

"ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION IN RURAL KENYA:

A CASE STUDY OF TIRIKI DIVISION, 1902 - 1963" //

BY

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DECLARATION

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval
as University Supervisors.

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DEDICATION

To my beloved parents, Abraham Mahulu and Grace Kageha.

to sincerely thank Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Khendi, Mr. and Mrs. John Esolyo, Mr. and Mrs. Hardley Ustwanga, Rogers Muhavi, Rose Obiero, Phyllis Iminza, Gladys Afandi, Fridah Inyuma and Lilian Khavaya. I appreciate greatly their kindness and interest.

Finally, a number of people have been involved in the typing of this work, many of whom had a great deal of trouble with my handwriting and for this, I apologize and offer grateful thanks for their efforts. One lady in particular deserves mention for her time and trouble: the efforts of Mrs. Alice Bakhoya were beyond the call of duty. She has in many places, altered my turgid prose into something more respectable. I hope that my readers will be grateful to her as I am myself.

ABSTRACT

The focus of this case study is the economic transformation that took place in Tiriki during the colonial period and the effects of the transformation. The study spans the period from the time the whole of western Kenya was separated from Uganda and became part of Kenya in 1902, until the achievement of independence in 1963.

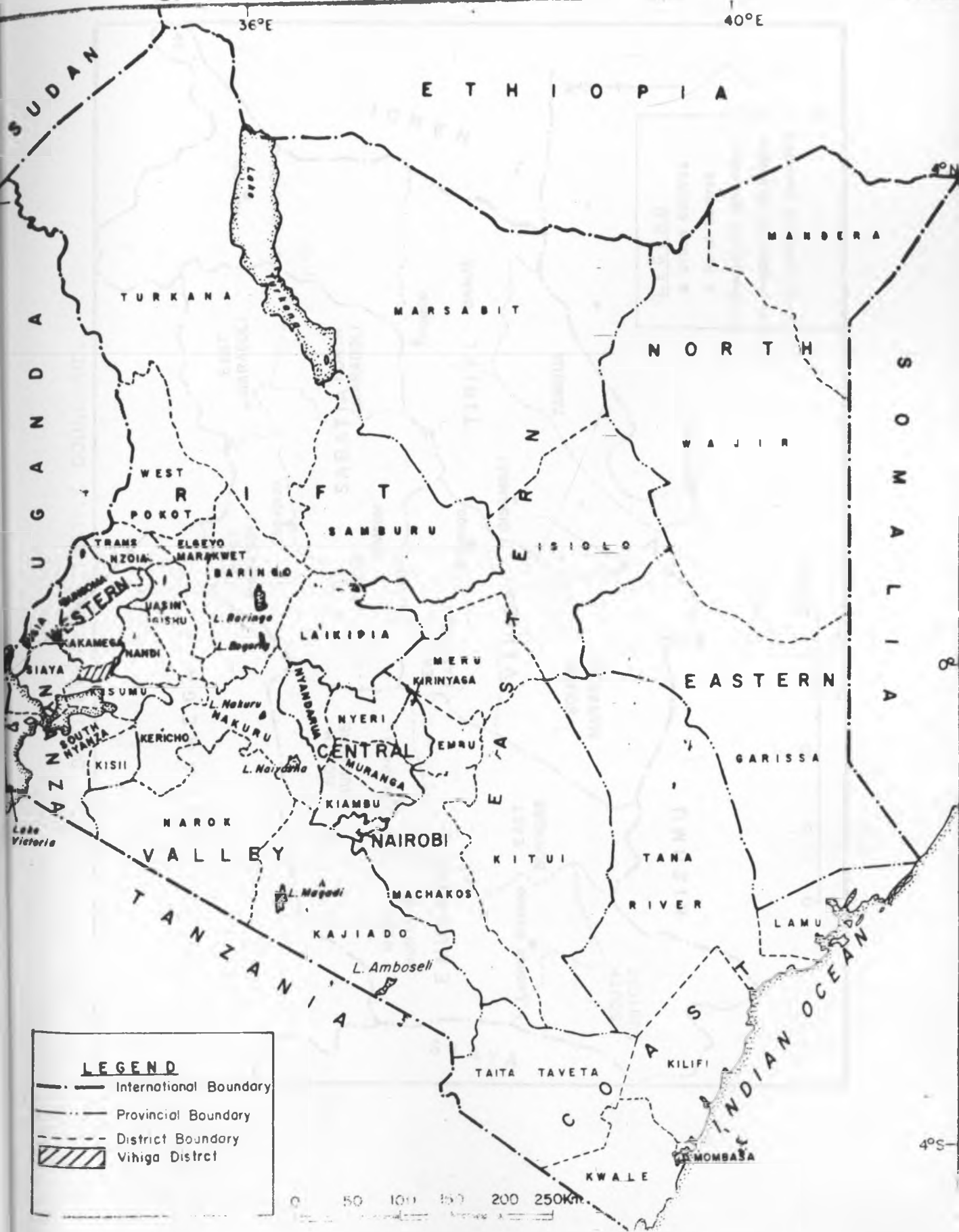
The colonial period represents the most profound change in Tirikiland. With the establishment of colonial rule, the Tiriki were subject to a number of forces working towards change. Their incorporation in a new, very large political entity, which threw together many formerly independent African peoples and which also attracted European and Asian immigrant had far-reaching changes on them. Along with a radically new political order, colonial rule also set in motion economic forces which worked to diversify the economy of the Tiriki and to integrate it into the world economy.

It is the argument of this study that colonialism transformed the pre-colonial Tiriki economic structure and organization. The alien rule created new economic structure and consequently the economic organization and production also changed. The study shows that the pre-colonial Tiriki economic systems underwent a far reaching transformation. In its turn, this transformation had profound effects on the economic structure and organization of the Tiriki society.

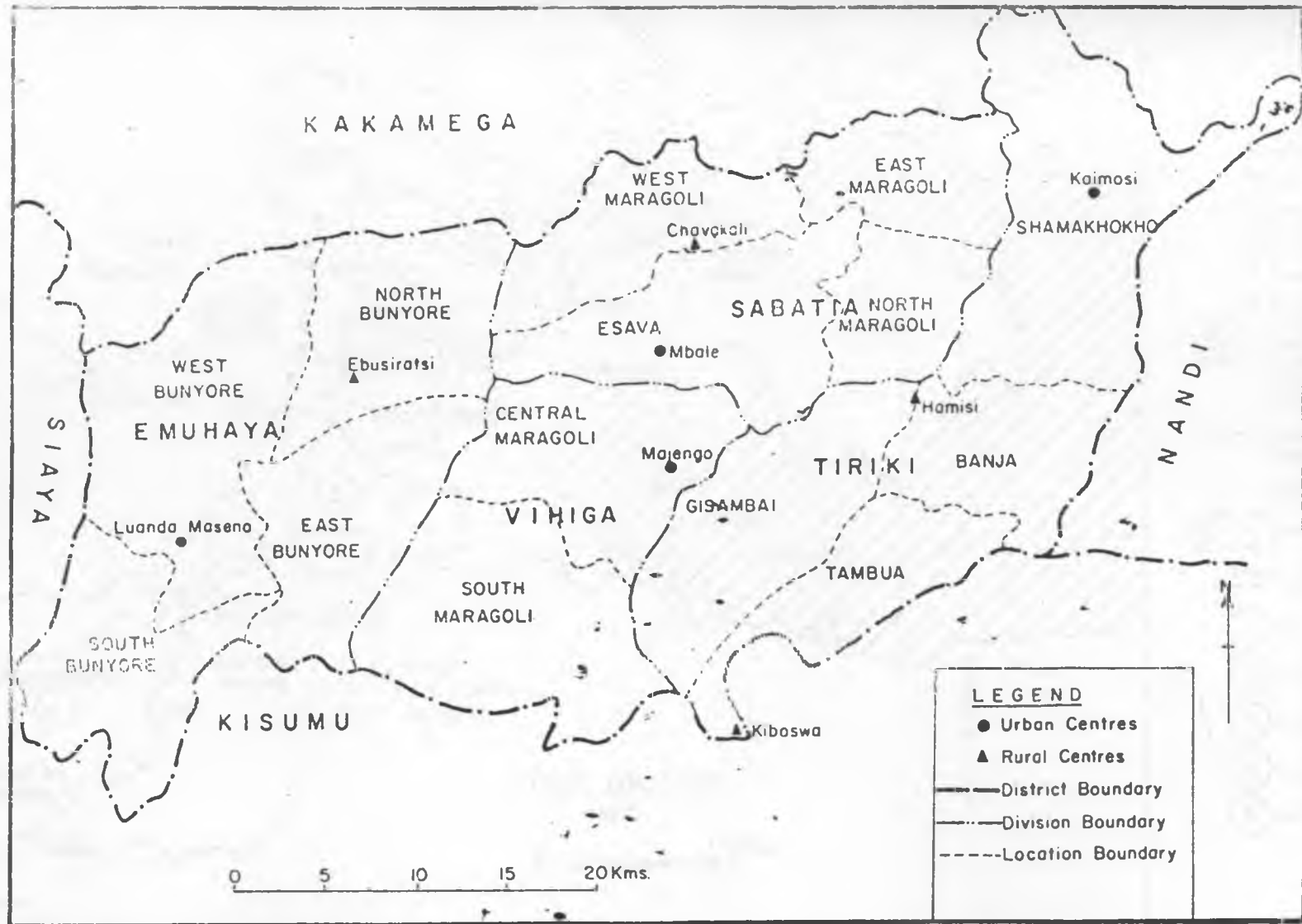
The material for this study is derived from written sources which include reports from Kenya National Archives, Church reports, government publications, books, articles and dissertations. Oral interviews

collected from individuals who participated in or directly observed the events of the period also provide useful information.

