was one of the best African tailor teachers at Kima Boys Central School. He was the first Omutyole to begin the first African Private Tailoring College in the district, which is still operational to date. The college opened its doors in 1948 but was officially registered in 1951. He got scholarships to study in London in 1955 and in Japan in 1964 where he obtained Diploma Awards in cutting Ladies and Gentlemen tailor made Garments and as an Assistant Industrial Instructor respectively. He was also the first Omutyole to install electricity in his home. Other educated men in Bunyore whose impact was felt included David Otieno, one of the very first teachers in Bunyore, Daniel Asiachi, Jako and Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Litondo, to name but a few. These young men who acquired education also acquired prestige and sought wealth. They imitated

their European mentors by purchasing bicycles, wearing good clothes and shoes. They also built modern houses and were the first ones to plant new foreign crops and use modern methods of agriculture. In short, they pioneered in economic and social transformation and their influence is still felt to date.

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CHAPTER 5

TRANSFORMATION IN CROPS, AGRICULTURAL METHODS AND TECHNOLOGY 1931-1963

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The years between 1931 and 1963 represent a time of intensive change in the agricultural economy of Bunyore. This chapter considers two distinct periods. The first period extends up to the end of the Second World War, while the second period deals with agricultural economic change during the post-war period. The key factors that brought about change up to 1945 include the world-wide great depression and its effects, the locust invasions of 1931-1933 and subsequent years, changing land tenure patterns and the Second World War. During this phase agriculture continued to be a mainly subsistence activity although surplus produce of crops like maize would be sold. There was also increased labour migration and local trade as the predominant means of acquiring a cash income.

After the Second World War many changes occurred in Bunyore's agricultural economy. The colonial government strove to improve agriculture in Bunyore.

More money was allocated for agricultural activities, which embraced livestock production and the growing of crops. Special soil conservation, land consolidation and enclosure programs were begun to help alleviate the appalling increasing rate of soil erosion. The government also embarked on promoting a serious cash crop economy. The transport network by both rail and road exposed the Abanyole to markets outside Bunyore and this boosted agricultural production. By 1963, the government was able to bring natural disasters like locust invasions under better control. Experimentation on demonstration plots and improved agricultural technology was also on the increase.

5.2 CHANGES IN CROPS AND TECHNOLOGY 1931-1945

This period represents the first phase of agricultural and technological change in the economy of the Abanyole. In 1931, with the on-going world depression, the Department of Agriculture embarked on a long-range development program for 'native' agriculture in the Colony. To increase peasant production, agricultural officers were posted to all districts in the country. North Nyanza District received an Agricultural Officer for the first time in 1931. He was stationed at Kakamega town and was to help advance agricultural productivity in the whole district. This entailed the introduction of new high-yielding seed crops for local consumption and sale, the maintenance

of demonstration plots, proper soil management, afforestation programmes and the adoption of other better farming methods like mixed farming and inter-cropping¹. The Agricultural Officer made sure that all locations in the district were issued with these new seeds. These were issued free of charge to the Abanyole. Between 1931 and 1937 there was a vigorous campaign to promote these new crops. For example, the small coloured 'native' varieties of maize were almost completely replaced by a white maize (*zea mays*) variety. New varieties of beans were also introduced, like the Canadian Wonder, Madagascar Butter Beans, Black Chiroko, Kunde Black, Kunde Red, Lubia koshan, Maragwe and Rose coco².

Bunyore received fifty bags of flat white maize seeds and ten bags of beans during that year. It was unfortunate that the seeds which were planted that year did not yield anything. This was because apart from the prevailing money shortage in the Colony, the 1931 locust invasion in Bunyore was disastrous for crops³. Swarms of locusts appeared in Bunyore in the early months of 1931 and laid their eggs at the beginning of the long rains but the 'hopper campaign' carried out by the people of the district under the authority of their Chiefs and Headmen eliminated the hoppers before they could do much damage. Be that as it may, new swarms of locusts swept through the region again in the middle of the year destroying crops⁴. One informant who experienced this devastating locust invasion said,

The locust had no mercy on anything you can call green. You could think it is a mass of dust in the air only to look keenly and see them descend on a tree and within minutes, eat up all that was green before setting out for another tree!⁵

The locusts destroyed not only the crops that had been planted but also any green plants within their vicinity. By 1932, a severe famine prevailed in Bunyore and other regions in the Colony that had been hit hard by the invasion⁶. In Bunyore this famine was nicknamed the 'Locust hunger' (*injala ye tsisitse* or *Nyangweso*), a name they borrowed from their Luo neighbours⁷.

The Abanyole had to depend on relief food since their only other way of earning a living was to engage in wage labour. At the time, the Great Depression had seriously affected employers who were forced to reduce their labour force and wages. The prices of agricultural commodities slumped badly and trade was poor⁸. The Abanyole had to survive amidst all these drawbacks. One of the ways in which they did this was to support the 'hopper campaign'. One of the informants who remembers this campaign well said they would use long locally woven baskets called *ebitete* to trap the locusts. Sometimes sisal sacks were used for the same job. One simply needed to position oneself in the direction of the coming flying hoppers and get a good catch. Immediately they filled the containers, it would be closed tightly and another container used. After having enough catch the locusts would be steamed in a big pot for about five minutes, just enough time to suffocate them. They would then be dried and stored. The locusts were a delicacy to the Abanyole especially during this famine period⁹.

The government also called upon the Missions to help in the 'hopper campaign' and their response was encouraging. They helped mobilize their adherents for the hopper destruction campaign. This was done using poisoned baits to kill the locusts. They were also very useful in disseminating orders and exhortations about increased food production. The potato and cassava

(emioko) campaign began in the month of March. The missionaries worked hand in hand with the government in encouraging the Abanyole to plant these root crops. Apart from being drought resistant, these root crops could also survive locust invasion since the locusts would only destroy the leaves and not the food storage (roots). Later the growing of beans and 'chiroko' was also encouraged. The Church of God Mission in Bunyore printed and distributed leaflets concerning the same apart from educating their adherents on the usefulness of the above things. In 1931, Mr. Ludwig, a volunteer missionary with the Church of God at Kima, is reported to have stopped a 'ball game' and sent the would be players and spectators to dig their 'shambas', plant the 'hopper resistant crops' so as to increase food productivity. The government also tried to protect crops from flying swarms by providing materials for smoke fires and by active movement amongst the crops¹⁰.

The natural calamities of 1931 to 1933 worked for the good of the Abanyole in that the need arose to increase and diversify their agricultural productivity. Earlier they had not really sought a permanent solution but a temporary measure of always looking for food among friends, relatives and neighbours, instead of a more reliable measure like cultivation of 'hopper resistant crops'. The locust invasion, and the subsequent drought, coupled with shortage of money and poor employment terms for wage earners, resulted in a big decline in taxation. At the end of 1931 the colonial government had to send an Agricultural Officer to carry out an investigation into this. He carried out a hut-to-hut investigation in Bunyore in order to get the Abanyole to pay tax but the prevailing difficult conditions made this endeavour unsuccessful. Eventually Bunyore had to be temporarily exempted from paying taxes until the famine was over¹¹.

Once the locust invasion was over, the Agricultural Department from 1934 strove to diversify and intensify agricultural production in Bunyore. Earlier on, in 1931, tree seedlings had been distributed after the LNC passed a resolution that the head of every village in the district plant at least fifty tree seedlings as directed by the Chief and official Headmen before the month of June, but the locust invasion thwarted these developments. The program was revisited after the locust invasion, and by 1937 a total of 170,000 seedlings had been issued in the whole of North Kavirondo District. The statistics do not give the breakdown of the locations, but it is evident that the Abanyole planted a large number of trees¹². In regard to this, one of the informants remembers that the first Colonial ex-senior Chief Zakayo Ojuok first planted the first trees in his village (*boma*) and used that as an example to have other Abanyole plant trees¹³. Gum, Black Wattle, Eucalyptus, Orange and Lemon tree seedlings were among the trees issued for planting from either Maseno farm or Bukura Farmers' Training Centre¹⁴.

The Abanyole also received a lot of encouragement concerning afforestation, not only from the Agricultural Department, but from the missionaries as well. At the Kima Church of God Mission, the young girls and boys who were receiving missionary education were not only taught religious education but also agriculture. The importance of the edible plants and fruits besides the indigenous ones was stressed¹⁵. The agricultural instructor at the school had gardens divided into three; experimental plots, individual plots and the school gardens. In the first plot experiments were being carried out on restoration of food value to the soil and suitable types of 'wash-stops'. Soil erosion had reached an alarming state in Bunyore and had to be checked. The second plots were under cultivation by the primary school groups. The produce harvested belonged to the individual cultivator. In the school garden a certain amount of finger millet and maize was grown to supplement the food of the boarders. The children were also issued with free plant and fruit seedlings to

plant in their family gardens. This aimed at helping them have a rich balanced diet¹⁶.

Between 1931 and 1945 the colonial government also endeavoured to restore the soils in Bunyore that were continually being depleted. The underlying factor in soil erosion in Bunyore was the ever-increasing high population density. By 1935, Bunyore had a population density of 1,137 persons to the square mile. Due to the enormous population the Abanyole had to intensify agriculture in order to have food for the family. The land also could not be given time to recover its nutrients and this inevitably resulted in serious soil depletion. The government hoped to solve this problem by improved agricultural practices like serious soil conservation campaigns, use of fertilizer, especially compost manure, diversification of crops, re-settling of the Abanyole in another place or reclaiming swampy areas in Bunyore, which was not possible because it needed highly experienced experts¹⁷.

Soil conservation remained the pre-occupation of the colonial government in Bunyore for a long time. In 1938, the Abanyole co-operated in providing communal labour for the soil conservation campaigns. This included stone terracing, contour lines of grass, live hedges on boundary ditches, contour ploughing among others. Though this proved to be slow, it was appreciated because furrows were being dug on many farms. By the month of June a considerable area had a complete vegetable covering either of grasses or a species of *Wedelica*, the latter forming a fine, close mat work in Bunyore¹⁸. In 1939 Mr. Watson, the Agricultural Officer of North Nyanza District worked tirelessly on conservation measures in Bunyore, Maragoli and Tiriki¹⁹. Even when the Second World War broke out in 1939, soil conservation campaigns went on though very slowly.

In 1940, European supervision of soil conservation continued to decline because of the war but the Abanyole carried on the campaigns through communal work²⁰. This was an indication that they were gradually beginning to appreciate the work. The campaign was carried on into the war period despite the war. In 1944, good progress was reported in the North Nyanza Annual Report. In Bunyore, Maragoli and Tiriki there was increased progress in the construction of narrow-base contour bands, and in grassing down outlets, old roads and boundaries. This was the case up to 1945²¹.

As regards the re-settlement of the Abanyole by the government there was no proper plan until after the Second World War. Some Abanyole, however, migrated in 1935 to settle in Seme, Sagam and Kano, where some of their relatives had been living for years. One of the Abanyole migrants to Kano, called Amian, later became a prominent Chief. Other pockets of Abanyole migrated to Tiriki and Kabras where there was ample land. They live there to date. In 1936, some other groups of Abanyole and Maragoli migrated to South Kavirondo (present South Nyanza) in places like Kanyamkago²².

The use of improved agricultural practices was also emphasized. The Agricultural Officer, had in 1935 successfully carried out a big Red Ridge soil conservation program in Southern Maragoli. His success gave impetus to similar work in Bunyore. Tree seedlings continued to be issued from the Maseno farm to advance the afforestation program²³. This, plus the use of compost manure, planting of seeds in lines and diversification of crops resulted in an increase in food productivity. The government also continued to distribute new high yielding seeds. In 1937 and 1938, Bunyore received a sufficient amount of rainfall and the crop yields that year were very good. Maize became the leading cash crop in Bunyore. Maize was advantageous to grow because its maturity period was shorter than that of sorghum. It could thus be grown twice a year therefore offering a greater security against crop

failure at any one season. Moreover, it could be consumed at home and also sold for a cash income. There was so much surplus maize that the Kenya Farmers Association (K.F.A.) decided to rent the LNC godowns at Luanda to purchase the huge maize harvests. During the same year the LNC contemplated voting a substantial sum of money to construct a forty-eight stall market at Luanda due to the increased trade. More Abanyole ventured into the business field because of this. The setting up of a railway station at Luanda also made transportation of agricultural commodities, other commodities of trade and the transportation of business dealers easy²⁴.

The average price of maize in 1937 was seven shillings and fifty cents per 200 lb. load . This was the highest price that maize had ever fetched since the locust invasion of 1931 in Bunyore. Beans on the other hand were sold at ten shillings for a 200 lb load, while simsim went for thirteen shillings per frasila. Money became sufficient again, and this was reflected well in the enormous revenue returns in 1937. During the same year North Nyanza District exported out of Nyanza 25,000 bags of maize. It was the biggest native maize producing district. Although there are no separate statistics for what Bunyore produced, the fact that a godown was set up at Luanda and the K.F.A. rented it for purchases of maize, implies that maize business was prime and Bunyore did contribute to the huge numbers of bags of maize sold outside the district. This continued to be the case until the beginning of the Second World War.

The maize from the district was ground into 'posho' in the local mills at the trading centres like Luanda for local consumption and export to Uganda, and a large proportion of it was sent to Kisumu 'posho' mills. The increased consumption of maize flour depended upon the spread of hand and fuel run grinding mills. In the early 1930s hand grinding machines were more common and whoever owned them had them hired out for a small fee. Fuel run mills

were faster and served more people. The use of such mills at Luanda increased depending on the increasing consumption rate of maize flour²⁵.