LOCATION OF VIHIGA DISTRICT IN KENYA



VIHIGA DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES





TIRIKI DIVISION ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES

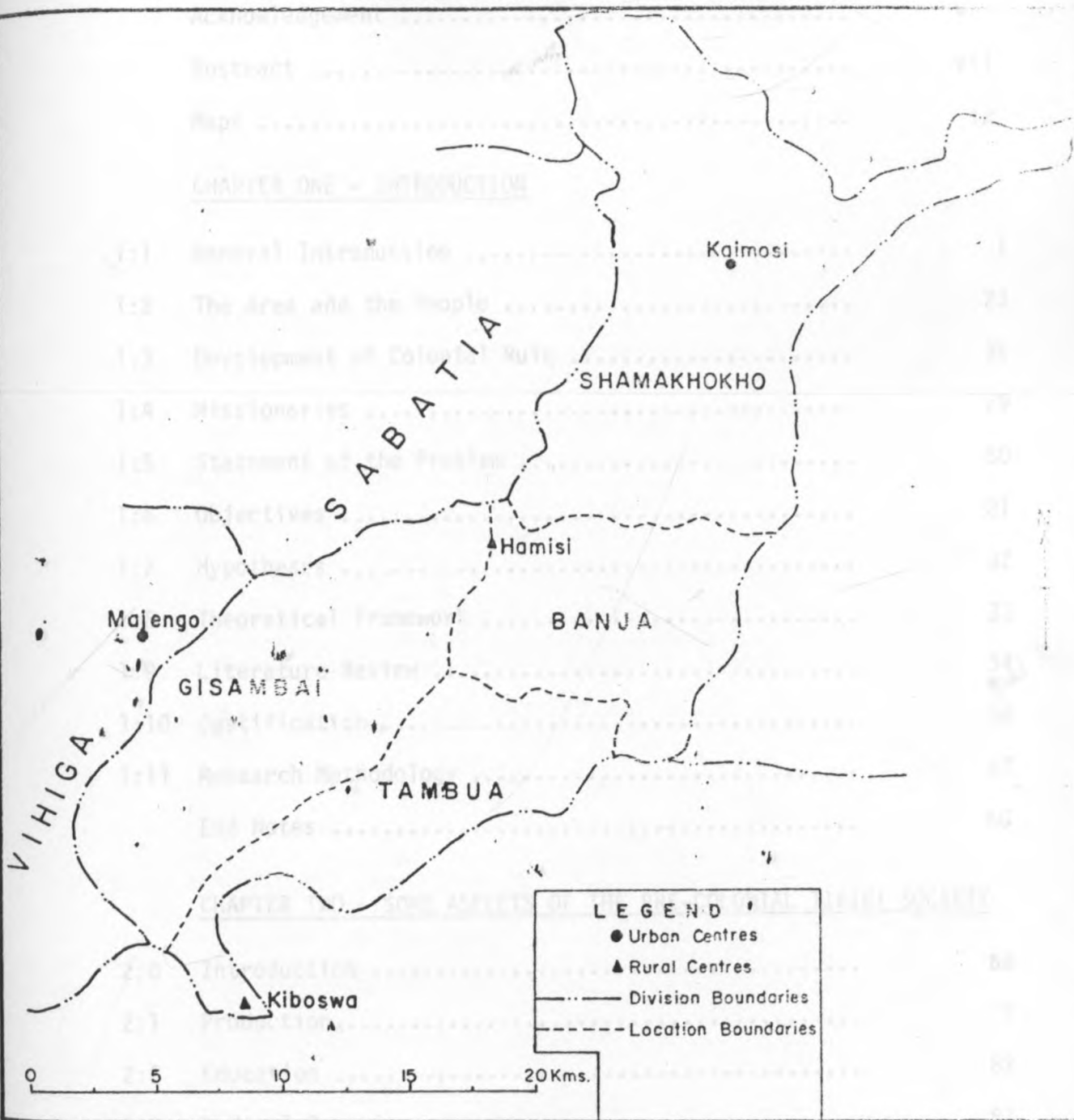


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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1:1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Historical studies of the colonial era in Kenya, as elsewhere in Africa, have gone through two major phases. Prior to the 1960s African history in general meant the study of Europeans, Arabs and Asians in Africa. Consequently studies of the colonial period paid most attention to the policies of the colonial government or the activities of the immigrant communities. Consideration of African activities were linked to the discussion of European decision, the basic assumption being that Africa did not constitute an important element. Africans were depicted largely as passive participants in the process of economic transformation initiated and controlled by the outsiders.¹ Perhaps the best statement that exists on this school of thought was that of Professor Trevor - Roper. He stated his mind clearly on the topic when he said that nowadays undergraduates,

demand that they should be taught African history. Perhaps in the future there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none. There is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness ... and darkness is not a subject of history. 'Please do not misunderstand me' Trevor-Roper said 'I do not deny that life existed even in dark countries, and dark centuries, nor that they had political life interesting to sociologists and anthropologists but history I do believe is essentially a form of movement and purposive movement too. It is not a mere phantasmagoria of changing shapes and costumes of battles and conquest, dynasties and usurpation, social forms and social disintegration.'²

Consequently only anthropologists focused purely on African phenomenon but their approach tended to isolate indigenous societies in a rather

sterile equilibrium.

The achievement of independence in the 1960s in Kenya and other parts of Africa clearly raised questions about such an approach. Since then students of history have turned away from the study of colonial policy to an examination of the actions and goals of Africans. This new wave of African related research has sought to portray and analyse the dynamism of Africa and African societies - pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. This orientation has two common traits, elaboration of how Africans participated in economic events or how they were affected by them. In the economic field research has uncovered the motives and forces which influenced colonial economic policies and a combination of local and international factors are now seen as the force which shaped these policies. Of late these studies have gone beyond the broad colony-wide scope that characterised some of the first accounts of African economic transformation during the colonial period and have explored the changes at a regional level. This is because for most Africans the locality was the focus of their lives throughout the colonial period and issues of local economies were their major concern. This is not to deny that colony-wide economic changes and development did impinge on their lives or engage their interest. To do so would be a further distortion. Nevertheless despite the expansion of economic relationship during the colonial period, most Kenyans lived in the circumscribed surrounding of their localities and were most affected by the economic transformation of those localities. And again despite the direct and indirect influence from outside, local economies throughout the colonial period were governed very much by local conditions which were

rooted in the pattern inherited from the pre-colonial past.³

In keeping with this new scholarship, I propose to examine the process of economic transformation that took place in Tiriki during the colonial period to resolve two questions. The first concerns how the indigenous economic structures were transformed and secondly the effects of the transformation on this society. To achieve its anticipated end, the study will use several aspects of the Tiriki society to analyse the extent and the effect of the colonial economic transformation. These aspects include land tenure systems, agriculture and animal husbandry, labour, technological process, trade and transportation system, education, medical services and population growth. The role of missionaries in the economic transformation will also be assessed.

1:1:1 LAND TENURE

The problem of land tenure within the native areas was one aspect that occupied the attention of the colonial Kenya government since the turn of the century. This is testified by the changes that took place in this field.

The traditional significance of land in pre-colonial Tiriki was determined primarily by three factors: its economic use, the social and political structures of the sub-tribal community, and magico-religious notion especially those connected with the ancestor cult. Economically land was chiefly valued for the purpose of tillage

and stock-keeping - as a means of production. The land needs and requirements of the individuals and social groups engaged in such pursuits were determined by their traditional techniques operating within the framework of a subsistence economy. As long as land was abundant in relation to the culturally determined needs of its occupants, it had no exchange value. In the social and political context, the traditional attitude towards land was basically determined by the patrilineal clan organization and by the fact that clan communities were essentially independent political units only loosely organized into a sub-tribal unit of authority chiefly from membership of the senior line of descendants from the sub-tribal ancestor. Kinship - both cognatic and affinal - was a factor influencing residential grouping and the occupation of land. From the religious point of view, the traditional attitude towards land was chiefly determined by the notions held about the ancestral spirits. People wish, on the one hand, to pay homage to them and to please them, and on the other to evade their influence where they were supposed to be evilly inclined towards their living descendants. This ambivalent attitude was clearly reflected in the land-tenure system.⁴

In the traditional economy there were various means through which a man could hold land - these were as, mwene (the owner) as muguli (purchaser) as mumenya (squatter) as mwarilua (tenant) and as mwandu (trustee). Apart from such lands under individual's occupation there was also lands that were communally used. There were two categories of such lands - communal grazing-lands and virgin land reserved for future use. It should however be emphasized that all the lands within the

clan sphere of authority fell under the control of the whole clan and individual occupying such land were holding the land on behalf of the clan. Consequently it is the clan that owned the land and membership of an individual into a particular clan guaranteed the individual land.⁵

With the establishment of colonial rule many changes occurred on the system of land tenure. First, the Tiriki were restricted in areas called reserves. Later on their entire land was declared as crownland. This meant that they were just tenants of the crown and they could be dispossessed of land at any time. Secondly, in 1930 the government changed its policies towards African land and through the Native Trust Ordinance of 1930 the claims of the Tiriki people to their land were recognized. Thirdly, the East African Royal Commission of 1955-1956 recommended the idea of individual land tenure within the reserves. These recommendations were later adopted and the government started to survey, plan and issue title deeds to individuals. What this meant was that colonial rule had the powerful effects of undermining the established authorities through which land was acquired and passed to the following generation.⁶ It is this transformation and its effects (Like the commercialization of land, land subdivision and fragmentation and land litigation) that this study attempts to bring out.

1:1:2 AGRICULTURE

Since there were no mineral resources in Kenya, this meant that agricultural production was the main economic development. Indeed and to a

very large extent the economic history of Kenya revolves around agricultural change.