During the Second World War agricultural productivity went down because many men who were conscripted to the army, were also required to contribute foodstuffs, cattle and money towards the war. This was made worse by an 'army worm attack' (*tsikhungu*) that destroyed crops again. To one of the informants it was unfortunate that at the time they thought their crops would do well, the army worms came and cleared everything. This plus other factors resulted in a severe famine which the Abanyole nicknamed 'the cup hunger' (*injala ye sikombe*). This was because relief food was measured in cups and also if one wanted to buy grain the only affordable measure was a cup²⁶. In 1943, it was estimated that in Bunyore, Maragoli, Isukha, Tiriki and Idakho, 30,000 people were seriously short of food. This was not so much because the district lacked food but because efforts to buy food from other locations and distribute it to the affected areas was seriously impeded by a wave of 'native' profiteering. A 200 lb load of maize, finger millet and sorghum was going for between thirty shillings and eighty shillings. This price was really on the higher side and also beyond the means of an average Munyore family. Despite this, the government issued relief food to the affected locations²⁷.

In Bunyore, the colonial government worked hand in hand with the missionaries at Kima to distribute relief food to the Abanyole. This was mostly in the form of cassava flour. Abanyole from all walks of life kept streaming in to Kima during the distribution days to get this flour. One of the Abanyole informants said that the missionaries were very kind. He recalls that,

porridge made out of cassava was cooked in big drums and all the people coming for relief food were asked to line up and get a share of it²⁸.

There was a campaign again for intensification of crop resistant plants, and cassava cuttings were distributed to the Abanyole in 1943. The Agricultural officer reporting about the year said,

On the whole it was an extremely difficult year and no definite development in 'native' agriculture can be reported²⁹.

The prevailing agricultural difficulties and famine and the monetary gains of being in the military service brought a number of Abanyole into the army and other wage labour departments. This brought more money into Bunyore and by 1944 the famine threat had gone down. The Agricultural Officer estimated the value of maize, finger millet, rice, cotton and simsim exports in 1944 for the North Kavirondo District to be 188,000 pounds against 106,000 in 1943³⁰. By 1945, agricultural productivity was encouraging and maize continued to be the principal crop in all locations in the district. This included Bunyore. At Luanda, as in the other markets, the price paid to maize producers was eight shillings and forty cents for a 200 lb.load. Other crops that were grown and sold were groundnuts, beans, sorghum, and finger millet. There was generally plenty of money in Bunyore and in the district at large. This chiefly came from the sale of crops at good prices at Luanda, from wages earned outside the district, mostly from military services. It was reported that there was plenty of money and few goods, the reverse of the previous situation of plenty of goods and little money³¹.

5.3 SOIL CONSERVATION AND COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL POLICY FROM 1946 TO 1963

The government worked tirelessly to see to it that soil erosion was checked at all costs. A number of soil preventive methods were introduced. In 1947, while crops were still on the land, actual work was confined to the closure and rehabilitation of the badly eroded and over-grazed land. In Bunyore, this had a good start and five areas totalling approximately three hundred acres were closed to cultivation and the building of terraces began. This work was not, however, very impressive, as it was reported that the elders (*Olugongo*) who used to assist the chiefs were not taking much interest in the work. The southern part of Bunyore that was hit most continued to be in a perilous state with the soil deteriorating at an alarming rate. It was feared that this would cause low agricultural output and result in a serious food shortage³².

According to the Agricultural Officer of the district, one of the greatest obstacles to conservation work was the population density. It was hoped that the re-settling of the population elsewhere would help solve the problem, in addition to taking soil conservation measures.

A number of soil conservation methods were introduced from then on and at the time of independence they were still operational. These included: the building of terraces, contour ploughing, planting of grass in strips, afforestation programmes, application of farm manure, mixed farming, rotation of crops, and consolidation and enclosing of farms. In 1949, there was a campaign to grow more leguminous crops like groundnuts, cow peas and beans, which when inter-cropped with maize, finger millet or sorghum helped balance nutrients in the soil. The use of farm-yard manure was becoming common in Bunyore where many people had cattle pens. All the cowdung in the cattle pen was heaped in a pit and left to rot. After which, it would be used as manure³³.

During the same year, it was proposed that an afforestation programme, the Bunyore-Maragoli Hill Reclamation Scheme be enforced to replant trees on bare and exposed hill tops. This scheme, meant to enhance soil conservation in Bunyore, was met with stern opposition because the Abanyole believed that this was yet another colonial trick to plant a forest, displace them and eventually take their land. The government, with the help of agricultural officers and the local leaders, would plant trees during the day only to go the next day ready to continue with work and find that all the trees that they had previously planted had been uprooted. Efforts to have the culprits caught were fruitless because the very local leaders who helped plant the trees also arranged to have the trees uprooted without the knowledge of the colonial government. Eventually this program was abandoned, and the Abanyole were encouraged to do contour ploughing on the hills and also plant trees on their own accord³⁴.

From 1950 onwards, the government continued to encourage the Abanyole to improve their farming methods knowing that this would improve their livelihood. They would also be able to pass on a greater inheritance to the coming generations in the form of better land and better stock. The Assistant Agricultural Officer in charge of the southern division, established the Bunyore Settlement Scheme in 1950. Funds for the scheme were provided by the Agricultural Betterment Fund. An African supervisor was also appointed to help Mr. Bailey. The scheme aimed at improving farming methods through soil conservation methods, application of farm manure, mixed farming and allowing land to rest under grass. An agreement was reached to establish a demonstration group farm where the Abanyole would be taught practically concerning good farming methods³⁵. During his term of service Mr. Bailey was credited with spectacular efforts in the soil conservation campaigns in

Bunyore and Maragoli. He encouraged the Abanyole to conserve the soil for their own good and not to think it was only to benefit the government.

Between 1950 and 1952, the scheme encouraged vegetable growing as an income generating activity. A complementary canning factory was proposed, to be built in Bunyore to promote vegetable growing in the area. In 1952 the General Manager of the Horticultural Co-operative Union Limited had not yet responded to this proposal. The factory was never built because of lack of funding. The vegetables that were being grown included cabbages, tomatoes, cowpea leaves, and many varieties of traditional vegetables³⁶. Meanwhile, good progress was made throughout the year with grass filter strips, terracing, renovation of mined land and the conserving of soil wash in boundary furrows. The Abanyole only complained about the width of the grass strips which they thought consumed more space because they were wide³⁷.

In 1953, the soil conservation campaign continued through the agency of the local Headmen and Chief. The use of bench terracing was abandoned in favour of grass filter strips on steep sided river bottoms. Bench terracing was found to be too slow and little progress was being made with the method. The making of filter strips called for communal labour which was readily available. The executive committee of the district team also tried to revive the Bunyore-Maragoli Hill Reclamation Scheme without much success. It was reported that young trees were pulled up in the Bunyore hills³⁸.

In 1955, Mr. T.A. Watts, the District Commissioner, said that,

it is certainly true that no slope is too steep for a Maragoli to dig provided it has soil on it. ---The Maragoli and Bunyore hills have already been mined by this type of cultivation---³⁹.

A new method had to be introduced to help conserve soil erosion in Bunyore and the entire district. This method worked as follows: Farming land holdings were to be divided into four categories according to the steepness of slope, and conserved accordingly. Slopes up to eight percent were to be contoured with grass filter strips, while slopes of eight percent to twenty percent were to be terraced by the new 'Fanya' (Swahili term meaning 'do') method. It was a rule that slopes of twenty to thirty percent, if cultivated, had to be bench terraced while slopes over thirty-five percent were to be closed permanently to cultivation. It had been suggested that the Abanyole preferred to cultivate the over thirty-five percent slopes as they did not have to bend down to dig them. Be that as it may, there was no slope too steep not to be cultivated. The land hunger especially in the hilly parts of Bunyore where a family's whole 'shamba' was on a slope above the twenty-five percent made the enforcement of this rule administratively impossible. Thus, it became politically impossible to close all such slopes to cultivation unless land was made available elsewhere to such people⁴⁰.

For the soil conservation campaign to succeed, a new 'onyo' (Swahili term meaning 'warning') system was introduced. This entailed the owner of the shamba carrying out certain soil conservation measures within a specified time. A farmer was usually given a written notice and failure to comply with the requirement led to prosecution. This change from communal labour to individual responsibility was initiated for two reasons:

- (a) There was not sufficient adult male labour in Bunyore to cope with the work to be done within the specified time.
- (b) Soil conservation was the most pressing problem in Bunyore and in the division at large.

The new 'onyo' system proved very successful, and soil conservation measures by communal labour rapidly became a thing of the past. Grass

strips, trash lines and terraces were put up by individual cultivators who were mostly women and their children. The progress of land enclosures helped towards soil control in that hedges acted as live wash stops. Farmers appreciated that once dug, terraces and hedges lasted indefinitely with little maintenance. By the end of the year, the District Agricultural Officer reported that a considerable amount of work had been done in Bunyore on the construction of grass strips, terraces and bench terraces⁴¹.

In 1957, the Agricultural Officer organized a number of field days for intensive training on the need for continued soil conservation methods, manure preparation and application, promotion of cash crop growing and land consolidation and enclosure programmes. Separate field days were also held to demonstrate the building and use of cattle sheds and compost cages for the farmers who had no livestock so that they too could improve the fertility of their farms. The Abanyole positively responded to this. They also practised inter-cropping as a way of conserving the soil. Wagner, in his study on Western Kenya, noted at least six crop combinations in different fields. These comprised beans, maize, and sorghum; maize and beans; maize and sweet potatoes. Normally potatoes were planted separately. Other combinations were sorghum, cowpeas and bananas, maize and cowpeas and maize and cassava, but usually new cassava cuttings were planted when the maize was one month old⁴².

Between 1958 and 1963, distinct progress was carried out on soil conservation and improved farming methods. This was partly because of the exemplary work done by Chief Elijah Abuyeka Enane who had taken over from Chief Kulali in March of 1958. The agricultural policy in 1958 was to continue the drive on agricultural education in an attempt to perpetuate the basic principles of elementary agriculture. Before the long rains began that year, a number of demonstrations were carried out on demonstration farms. This

included the making of manure, and how to use it on farms. Planting seeds in lines was also demonstrated. This was followed by demonstration on weeding, cultivation and seed selection. Because of this policy land was put to better use by many Abanyole farmers⁴³. When interviewed Chief Enane said,

I traversed the whole of Bunyore either on foot or on a bicycle to help educate the Abanyole on the importance of proper farming methods. This was not easy but I am glad that with time the Abanyole appreciated and embraced the new farming methods⁴⁴.

Some farmers were reported to be approaching the Agricultural Officer for advice and assistance concerning the growing of crops and keeping of animals. This was very encouraging too because in the past the Agricultural Department found it difficult even to educate the farmers on new farming policies. At school, agriculture as a subject was given much emphasis. In every location there was one instructor who worked exclusively on improving school farms in the course of the year. School children were educated on better agricultural methods in the hope that they would pass on this knowledge to their family members at home⁴⁵. Farmers were also educated on new methods of growing bananas, which entailed mulching, spacing and thinning out of suckers. There was also increased planting of mosaic resistant cassava varieties, sweet potatoes, beans and sorghum. This stimulated agricultural output in Bunyore and during that year there was a good harvest of maize, bananas, beans and cassava⁴⁶.

In 1959, the Abanyole continued to put land to better increased agricultural use. There was greater use of manure not only in Bunyore location but Vihiga division as a whole. Planting of seeds in lines also stimulated a good harvest. This was because it made weeding and application of manure easy. The division exported maize in large quantities. This was reflected in the maize cess charged by the African District Council which was three thousand

pounds above the estimates for the year. Officers from both the Agricultural Department and the administration took considerable trouble to try and show local authorities and the local people the need of increased productivity in order that they might pay for the various services which they ardently needed. Many peasants understood the policy and started practising it. As a result the annual family income in the division based on surplus food crops, agricultural and livestock products (not including cattle) rose from an average of seventy-six shillings per family to ninety-six shillings per family⁴⁷. This was a marked improvement.

Bukura Farmers' Training Centre from 1959 to 1963 provided excellent training in practical land management and animal husbandry. The Maseno Jeanes School also provided similar training. With the increased tempo of land consolidation and enclosure there was also a greater demand for sahiwal stock animals⁴⁸. Animal husbandry had slowly started improving. In 1960, the Farmers Training Center at Bukura offered a ten days' farmers course on land management. This benefitted locations in the district such as Bunyore, Kisa, Kabras, Marama, Wanga and Uholo. The same training was extended to schools and Farmers Clubs⁴⁹.

In 1961, Chief Enane went for further studies to the United Kingdom and Chief Esau Oluhano took over from him. He carried on the work that had been begun by Chief Enane. In 1962, Chief Oluhano, working together with the Department of Agriculture, organized a number of field days to demonstrate planting in lines with manure. They recommended a spacing of four feet between lines and a foot between maize plants. This was approved by most people who attended and they then put it into practice on their individual farms. Farm lay out models were also begun to demonstrate modern farming methods. The District Officer of Vihiga staged a first and second prize for the winning model, while Chief Oluhano of Bunyore offered a prize for the best

agricultural instructor. The Abanyole responded positively towards this. They were also continually encouraged to construct terraces or serious prosecution would follow⁶⁰. Agricultural instructors directed them on how and where to construct terraces and many Abanyole accepted⁶¹.

5.4 MIGRATION OF THE ABANYOLE FROM 1946-1963

Concern over serious soil erosion in crowded 'native' areas led the government to establish the African Settlement Board as an integral part of its post-war ten year development plan. The main objective of the Board was that of rehabilitating the land by moving the excess population to unoccupied areas⁶². By 1948, the government had not established any settlement or re-settlement schemes to settle the Abanyole, although representation had been made about the possibility of resettling them outside the district⁶³. Efforts to have the Abanyole resettled away from home proved rather difficult because of the unwillingness of many of them to be moved by the government to unknown places. This is because they were culturally bound to their ancestral land. Those who had migrated earlier on did so after being invited by their relatives living there, or had been forced to migrate after being ex-communicated from the community because of ill actions like witchcraft and murder⁶⁴.

During the early years of Chief Kulali's reign in the 1950s, the government tried to resettle the Abanyole in the Lugari schemes. This effort was initially unsuccessful. During Chief Kulali's reign the government wanted the Abanyole living on Bunyore hills to help in the afforestation program of the hill after which they would be resettled in the Lugari settlement scheme. Those Abanyole living on the hills did not really understand why they had to be moved from their homeland to be taken to a far away place. They believed this was yet another trick that the colonial government wanted to use to take

away their land, the way the land occupied by East Africa Industries, Maseno Limited was cleverly taken. In annoyance, they got four healthy looking men and went to see the District Commissioner, presented the men and asked him whether he had ever seen such healthy men. They had not lacked anything and they were not ready to go and settle elsewhere⁵⁵. The proposed plan of resettling Abanyole who lived on the hills failed.

In 1958 the government, still interested in finding a solution to the ever-increasing Bunyore population, established a settlement scheme at Kigumba in Uganda. It was hoped that besides the Abanyole, the scheme would also absorb the Maragoli, Tiriki and Kabras peoples of North Nyanza District whose population density was also alarming. By the end of the year there were twelve Abanyole families, three Kabras families, thirty four Tiriki families and a hundred Maragoli families settled at Kigumba in Uganda⁵⁶. Those who were willing to migrate would be transported free by the government to the scheme and even be given return fares for visiting prospective settlers. Kigumba had reliable rainfall and fertile soil⁵⁷. The people there also spoke a Bantu related dialect which the above four named Abaluyia communities understood. Although only twelve Abanyole families were recorded to have migrated there by 1963, the number of families increased because it was normal for those who had migrated to come for their relatives and friends who were very willing to follow them⁵⁸.

Another scheme was opened at Shimba hills for any Kenyans who were interested but because of unattractive terms no Abanyole went there. The fact that the Abanyole who migrated to settlement schemes were a minority meant that the population density of Bunyore remained high. Thus, the settlement policy never alleviated the problem of the ever increasing population pressure and the subsequent effects like soil erosion. Some Abanyole on the other hand migrated in small numbers to other places like

Tiriki, Butsotso, Lugari, South Nyanza and Kitale where land was still plentiful⁵⁹.

5.5 LAND CONSOLIDATION, CASH CROP ECONOMY AND COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL POLICY 1946-1963

Mr. C.H. Williams, the North Kavirondo District Officer, noted in the Annual Report of 1947 that one of the greatest impediments to agricultural development in the district was the high population density that encouraged severe land fragmentation, continued exhaustion of the soil and subsequent soil erosion. In many cases, cultivation was being carried out on land that was almost ruined and which needed to be put back to grass. Suggestions for land rotation were met with stern opposition since there was no extra land for such a practice⁶⁰. Bunyore was hit hardest because it had the highest population density of one thousand and eight persons per square mile⁶¹. The soils were therefore seriously overworked and conservation seemed a big hoax. Areas which should have been closed to agriculture continued to be overcultivated and overgrazed by the peasants who eked out a living from them for lack of fresh land in which to move⁶². Many Abanyole families had fragmented small pieces of land scattered all over Bunyore but which could not support rotation because of low crop yields. The pieces could be as many as six or as few as two per family of about an eighth of an acre of land depending on the family size⁶³.

The land consolidation and enclosure programme was part of agricultural planning that received considerable impetus in the 1950s. In 1954, the southern division, which included Bunyore, was given the mandate by the colonial government to plant Arabica coffee as a cash crop but the fragmentation of the land and uneconomical sub-division holdings became a major obstacle to the programme. It was discussed at the administrative

'baraza's in the southern division that the land consolidation and enclosure programme be taken seriously by the people. To consolidate one's land one had to look for ways of having a continuous piece of land and not fragmented ones. Once the fragmented pieces had been put together, he would then enclose his 'shamba' by fencing it using either euphorbia or other traditional plants that were used for fencing⁶⁴.

Land consolidation was carried out by mutual agreement. Agricultural instructors went around educating the Abanyole on the importance of this programme. Land would easily be exchanged between neighbours. At least one family had to move while another remained to occupy his original land and that of his neighbour. The Abanyole gradually accepted and embraced the programme. Some of the Abanyole even opted to sell their land and migrate beyond Bunyore to areas where there was plenty of land. Such people sold their land to their immediate neighbours at higher prices and went to places like Nandi and Kabras regions where they purchased larger acreage of fertile land at lower prices. One informant who saw the policy as a good one explained this by saying,

The land consolidation and enclosure programme did not seem to me very impressive. I could not just come to the grasp of having to leave the home I had grown up in and the people I have lived with and the land I had always cultivated for another place. However, with much education from an agricultural instructor in one of the field days, I decided to give it a try. I exchanged my land with my neighbour who gave me a big piece of land neighbouring mine a few miles away. Little did I know that cultivating a big continuous piece of land was better. I soon realized the benefits from the earnings I made from coffee, maize, and beans. Moreover, when the issuing of title deeds began I had no problem since I had already fenced (enclosed) my shamba⁶⁵.

During the year 1956, many Abanyole responded well to the land consolidation and enclosure programme. The first farmers to accept the idea of land consolidation were the educated and christianized Abanyole. Education and Christianity exposed them to the western way of life and values and they

recognized how essential to their future economic development land consolidation would be. A continuous piece of land of at least three acres would not only enable them to grow cash crops but would also make farm management easy. Among the Abanyole who responded to this policy positively were the then Chief Kulali, retired Chief Ojuok, Daniel Asiachi, Mbalanya Omwakwe and Jairus Asila. They were permitted to grow coffee as a cash crop⁶⁶. The land consolidation and enclosure programme continued to be encouraged in 1957 as a means towards better cultivation. Numerous field days were held all over Bunyore to demonstrate the importance of this. Emphasis was laid on general improvement of farming methods in Bunyore rather than centering on a few scattered better farmers. As a result the demand for coffee planting increased considerably in the southern division in general and Bunyore in particular. A phased development was pursued beginning with the fertile southern locations of Bunyore, Maragoli, Nyang'ori and Tiriki. Other crops which were grown for local consumption and sale were bananas, maize, beans, finger millet, sorghum and cassava. It was estimated that bananas valued at twenty-five thousand pounds were exported from the North Nyanza District⁶⁷.

The agricultural policy in 1958 was to continually encourage the Abanyole to engage in modern farming methods. More and more Abanyole were encouraged to consolidate their plots. In the meantime, three coffee nurseries were opened in the division with one at Mujorodani in Bunyore. The Agricultural Department insisted that all land on which coffee was to be planted be bench terraced, holes dug well and adequately manured and the plants kept heavily mulched. All those who wanted to grow coffee had to be issued with permits. Permits were not issued to those who had fragments of land but to those who had economic sizes of land on which to grow coffee. This policy with time helped speed up land consolidation and enclosure programmes⁶⁸.

Arabica coffee was planted in Bunyore for the first time in 1955. Chief Kulali was the first farmer to plant coffee. Many Abanyole wanted to plant coffee but the conditions set by the government did not favour them. These conditions were such that whoever wanted to plant coffee had to have seven acres of land with at least four acres in one holding. The agricultural department considered a 'shamba' less than four acres as an uneconomical holding. This had to be abandoned because the average size of holding in the division was between three to four acres and even if a man had to consolidate his plots it meant that the majority who could not make up to four acres were disadvantaged and disqualified from the cash crop economy.

About three thousand pounds had been set aside for the erection of the Bunyore coffee pulping factory. This factory would also not be economical unless there was a large output of coffee berries. In fact, in 1956 there were very few people who qualified to plant coffee. Thus, the coffee nurseries at Bwibona and Mujorodani in Bunyore were still stocked with coffee seedlings with no four acre shamba to plant them in. As such the only hope for agriculture in Bunyore and also in the entire southern division was intensive cash cropping on the available land. Hence, the Agricultural Department had to abandon the four acre ruling or abandon coffee growing in the area. It was agreed to intensify the growing of coffee⁶⁹. Seedlings were to be planted during the months of March-April or October-November. The coffee trees would then be mulched with either banana leaves or grass grown specifically for the purpose of conserving moisture. The crop would only be ready for picking after 3-4 years⁷⁰.

Generally, as land consolidation progressed more Abanyole planted coffee. The demand for seedlings far exceeded the supply of seedlings in the nurseries. The increase in demand was due to the fact that the first growers received cash for their coffee following the opening of the first coffee factory

at Lunyerere in Maragoli. In addition, a new resistant variety, which was in short supply in 1957, was now available⁷¹. The number of Abanyole who consolidated and enclosed their shamba gradually rose from year to year. In 1959, more Abanyole embraced this programme. This called for more co-ordination and control from the Agricultural Department. A joint meeting of all administrative, agricultural and veterinary officers was held in order that the task be divided into spheres of responsibility between the community development officers, administrative officers and officers of the Agricultural Department. Steps were taken to discover exactly how much consolidation and enclosure was being carried out not only in Bunyore, but also in all locations in the southern part of the North Nyanza District.

The coffee produced in the entire division in 1959 was of good quality. This was because of the activities of the Agricultural Department which undertook the pruning of coffee trees, and which took over the spraying arrangement on a financial reimbursement system. Coffee growers in Bunyore refused to send their coffee to the Lunyerere factory in Maragoli because the three thousand pound Bunyore factory building plans were being delayed. Although the loan had been approved the money had not been released. Most of their coffee crop was in Mbuni. The Bunyore society dried approximately eighteen tons of Mbuni⁷².

Between 1960 and 1963 marked progress was observed in land consolidation and enclosure and in cash crop growing. In 1962, for instance, over thirty-one thousand coffee seedlings had been provided for Bunyore, yet many more Abanyole wanted seedlings to plant and continued to send their applications for consideration. It was even reported that late comers with enough money came to purchase coffee seedlings. It became necessary to guard the few seedlings so that they were not stolen. This happened particularly at Kilingili nursery. By 1963, Bunyore had made remarkable improvements in agriculture

in general. The Bunyore Coffee Co-operative Society with the help of the three thousand pound loan built a coffee factory at Em'mangali Musinaka and extended the growing of coffee to many more Abanyole. Every family who wanted to grow coffee was expected to plant at least a hundred coffee bushes. Land consolidation and enclosure of farms and the issue of title deeds was progressing well⁷³. The District Officer of Vihiga toured Ebusundi and Ebusiekwe sub-locations in Bunyore and addressed 'baraza's on the future importance of the land consolidation programme. There were higher returns compared to the previous years. Previously there had been no land supervisors, but in 1962 there were five, and five more were expected before the month of June that year. The table below indicates the number of consolidated farms by March of 1962 in Bunyore location⁷⁴.

The number of consolidated farms by March 1962 in Bunyore.

SUB-LOCATION	NO. OF FARMS	ACREAGE
Ebusamia	86	607
Essaba	79	259
Ebusiratsi	150	810
Ebusiekwe	80	294
Iboona	52	376
Ebunangwe	51	288

Adapted from, KNA, DC/KMG/2/24/51, 1962, p 9.

5.6 CONCLUSION

There was a marked change in the agricultural economy of Bunyore by 1963. The Abanyole who had initially depended on the cultivation of sorghum and finger millet using rudimentary agricultural technology soon adopted the cultivation of new crops and agricultural technology. These crops were grown for home consumption and also for sale. The introduction of different new crops meant that the Abanyole feeding habits had to change. They diversified their diet and were able to have food all year round because famine resistant

root crops were planted in such a way that they were ready for harvesting in the drier months.

Natural calamities like locust invasions had been brought under greater control. The construction of better roads into the interior parts of Bunyore meant that there was a high mobility of both people and goods to different destinations. In times of scarcity, food could easily be brought from those markets that had it to be sold or distributed to the affected regions.

The government policy of improved agricultural development with emphasis on proper farming methods boosted agricultural productivity. The land consolidation and enclosure programme encouraged cash cropping especially the growing of coffee. Individuals had better management of their land and this made them work very hard on their individual farms for higher returns. Soil conservation policy also helped maintain soil fertility and assure higher crop returns. Thus, the increasing high crop yields and cash crop economy of maize, beans, coffee and cassava among other crops created a regular reliable source of income. The money obtained from such sales was used to start thriving businesses, build better homes and provide for the needs of the family.

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CHAPTER SIX

TRADE, LABOUR, AND MARKETING PATTERNS IN BUNYORE 1931-1963

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This period was one of great transformation among the Abanyole in trade, labour, and marketing patterns. There was a notable change in trade patterns in Bunyore. Those who pioneered in trade were mostly the Abanyole who had acquired western missionary education. This included men like Toka Omwakwe, Joel Mukoya, Mbalanya Omwakwe, and John Owuor. Between the years 1931 to 1945 Bunyore continued to supply labour to European employers willingly. There were however marked fluctuations in the labour patterns during this period.

6.2 TRADE AND MARKETING PATTERNS 1931-1963

Between 1931 and 1933 there was a widespread shortage of money due to the effects of the Great Depression. Wages were very low and this subsequently reduced the purchasing power of the Abanyole. The price of food crops and other commodities drastically declined. The only market centre that still carried on trade transactions was Luanda. It had twenty-five plots in active occupation. Although it was the largest market in terms of the number of plots occupied by Indian traders, the government had not yet gazetted it¹. Luanda had gained prominence as a trading centre with the completion of the Kisumu-Butera railway link in 1930. It soon grew from a comparatively insignificant trading centre to the most prosperous town in the district in a

few years. When Luanda was established as a trading centre in 1924, there was hardly any demand for plots for commercial occupation but because it was better placed to its hinterland than Yala it soon grew into a big trading centre overshadowing Yala in the 1930s. Many Indian traders flocked in with applications for plot allocation. This was partly because the railway link made the transportation of both goods and traders in and out of the area possible and affordable. Indian traders would easily transport goods from as far as Mombasa port into the interior of Bunyore and also export the local commodities from the Luanda hinterland². The commodities that Indian traders sold to 'natives' at Luanda included bicycles, clothes, blankets, iron implements like 'jembes', 'pangas', knives, axes, handmills, ornaments, sugar, salt and shoes among others. In exchange they got an equivalent amount of money or goods like grain of various types, hides and skins. In 1933, for instance Luanda had two Hide Bandas owned by Indians. During the same year Luanda was gazetted and trade continued to increase³.