In the traditional Tiriki economy, agriculture was the most important economic activity. Their whole life centred around garden work and a good proportion of their land was always under cultivation. During most of this period, their main system of cultivation was shifting cultivation. But due to fairly high population growth rates in the pre-colonial era the Tiriki continuously changed their methods of land tillage to suit the changed situations. Consequently by the time of European penetration, they had adopted the permanent methods of cultivation and practised fallowing cultivation. Fallowing period always depended on the availability of land. Their principal food crops were vule (eleusine), mavele (sorghum), mabwoni (potatoes) and maremwa (bananas) plus various greens.

With the penetration of colonial rule in Tiriki, agricultural organization underwent a major transformation. First, there was the introduction of new food crops such as beans, cassava, groundnuts sesame and the most important of all was maize. Apart from these food crops, cash crops like coffee and tea were introduced. Consequently the Tiriki came into contact with crops that only became useful after marketing them (cash crops).

Besides the introduction of new crops, the agricultural department also undertook a number of steps aimed at increasing the yields and improving the quality of crops raised. To encourage deeper digging

the department also propagated the introduction of hoes of European manufacture. The employment of the modern hoe enabled the tiller to dig considerably deeper than was possible with the traditional hoe. And as a first step towards a more rational system of tillage, the agricultural department propagated the introduction of a cheap hand plough⁷ which was later followed by the tractor pulled plough. All these changes had far reaching effects on the people of Tiriki and the study will endeavour to discuss them.

Connected to agriculture was animal husbandry. In the traditional Tiriki economy, animals were very important. In fact a man's wealth was reckoned in the number of livestock he had. There was a communal grazing land meaning that to a very large extent, the spread of diseases and indiscriminated breeding were very common. But with the penetration of colonial rule, this sector of the economy also changed. Changes were seen in the government enforced destocking, (its policy was to have few but quality animals) and voluntary destocking that was necessitated by the shrinkage of grazing lands and the need to meet family obligation through the sale of animals. Other changes in this sector were seen in the field of selective breeding (cross breeding) and the introduction of veterinary services.⁸ All these changes plus their effects will be another theme of this study.

1:1:3 LABOUR

The importance of labour throughout the history of colonial Kenya cannot be overestimated. It was at the level of manual labour that a very large number of the Tiriki and other Kenyans first met

the whitemen. They met in the relationship of employee to employer. The European always spoke of employment and employee and the titles of his early legislation, the master and servants ordinance, and his usual reference to African employees as "boys" reflected his real attitude. To the African an 'employer' during the colonial period was either bwana (master) or later in industrial negotiation, mtajiri (the rich man) while employee was mfanyi kazi (the one who does work) or mtumishi the (servant).⁹ In Tiriki the nearest word to employer is mutajiri (the one who enlists you for work) and employee muhitsiri (the one enlisted to work).

In Tiriki labour fell broadly into three categories, in varying stages. Before colonial rule was communal labour, where kinship members combined their efforts when additional labour was needed, for example during harvest time or the construction of a hut. Also men of the same litaala (village) combined their efforts for a social purpose like path making and control of soil erosion in the cattle tracks when gullies had begun to form. Secondly, during the early years of colonial administration, the concept of communal labour was taken over and developed for a variety of purposes, under chiefs and headmen. Chiefs and headmen would be asked to produce men for road and bridge construction within the location. The government also required men to act as porters and to construct chief's and District Officer's headquarters. The quality of the work produced by the individuals recruited in this way varied greatly according to the nature of the work. Sometimes particularly with road and path making in first contact with the European and when it was seen to be of benefit to the

community, men would turn out willingly once or twice a year and work with enthusiasm within the clan's or sub-tribal areas. Consequently the work was made easier.¹⁰ But with the establishment of effective colonial rule, it was severe oppression particularly when added to other burdens. Changes came with the need for improved roads for motor vehicles. In the case of the Tiriki, the road from Kaimosi to the railroad at Kisumu passed through the region and they (Tiriki) were forced to do the onerous work of road construction. This forced labour was hated when the disadvantage of communal labour in comparison with paid labour became clear, although the difficulties associated with the use of unpaid porters were already fairly well known.

In Kenya, compulsory labour was first step to communal labour.¹¹ However it became in fact very different. In Tiriki for example, a chief would be directed to produce a certain number of fit men to work for urgent state purposes like major roads, the work usually lay outside location and men being rewarded in wage payment. The men recruited faced severe penalties if they refused to work. The origin of this system can be traced to the pre-1918 period, though the number remained small; the system only developed fully after the First World War. At worst compulsory labour was made available at this time to private contractors and farmers enabling them (the Europeans) to overlook the African conditions of work. Plans were also made to link the compulsory labour to a payment rate below the then current rates in order to increase the supply of voluntary labour for private employers who

would pay higher rates. Clayton and Savage maintain that these abuses led to an attempt by the colonial office to assert a reform policy, an attempt successful on paper and increasingly so in reality, although on occasion disobeyed by Kenyan authorities particularly in Nyanza Province.¹² Finally, following the British pressure and much International Labour Organization (I.L.O) activity peacetime compulsory labour had almost disappeared by 1939, but it was to be revived to meet the needs of food production and soldiers in the Second World War.

The third and most important category was voluntary contractual labour, the general legal status of the majority of workers in Tiriki. Since the Tiriki could only be ordered to work for state purposes, and since in the early years they were self-sufficient in respect of their simple needs at home, they had to be induced or encouraged by the authorities to work for private employers and when at work to stay working. Pressure reasonable enough in itself, the advice of administration and chiefs; taxation, the lack of room for increased population in the reserves, in totality quickly became coercive to the point of oppression as the expanding economy developed the demand for labour. The disinclination of Tiriki to remain in work became reflected in penal provision in employment legislation and the Kipande, identity document, system designed primarily to combat desertion.

Clayton and Savage argue that throughout Kenya's history one further theme, as important as economic or administrative issues, was the

psychological factor: the nature of the white employer - and African employee on the farm or at the construction site of the factory. Ferocious views expressed throughout the colonial period by local European politicians and farmers, so different from their liberal kinsmen in Europe, show how environment may affect values and the demand for labour warping ideals of justice and humanity. The fervour of the cries for increased taxation, reduction of the reserves and 'encouragement' - seem to support this and the conditions of work and treatment of labourers in the pre-1914 period when the South African settler element dominated much of Kenya's life is convincing evidence for the early years of employment.

The early Tiriki reaction to the employment situation was by no means simple. At first, a conscious feeling came that the whole pattern of life was changing in ways unpredictable and inexplicable together with sub-conscious feeling of insecurity and inferiority. But for all Africans the process of racial interaction was cumulative. As anxiety deepened, a search for adoption and protection entered into the employee side of the relationship, first through porter labour, and domestic servant; later and much more significantly, in the resident labour system. The search for adoption, and the apparent contentment of Africans in the service of the better, kindly, paternal employers (whose numbers increased greatly after the First World War) led many Europeans to believe in an indefinite future of paternal employment. And in truth in the years before the Depression (of 1930s) a large number of Africans found

emancipation from the restriction of traditional societies and an opportunity for first ventures into modern world through such employment.¹³

With the outbreak of the Second World War, the Tiriki were also called upon to contribute towards the war in terms of the provision of labour. Once again labour overshadowed all aspects of administrative activities. Furthermore within the locations and the district, the expansion of the educational system and the development of government programme in agriculture, health and communications led to a small, but steady increase in new jobs. Production also increased opportunities for seasonal labour.¹⁴ After the war most of the Tiriki youngmen started to search for work due to several reasons. The issue of employment became acute due to the slight overall decline in employment which occurred in Kenya between 1955 and 1963, as employers switched from hiring many unskilled workers to fewer skilled workers. Secondly, there was intense pressure on land. This pressure which developed in the post-war years resulted into shrinkage of farming land. It necessitated agricultural income to be supplemented with other sources of income for the maintenance of the family. One of such sources was wage employment. The pressure on land also changed some of the character of labour migration. Before the Second World War, while the percentage of men working outside their location had been high, the time spent away had been short: six months or at most a year. After the war, men spent longer periods away from home and in some instances took up permanent residence at their place of work.¹⁵

All in all therefore, trade, that was not an important feature of the pre-colonial Tiriki economy, became very important during the colonial period. It is this transformation that took place in this sector and its effects on the Tiriki, that makes the discussion an important part of this study.

Connected to trade was transportation systems. In the pre-colonial Tiriki, transport was solely by human portage. But during the colonial period, this means of transport was replaced by bicycles, motor vehicles and even trains. Hence, this study seeks to bring out in detail the process of this transformation and its effects on the Tiriki.

1:1:5 TECHNOLOGICAL PROCESS

In technology the Tiriki engaged themselves in several crafts and industries in the pre-colonial period. The most important ones were housebuilding, leather work, pottery, basketry, wood working, iron working and string and thread making. Specialization existed in nearly all the crafts and industries except for house-building and leather work undertakings where many adults knew one or two things about their construction and making.

During the colonial period crafts and industries not only underwent a marked transformation but also there was the introduction of new and more marketable objects. The new crafts and industries included carpentry, brick-laying and tailoring. These new crafts and industries were partly introduced by the missionaries, the

government and to a lesser extent by the Indian Fundis. The study will show that to a very large extent there was no relationship between the traditional and modern crafts. This was partly seen in the personnel who undertook the making of the objects and the techniques used in their making. Furthermore it will be shown that most young people who had graduated from the industrial department of a mission or government school often took up employment in European or Indian firms rather than set up a workshop in the village as did their counterparts in the traditional crafts. What this meant was that the products of crafts and industry had gained a commercial value and, unlike in the pre-colonial era when they were part-time occupation, they were by 1950s undertaken on a full time basis. Moreover by the 1960s most young people who had been employed outside the division as carpenters and masons came back home to establish their own workshops. Objects made from these workshops were offered for sale in the expanding markets in the division.