By 1934, with increasing emphasis by the colonial government on agriculture, agricultural production started increasing, especially maize production. An LNC go-down was erected at Luanda railway station to help in the purchase and storage of grain and tenders for its renting for the purchase of produced grain were called for⁴. In 1935, Luanda had grown to be the second largest urban centre in the district after Kakamega. In 1937, the Kenya Farmers Association rented LNC godowns at Luanda to purchase maize, beans, peas and simsim. In the course of the same year, the LNC was contemplating voting a substantial sum of money for a forty-eight stall market at the centre. It was hoped that this would be in line with the increasing trading transaction there. Trade in hides and skins was also doing very well that year⁵. In the entire North Kavirondo District there were sixty-four gazetted markets by the end of 1937. They were run by the tribal chiefs who collected fees from everyone taking his produce to the market and were required to enforce

government regulations (licenses, enforcing sanitary rules) and provide certain facilities such as meat and vegetable stalls⁶. Luanda was among the biggest trading centres in the district then. The Abanyole, Luo, Nandi, and other Abaluyia communities converged there for purposes of business. Different centres had specific open air market days when traders would bring their crops, livestock, hides and skins, handicraft products for sale. The market days at Luanda were Mondays and Thursdays⁷.

Initially, trade was entirely in the hands of Indians, but from the 1930s onwards a group of enterprising educated Abanyole rose to challenge them. Most of the prominent Abanyole businessmen, like Toka Omwakwe, Joel Mukoya, Mbalanya Omwakwe, Harrison Nambute and John Owuor among others had, very humble beginnings. John Owuor began business with the money he had saved from his payment as a teacher at the Kima Central Mission School. Others like Joel Mukoya and Mbalanya Omwakwe, after saving some money from what the 'muzungu' employers paid them, they used it to buy few commodities similar to those sold by the Indian traders. These two displayed and sold their goods in the open air market at Luanda while Owuor first tried his hand in business at Wekhomo market (Kima). From their scanty general merchandise, they soon made profits which, though little, enabled them to erect better shops and compete with the Indian traders. Up coming Abanyole entrepreneurs like Silvano Muchilwa, John Owuor and Daudi Otieno started business in different places in the interior of Bunyore. Daudi Otieno, Muchilwa and Owuor, for instance, established businesses at the Wekhomo Market, while another entrepreneur Mzee Jairo Ongadi's first business was a shop he built in the Bunyore hills. Business was very challenging bearing in mind that road networks were poor and that these people were mere amateurs in the field of business.

By 1937, together with other traders, the Abanyole traders were encroaching onto Indian plots and erecting temporary structures where they sold their wares. This development alarmed the Indian traders who wanted the government to shield them from such competition. For many years the government had protected the Indian traders against the 'natives'. But by 1938, there was an enormous growth in the number of African village shopkeepers and African itinerant traders. The former provided services to the immediate population while the latter served as middlemen between the African producers and the Indian produce buyers. The North Kavirondo District Annual Report of 1937 states that,

For many years the encroachment of 'native' traders at Luanda has been disregarded. They started as a kind of ribbon development south of the centre and it was approaching a point where 'natives' were beginning completely to encircle the Trading centres---^B.

The Abanyole traders too demanded trading plots which were not easily accessible to them.

After meeting the Abanyole and Indian traders at Luanda the colonial administrators decided that 'native' produce buyers should be grouped together at a point about a mile south of the centre. This formed the basis of the future growth of modern African entrepreneurship, which later on spread to other new trading centres like Wekhomo and Esibuye markets and even competed favourably with the Indian businessmen at Luanda until 1963⁹. By 1945, African traders continued to trade side by side with their Indian counterparts, but trade continued to be more in the hands of Indians. The greatest disadvantage of African traders was the fact that the Indian traders who acted as their suppliers exploited them by over-charging them¹⁰.

In 1956, trade in the African markets as well as in the trading centres was meager due to poor agricultural output. Traders from the southern locations of

the district, which comprised Bunyore, Maragoli and Tiriki, for the first time formed a Traders Association known as the K.I.M. Traders Association with Mr. Jared Akatsa as the secretary. This Association, they hoped, would address the African traders' problems and provide solutions. Through the Association some of the traders got loans to help boost their trade. Those traders who got loans were encouraged to attend training courses at the Nyanza Jeanes School, Maseno. Many traders who were not wise initially did not use the money well. Much capital was spent on erecting permanent buildings and not stocking their shops with goods. Throughout the district more markets were created and by 1958 there were one hundred and thirty-six gazetted markets.

6.3 THE ABANYOLE ENTREPRENEURS 1946-1963

After the end of the Second World War, the Abanyole businessmen, either at Luanda or neighbouring smaller trading centres, began to increase their volume of trade a great deal. Some of these businessmen included Joel Mukoya, Toka Omwakwe, Mbalanya Omwakwe and Harrison Nambute of Luanda, Mzee Jairo Ong'adi, John Owuor, Silvano Muchilwa and Adam Khakali of Wekhomo market¹¹.

During this period, many Abanyole successfully ventured into business in Bunyore. Young men who had acquired education also acquired prestige and sought wealth. The pioneers like Mbalanya Omwakwe and Joel Mukoya whose prominence began in the 1930s excelled in their business endeavors at Luanda (Emukasa) trading centre. From humble beginnings of selling scanty merchandise in open air stalls, they soon became prominent dealers of grain like maize and beans, owners of big retail shops, posho mills, wholesale shops and commercial vehicles. Mbalanya Omwakwe, for instance, was the first Omunyole at Luanda market to own a 'posho' mill, while Toka Omwakwe is

well known for the bus he owned 'omwene mbokenge mbalola' which used to ply the Luanda-Kakamega-Lugare route. This was a favourite passenger bus to many and to the Abanyole the first of its kind owned by an Omutyole. Joel Mukoya dealt with agricultural farm produce, retail goods and also later featured among the Abanyole businessmen who owned commercial vehicles¹².

Other Abanyole entrepreneurs who emerged later included Silvano Muchilwa, John Owuor, Gershon Omukoko, Adam Khakali, Daudi Otieno, Mzee Jairo Ong'adi, and Harrison Nambute. They owned business premises either at Luanda or in other interior trading centres¹³. This section includes three case studies of some of the Abanyole entrepreneurs who were interviewed.

6.3.1 A CASE STUDY OF JOHN ISAIAH OWUOR

He was born in 1918 at Ebusakami and attended intermediate school there. His parents sent him to the Government African School, Kakamega (now Kakamega High School) after passing his exams in 1934. The subject he took a keen interest in was tailoring. Little did he know that his keen interest in tailoring would pave the way for his life-long entrepreneurship in that field. After successfully completing his course at the Government African School, Kakamega, he was employed by the Church of God Mission, which had its headquarters at Kima, to teach at the Kima Boys School in 1936. He taught there as a tailor and instructor. He is reported to have been the only keen and efficient African teacher at the school in 1939¹⁴. He worked for the mission for eleven years and when the mission was contemplating moving the school to Ingotse in 1947, Owuor decided to stay behind and venture into tailoring commercially.

In 1948, he started his own Tailoring College at Wekhomo market. He constructed a shop where, apart from wanting to specialize in tailoring classes, he also operated a small retail business to enable him to earn a decent living. The two activities operated at the same time but the shop was soon phased out when the earnings from the college stabilized. His main objective, however, was not only to make clothes for sale, but also more important was his interest in training his fellow Africans in acquiring the technical skill of tailoring. At the beginning this dream seemed far fetched but time made it possible. According to Owuor with God nothing is impossible¹⁵. He bought a second-hand sewing machine from an Indian trader at Luanda and with it he hoped he would get interested students to train, make more money and buy more sewing machines. The first student he trained in his new college was his own brother called Rasto Tambua. Rasto mastered tailoring well and began assisting him. The second student he trained was a young man from Bunyore called Gilbert Amuli. By this time, Owuor had managed to acquire another sewing machine. The third student was a female, a daughter of a friend who had approached him and asked him to have her trained. Owuor's wife agreed to host her and she moved in to start her training. With time neighbours and friends started sending their sons and daughters to the college, and since Owuor wished to retain the best tailor of the school, students were not only assured of good training but also his customers who brought orders of clothes to be made had them done professionally, and this earned him a good reputation. He constructed a permanent classroom building and in 1952 with the profits he continued to make, he built for himself and his family a stone house, roofed with corrugated iron sheets and also bought his first car, a Ford model.

He continued receiving students even from far off places like Central Kenya. He fondly recalls that he had a very good student from Karatina. Due to restrictions of movement imposed on Africans by the colonial government

during the emergency period the student from Karatina had to drop out. The Africans, who had discovered the importance of the training received at the college, continued to send their children there. Those who qualified got employed by the government, or Indian traders hired them to make clothes for commercial purposes, or they opened their own personal tailoring shops. For instance, the first female student got married to her male classmate after their training and they started a tailoring shop at Mumia's. Today the couple owns a big tailoring shop at Mumia's town in Kakamega District.

In 1955, Owuor obtained a British Council Scholarship to study tailoring for nine months at the Tailors and Cutters Academy in London. He was the only Kenyan awarded the scholarship. While there, he also managed to visit the United States of America where he saw their advanced techniques in tailoring. After successfully finishing the course, he was awarded two Diploma Certificates in cutting both Ladies and Gentlemen Tailor made Garments on 1st May and 1st June 1956 respectively. On coming back from Britain, his advanced skills put him in a better position to become a national tailor. He got customers wanting him to make them garments from different towns of the country. In addition, students flocked in from as far as Central Province, Rift Valley Province, and within Nyanza to be trained as tailors. He continued adding to the number of sewing machines depending on the enrolment. He had eight sewing machines.

By 1961 the college was doing very well. With good business he was also able to install electricity in his stone house and in the college in the same year. He used the electricity mainly for lighting purposes, and he also anticipated buying electric sewing machines one day. This seemed a dream in 1961, but thirty years later it came true when he purchased the first electric sewing machine and soon after purchased three others. When he was interviewed by a group of Kenya Power employees in 1991 he is quoted as

having said that his students must learn to use electric sewing machines as that was the condition they would meet outside¹⁶.

In 1963, some Japanese experts visited Owuor's college. They were so impressed by the efforts of an African tailor entrepreneur in the interior of the country that they nominated him along with four other Kenya tailor entrepreneurs for a Japanese scholarship to train in the field of tailoring and dressmaking, specifically as Assistant Industrial Instructors. He undertook the course the following year at Bunka Dressmaking School of Fashion in Tokyo where he successfully completed a seven month course. He was awarded a certificate on the 15th of December 1964. On coming back, he was employed by the government at the Kenya Industrial Training School in Nakuru as an Instructor in Tailoring. This did not, however, interrupt the running of the college for the sixteen years he worked for the government. The running of the college went on normally with the help of his wife and other employees. He visited the college regularly and monitored its progress.

In conclusion, Owuor contributed a lot to the socio-economic well-being not only of Bunyore but also Kenya at large. He has trained students from within Kenya and also as far as Uganda and Tanzania. Students undergo a twenty-seven month course leading to the Government Trade Test Grades 1, 2 and 3. They also earn a Diploma Certificate from the college. With such qualifications they are able to serve both in the private and public sector well. At the age of seventy-seven he is still very strong and active. In fact, he is at the moment the Principal of the College. From a humble beginning of a college started with a second hand sewing machine, he now has more than forty manual sewing machines plus four electric sewing ones.

Because of his hard work he has been able to make a good profit and expand the college. The school fees are standard and many students are able to pay. He hopes that more people will value technical training like tailoring. He says,

It is only advanced technological know-how that will make Kenya stable economically¹⁷.

6.3.2 A CASE STUDY OF MZEE JAIRO ONG'ADI

Born in 1929 at Ebuhando Musikulu, he is a hardworking businessman at Wekhomo market. After completing primary school education, the first job he got was to work on construction with a building contractor in 1949. The money he got out of the job enabled him to set up a small retail shop. He also sold his farm produce like maize, beans, sorghum and millet. He was not married then and this meant that he could accumulate substantial savings. Moreover, being the last born son in the family gave him the sole mandate to inherit his parents' wealth. He sold timber from the trees his father had planted and since there was so much construction going on, he fetched good money from this. Mzee Ong'adi cannot specify in the initial stages what really promoted his trade since he was involved in the buying and selling of many things. He also recalls that he used to hire people to split stones which he would sell to those wanting to erect stone buildings. The fact that he worked on construction sites helped him a lot, especially in 1951 when the selling of stones and trees brought in plenty of money.

During that year he started constructing a permanent shop which he soon completed and stocked with commodities like sugar, salt, cooking oil, clothes and farm produce. He purchased the manufactured goods from Indian traders at Luanda like Kantilal Jivraj who is commonly known to 'Mwalimu'. Another

Indian business man, who supplied him with manufactured goods, was Turusidas whom the Abanyole nicknamed Turusi.

Mzee Ong'adi faced many challenges as a shopkeeper. The greatest pressure came from relatives who wanted goods at cheaper prices or took items on credit never to pay for them. Another problem that he faced in the initial stages was the fact that he had to keep repairing the roof of his shop because of very strong winds up on the hill. In addition, the Indian factor was also a stumbling block, not only to him but also many other Abanyole traders. This was because Indian wholesalers never fixed prices for their goods and this meant they could dictate any price at any time to the African traders, who in turn were forced to sell their goods at high prices. There was no proper road from Luanda to the hills, especially one that could be used by vehicles and bicycles, and this meant that commuting between the two places was slower and could only be done on foot. The greatest setback he encountered as a shopkeeper was in 1962 when thieves broke into his shop, killed his wife and severely injured him and other members of the family. He decided to leave his ancestral home where he had erected the shop to settle at Wekhomo market. He built a permanent shop there, stocked his shop again and began all over again.

6.3.3 A CASE STUDY OF HARRISON W. NAMBUTE

He received primary education at Kima Central School after which the London School of Accountancy awarded him a Diploma in commerce in 1959. He worked as chief book keeper and accountant in Mombasa and Rift Valley Sports Club between 1959 and 1961 respectively. In 1961, he decided to resign from his employment to start his own business. The first business he ventured into was that of selling medicine at the Luanda Market. He got his supplies from Nairobi. Besides selling medicine, he also sold chemicals and

fertilizers from the Kenya Farmers Association. Since not many Abanyole had appreciated modern medicine, chemicals and fertilizer, returns were low and Nambute had to diversify his business in order to get better returns. He also sold general merchandise. By 1963, his business had picked up very well.