The colonial government therefore not only transformed the making of crafts and other industrial products but also introduced new objects made from crafts like iron beds, chairs, tables and plastic containers among other items. For the women, colonial education and missionary training provided expanded opportunities to engage in new crafts, like sewing and knitting, apart from the traditional crafts like pottery. It is this transformation, that took place in technological process and its effects, that the study seeks to bring out.

1:1:6 EDUCATION

The history of education in Tiriki during the colonial period reveals some significant differences from the patterns in Kenya as a whole. Before the arrival of missionaries, education in Tiriki had a very important economic function. For it was through education that the young ones came to know how to utilize their surroundings economically. Also the division of labour was instilled in the young people through education and it was from it (education) that the young people came to learn what was expected from them economically, socially and politically. Consequently education and socialization of the young people was a community function. Role models and values of sharing and co-operation were inculcated and reinforced in a young child by the family and by children of his own age. Later the ceremonies surrounding circumcision and the formation of his age set prepared a young man to assume his adult responsibilities. Similar, if less elaborate ceremonies were participated in by the women. All in all, therefore, the traditional education that was both informal and formal had a direct link to the perpetuation and elaboration of economic structures.

When the missionaries came to Tiriki they brought a new, more formal system of education to the area. The missionaries established several schools in Tiriki but the main industrial school was located at Kaimosi. As early as 1902, boys were taught such crafts as brick-laying and carpentry in addition to basic reading, writing skills and arithmetic. Both boys and girls were responsible for helping with the construction and maintenance of missions' compounds. Girls were

taught traditional crafts, such as serving and cooking plus new ones like tailoring. Adults (particularly workers at the station) also attended the classes.

But with the establishment of the missions the Tiriki started to view the missionaries as enemies and not as allies due to several factors. Parents wanted their children to continue contributing labour to the family compounds rather than wasting their time in the classroom. Furthermore parents, and grandparents alike, were eager to preserve their customs and traditions into the future. Children were under a great deal of pressure to submit to these wishes lest they be ostracised from the family. Hence to go against these pressures required a special kind of a person or a strong and powerful inducement. Consequently the earlier Tiriki won over to Christianity and education were marginal people.²⁰

However the missionaries did not give up their intention of providing education to the Tiriki. To achieve this end, the missionaries started to induce headmen and other locational leaders to send their children to school. Furthermore as time went by forces encouraging rebellion by the youth were stronger than those encouraging obedience to the past. This changed attitude of the youth was given a major boost when Chief Amiani was converted to Christianity in 1927. Amiani convinced a good number of the Tiriki to become Christians and to join the school (by this time only those who were committed Christians were permitted to sit in classrooms). Hence, by the early 1930s not many of the Tiriki had realized the economic importance of the whiteman's education.

As from the late 1930s, the Tiriki attitude towards Christianity and education changed markedly. This was due to several factors. Among them was the presence of a new group of talented leaders dedicated to speedy expansion of education and socio-economic climate in which education became attractive than before to all the Tiriki. Also a growing unemployment among the youth led to a demand for more school and higher education. By 1963 education had become a very important demand of the Tiriki. For it was only individuals with higher education who could secure good and well paid jobs in the government or private sector.

Both missionaries and the government had different motives towards providing Africans with education. For missionaries, European education was a vehicle for spreading the gospel and western civilization. To them civilization and Christianity were supposed to go hand in hand and that it was their (missionaries) responsibility to work for social and economic change. On its part, the government viewed western education as a vehicle of obtaining an inexpensive, semi-skilled labour force that would not become politicised. The system of education, therefore, underwent three major transformations. First, the traditional system of education was undermined by the colonial rule and it was discarded at the expense of the western one. Secondly, there was a general lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Tiriki to acquire western education. Lastly, later on the Tiriki changed their views toward the European education and started to demand more of it. Education was, therefore, an important ingredient in the economic organization of the Tiriki in the pre-colonial and colonial era.

Therefore an examination of educational development in colonial Tiriki is indispensable to this study.

1:1:7 MEDICAL SERVICES

Medical services was another area where the colonial rule and its agents introduced far reaching changes. In the traditional Tiriki society, medicine was very important. In this society, it was believed (and of course it is today) that ill-health interfered with individuals' productive capabilities, in that a sick person could not perform his duties effectively and, therefore, his duties were delegated to someone else. It should be noted that in the traditional Tiriki society labour was a scarce resource of production and, therefore, any family adult member or members of the kingroup who were down with sickness were always a big liability. This was because their (sick people) duties were taken over by the other members of the group meaning that, this already burdened individuals became burdened by more work. Indeed, the family or the kin - group resorted to the exchange of animals and other material goods for grain when endemic diseases had struck the entire kin group. Consequently endemic diseases were feared most because among other issues they were always associated with famines. Medicine in Tiriki was, therefore, very important for it assured people of good health and the ability to undertake their daily economic duties.

The Tiriki were, therefore, aware of the negative effects that ill-health caused and they had developed very precise, simple but effective methods of preventing and curing ill-health. It should be

noted that in Tiriki, people were protected against all types of diseases using various methods. These included herbal medicine and various amulets. But when the protective measures failed, the second line of defence, that is curative methods, were applied. But of all kinds of contagious diseases, isolation (in varying degrees depending on the seriousness of the infection) was the most popular kind of remedy. However, the Tiriki believed that such diseases could not be treated by magico - related and herbal medicine alone. The medicine and amulets were purchased from herbalists and diviners who were collectively called vahi-va-Tsinyasi (medicinemen).

With the penetration of colonial rule, medical care went through a marked transformation. In place of herbs and amulets, Europeans introduced drugs. In their initial contact with the European medicine, the Tiriki only took their patients to the missionary stations when the sick person had not responded to the herbal and magico-related medicine. But by 1912 so many people in Tiriki had realised the importance of the European medicine and they started flocking into the dispensaries and outstations that the missionaries had set up. More than 100 per day were treated .³¹ But this does not mean that the Tiriki completely abandoned their traditional medicine in preference to the European ones, on the contrary traditional medicine still played a vital role in the general treatment of diseases. In fact, there are some diseases like buhindi and busula which could only be treated effectively by the use of traditional herbs. In some cases, traditional herbs and modern drugs do supplement each other. Consequently, for a clear understanding

of how the Tiriki economic structures functioned, medical care should be included in this study.

1.1.8 POPULATION

Perhaps a major consequence of the introduction of new crops, and better medical care was the growth of the Tiriki population. Each decade of colonial rule witnessed an increase in the total Tiriki population. Consequently, there is some justification to call this population growth an introduced transformation. This is so because the ending of tribal warfare during the colonial period brought about law and order and the control of diseases endemic to this area led to low infant mortality and a longer life span, leading to a higher population growth.

But high population growth rates led to land subdivision and fragmentation and unemployment among other features. In return, these changes brought other changes to the economic organization of the Tiriki. Hence the changes that were brought about by higher population growth need a detailed analysis.

Finally to achieve its set objectives the study intends to have five major sections. The first section will be the introduction dealing with the geographical features of the area, the people and the development of colonial rule in this area. The section will also give a brief history of the penetration of missions in Tiriki division. The second section will discuss some aspects of the pre-colonial Tiriki society, that were important in their economic structures. Such aspects will include land tenure systems, agriculture and animal husbandry, technological process, education, medical services and trade

and exchange. This section will endeavour to show that the pre-colonial Tiriki economy was not static and stagnant but changed to meet the needs and requirements of the population.

The third section will analyze the changes that were introduced to the Tiriki economy during the first four decades of colonial rule. Special emphasis will be laid on land tenure, agriculture, labour, technological process and trade and exchange. Other aspects to be discussed here will be the role of education, the church, medical care and higher population growth rates in the economic transformation of Tiriki division. The fourth section will analyze the transformation of the Tiriki economy from the outbreak of the Second World War (1939) to independence (1963). Finally, the last section will not only sum up the process of economic transformation in colonial Tiriki but it will also bring out the effects of this transformation on the people of this region.

1:2 THE AREA AND THE PEOPLE

The Tiriki fall under a broad and differentiated group of people known as the Luhya. They inhabit Tiriki division, one of the four divisions which make up Vihiga district. This division has an area of about 154.7 square kilometres composed of four administrative units (locations). These are Shamakhokho, Gisambayi, Banja and Tambua. The division borders Nyanza to the south, Nandi to the south east and East, Sabatia to the North and Vihiga division to the west.

A detailed geographical account of Tiriki division lies beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless history and geography cannot be treated in complete isolation since geography, among other factors, plays an important role in influencing all aspects of economic history. For example Ominde has demonstrated that the patterns of settlement and agricultural occupation among the people of western province has been influenced to a large extent by the geography of the region.²² In view of this, the study attempts to give a brief picture of the geography of Tiriki.

Tiriki division lies along the equator and stretches between 1350 to 1800 metres above sea level. The area is well distributed and drained by numerous permanent rivers. The major ones are Jeprok, Lwandoni and Goligoli rivers. A large and a good proportion of the division is hilly and stony. This is more pronounced in Gisambayi, Tambua and Banja locations. The soils of this region are derived from both volcanic and basement complex rocks. These are well drained dark friable clay partly covered with deep humic soils. These soils are highly fertile having outstanding carrying capacities suitable for mixed arable and livestock farming. The division receives long and reliable rains throughout the year. It is, therefore, wet with good rainfall adequately distributed ranging from 1,300 metres to about 2,000 cubic metres annually. Generally there are two rainy seasons in the division, the long rains that are expected from March and end in June and the short rains from August to November.²³

Tiriki division is settled by three major sub-tribes. These are the Tiriki, the Terik (Nyangori) and the Maragoli (who started drifting into the division prior to, and during colonial rule).²⁴ It should, however, be emphasized from the onset that the last two sub-tribes identify themselves as Tiriki (they speak kitiriki) and consequently they have adopted the Tiriki way of life and even migration stories.

According to the oral accounts of the Tiriki, after migrating from Jinji area of Busoga, their ancestors went to present Luo location of Asembo, where they were later joined by the ancestors of the Kalenjin Terik (Nyangori) who had come from the Elgon area. In the course of time, the Bantu ancestors of the Tiriki (then known as Abalukhoba) and the Kalenjin Terik so intermingled that the former, who were hitherto uncircumcised adopted the circumcision rites of the Kalenjin Terik, adopted the Kalenjin name Terik and Bantuized it to Tiriki and became a united people. From then on, they are said to have always moved together as a group.²⁵ Gideon Were suggests that this important transformation seems to have taken place about eight generations ago and, therefore, about 1052 - 1706. He argues that owing to the shortage of land and hunger plus other factors more immigrants poured into Tiriki (formerly united with Nyangori) from the neighbouring Bunyore, Maragoli, Idakho and the Nandi community. It is his thesis that the Tiriki should, therefore, be regarded as a hybrid community because they are a product of people of different origins, varying from Bantu clans of diverse origins to the Kalenjin of both Mount Elgon and Nandi origins.²⁶

The area had a total population of 35,114 people in 1948 while in 1962 it had risen to 50,906 with a population density of 310 persons per square kilometre.²⁷

1.3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF COLONIAL RULE

When the British took over the administration of Uganda Protectorate in 1894, the Eastern Province of Uganda included Luhyaland and the rest of Kavirondo. In the same year an administrative sub-station was built at Mumias by the order of the then Commissioner for Uganda, Sir H. Colville. Mr. F. Spire was put in charge of the station. In 1895, the second Sub-Commissioner, Mr. C.C.W. Hobley arrived at Mumia's to take the first permanent administrative district of North Kavirondo. Mr. Hobley later became the first Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza which remained part of Uganda until 1902.²⁸

Hobley was the one who would effectively introduced colonial rule in this region. In most parts of the Southern Luhyaland (including Tiriki) Hobley found that less violent tactics were necessary for the sub-tribes were offering no serious armed resistance, due to the assumed superiority of the whites. In 1896 Hobley, probably accompanied by Mumias agents and Sudanese soldiers travelled through southern Luhyaland. At intervals he assembled local clan leaders asked them to nominate leaders, then recognized these people as the local authorities. Where he met resistance his men confiscated cattle as a warning. The lesson was a simple one and the southern Luhya quickly accepted the arrangement.²⁹ The appearance of Hobley in this area was very important for it signified the advent of peace. Prior to this, clans and communities had fought each other

and with outsiders. Incursions by the cattle-raiding Nandi and Luo were especially troublesome and the Luhya welcomed Hobley's efforts to stop local warfare.³⁰ Mumia, the ruler of the Wanga who had earlier been appointed a paramount chief of the entire North Kavirondo district, used this opportunity to expand his influence. He sent out his agents to the south, recognized leaders in the most powerful clans as his representatives and collected cattle as tribute. For instance, in 1899 his men entered Tiriki and recognized Mwanga, a war leader in the largest Bulukhoba clan, as his representative in Tiriki.³¹

For the people of Tiriki, the establishment of European rule began to make itself felt even more with the introduction of taxation in the year 1899, when Sir Harry Johnston took office as a special Commissioner of Uganda. During this time taxes were levied, at first in kind (goats, sheep, timber, chicken, iron hoes, rats' tails) or in the form of labour which every owner of a hut had to perform to an extent equivalent to the sum of three rupees per year. As Hobley wrote,

the idea of levying a tax was the beginning to build a will to pay something... The principle was not foreign to the Native mind ... its payment was therefore an onward and visible sign that the particular section had definitely accepted government control.³²

In 1902, the Luhya, and the Tiriki in particular, witnessed a major change when the eastern province of Uganda was separated from Uganda

and added to the British East Africa. There were many reasons given for this change, but the most important one was that this decision was made in order to supply the European farmers in Kenya with labour which was plentiful in Kavirondo.³³ In the same year, the Tiriki witnessed a vigorous effort in tax collection when Hobley, with his detachment of askaris (soldiers), toured the region, collected taxes, heard cases and issued orders to local leaders and councils. In 1903 efforts were begun to improve the system of administration. In the previous years, Hobley had collected taxes from the local leaders during his tours around the district. Now a swahili government agent was posted with a detachment of askaris at Hamisi in Tiriki to handle tax collection.

With the establishment of colonial rule, the Tiriki were subject to a number of forces working towards change. Their incorporation into a new, very large political entity, which threw together many formerly independent African peoples and which also attracted European and Asian immigrant created an entirely new political context which would have far reaching effects on them. Along with a radically new political order, colonial rule also set in motion economic forces which worked to diversify the economy of the Tiriki and to integrate it into the world economy.³⁴ Some of these forces were direct. For instance, in the first decade of colonial rule, the government encouraged, or more accurately pressured, them into seeking work on European farms. Other forces were more indirect. For example, the demand for taxes acted as a force that pulled the Tiriki into the labour market. At the same time, the growing pressure on the land

resulting from fairly high population growth and colonial restriction on migration increasingly forced individuals into wage labour or trade as an alternative to agriculture as a means of survival. Indeed, the establishment and elaboration of transport and marketing system plus the introduction of money currency and new crops and techniques, though slow did open opportunities to the Tiriki to sell the surplus of their traditional crops as well as to develop new lines of production.³⁵ All these forces and many others worked to transform or undermine the pro-colonial economic set up.³⁶

1:4 MISSIONARIES

Apart from colonial rule, missionary bodies also played an outstanding role in the economic transformation of the Tiriki. The first missionary station in the whole of Nyanza - the Friends African Mission was founded at Kaimosi in 1902. Further in 1924, the Pentecostal East African Mission established a station at Nyang'ori while in 1930s the Catholic Mill Hill Fathers opened a station at Erusui.³⁷ Preaching a new faith, the missionaries also inculcated new forms of economic organization and development. For instance, the missionaries introduced new crops, new farming techniques and methods of soil conservation. They also provided health care that controlled some of the endemic diseases of the area, leading to population growth that set in motion other economic changes. Missionaries also built dams and used water power to grind maize and saw logs. Furthermore, they offered training in European skills not least of which was literary education.

Education was first carried on solely by the missionaries already mentioned. They operated schools like Kaimosi, Nyang'ori, Goibei, Tigoi, Erusui, Senende and Munzatsi to name just a few. It was only in 1911 when the government entered the scene of education by setting up an education department that began to supervise the African schools. In 1918 the government started to give some finance through a grant-in-aid scheme to missionaries owning schools. In the case of the Tiriki, the first Tiriki Educational Board (T.E.B.) was started by Chief Hezron Mushenye in the late 1940s. By 1950s, education in Tiriki had become such a very important socio-economic activity that its demand outstripped the supply. Indeed education influenced most young men to disregard some of the traditional economic values to the advantage of the European ones.

By and large, it will be shown that to a very large extent the colonial government, its policies and agents functioned to transform the economic structures of the Tiriki economy and the effects of the transformation were far-reaching.

1:5 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Studies in rural economic transformation have been necessitated by two main reasons. First, the majority of Africans live in rural areas and any meaningful attempt in understanding their economic plight and well being must take into account the rural areas. Secondly, there is a need to understand the impact of colonialism

on rural economies. Furthermore, it is not possible to write the whole history of economic transformation of Kenya during the colonial period without first tracing the economic transformation of the individual tribes and sub-tribes. Indeed the economic history of the Kenyan people during colonial period was mostly at the local level i.e. the story of interaction of the clans and, at wider level, that of interaction with the colonialist and their agents.

The Tiriki were among the first Luhya group to feel the impact of Christianity or missionary work when the Friends African Mission (F.A.M.) established a mission at Kaimosi in 1902; yet they were slow to accept Christianity and to take advantage of socio-economic changes brought by it (Christianity). Hence the factors responsible for the Tiriki slow adjustment, compared to their neighbours, to changing forces need to be understood.

1:6 OBJECTIVES

This study attempts to understand the nature and the consequence of economic transformation in Tiriki during the colonial period. Consequently, it will have the following objectives. First, to examine some aspects of the pre-colonial Tiriki society. Aspects to be included here are land tenure systems, agriculture and livestock husbandry, labour, crafts and industry, trade, education, medical health and population growth.

Secondly, the study will attempt to trace the origins of colonial penetration in Tirikiland and the changes that the colonialists brought to the traditional economic system. The period to be examined is from 1902 to 1963.

Lastly, this study will attempt an evaluation of the transformation that occurred on the economic system of the Tiriki during the colonial period.

1:7 HYPOTHESES

To facilitate a systematic attempt of data collection and interpretation, the study will have the following hypotheses. First, the pre-colonial economic system of the Tiriki was not static and stagnant, on the contrary it always changed according to the needs and aspirations of the people.

Secondly, the Tiriki were not responsive to the new economic challenges and opportunities brought about by the colonial government and its agents.

Thirdly, the colonial government and its agents brought radical transformation on the economic structures and organization of the Tiriki. Finally, the colonial government, its agents and policies were responsible for the economic transformation that brought about economic growth and development in Tiriki.

1:8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study will be carried out under two general theories. These are the underdevelopment and development theories. The underdevelopmentists, who include Edwin Allan Brett,³⁹ Collins Leys,⁴⁰ Claude Ake,⁴¹ and Walter Rodney⁴² argue that colonization brought impoverishment to the otherwise self-regulating and self-supporting African economies. To them this was because the two economies the pre-capitalist and capitalists were not at the same level of development in terms of forces of production. This led to domination of the African economies by the capitalist economies. On the other hand the developmentists argue that there has been tremendous economic social and political development as a consequence of the penetration of capitalist economy. This theory is based on the argument that capitalist economy that accompanied colonialism developed infrastructure, introduced money economy, new crops, and opened new markets and opportunities for agricultural produce. Its advocates, who included Gann, Duignan,⁴³ Perham,⁴⁴ Lloyd,⁴⁵ Hagen⁴⁶ and Gavin Kitching⁴⁷ point to the pathetic conditions of African societies just before the coming of colonialization. In short the theory has it that the modes of production brought with colonialism improved forces of production which meant greater output.