Business soon became very promising and he was able to buy himself a pickup. After independence he was appointed a wholesale agent by the Kenya National Trading Corporation to sell sugar to businessmen in Bunyore, Kisa and Maragoli and at Luanda market. The Coca-Cola Kenya Company also appointed him as an agent to sell and distribute soda all over Bunyore. His business progressed well and it has thrived to date. It has expanded so much that he currently owns a big wholesale and retail shop, selling wines and spirits, general merchandise, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, besides owning other businesses at Luanda and elsewhere.

Nambute faced a number of challenges in the world of business. The worst loss that hit his business was in 1963 when many Indian businessmen had to leave Kenya abruptly without paying him his money. When he was appointed an agent for distributing sugar he did not have spacious stores and this forced him to use Indian traders at Luanda who had bigger stores. But many of them on the eve of Kenya's Independence in 1963 disappeared without his knowledge and Mr. Nambute suffered a great loss. Besides this the only other problem which has prevailed is the failure of creditors to pay him back, especially relatives. To him business is good so long as you know how to keep your accounts.

6.4 LEATHER TANNING IN BUNYORE 1962-1963

Between 1962 and 1963, an important local industry grew up in Bunyore. This was the leather tanning industry. Since hides and skins contributed a great deal to trade in Bunyore, the Church of God and the government worked hand in hand to promote the trade by starting local tanneries.

St. Joseph's Rural Tannery at the Church of God Kima Bible college was established under the sponsorship of the Department of Veterinary Services in 1962. At that time many Abanyole owned District Registered Banda at Luanda. They sold these hides and skins to Indian buyers either at Luanda or Kisumu.

In 1963, land was set aside for the Emuhaya Youth Centre tannery project where a leather factory was to be erected. This aimed at training youths in leather handicraft. The Chief of Bunyore at that time recommended Timothy Otanga to be the instructor at the factory. Mr. Otanga had successfully completed a seven month course in leather technology in India, and the Chief hoped he would do a good job. His salary was to be paid from the sale of tanned hides and skins for sale and also from the manufacture of small articles such as bags and briefcases. He was assisted by Mark Makwata Okiya who offered to train the boys who completed standard seven and standard eight in rural tanning and leather handicraft. Makwata had trained at the Jeans school, Kabete in leather tanning.

6.5 LABOUR PATTERNS 1931-1945

There were marked fluctuations in the labour patterns in Bunyore during this period. This was because of many reasons: the great world wide depression that rocked the world for almost a decade from 1929 onwards also affected labour patterns, not only in Bunyore but in the entire colony. The depression affected the colonial economy due to a sharp decline in the prices of agricultural products in the world. The situation was further aggravated by the countrywide locust invasion. In Bunyore, it hit hardest between 1931 and 1932 and was followed by severe drought pangs and famine. There was a sharp reduction in the acreage under commercial cultivation and in employment¹⁸. The District Commissioner for North Kavirondo, reporting about African affairs in the district, stated that Africans had difficulty in finding work in any of the neighbouring white areas. Those who were fortunate enough to get salaried jobs had to be content with very low wages. Wages declined drastically from fourteen shillings to eight shillings monthly by 1932¹⁹.

It was evident that this was a difficult time for the Abanyole. The Abanyole who were in employment during this time worked on European farms in Eldoret which was popularly known as 'Sixty-Four', in Kitale and Kaimosi²⁰. Labour supply exceeded demand despite this lowering of wages. Tax remained constant for some time, and the Abanyole like other Africans in the Colony were driven into the labour market and sometimes compelled to work for longer hours to get enough money to pay tax. All over the Colony Africans were paying more in taxes than they were receiving from the wages ²¹. During this period the Abanyole were not self-sufficient. In addition, the locust invasion that seriously affected agricultural production and the Great Depression all curtailed their means of getting any form of money and for this

reason they had to be relieved from paying tax for some time until the harvesting season²².

Between 1934 and 1937, there was a marked outward migration of Abanyole in search of wage labour outside the district. They went to towns like Kisumu, Eldoret, Kitale, Nairobi, Nakuru and to European farms in the Rift Valley, Central and Coast Provinces. Many volunteered to work anywhere so long as there was work. While away from home they paid their taxes where they worked. They worked on a three to six months contract. They traversed the many European farms, industries and also provided labour in towns and for the government. The opening up of sisal estates in the Colony and the economic recovery of European coffee, tea and maize farms led to a higher demand of labour from Bunyore. The Abanyole, like their Nyanza Bantu counterparts, were preferred because of their hard work.

Below is a table showing the number of Africans who paid their tax outside the district²³.

List of 'paid outs' (natives) who paid their tax outside the district

LOCATION	PERIOD				TOTAL
	1935	1936	1937	1938	
W.KAKAMEGA	733	363	131	172	1399
E.KAKAMEGA	176	188	87	122	573
IDAKHO	36	70	33	159	298
E.TIRIKI	73	126	51	-	250
N.TIRIKI	240	426	266	450	1382
S.WANGA	296	378	165	309	1148
N.WANGA	80	145	69	129	423
S.MARAGOLI	357	775	345	763	2240
N.MARAGOLI	218	578	315	440	1551
BUNYORE	587	1266	406	579	2838
S.MARAMA	547	718	345	296	1906
N.MARAMA	151	260	147	121	679
KISA	634	878	250	330	2092
KAKAKELWA	5	15	10	8	38
BUTSOTSO	56	153	63	79	351
KABRAS MASAI	-	1	1	1	3
KABRAS	54	138	59	144	395
KIMILILI	28	54	64	20	166
S.KITOSH	23	74	29	42	168
MALAKISI	-	44	5	18	67
WAMIA-(ITESO)	21	35	14	39	109
ELGON	4	25	12	9	50
BUHAYO	5	10	23	18	56
MARACH	33	95	42	68	238
MUKULU	130	287	98	115	630
BUHOLO	265	371	154	-	790
TOTALS	4752	7473	3184	4431	19840
PERCENTAGE	23.95	37.67	16.05	22.23	

Adapted from KNA DC/NN/1/19, NKDAR, 1937

The above table shows that Bunyore location had the largest number of Africans working and paying their taxes outside the district between 1935

and 1938. The sum total for these years was two thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight Abanyole working outside the district. Bunyore was closely followed by South Maragoli location between the same years which had a sum total of two thousand two hundred and forty Maragoli people working outside the district. In 1936 and 1937, Bunyore location was the largest labour exporting location in North Kavirondo District. The figures show the actual number of people who registered with the Labour Office and who paid their tax outside the district²⁴. The core reason for these large numbers was the fact that Bunyore being the most heavily populated location with the highest population density per square mile had to look for outlets for its excess population.

For the first time after eight years in 1937, there was a tremendous increase in the total hut tax paid in Bunyore. This was because of the increasing number of Abanyole working outside the district and also because of the money the farmers received from the good crop harvest that year. Many of the Abanyole who engaged in wage labour sometimes squatted willingly on European farms in Kitale, Eldoret and Kaimosi²⁵. The fact that many Abanyole men were outside the district working meant that the traditional labour patterns had to change. Most of the economic activities were carried out by the women with the assistance of their children. Those working away from the district worked for a three to six months contract, returning home occasionally. Young men normally returned with enough money to purchase cattle for dowry payments. One informant recalled that besides buying a pair of shoes, shorts and a shirt, the most important thing he did with the salary he had saved from one 'Muzungu' farmer was to buy enough cattle to pay bride price for his present wife. The salary earned from wage labour was also used to supplement the family income²⁶. By 1938, monthly wages paid to Africans varied from ten shillings to twenty five shillings depending on the nature of the work²⁷.

The outbreak of the Second World War that began in 1939 and ended by 1945 resulted in a labour crisis throughout the Colony. The need arose for the mobilization of Africans into the 'pioneer corps' to be conscripted into the war. Besides military labour, there was also need for civilian labour. Chiefs all over the Colony were given powers to recruit the needed labourers. They could appoint local headmen to assist in recruiting as many labourers as possible²⁸. A labour depot was established at Mudepo near Maseno to process and forward the conscripted labour from the neighbouring Luo and Bunyore areas. Forced conscription continued so long as there was not enough labour. Labour was also needed for the numerous soil conservation programmes and road repairs²⁹. By 1942, conscript labour recruitment for these essential undertakings had overshadowed every aspect of normal administrative duties³⁰. The provision of labour needed in the war was a priority. The attractions of military service, which included payment of regular family allowances sent directly to the reserves and a cash grant paid to each soldier on demobilization, brought a number of Abanyole into the army who had previously been employed outside the district. Mzee Melchizedek Otiato of Eb'bayi, one of the African medical practitioners during the war, expounding on this said,

I joined the medical department as a dresser during the war because of the good monetary gains³¹.

From the year 1943, the government dropped forced military conscription in North Kavirondo District because sufficient numbers of men volunteered for duty. There were many people who wanted to join the war, but in 1944 the Maseno depot took only 314 men. These figures comprised both figures from Bunyore and Luoland. Many Abanyole left home to look for alternative employment outside the district, as was the case for the rest of the North Kavirondo District. The Labour Bulletin for the 31st December 1944 showed a total of forty-one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four Bantu registered 'natives' in civil service employment, excluding those employed by the private

sector. This was the highest tribal total in the Colony. Apart from the labour needed for military purposes, most of the labour was also needed on the many European tea, coffee, pyrethrum, maize and sisal farms all over the country³². In 1945, these numbers shot up to over 50,738 adults. This did not include war conscripts. North Kavirondo still remained the single district supplying the largest number of labourers in the Colony. Labour migration had become the normal pattern for young unmarried men. For many, it even became a way of life. The drain of able bodied manpower was enormous. In Bunyore this resulted in a corresponding burden on women and children who were left behind to carry out all the other economic activities³³.

6.6 CONCLUSION

Abanyole traders began to challenge Indian traders in Bunyore, especially at Luanda from the 1930s. Although they began by selling very few commodities, they soon rose to a higher level of owning shops and commercial vehicles, and became a competitive threat to the Indian businessmen. At first selling their goods in mud grass thatched shops and open air markets, they soon rose to the level of building their own permanent shops. By 1963, there were many Abanyole owning shops and commercial vehicles, not only at Luanda but also in the interior small trading centres like Wekhomo and Esibuye.

Apart from being shopkeepers, the Abanyole businessmen also owned hides and skins bandas, 'posho mills', and passenger vehicles. John Owuor was the only African businessman in the district to open a private tailoring college. Business in Bunyore was thus very much diversified. It began at Luanda and soon spread to other places like Wekhomo, Emakata, Ekambuli, Esibuye and Wemilabi. In 1956, those Abanyole who got loans to expand their business undertook a business training course at Maseno Jeanes School. With the

flourishing of trade followed visible signs of westernization because more and more Abanyole interacted with foreigners whose ways of life were different.

Early Abanyole entrepreneurs contributed not only to the economic, social and cultural development of Bunyore but also to that of the country at large. With the profit they made, they built better houses which were roofed with metal sheets made from old oil drums. They bought the drums from Indian and Swahili traders at Luanda. In addition to building better houses, some of them like Daudi Otieno were able to buy bicycles, Owuor bought a personal car, built a stone house, installed water and electricity in it, while others like Joel Omwakwe first bought passenger buses and later their own personal vehicles. Another distinctive characteristic of these early entrepreneurs was that they sent their children to school which the ordinary Abanyole did not do. They dressed better than the ordinary Abanyole, acquired foreign eating habits and generally led a different lifestyle.

Labour patterns in Bunyore remained almost constant with many Abanyole young men going out for salaried employment with the colonial government or on European farms and Industries. Throughout this period up to 1963, Bunyore continued to supply the highest number of employees in the district. The kind of employment they provided was not only unskilled but also skilled because some of them had attained a good level of education and training.

END NOTES

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2. Memon, "Some Geographical Aspects of the History of Urban Development in Kenya" in Ogot (ed), Economic and Social History of East Africa, pp 148-150.
3. KNA, DC/NN/1/12, NKDAR, 1933, p 33.
4. KNA, DC/NN/1/12, NKDAR, 1933, p 33.
5. Memon, "Some Geographical Aspects of the History of Urban Development in Kenya" in Ogot (ed), Economic and Social History of East Africa, pp 150-151.
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19. KNA, DC/NN/1/13, NKDAR, Political and General, 1932, pp 22-24.

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21. Tignor, The Colonial Transformation of Kenya: the Kamba, Kikuyu and Masaai from 1900-1939, pp 186-189.
22. O.I., Jeremiah Matayo Sikalo.
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24. KNA, DC/NN/1/19, NKDAR, Appendix G, 1937, p 34.
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26. O.I., Boas Mbalanya, Em'munwa, 22/5/95.
27. KNA, DC/NN/1/20, NKDAR, 1938, p 13.
28. Ndege, "Economic change in Kasipul and Kabondo 1800-1962", p 192.
29. O.I., Joseck Nyonje, Maseno, 30/5/95.
30. KNA, DC/NN/1/24, NKDAR, Political and General, 1942, p 1.
31. O.I., Melchizedek Otiato.
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CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This study has been concerned with economic change in Bunyore during the colonial period. The study has described the pre-colonial Bunyore economy and also outlined how the pre-colonial Bunyore economy underwent profound changes from 1902 to the close of colonial rule in Kenya in 1963. New colonial modes of production were incorporated among a people who had previously practised subsistence agriculture for a very long time.

The entrenchment of colonialism profoundly affected the Abanyole. The various innovations outlined in this study, like the introduction of new crops, new farming methods and techniques, settler domination, new land tenure system, taxation, the introduction of wage labour, western oriented type of education, new crafts and industry, and the growth of commerce and trade exposed the pre-colonial Bunyore economy to strong external influences that ultimately caused profound changes.

Colonial rule had a significant revolutionary impact on the pre-colonial agricultural systems of the Abanyole. First and foremost was the introduction of new crops like maize, beans, peas, sweet potatoes, cassava, groundnuts and coffee. The Abanyole did not readily incorporate these new crops into their agricultural practices and in their diet. They did so gradually. Sometimes circumstances forced them to incorporate these crops into their agricultural practices and diet. At other times, the advantages of the new crops led to their adoption. For instance, a crop like maize took a shorter time to mature and the Abanyole soon found themselves adopting it at the expense of finger

millet and sorghum which took a longer time to mature. Moreover, maize could be eaten in various forms either roasted, or boiled or ground into flour. The introduction of maize mills made the milling of maize seeds into maize flour very easy: More and more Abanyole turned to maize as the main food crop. By 1963, maize formed an important part of the Abanyole diet.

Droughts, locust invasions that caused acute famine conditions accelerated the introduction of drought resistant root crops especially cassava and sweet potatoes. These crops became very important as a source of not only food but also income because any surplus was sold for cash.

Another change that was introduced into the pre-colonial Bunyore agricultural system was the use of the European 'jembe' and 'panga' and to a small extent, the ox-plough. These innovations were advantageous to the Abanyole because a larger portion of farming land could be cultivated within a short time with a small labour force. The use of the ox-plough did not spread widely, however, because a large part of Bunyore is stony and hilly.

Bunyore had a high population density. The colonial land ordinances introduced by the British government restricted all 'natives' all over the Kenya colony within given areas. Thus, the old practice of moving into new virgin land within a region could no longer happen and shifting cultivation that had thrived in pre-colonial Bunyore could no longer be of great use because of the ever-increasing population that threatened the existing farming lands¹. The soils were seriously over-worked and farms greatly fragmented. This led to acute soil erosion and soil infertility.

It has been shown in this study that the agricultural department endeavoured to alleviate these problems by introducing a number of new farming methods and techniques. Soil conservation campaigns were carried out throughout the

area. This included the building of terraces, contour ploughing, planting of grass in strips, afforestation programmes, use of farmyard manure, planting in lines, mixed farming, crop rotation, consolidation and the enclosing of farms². The Abanyole were at first not willing to undertake these new farming methods and techniques but they gradually embraced them when they realised that they were for their good. The local leaders were asked by the colonial government to encourage their fellow Abanyole to incorporate these new methods. By 1963, many Abanyole had realised the importance of all these and they were practising the new farming methods and techniques. This does not mean that they had completely forgotten their old farming methods or crops. The Abanyole, for example, still planted sorghum, finger millet and bananas alongside the newly introduced crops. Their agricultural calendar also remained the same and the newly introduced crops were simply fitted into it.

Animal husbandry also changed during the colonial period. The Abanyole kept cattle, sheep, goats and fowls. The study has shown that traditionally a big herd of cattle, sheep, goats and many fowls was a sign of wealth and power. These animals were important items of exchange in trade and dowry payments. In addition to this, cattle in particular provided meat, milk, blood and skins for clothing. During the colonial period, a number of changes were effected in this sector. The government advocated for few high quality animals. Selective and cross breeding was introduced but it had little impact on the Abanyole by 1963 because of traditional indiscriminate breeding that continued. The colonial government also tried to control animal diseases. Many Abanyole were encouraged to attend training courses at Maseno and Bukura Farmers' Institutes.

The study has also discussed the significant changes as far as land use and tenure is concerned. Land was communally owned in pre-colonial Bunyore. Individual members of a clan would, however, have a right to use land that

their clan owned. An individual would also acquire the rights to use land from his relatives or become a tenant³. Every Omunyole was assured of land, thus, the issue of landlessness never arose. The British colonial administration introduced many changes in this sector. All over the Kenyan colony African reserves were created which inhibited the free movement of the 'natives'. The Abanyole, who when they needed more land would either fight their neighbours and occupy their land, or simply look for any unoccupied land⁴, now found themselves restricted to the North Kavirondo reserve. The traditional authorities through which land was acquired and passed on to future generations were completely undermined⁵.

In the pre-colonial Bunyore economy, money was virtually unknown. Wage labour did not exist. Traditionally, labour was not executed for wage earnings. Whenever need arose for labour it was organized communally through Kinship system. Division of labour was based on sex and age⁶. Money economy ushered in this new system of wage labour. In Bunyore, this can be traced as early as 1903 when the East Africa Industries, Maseno Limited became operational. The Abanyole went in for wage labour because of different reasons. One of which was to get money to pay taxes and the other reason was that they were forced into it by numerous acute famines that hit them. During the two World Wars many Abanyole men were conscripted to serve there. Women spent almost all their time alone in the village and they had to assume some roles that traditionally had been defined for men. This kind of practice led to family disintegration⁷. Men would always return occasionally bringing money and other items to be used by the family⁸.

The Abanyole who engaged in wage labour with their families on European farms were forced to adopt a completely new way of life. Many times the man, his wife and children provided labour for their 'Muzungu' farmer in return for money. The issue of the traditional division of labour did not arise. Apart

from the low cadre jobs, the educated Africans got better paying white collar jobs like teaching and clerical work. Some of these early Abanyole elites like John Owuor were able to use savings from their salaries to begin viable projects like operating a retail shop and a tailoring and dressmaking school as early as the date 1940s⁹.

By 1963, many Abanyole were employed in different sectors in the country. They had become accustomed to regular work for a regular wage. Many of them with a regular job started changing their life styles to suit that of the Europeans. They took their children to school, built modern houses, bought bicycles or motor vehicles and always aimed to be like their European mentors¹⁰. Such new developments altered the traditional social and economic lives of the traditional Abanyole.

The establishment of a money economy also introduced changes in the pattern and nature of trade and marketing also in the local industries. Traditional trade in Bunyore was by barter. The products exchanged included cattle, goats, sheep, grains, pots, baskets and iron tools. Traditionally, trade was only necessitated in times of severe droughts that caused famine or when prolonged sickness occurred upsetting the family food reserves. Otherwise the family was usually self-sufficient. This changed during the colonial era and trade became an integral part of the Abanyole economic organization.

The establishment of market centres like Luanda and Esibuye changed the pattern of trade in Bunyore. Indian, Swahili and Abanyole traders erected shops (duka) and engaged in thriving business. Although early Abanyole entrepreneurs like Mbalanya Omwakwe and Joel Mukoya faced stiff competition from the more established Indian traders, their determination

proved that even Africans could run retail shops and other businesses well. From the small retail open air business, they built shops, stocked them well and further diversified their business to include even transport business that boomed so well beyond 1963. Through trade, the Abanyole were increasingly introduced to new goods like imported iron farm and domestic tools, clothes, beverages and food stuffs. This helped change their way of life. Cash economy became an integral part of Bunyore economy.

The cheap new manufactured goods slowed down the development of local industries. The industry that was most adversely affected was iron working. Locally made iron tools were very expensive and not of high quality as compared to the imported iron tools. Although enamel pots, cups and plastic containers were introduced, pottery and basketry still played a significant role among the Abanyole. This was because, for instance, Abanyole made use of many baskets and pots of different shapes and sizes which by 1963 the imported manufactured goods had not completely replaced. Although some people bought enamel products, many Abanyole still favoured various items of pottery and basketry.

Closely connected to trade were the developments in communication. The main mode of transport in pre-colonial Bunyore was human portage. During the colonial period, a number of changes were introduced. These were the use of bicycles, motor vehicles and the train. The railway line with a station at Luanda in particular provided cheap transport for both bulky goods and also for passengers. Luanda as a trading centre expanded so fast with Indians applying for more plots to erect shops because it was strategically placed and was served well by road and rail. The railway line that had its interior terminus at Butere linked interior Bunyore to the outside world through Mombasa. The richer Abanyole like *Omwami* Daudi Otieno purchased the first bicycles¹¹. Those who purchased bicycles and motor vehicles would traverse different

parts of Bunyore and elsewhere easily. By 1963, a greater part of Bunyore, however, did not have good communication lines. This slowed development and the flow of ideas. The Abanyole who lived near good lines of communication were more advantaged than those who lived in interior parts of Bunyore. The Abanyole still had to carry loads on their heads from the major lines of communications to the interior.

Various aspects of the Abanyole social structure which affected the economic changes have also been analyzed in the study. This include, among others, western education.

Pre-colonial Abanyole had an elaborate system of education. Education embraced the whole life of every Omanyole. During the colonial era, a new formal education was introduced. The first thing that those who went to school were taught was how to read and write. Mission schools placed more emphasis on how to read the Bible and later on how to write. Colonial education was basically geared towards erecting a semi-skilled cheap labour for the colonial administration.

The development of colonial education especially that of missionaries brought a lot of awareness among the educated Abanyole. The missionaries encouraged girls to get educated just like boys. They set up the first Girls' School at Kima. It admitted girls not only from North Kavirondo but also from the neighbouring districts. In all, western education led to the emergence of the 'western educated elite' group of people. They were distinguished from their contemporaries by the prestige attached to the possession of the new education system introduced by the white man. With independence, those who had acquired this kind of education were able to replace the retiring colonial officials. They got salaries and other remunerations that was not comparable to an ordinary Munnyore who never went to school. Western

education was the only way through which one could get a good job and earn a modest salary.

With reference to the initial hypotheses, the study showed that the pre-colonial Bunyore economy did not fully condition the colonial economy. This was because of the new economic opportunities that the colonial economy provided for change. For instance, people like Daudi Otieno, Mbalanya Omwakwe, Joel Mukoya and Toka Omwakwe embraced the new colonial economic opportunities to become progressive early Abanyole entrepreneurs.

It is also evident from the study that economic change in Bunyore was caused by foreign factors. These were mainly the colonial administration, the Indian traders, Missionaries and neighbouring communities. However, these factors alone could not independently bring about change among the Abanyole. They themselves internalised and embraced new cultural values and attitudes which led them to adopt to the new changes. Their initiative was necessary for a sustainable economic change to take place.

The study amply elucidates that the acquisition of Missionary and formal western education influenced Bunyore economic development. Those who received this kind of education were taught new values and attitudes geared towards emulating their European mentors. They were taught a number of skills which enabled them to get salaried employment.

Finally, they used their salaries to educate their children, build better houses and some of them like John Owuor used the salary to start business. Thus, the introduction of wage labour was a factor leading to economic change in Bunyore.

END NOTES

1. KNA DC/NN/11/29 North Kavirondo Annual Report, 1947, p 37.
2. See p 147 of this study for more details.
3. See pp 4,5,and 6 of this study.
4. See p 5 of this study.
5. O.I., Aggrey Otiato, Ebuhandu, 24/6/95.
6. See p 11 of this study.
7. Wagner, The Changing Family among the Bantu Kavirondo, pp 33-34.
8. The money they received as salary would be used to purchase clothes, shoes, imported manufactured tools among other things
9. See pp 180-185 of this study.
10. O.I., John Owour, 21/8/95.
11. O.I., Enos Ayoti, Wanakhale, 2/6/95.

GLOSSARY OF LUNYORE AND SWAHILI TERMS USED IN THIS STUDY

Ababatsi	-	Wood carves
Abachimbi aba machina	-	Those who prevent hailstorms
Abakuka mulala	-	Descended from one grandfather
Abarwa	-	A people descended from the Nandi
Abasanyi	-	Labour agents
Akhanaboto	-	A weaved basket that has a handle
Amabele	-	sorghum
Amabele akamarole	-	Sorghum harvested from sorghum crop
Amafumo	-	Spears
Amakhanyu	-	Red in colour
Amalando	-	Brown in colour
Amamwamu	-	Black in colour
Amasaa	-	Caterpillars
Amas'sembe	-	Grey in colour
Amatala kabakristayo	-	Christian villages
Amatete	-	Grasshoppers
Amatuma akakipendi	-	The speckled or veri-coloured maize
Amatuma akesungu amalafu	-	White maize (zea mays)
Baraza	-	Sub-location or locational meeting, or any meeting in general where people are addressed and discuss issues
Boma	-	Village
Bwana	-	Master
Chiroko	-	A species of beans
Duka	-	Shop
Ebia bia mafura	-	Oil driven engine mills
Ebienjele	-	A plant used for weaving baskets
Ebihuli	-	Quail cages
Ebikulu bie Ebuhandu	-	Bunyore Hills
Ebisala bitaru	-	Three days
Ebitete	-	Long locally weaved baskets used to trap locusts
Embwo, Embwo Nyasaye	-	Thank you, thank you God
Emikho	-	Stirring paddles
Emilubilo	-	Fishing baskets
Emioko	-	Cassava

Emisambo/Emikasa	-	Twisted armlets
Emisambwa	-	Sacrifices
Emisiri	-	Egypt
Enyenyi/Esilongo	-	Salt lick
Erego Erego	-	Hand driven mill
Esibala sia Abanyole	-	Bunyore country
Esikomoli	-	An indigenous hardwood tree
Esikuti	-	A kind of musical instrument
Esilili	-	A kind of musical instrument
Esili	-	An Iron hoe
Esilibwa	-	Clan
Esimwelo	-	A medium size weaved basket
Esirebe	-	Three-legged stool
Esir'ri	-	A special bed that teenage girls being groomed for marriage slept on
Esitela/Ebitela	-	Big weaved basket(s)
Esitinyilo	-	A small basket
Esitipa	-	Traditional vegetable
Etsilupia	-	Money
Esuti	-	A type of sorghum
Etsihari	-	Milking jugs
Eyafuka	-	A necklace pot used for cooking 'ugali' and sometimes storing sorghum
Eyambeba	-	A pot for cooking rats, meat and chicken
Eyamunyu	-	A small pot used for cooking vegetables
Ikhonono/tsikhonono	-	Sickle(s)
Injala ya Opande	-	The Opande famine
Injala ye tsisitse	-	The 'locust' famine
Injala ye sikombe	-	The 'cup' famine
Injala ya Keya	-	The Keya famine
Injeso	-	A type of sharp knife
Inzu/tsinzu	-	Hut(s)
Isikha	-	A bigger weaved basket than Esitela
Isongo	-	A medium sized pot with a curved neck used for storing millet
Isongo ya matsi	-	A pot shaped like the above one but with a narrower neck used for fetching and storing water
Jajimbkoth	-	Luo word for rainmaker
Jembe	-	Digging tool
Khuluyia	-	A bonfire
Khunungo	-	A storage place just above the fire place
Kipande	-	An identity card
Libokoi	-	Traditional vegetable