The two theories point to the major concepts to be used in this study, these are the means of production and articulation of the means of production. Underlying these concepts is the assumption that a mode of production is either a natural or a planned strategy

to deal with man's basic needs, it is well to keep in mind that man has insatiable needs which keep occurring after the satisfaction of the fundamental ones. Articulation of the modes of production can be defined as the linkage between two societies whose modes of production are dominated by different development on internal logic.⁴⁸

In this study the concept of articulation will help in analysing and explaining the transformation the capitalist economic system effected upon the Tiriki's traditional (pre-capitalist) economic systems. The concept of modes of production will be taken in its broadest sense and will shed light on how the Tiriki economic structures functioned during the colonial period.

Central to the above argument is the contention that economic structure of any society is one factor determining the social, political and judicial structures on which development and underdevelopment are assessed.

1:9 LITERATURE REVIEW

There is an abundance of literature written on Africa, Kenya, the Luhya and further down on the Tiriki during the colonial period. This study will, however, examine the literature that has a direct link with its main themes. Basil Davidson⁴⁹ argues that after the First World War the victorious colonial powers continued to crush resistance and put down protests. This was misleadingly called "pacification" or making of peace. After these operations, Africans were asked to pay for the cost of administration. They had to pay for it by taxes

in money; and this was widely resented. Basil Davidson contends that taxation troubles were many; often they were violent. There were various methods of raising taxation money. One way was to make each family - head or worker, pay an annual amount. Another was to make each hut-owner pay a tax. A third was to tax imports and exports. He says that colonial officials found it difficult to get this necessary money but persisted. For example, in the second half of the 1920s (1924-29) Africans in Kenya paid a total of £553,000 in personal taxes a large percentage of all the money that they earned.

Davidson asserts that some of this money was used to pay the salaries and other costs of European officials and their families. Some of it was used for the benefit of the colonised population. To him the richer colonial powers, such as Britain and France built clinics, brought in doctors, and began to combat malaria and endemic diseases. All the colonial powers built primary schools and trained teachers, although some left these primarily to Christian missionaries, mostly Europeans.

On land and labour, Davidson claims that after taking large tracts of fertile land in given colonies, the settlers could do nothing with their land without labour. The labour had to be provided by the colonized people, who seldom wanted to work for Europeans. He says that Africans could provide for their needs by working for themselves as farmers or craftsmen and, therefore, they saw no advantage in going to work for money wages. They actually preferred to stay at home. On its part, the colonial government had to make Africans leave home.

They found several ways of doing this. But the most important one was the new taxation system. Africans were made to pay taxes in money which they could get only if they worked for Europeans.

Robin Hallet⁵⁰ asserts that in 1875 most of the East African communities still found themselves locked in the straitjacket of a subsistence economy and, therefore, totally unaware of those animating experience common to so many people of North and West Africa. He points out that a subsistence economy did not necessarily involve grinding poverty but everything depended on the local environment.

To him the basic theme of East African economic history during the colonial period is to be found in the removal of these constrictions, the development of a more efficient system of communication and the introduction of new forms of agricultural produce easily saleable on the world market. He asserts that economic transformation is never easy to bring about, and in East Africa the difficulties were more formidable than in many other parts of the continent. This is because the region seemed devoid of mineral resources and consequently the area offered little or nothing to attract a flow of private capital.

When analysing the process of change in modern African history, Hallet begins by making a distinction between the manifestations of change and the forces making for change. He says that change manifests itself in many different fields - in natural objects, in manufactured objects, in techniques, in language and literature, in patterns of settlement, in communications, in institutions and in modes of thought.

To him manifestation may take the form of innovation, adaptation or destruction. But simply to observe the manifestations of change tells one nothing of the way in which change occurs, of the forces making for innovation or destruction. He asserts that the forces that serve to shape the development of social groups may be distinguished under six different headings. These are alterations in the natural environment, the pressures caused by the growth and movement of population and the stimulus of intercourse. Others are the impact of ideas, the peaceful pursuit of well-being by individuals and social groups and the violent pursuit of well-being. He concludes his book by illustrating with examples the manifestations and forces of change.

In what ways and why were material conditions and economic institutions transformed under colonial rule? Who benefited from these changes and by how much? Was the economic impact on African wholesome or malign? These are some of the very important questions that Forbes J. Munro asks in his book.⁵¹

Munro goes on to argue that, on such questions, no clear consensus had been reached and the last one is particularly contentious, raising as it does yet a further issue, what is the appropriate yardstick by which economic change in colonial Africa may be judged? Is it in terms of economic growth and welfare, as conventionally measured by output in per-capita and improvement in real incomes over time or in terms of creation of economic conditions conducive to political independence, national self-reliance and self-respect, or else in terms of historical materialism, the development of modes of production,

leading to class struggle, and the potential for a transition to socialism?

According to Munro disagreement over the historical record, as well as a great deal of confusion of purpose, has arisen from the interplay between these very different approaches to the evaluation of the past. He contends that the pioneering academic assessment appearing between the two world wars - when colonialism was firmly established and when it was most secure - emphasized the activities of British administrators, businessmen and settlers in opening of Tropical Africa to imperial and international trade, and in creating a monetary economy in regions assumed to be dominated by subsistence production and barter exchange. Pre-colonial history was largely ignored and Africans tended to be depicted largely as passive participants in the process of economic transformation initiated and controlled by the outsiders.

According to Adu Boahen,⁵² the relation between Africans and Europeans did undergo a revolutionary change and Africa was faced with a serious colonial challenge between 1880-1935. Perhaps more important here are the fundamental questions that Boahen asks: What were the origins of the phenomenal challenge of colonialism? How was the colonial system established in Africa and what measures - political, economic, psychological and ideological - were adopted to buttress the system? How prepared was Africa to face and how did she face this challenge and with what success? Which of the new changes were accepted and which were rejected? What of the old was retained and what was destroyed? What adaptations and accommodation were made,

what were the effects of all these in Africa, its people and their political, social and economic structures? Finally, what is the significance of colonialism for Africa and her history? These questions summarize what the book contains.

For the conservative orthodoxy which dominated the study of African economic history, it was the imposition of direct European rule which primarily brought about the transition from primitive, subsistence systems to modern, market oriented production and exchange. These are the arguments of Ralph Austen.⁵³ He asserts that despite all the reservations, it is impossible to deny that dramatic changes did take place in Africa as a result of colonialism. The economy of the mid-20th century was very different from that of the past. At the least the European government created a new infrastructure of administration, transport and social services, all of which influenced all aspects of exchange and production. Under the new order, foreign merchants were to break across the frontiers which had resisted previous international trade and penetrated directly into the markets of virtually the entire continent. Finally, Austen says that, colonial rule created the possibility for direct appropriation of African productive resources by Europeans and the relegation of Africans to the status of proletariats.

Anthony Clayton and Donald Savage⁵⁴ argue that the history of a country can be likened to a rope of strands of several different colours. At one section of the rope, one or two strands may appear on the surface, a third and fourth may lie below to reappear a little

distance away. They say that in Kenya's colonial history three strands formed the rope - land, labour and action and reaction of races to one another, expressed consciously in politics.

According to them, the subject of labour merits a study on its own, as an examination of the circumstances under which thousands of men lived for a period of their lives, and for the importance of labour in the growth of nationalism. Labour also merits a study for the light it throws on colonialism in its very broadest sense. An examination of the evolution of colonial labour policy in Kenya leads into widely varied fields. They maintain that the repercussions of a small number of employers, mostly whitemen, endeavouring to obtain the service of Africans for hire were profound, both for the people involved in Kenya and elsewhere.

They argue that the need to induce Africans to work, to leave the tribal societies and customs and to hire themselves to immigrant (largely British employees) also produced the very widest consequence at the local level. The size of the tribal land unit, known as reserves, was the subject of early controversy. European farmers pressed for small reserves, limited funds spent on their development in order to maintain a supply of men who were obliged to work elsewhere. Further taxation, instituted initially as a normal feature of administration was used as a tool to increase labour supply. Personal identity documents were framed with labour retention and discipline as their aim. Indeed African education for many years was planned only to equip men for the semi-skilled labour market and for a long

time social services of various types existed primarily to assist the labour supply.

They point out that the importance of labour throughout the history of colonial Kenya cannot be overestimated. This is because to a very large number of Kenyan people first met the whitemen in the relationship of employee to employer. Indeed, Clayton's and Savage's analysis of the categories of labour and the development of wage labour in Kenya is also very important.

Van Zwanenberg's agricultural history of Kenya⁵⁵ discusses the relationship of white settler estates with the local imperial economies, the response of the indigenous people to the economic opportunities in the rural areas and the limitation caused by the market opportunities in the rural areas. In his other book on colonial capitalism and labour in Kenya,⁵⁶ he says that the nature of the colonial government in Kenya was that of a struggle to accumulate resources by keeping wages down to a base minimum through taxation, forced labour and the use of squatters. He also argues that the relationship between the colonial and pre-capitalist mode of production was that of domination while between the colonial and imperial state was that of dependence.

G.W. Kitching,⁵⁷ has undertaken a study of social differentiation and economic distinction among the Africans in Kenya. One of the strong points in his argument is his survey of economic change within a dualistic mode of agricultural sector and wage labour section within

an economic setting in the colonial period. He argues that the monetarization of the economy gave impetus for both crop and cattle trade within the new understanding of the capitalist economy.

In one of his essays, Atieno Odhiambo⁵⁸ argues that emergence of an African peasant class was the consequence of the interaction of the international capitalist economy and the traditional socio-economic system. It is ~~his~~ hypothesis that by its very exploitative nature the capitalist economy did upset the traditional rural equilibrium which led to the emergence of both rural and urban proletariats. He asserts that the present cash crop growing can be understood only in terms of the adaptability of the traditional agricultural system to the incorporation of new crops or the expanded production of cash crops.

Robert Tignor⁵⁹ has examined how the Kamba, Kikuyu and Maasai were affected by the establishment of colonialism between 1900-1939. He says that the colonial government denied the Africans the opportunity to participate in cash crop production. He asserts that the settler sought to reap profits to enable them to enjoy a high standard of living. More important is the question he raises on whether the British rule in Kenya was a hindrance or an avenue of modern change and why Africans' living in the same geographical area and gaining exposure to the same colonial agencies had a different experience during colonial period.

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The Economic Development of Kenya Report⁶⁰ argues that the subsistence economies of the indigenous tribal communities of Kenya were concerned with the constant pressing problems of survival rather than with the prospect for growth. It says that tribes followed a varied pattern of agricultural practice but apparently both cultivators and pastoralists lived close to starvation and under the threat of attack and diseases.

The report further argues that the decline of African population at the turn of the century was due to frequent famines. It asserts that in the traditional societies customary practice of land tenure, right of usage and inheritance laws led to land fragmentation and scattered land holdings. Under these conditions the yields of production were uncertain and the capacity for improvement and diversification limited. The report shows that the horizons of consumer demand was narrow and could generally be satisfied through the network of mutual obligation. It is its hypothesis that after the establishment of the British administration and the arrival of immigrant communities in Kenya, the state indigenous economy began to be transformed. New ones were evoked, new capacities developed as cash economy was introduced and the first step towards economic development taken. The use of money and the exchange of goods were extended among the indigenous population and new cash crops introduced.

In his Ph.D., thesis⁶¹ Francis C. Bode argues that with the establishment of British rule, the Luhya were subject to a number of forces working towards change. Their incorporation into a new, very

large political entity which threw together many formerly independent African peoples, and which attracted European and Asian immigrants, created a new political context which would have far reaching effects on them. He contends that along with a radically new political order, colonial rule also set in motion economic forces which worked to transform the economies of the Luhya and to integrate them into the world economy. To him some of these forces were direct whilst others were indirect. For instance in the first decade of the colonial rule, the government encouraged, or more accurately pressured, the Luhya to seek work on the European farms which were developing during the time and required manpower. Forces that were indirect included the demand for taxes that acted as a spur to urge the Luhya into labour market throughout the colonial period.

Similarly, the growing pressure on land resulting from fairly high pre-colonial densities and colonial restrictions on migration increasingly forced individuals into wage labour or trade, as an alternative to agriculture as a means of survival. On the other hand, Bode argues that, the establishment and elaboration of transport and marketing system plus the introduction of new crops and techniques, albeit slowly, opened opportunities to the Luhya to sell the surplus of their traditional crops as well as to develop new lines of production.

Bode also argues that the Luhya were the focus of much activity by the early missionaries. The missionaries preached a new faith and inculcated new forms of behaviour and new values. Furthermore, they offered training in European skills not the least of which was

literacy. These skills were used in turn by the Luhya to regain some control over their lives. The Luhya were therefore exposed to many new influences and pressures during the colonial period.

Finally Bode's treatment of issues like land, the economy and the role of government and mission in the economic transformation of the Luhya are very important. All these serve as a stable foundation for this study.

According to Wesley Clifford Gilpin,⁶² the Friends missionaries transferred the concept of the pastoral idyll as the good life to western Kenya. They also promoted Christian villages as centres of community life based on the traditional social tiers and concept of mutual support. He argues that the early church and mission were inseparable and in the early years of colonial rule, the church was the principal, if not the only institution modernizing the community. At the same time he sees education as a central item in the dynamics of modernization and innovation.

On the traditional Luhya education he argues that education and social training of children became the responsibility of the grandmother when, they (children) were about seven and they lived in traditional dormitories according to sex. Boys also learned specific economic skills from their fathers or older brothers. During this time, it was accepted that knowledge was held almost exclusively by the old and whether relating to ethics, customs or practical skills, it was passed down largely through participation and observation.

On the background, beliefs and purposes of the missionaries, Gilpin, after showing that the Kaimosi Friends African Mission Station was founded by Edgar Hole, Arthur Chilson and Willis Hotchkiss in 1902, says that the three believed that Christianity and civilization should go hand in hand and that a mission ought to work for social and economic, as well as spiritual change. They saw this as a necessary corollary to developing a self-supporting church and argued that Christians at home (America) should support missionary enterprise if only on grounds of good business sense, since every pagan brought to Christ became in the very nature of the case an asset in the economic structure.

Finally, Gilpin's discussion of agriculture, wage labour and employment, plus the role of Christian villages in the economic transformation, among other issues, is very essential to the present study.

Hugh Fearn⁶³ distinguishes two stages of economic development in Nyanza in relation to market opportunities. He argues that the period 1903-1930 were years of slow development distinguished by the failure to establish cotton as a cash crop in Nyanza province. He blames this failure on the system of mutual kinship obligation which minimized the need for market. To him this limited experience of trade is important when one tries to assess the reason for the failure to grow cotton. For when the peasant farmer began to grow cotton under government directives, he had inter alia to adjust himself to a new confidence in marketing as well as a new medium of exchange.

He was planting a crop which he could not use for food: its value was only to the external economy and it was only when the whole operation had been completed and the crop sold that he knew what its value would be.

Fearn further argues that in all the Nyanza tribes, whether pastoral or agricultural, the symbol of wealth was the possession of cattle and other livestock and wives. He claims that the primitive marketing arrangements in Nyanza, in permitting the exchange of other livestock for sheep and sheep for cattle as well as the payment of bride price, provided a limited opportunity for the acquisition of wealth. Fearn has also important material on the traditional technological process - which include house-building, implements and pottery, wood working and land use.

He maintains that a major consequence of the advent of the British rule had been the growth of African population of the province. To him each decade had witnessed an increase in the total African population of Nyanza. Consequently, he claims that there is some justification for this population growth to be termed as an introduced change, due to the control of tribal warfare a factor that was brought about by the establishment of law and order under the British administration. Furthermore the conquest of diseases endemic in this tropical region had an effect upon the death rate. His discussion on the creation and development of wage labour in Nyanza is also important.

Fearn sees 1930 onwards as years of renewed stimulation of the Nyanza economy. According to him this was due to the total opening up of the area by both the European farmers and the Asian traders.

In his unpublished Master of Science thesis, John Rowe⁶⁴ asserts that North Kavirondo was an area which had been isolated and ignored until almost the early end of the 19th century. He gives a number of good reasons for these, but chief among them was the nearby presence of the so called warlike Maasai who kept the Arab slave raiders from penetrating to Kavirondo region. He argues that the key to opening up the western part of the country to European penetration was the importance of Uganda. A British protectorate was declared over Buganda in 1894 and over Kenya in 1895. Having acquired an interest in Uganda (and in Kenya as the transportation route to get there) the British government proposed in 1896-7 to build a railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria. The decision, maintains Rowe, was to have a lasting effect on Kenya. He asserts that the reasons for the decision were partly strategic, partly commercial and partly humanitarian.

Rowe also analyses the history of the North Kavirondo district from the time of colonial penetration up to 1902. He also traces the history of the Friends missionaries in the District and the establishment of the Friends Industrial Mission that was an important and integral part of the new wave of western culture. He argues that in introducing a number of industries such as brick making, lumbering, furniture manufacture and other skills, the missionaries hoped to teach the Africans to improve their own standards of living. After

realizing that religion played a very important role in all aspects of indigenous village life, the missionaries decided that preaching Christianity alone would not be effective in the long run in creating a native African church. To them it would be necessary to change the pattern of village life if the strong African traditional religious beliefs were to be uprooted. At the same, they saw it as wise to lift the African's standard of living to a higher level so that they could abandon some of their traditional ways in order to acquire the Whiteman's supposedly wonderful devices.

When analysing the transformation of the Tiriki society, Rowe argues strongly that the general and initial Tiriki resistance to Christian conversion was largely due to the strength of traditional religious beliefs. He says that religion in the Tiriki society has been an integral part of the centre of the entire culture. Consequently, it proved almost impossible to divorce these traditional beliefs from the minds of the people without first accomplishing changes in many social areas. To him while the evangelists were struggling against a wall of indifference to the evangelistical side of the mission's work, the industrial effort was a booming activity. Besides the activities of an industrial and religious nature, the mission was also concerned with educational and medical work.

Elisham Hably Orimo Odwako in his Ph.D. thesis,⁶⁵ argues that many times some people (Africans and Europeans alike) have expressed the opinion that before the coming of Europeans to Western Kenya (and Kenya in general) there was no education. To him this is not true. He holds that

from time immemorial the western Kenyans had their own systems through which their accumulated experience were transmitted from one generation to another. To him, what is true is that except for a very few cases the African methods of education were largely informal.

Odwako asserts that the coming of Europeans to western Kenya at the beginning of the 20th century radically altered the African social, political and economic system. As a result the traditional arrangements could no longer effectively prepare Africans for life in the new society. Because of this and also the fact that African traditional education was unsuitable for European purpose, new ways of meeting the changed circumstances had to be found. The European missionaries met these challenges by setting up formal schools after the European patterns. In doing this the Christian missions laid the foundation on which the present Kenyan system of education is built.

More important in this thesis is Odwako's analysis of the traditional methods of education vis-a-vis the modern ones and their similarities and differences.