Lidebe	-	A water container
Lihaya	-	A long wooden tool (hoe) used for digging
Likhalapa	-	Bean leaves
Likhambi	-	A water reed used for weaving
Likhubi	-	Cow pea leaves
Likhule	-	An owl
Limuka	-	A kind of musical instrument
Lisebebe	-	Pumpkin leaves
Lisutsa	-	Traditional vegetable
Litala/Amatala	-	Homestead(s)
Litungu	-	A kind of musical instrument
Maendeleo ya wanawake	-	A women's organisation that was initiated to help boost the welfare of women
Muzungu	-	White man
Mwalimu	-	Teacher
Nyangweso	-	A name used to refer to the locust famine
Obukotswe/obukofuma/esiamachele	-	names of different types of mushrooms
Obule	-	Finger millet
Obulitsa	-	Traps
Obulongi	-	Pottery
Obulukhi	-	Basketry and weaving
Obura	-	Arrow heads
Oburaki bwe subwe	-	Short rains planting season
Oburaki bwomwika	-	Long rains planting season
Oburale	-	Iron ore
Oburuli	-	Iron working
Obusalu	-	Traditional salt
Obushuru bwomurwe	-	Poll tax
Obushuru bwe inzu	-	Hut tax
Obusingo	-	Cowdung
Obusuma	-	Stiff porridge
Obwongu bwomundu	-	Human brains
Okhukalusia	-	Inherit
Okhulomba omunyu/obusalu	-	Salt making
Okhulomba olukaka	-	To make a fence
Okhumitswa	-	To broadcast seeds randomly
Okhupulwa	-	A traditional treatment done to finger millet
Okhwechekha	-	A system of keeping one's livestock or fowls with relatives or neighbours as a check against any pestilence

Okumwelo kwa nyangande okwa amabele -	A big weaved basket full of sorghum
Olubibo -	Rake
Oluchio -	A flat bowl
Olugongo -	Village elder
Olukhuche -	A kind of musical instrument
Olusi -	Napier grass
Olusolia -	An indigenous hardwood tree
Olutse -	A place prepared specially for drying grain
Omuboyi -	Servant
Omuchimbi weifula -	Rainmaker
Omukhaye Mukhulundu -	The senior wife
Omukhulundu welitala -	The head of a homestead
Omukhulundu -	An elder or the head
Omukitsi -	Yard
Omukonia -	An old respected man or woman
Omukukhu -	A raised ground on which a big weaved basket was placed
Omulungeti -	A blanket
Omumenya -	Tenant
Omumilwa -	Assimilated person
Omunyu okwokhuselekha -	Traditional salt
Omusanyi -	Labour agent
Omwami -	Leader or head
Omwayi -	Herdsboy/herdsman
Omwemeli -	Status that preceded that of an elder
Omwene Liloba -	The owner of the soil
Omwiwa -	A brother-in-law's son
Panga -	A broad-bladed kind of machete
Posho -	Maize flour
Shamba -	Farm
Tsikhungu -	Army worms
Tsimbande -	Nuts
Tsimboka -	Traditional vegetable
Tsimwo -	Seeds
Tsindelul -	Trays
Tsingaka -	Finger rings
Tsingui -	Weevils
Tsinyembe -	Blades
Tsinyeni -	Fish
Tsisimbo -	Small trees used in building
Tsisindu -	Quails
Tsisitse -	Locusts
Tsiswa -	White ants

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. ORAL INFORMANTS

1. Abuchina Cosmas, a farmer, comes from Eb'bayi Musikulu village and he is about 68 years old. He was interviewed on 17/5/95.
2. Abuyeka E. Enane was interviewed at his Kakamega home on 6/5/95. He is one of the most educated men in Bunyore. He was the first educated Omanyole to become a Senior Chief in the 1950s and a District Officer in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Currently he is a thriving businessman at Kakamega town.
3. Andesia Rael is from Ebuhando Wangai village and a wife to Christopher Om'masaba, one of the informants. She is about 60 years old and she was interviewed on 3/5/95.
4. Anjichi Ibrahim , one of the early christian converts was interviewed on 7/6/95 at Ebusikhale Mumboha home. He is about 60 years old.
5. Asila Jairus, a retired teacher and a pastor with the Church of God Mission of Ebusiralo Ematenje village is about 90 years old. He was interviewed on 25/5/95.
6. Asila Niva from Ebusiralo Ematenje is the wife of Asila Jairus, one of oral informants. She is one of the early Abanyole women christian converts. She is about 80 years old and was interviewed on 18/5/95.
7. Askari Gershom is a farmer and he comes from Wanakhale village. He is about 75 years and was interviewed on 18/5/95.
8. Ateku Hezron, a farmer from Ebulonga village was interviewed on 30/5/95. He is about 72 years old.
9. Ayoti Enos was the oldest interviewee aged about 100 years. He was among the first Abanyole to become christians with the Church of God Mission. He learnt how to read and write at the mission where he was employed and worked for a long time. He comes from Wanakhale village and was interviewed on 2/6/95.
10. Bhagwanji Pabar , aged about 70 years is a Kenyan Indian businessman with a number of businesses at the Luanda Urban

11. Esikuri Wellington is a farmer from Eb'bayi Musikulu village and was interviewed on 17/5/95. He is about 65 years old.
12. Esilaba Harun is about 60 years old and he was interviewed on 11/5/95. He comes from Ebuhando village.
13. Esilaba Samuel of Esibakala village is a farmer and was interviewed on 19/5/95. He is about 65 years old.
14. Indeku Samson is a church elder about 80 years old. He is from Ebuhando Musikulu village and was interviewed on 3/5/95.
15. Ingang'a Samuel, aged about 65 years is a farmer from Ebuhando Musilulu village and was interviewed on 26/5/95.
16. Kantilal Jivray (Mwalimu), aged about 80 years, is a Kenyan Indian who grew up at the Luanda Urban Town Council where he operates a chain of businesses. He was interviewed on 15/6/95.
17. Kengwa J. Juma, a farmer of Es'songolo village was interviewed on 18/5/95 aged 65 years old.
18. Libulele Philip is the Chief of West Bunyore Location. He is about 60 years and was interviewed on 17/5/95.
19. Manasseh Jako Gladstone, aged about 85 years is a long serving retired teacher. He Comes from Ebwali village near Ebwali secondary school. He was interviewed on 16/5/95.
20. Mati Fanuel is from Musikulu village and was interviewed on 28/7/95. He worked on many European farms during the colonial period. He is now a farmer at home. He is about 70 years old.
21. Mbalanya Boaz is from Em'munwa village aged about 65 years. He is one of the Abanyole who embraced christianity and was educated at Kima Central School. He was interviewed on 20/6/95.
22. Nambute Harrison is a businessman at Luanda Urban Town Council. He was interviewed on 29/8/95. He is about 65 years old.
23. Nyonje Joseck, aged about 60 years of Maseno Emabungo Village was interviewed on 30/5/95. He is a farmer.
24. Ojengo Habil is a long serving pastor with the Church of God Mission. He is about 80 years old. He was interviewed at his Ebuhando

Elubak'kalo home on 15/6/95.

25. Okumu Samson is a farmer aged about 75 years. He is from Ebuhando Wangai village and was interviewed on 18/6/95.
26. Olenja Jackton, a retired teacher from Ebwali Village was interviewed on 18/6/95. He is about 80 years old.
27. Olenja Tabitha is a retired teacher from Ebwali village aged about 65 years old. She was interviewed on 14/6/95.
28. Om'masaba Christopher was interviewed on 1/5/95 at his Ebuhando Wangai village home. He has worked in several capacities as a pastor with the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Mission, as a clerical officer at the same mission for several years and currently he is involved in farming and business at his home. He is about 70 years old.
29. Omuka Dorica, a widow, aged about 60 years was interviewed on 11/5/95 at her Hobunaka Musitinyi home.
30. Ongachi Bethseba is one of the early Abanyole women to become a christian. She was taught how to read and write at the Church of God Mission and she is now an active member of the Ebuhando Pentecostal Assemblies of God church. She lives on the foothills of Ebuhando hills. She is about 85 years. She was interviewed on 3/5/95.
31. Ongadi J. Mzee, one of the early Abanyole entrepreneurs from Ebuhando Musikulu village was interviewed on 29/8/95 at Kima market where he operates his businesses from. He is about 68 years old.
32. Ongalo Jackson from Ebusikhale Mumboha, aged about 70 years was interviewed on 12/5/95.
33. Onguso Harrison is about 75 years old and he comes from Kima Munungo village. He is a pastor with the Church of God Mission. He was interviewed on 24/5/95.
34. Oriko Khayundi of Ebusiekwe Esibila village was interviewed on 10/5/95. He is a farmer.
35. Otiato Aggrey is a pastor with the Church of God Mission and he is about 70 years. He was interviewed on 24/6/95. He comes from Ebuhando Wangai village .

36. Otiato Melchizedek, a retired colonial clinical officer from Eb'bayi Musinaka was interviewed on 17/5/95. He is about 75 years old.
37. Otiende Eunice is from Ebuhando Emakakha village. She was interviewed on 9/5/95. She is a businesswoman aged about 70 years.
38. Otiende Joram was interviewed on 9/5/95 at his Ebuhando Emakakha village home. He is about 75 years old and a pastor with the Church of the Province of Kenya.
39. Otundo Willy of Kima Munungo is about 80 years old. He is a pastor with the Church of God Mission. He was interviewed on 2/6/95.
40. Owuor John aged about 79 years is a retired teacher and he lives at Wekhomo Market. He is a pastor with the Church of God Mission and a thriving entrepreneur at the Wekhomo Market where he operates a tailoring college. He was interviewed on 29/8/95.
41. Oyando Jeremiah of Ebutongoi is pastor with the Pentecostal Assemblies of God. He was interviewed on 1/5/95 aged about 70 years.
42. Sichenga Ibrahim from Ebusiralo village was interviewed on 15/5/95. He is about 65 years old.
43. Siibo Micah of Ebusiekwe village aged about 85 years was interviewed on 30/5/95. He worked as a cook at the Nairobi School until 1963. He is now a farmer at home.
44. Sikalo Jeremia Matayo, a farmer aged about 70 years from near the Kima Mission was interviewed on 17/5/95.
45. Susu Jared, aged about 60 years, is a retired employee with the ministry of Public Works is from Eb'bayi Musikulu. He was interviewed on 17/5/95.
46. Turusidas Asal is a Kenyan Indian businessman at the Luanda Urban Town Council. He is about 75 years old and was interviewed on 19/6/95.

NB: The above informants were interviewed more than once but only the dates of the first interview are indicated above. In addition the ages given are my own estimates based on information from informants.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION

This booklet contains a number of questions on various aspects on economic change in Bunyore up to 1963. The purpose of the questionnaire is to obtain information that would assist in the investigation of economic change in Bunyore from 1902 to 1963. To this effect, you are kindly requested to respond to the questions as best as you can based on your knowledge and experience.

INSTRUCTIONS

The questions presented here are either closed or open ended questions.

POPULATION

1. How was Bunyore settled?
2. How many families settled in Bunyore?
3. When did the settlement take place?
4. Which areas were settled first? Why?
5. Which areas were settled last? Why?
6. Was the settlement process peaceful?
7. Did further resettlement and acquisition of land take place elsewhere?.
8. When and how did this occur?
9. What was average number of children per family?
10. Where did your grandparents first settle?
11. How many wives did your grandfather have?
12. How many children did each wife have?
13. Were all the wives Nyores?
14. If no, where did the others come from?
15. How was inter-tribal marriages done those days?
16. How was land valued those days?
17. Who had the right to own land?
18. When the missionaries came how did they affect the original traditional families concept of Bunyore?
19. How did the Abanyole react to this?
20. Did any people migrate from Bunyore?
21. If yes, when did the first people leave Bunyore?

22. Why did they migrate from Bunyore and where did they go to?
23. Did they migrate on temporal or permanent basis?
24. If they came again, how useful were they to the community?
25. Are you aware whether they acquired land where they went?
26. How was this done?
27. Can you tell me something about some Abanyole who went to work on European farms and industries?
28. Did they later settle there or they came back?
29. How did such people contribute to the well being of Bunyore economy?
30. What can you say about population in Bunyore?

LAND

1. Before the Europeans came, how were following concepts done or carried out:

- Land acquisition
- Land tenure
- Individual ownership
- Sale of occupation of rights of land
- Grazing common grounds
- Salt licks
- Land sales and exchange
- Land authority
- Average family holding
- Land fertility
- The status of women when it comes to matters of land
- The squatter problem
- Land fragmentation
- Land claims and disputes
- The significance of land

2. When the Europeans came how were the above concepts taken and practiced?

3. When did the idea of land ownership begin in Bunyore?
4. When did land registration begin? Why was it necessary?
5. What was your reaction to it?
6. How did the Abanyole take it? How was it carried out?
7. Did the issue of landlessness ever arise? How was it handled?
8. What do you know about land consolidation and enclosure programs?
9. What was your attitude towards it?
10. How successful was this program?
11. When did the Abanyole fully appreciate the program?
Why?
12. What can you say concerning farming before the Europeans came?
13. What about farming during the colonial times?
14. What role did the missionaries play on farming and general landlessness in Bunyore?
15. Was there any land disputes between Bunyore and her neighbours?
16. How was it solved?
17. How did the missionaries acquire land to build the following missions:
Church of God mission
Interior Church mission
Christian Missionary Society mission
What about others?

TRADE AND TRADING CENTRES

1. How was buying and selling done traditionally?
2. In those days were there markets?
3. How was a market center chosen?
Was it permanent or temporal? Why?
4. Which were the important markets in Bunyore then?
5. What was the modes of exchange?
6. What commodities were exchanged at the market?
7. Was there any specialization in trade commodities?
8. Was trade carried out every other day?
9. Did Bunyore trade with her neighbours?
Who were they?
10. What necessitated such trade?
11. How was such trade carried out and organized?
12. When was money introduced as a mode of exchange?
13. What advantage did money exchange bring to Bunyore economy?
14. Was money always plentiful in Bunyore?
15. Which other trading centers remained important both in pre-colonial and colonial period?
16. Why do you think this was so?
17. Which was the most important trading center?

NONE AFRICAN BUSINESSMEN

1. When did you first come to Bunyore?
2. What brought you here?
3. When did you first set up a business in Bunyore?
4. What kind of business was it?
5. Where did you set it up?
6. Why did you get into business?
7. How did you relate with African businessmen?
8. What can you say about business in Bunyore then?
9. Did you employ any Abanyole? Why?
10. What was their salary per month?
11. What was the mode of exchange?
12. Did you have business elsewhere?
13. How can you compare the two businesses?
14. What commodities did you buy and sell?

AFRICAN ENTREPRENEURS

1. What encouraged you to set a business in Bunyore?
2. What kind of business was it?
3. How rewarding was it?
4. Did you face any challenges?
5. How did you handle them?
6. Did you belong to any business association?

7. What were its objectives?
8. Did you require licenses?
9. How were they issued?
10. Why was Luanda not gazetted until 1933 yet it was one of the largest trading centers in North Nyanza then?
11. Why was the European squatter at Luanda abandoned in 1926?
12. What caused the numerous applications of plots in Luanda after 1926?
13. Did the goods from Luanda reach other neighbouring markets?
14. How were goods brought to trading centers?
15. How did the Kisumu-Butere line contribute to the development of trade in Luanda?
16. What comments can be made on road systems in Bunyore?
17. Compare trade in pre-colonial and colonial times?

SOIL

1. In pre-colonial Bunyore which places were cultivated and why?
2. How long could a family cultivate on a given piece of land?
3. How was soil fertility maintained?

COLONIAL PERIOD

1. Did any changes take place concerning the above?
2. Were people allowed to continue with the old ways of soil maintenance?
3. Why?
4. What was the productivity rate in both periods?

5. How was soil conservation done in Colonial period?
6. Which was the first technique to be introduced?
7. Did Abanyole accept these new techniques?
8. What other techniques were later introduced and how were they acquired and practiced?
9. What do you know about the Bunyore-Maragoli reclamation scheme?
10. How was it carried out?
11. Was it successful?

AGRICULTURE

1. Can you tell me about planting and farming traditionally?
2. What changes did the missionaries bring about in relationship to this?
3. Did the Colonial government bring about any changes concerning agriculture?
4. What happened if crops failed?
5. What food crops were grown in pre-colonial Bunyore?
6. Were the Abanyole traditionally agriculturalist, explain?
7. Where did they acquire the art of cultivation from?
8. What kinds of animals did they keep?
9. What were their economic value?
10. Can you say something about harvest time in pre-colonial *Bunyore*?
11. Compare with the colonial period?
12. Which was the first new crop to be introduced in Bunyore?

13. When was this?
14. How did the Abanyole respond to this new crop?
15. What other crops were later introduced?
16. When were they introduced?
17. Who planted the first cash crop in Bunyore?
18. How much land was under cash crop then?
19. Compare cattle keeping in pre-colonial and colonial times?
20. When were the following first grown in Bunyore:
 - Coffee
 - Tea
 - Groundnuts
 - Maize
 - Bananas
 - Others
21. Who introduced them?
22. How did the Abanyole incorporate these new crops into their meals or daily routine work?
23. Did you encounter problems in growing them?
24. What do you know about the vegetable canning in Bunyore?
25. Was there fish farming in Bunyore during colonial period?
26. How was it carried out?
27. When and why was Maseno Veterinary center set up?
28. How did Bunyore benefit from Bukura Farmers training center?
29. How did the teaching of Agricultural education in schools help Bunyore economy?
30. What do you know about African Co-operative societies in Bunyore?

31. What of Bunyore coffee factory?

TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS

1. When was the first ox-plough introduced in Bunyore?
2. Who owned it?
3. What of the subsequent ox-ploughs?
4. Were they individually or communally owned?
5. Was ploughing done individually or communally?
6. What changes did the ox-plough bring on the farming patterns in Bunyore ?
7. When was the first water mill introduced in Bunyore ?
8. Who introduced it?
9. Who owned it (them)?
10. What was (were) it (they) used for?
11. What were their economic importance?

GENERAL

1. Name any other machinery (machines) that were introduced in Bunyore by the Europeans.
2. What were they used for?
3. Who owned them?

GOVERNMENT HEALTH INSTITUTIONS

1. Traditionally what happened when any kind of new illness would strike?
2. Did the Banyore continue with the traditional ways of administering treatment even after the introduction of modern hospitals by missionaries and the colonial government? Why?
3. Which was the first hospital/dispensary/health centres to be built by the colonial government?
4. Where was it built?
5. When was it built?
6. How useful was it to the locals?
7. Which other centres came up?
8. What was the difference between a mission hospital and a government hospital?
9. What was the general attendance in both centres?
10. Was any money charged for treatment?
11. If yes, how much?
12. What if one could not raise the hospital fee?
13. Were people seeking treatment for all diseases in Hospitals?

PUBLIC WORKS

1. What was the common means of communication in pre-colonial Bunyore?
2. Name the different means of communications?
3. How efficient were the various means of communications?
4. What happened when the Europeans came?

5. How was the building of roads/bridges done in pre-colonial Bunyore?
6. How different was this from colonial times?
7. Who was the first Munyore to own
Bicycle?
cart?
Vehicle?
8. When was this?
9. Were these means of communication any better than the old ways?
10. Why? and explain what changes if any came about with this new technology.
11. Who would own the above things?
12. When did the railway line first reach Bunyore?
Where was a station put up?
13. Were any Banyore employed on the construction work of the rails/roads/bridges during the colonial period?
14. What kind of jobs did they do?
15. How much money did they earn per month?
16. What did they do with this money?
17. Which were the roads/bridges that Europeans built in Bunyore? When were they built?
18. When was the first tarmac road built in Bunyore?
19. Were people displaced during its construction?
20. If yes, what was done to them?
21. What was the state of roads in Bunyore by 1963?
22. What were the means of communication in use by 1963?
23. Compare this state with the older days before the coming of the Europeans?

TAXATION

PRE-COLONIAL

1. Was there any form of taxation in pre-colonial Bunyore?
2. If so how was it carried out?
3. What things were given as tax?
4. Why was taxation necessary?
5. Who collected the taxes?
6. What was the people's attitude to taxation then?

COLONIAL

1. When did you pay your first tax?
2. How was it called?
3. Were you told why you had to pay it?
4. In what form was the tax(es) paid?
5. Who collected the tax (taxes)?
6. Were other taxes later introduced?
7. If yes, when were they introduced?
8. Why were they introduced?
9. Who collected these taxes?
10. How did you (others) react to the new taxation system?
11. Could anybody be exempted from pay tax?
12. For whatever answers
 Why?
 How?

13. What happened if one failed to pay tax?

14. How did people pay tax?

NATURAL CALAMITIES

1. How did Bunyore society cope with crisis or how did the Abanyole deal with natural crisis traditionally? Relate this specifically to the following.

Famine/Drought/Food shortage

Hailstorms

Local invasion

Disastrous sickness (e.g. Spanish Influenza of 1918-1919)

2. What were the major crisis that happened in Bunyore which were also felt elsewhere? e.g. Great Depression (Money shortage) etc.

3. Before 1900 what were the major crisis that you can recall?

What were they called?

How did the Abanyole overcome them?

4. From 1900 how many natural crisis can you recall?

How did the people handle them?

LOCAL INDUSTRY

1. What can you say about traditional industries?

2. What kind of specialization was carried out in pre-colonial Bunyore industry (pottery, Basketry, Iron working, Mat making) which clan specialized in what and why?

3. What happened to local Bunyore industry when the Europeans came?

4. How was the art of pre-colonial Bunyore building technique different from the colonial one?

5. What do you know about leather tanning in Bunyore?

6. When did it begin?

7. Who initiated it?

8. Why was it started in Bunyore?
9. Of what importance was it to the economy of Bunyore?
10. As one of the earliest entrepreneurs what were your ambitions?
11. What do you know about St. Joseph's rural tanning?
12. What of Luanda hide Banda?
13. Who owned it?
14. When was it began?
15. What were the objectives of this business?
16. What role did the following play in the tanning industry?
 - S. Nderechere (Emakata)
 - E. Ashenga and company (Luanda)
 - T. Kabole (wemilabi)
 - S. Obiayo (Ebusiratsi)

POLITICAL AND GENERAL

CHIEFS IN BUNYORE

1. How many chiefs ruled Bunyore between 1902 to 1963? how were their reigns?
2. How were chiefs appointed/elected/chosen traditionally?
3. How different was it from the time when Europeans were ruling?
4. What powers were bestowed on the chiefs?
5. How did the term 'Abaluyia' come into being?
6. Who have been the neighbours of Bunyore?
7. How has Bunyore lived with her neighbours?

EDUCATION-GOVERNMENT ORIENTED

1. State the government aided schools in Bunyore?
2. Which school was established first?
3. How was the kind of education received from mission schools different from that received from Government schools?
4. Was there any priority amongst the people in choosing which schools to go to?
5. Up to what level could one go with education either in government aided schools or mission schools?
6. How important was this education to ones future life?
7. What happened to children whose parents refused to take them to school?
8. Did girls and boys receive the same kind of education? Why?
9. What could a girl do with education?
What could a boy do with education?
10. Was there any conflict between mission schools and government schools?
11. When was the Luanda Indian school began?
How was the system of education here?
Who was eligible to Luanda Indian school?
Who taught in this school?
What were the children taught?
Were there any other indian schools in Bunyore?
12. When was the Nyanza Jeanes school, Maseno began?
Who were eligible to this school?
What was taught at this school?
13. When was the Vihiga Girls teacher training centre began? Why was it began?
Who was eligible to this college?
14. Mwhila Teacher training centre:
When was it began ?

Why was it began?

Who was eligible to this college ?

15. What other colleges were in or near Bunyore that were of great help to the people of Bunyore?

How useful was Maendeleo ya Wanawake to the status of women in Bunyore?

When was it began in Bunyore?

LABOUR AND WAGES

1. When was wage labour system first introduced in Bunyore?

2. Why did you/people engage in wage labour?

3. Where did the Banyore seek wage employment?

4. What were the average earnings?

5. How was labour recruitment done in Bunyore?

6. Who went in for wage labour? Why?

7. Who were labour agents?

8. In the early 1930s there was money shortage-Why do you think this was so?

9. Did this affect labour employment?

10. Why was child labour evident during this period especially on coffee and teas estates?

AFRICAN SOLDIERS IN WORLD WARS

1. Which people were recruited as soldiers in the world wars?

2. How was the recruitment done?

3. Where were they taken to fight?

4. How much money did they earn per month?

5. How did their families survive when they were away in war?
6. When they returned from war did they contribute to the economic well being of Bunyore in any way?

LABOUR PRE-COLONIAL TIMES

1. How was division of labour carried out?
2. What was the role of children, women, and men in the society?

MISSIONS AND MISSIONARY WORK

1. What kind of life did the Abanyole live before the coming of missionaries?
2. Who was the first missionary in Bunyore?
3. When did he come to Bunyore?
4. Where did he settle?
5. Why did he come?
6. What church did he (they) begin?
7. Where did he (they) build a mission station and why?
8. Did they get any converts?
9. Who were the first converts?
10. How did other people view the early converts?
11. Which other missions were set up in Bunyore?
12. When was this?
13. Who were the missionaries?
14. What churches did they set up?

15. Did people accept christianity?

16. What was the role of women in Bunyore economy before the missionaries came and after they had come?

EDUCATION

1. What can you say about education in pre-colonial Bunyore?
2. Which was the first mission school in Bunyore?
3. Who began it and why?
4. Who were the first Banyore people to receive missionary education?
5. What were they taught in school?
6. How did that education help them?
7. How did other natives view them?
8. Who was eligible as a candidate in the mission schools?
9. What was the highest level of education then?
10. Did girls and boys receive the same kind of education?
11. Why?
12. Who was the first Munyore teacher?
13. Where was he educated?
14. How important was education to economic growth in Bunyore?

15. Did people accept christianity?

16. What was the role of women in Bunyore economy before the missionaries came and after they had come?

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14. How important was education to economic growth in Bunyore?

HEALTH

1. How was sickness handled and treated traditionally?
2. How was sickness later handled and treated with the coming of Europeans and missionaries?
3. Compare traditional treatment methods and modern ways of treatment.
4. Which was the first dispensary/hospital/health centre in Bunyore?
When was it built?
How useful was it to the people?
5. Did other health centres come up?
Which ones and who built them?
When were they built?
6. What was the role played by the various Europeans congregational groups towards health in Bunyore?
7. Was then any form of fee to be paid?
8. What if one could not afford?

GENERAL

1. Could you tell me something about the conflict between the missionaries and the people?
2. How did the people sort out these conflicts?
3. What was the position of women before and after the missionaries came?
4. How did women worship?
5. Who were the first Banyore evangelists and teachers?
6. Where were they educated?
7. What changes did they bring in Bunyore?

8. Who were the first educated women in Bunyore?
9. Where were they educated?
10. What role have they played in the economy of Bunyore?
11. What impact did they have on other women in the society?
12. Did any Abanyole study outside Bunyore before 1963?
13. What impact did they have on Bunyore economy?

APPENDIX II: KENYA: PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES



Adapted from THE PHILIP'S - EAEP KENYA PRIMARY ATLAS pg 6, 1996 Edition.

APPENDIX III: WESTERN PROVINCE: DISTRICT BOUNDARIES



Adapted from THE PHILIP'S - EAEP KENYA PRIMARY ATLAS pg 25, 1996 Edition.

VIHIGA DISTRICT
ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES



ADAPTED FROM VIHIGA DEVELOPMENT PLAN 94-96