In his paper, presented to the Historical Association of Kenya in 1978⁶⁶ Daniel N. Sifuna contends that a number of important factors seem to have governed missionary educational activities in the second half of the 19th century. First, there was the commonly known factor that missionaries viewed Africans as being backward, uncivilized and uncultured with no traditions or history. They were too unintelligent

and lazy to have evolved a set of beliefs about the world that was worth studying, and too materialistic and indifferent or, alternatively, too superstitious and immoral to have developed a serious religion. For these reasons the Christians assumed that their major task would be to regenerate and civilize them to raise them to a higher level.

Sifuna argues that given this nature of African environment, missionaries realized that evangelization and civilization could not be achieved without the issue of keeping the native student away from the influences of the tribe. The school was therefore to be the focal point of Christian propaganda and all civilizing process. He asserts that the natives had to be kept away from interaction with retrogressive influences. This process could only be accomplished by taking them completely out of their pagan environment for a sufficient length of time. This led to the necessity of boarding schools which could facilitate mission work and check the problem of pagan influences.

In another paper about the transformation of the Tiriki and Maragoli sub-tribes,⁶⁷ Sifuna argues that the Maragoli readily accepted Christianity and they were used as agents of Christian imperialism among other Abaluhya communities. On the other hand the Tiriki (the Maragoli neighbours) remained indifferent to the missionaries despite a longer association with the headquarters of the Friends African Mission. He shows that, although the Tiriki welcomed the missionaries as a protective barrier against the troublesome Nandi, the Tiriki shortly became antagonistic towards the missionaries. Sifuna

suggests that the important factor and perhaps the only one that largely explains the Tiriki early hostility to Christianity is that of circumcision. While the missionaries wanted the Tiriki to circumcise their boys in the open, the Tiriki clung to their secret traditional methods a factor that made the Tiriki to view missionaries as enemies of their culture and hence, their total refusal to co-operate with them (missionaries).

In his book, Levinus Painter⁶⁸ first gives a brief migration history of the Tiriki. He claims that the Tiriki came from the western areas of Uganda and first settled near Kavirondo Gulf on Lake Victoria. Then at a later period they moved eastward into a hilly country where they now live.

On the issue of land possessions, Painter argues that land was closely related to ancestor worship and that land ownership was subject to the clan control. It was not supposed to be bought or sold except under very special conditions. To him land could be obtained through inheritance, through sub-division after a successful sub-tribal conflict or through reclaiming waste or unused areas with the clan's approval. In this sub-tribal economy, no tributes were paid, no harvest levy was required and no taxes were collected for the use of the land.

Painter also discusses the importance of cattle in the traditional economy and how the Europeans' introduction of the money economy had transformed the importance of land and cattle in the Tiriki economy.

He has also some useful material on the history of the Kaimosi Friends Mission and the role of the Friends in the economic transformation of the Tiriki.

Stafford Kay opens his Ph.D thesis⁶⁹ by examining how the southern Luhya were brought under the colonial rule. He claims that the task of getting Africans to submit to British rule was comparatively easy among the southern Luhya. To Kay, the appearance of Hobley in this area was remembered for a long time as the advent of peace. He argues that prior to the British presence the clans and communities of the Luhya frequently fought each other and with outsiders. Incursions by cattle-raiding Nandi and Luo were especially troublesome and the Luhya welcomed Hobley's efforts to stop local warfare.

When discussing the development of education among the Luhya, Kay argues that the government was conspicuously absent from promoting African education in the early colonial rule. This was partly due to the government pre-occupation with building a white colony and partly from a genuine lack of concern. It was only after 1909 that the government began to pay some attention to the education to Africans. It was, therefore, the missionaries who took the initiative to educate the Africans.

On the African response towards European educational innovation, Kay asserts that there was a general slow rate of transformation within the Luhya society. This was due to the strength of the traditional religious beliefs that were an integral part of the entire Luhya culture.

But when comparing the Luhya response to the Christian life and education, Kay argues strongly that the Tiriki offered the most resistance towards the attraction of schools and churches. He says that the Tiriki proved the age-old adage that 'familiarity often breeds contempt'. This is because Kaimosi had been established at the edge of their homeland yet the missionaries and the Tiriki did not see eye to eye.

Kay's discussion on the development of education in Kenya from 1930s to 1964 is also essential for this study.

Walter Sangree⁷⁰ gives an account of the Tiriki social structure and of the main currents of change and social innovation that had arisen in Tiriki from the last decade of the 18th Century, primarily as a result of European contact. He focuses on the manner in which the indigenous Tiriki social organization, particularly in its age groups, had set the stage for the sub-tribes acceptance and utilization of the European - introduced church groups and tribal bureaucracy.

On the traditional Tiriki social structure Sangree argues that it may be likened to a rope of three strands: clans (Zimbamba) age groups (makhula) and territorial units (zisomo). He says that these three strands combined well with the Christian religious groups and colonial tribal bureaucracy. Sangree also gives a good account of the traditional Tiriki social structure and the nature of colonial administrative and mission contact. He shows that the first Tiriki contact with the European did not occur until the latter portion of the 1890s. He also discusses the traditional attitude towards land

and cattle, and asserts that land in traditional Tiriki society elicited a markedly different set of feelings from those manifested towards cattle livestock. This was because land was never used as a medium of ritual exchange while animals were. He concludes his discussion by showing that the missions also proved to be a very important force for change in many areas of Tiriki life.

Gunter Wagner⁷¹ argues that in the whole of traditional North Kavirondo the individual family constituted the basic social groups that co-operated most widely and intensively in the activities of everyday life. According to his study, the traditional families were economically self-sufficient and unless an abnormal event such as drought, hailstorms or prolonged sickness occurred, the family did not depend upon outside help or trade for their food supply. Each of the members of the family contributed to the economic maintenance of the family group by performing those tasks which were assigned to them by traditional division of labour.

Wagner asserts that with the coming of European rule and civilization, conditions under the traditional Kavirondo family underwent far reaching changes. He points out that the factors which brought about the new conditions, to which the family had to adjust itself, were the economic changes, new political and legal institutions and the appeal to Christianity. He continues to narrate that the growing of commercial or cash crops and the export of native products, encouraged by the government propaganda and instruction as well as by the provision of marketing facilities, transformed the economic organization of the Kavirondo people.

Although Wagner makes a number of specific references to the Tiriki in his other writing,⁷² most of the material in this book deals with the Maragoli and the Bukusu. However enough general cultural similarity exists between the sub-tribes of the former North Nyanza, for the material gathered by Wagner to provide a fair picture of the traditional Tiriki material culture and many aspects of Tiriki economic organization. Also Wagner's description of economic conditions, missionary activities and British administrative structures gives a good base for evaluating how general conditions had changed in the district up to 1950.

Apart from these books and articles the study also relied on a wide range of material from the Kenya National Archives and Missionary records.

The literature review above has been very much invaluable to this study. However, none of these materials discuss in detail the economic transformation that took place among the Tiriki during the colonial period. This is a big shortcoming that hinders a clear understanding of the changes that the colonial rule effected on the Tiriki economy plus its effects. ^

1:10 JUSTIFICATION

In view of the gaps that exist in the literature that appears on the economic changes that took place among the Tiriki during the colonial period, this study attempts to fill the gaps through study and research.

1:11 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study has made use of the available written documentation. These include materials from Kenya National Archives, Missionary records and Libraries. In many ways these materials were very invaluable. They provided much of the raw data on events, first hand accounts of the Tiriki economic situation and goals plus a sure chronology. However, they also had some weakness. For instance the material resulted partly from the fact that government officials or missionaries noted some happenings, events and motives but not others. Because of their attitude towards African culture and perhaps due to the constraints of work, European observers may have been ignorant of the economic development and aim which were actually important to the Tiriki or may have recorded a distorted version of what happened and why it did. In fact the quality of the written documents varies widely according to the position, curiosity and sensitivity of the observer. For specific localities, moreover, the records offer only episodic information.

To tap the Tiriki source of information and to correct the limitation of the written materials, the study utilised materials collected through oral interviews. During the oral interviews, the author used interview schedule⁷³ and tried to be as informal as possible by asking very few questions when the informant was talking, as the past information was usually memorised and if interrupted the respondents lost track. Interviews varied greatly in length and were conducted with individuals rather than groups. However on average interview lasted two to three hours. After establishing

basic biographical details and general life pattern and experience of an individual, the line of questioning often pursued particular events or situations about which the individual might be particularly knowledgeable. Indeed the evidence from the oral interviews filled in many gaps in the written documents, corrected or clarified data and presented the Tiriki perspectives on development during the colonial period. But like the written materials, the oral information must be used carefully. The memories of many of the informants was not necessarily total or exact. Most informants have forgotten some vital events and they (informants) may have shifted the emphasis among the past intentions as a result of present concern. Furthermore most informants could only place events only approximately or relatively and finally, there was a problem of quantification. These were real problems, and in some cases they posed insurmountable obstacles in the way of arriving at a clear understanding of a particular event. In general however most of these problems are controllable.

To begin with, the author tried to interview individuals like former location officials and church leaders who presumably would have been in a position to know about various economic events. To check their information the author attempted to interview as many individuals as possible and from different locations so as to corroborate their separate testimony and to clarify their differences. The internal consistency of an informant's information provided another check on his/her veracity. Further, particular evidence might be confirmed by data known from other sources. This kind of

corroboration if systematic also provided a rough measure of the information general reliability. Finally informants themselves provided a built in check by insisting that other individuals be interviewed (on the same topic) either as aids to their memory or because they considered them more knowledgeable on certain issues. In any case while at times confused and contradictory, this evidence is generally an invaluable check of evidence derived from written sources: more important, often it is the sole source for various economic aspects of the history of the Tiriki.

END NOTES

1. This view has been expounded by scholars like F.C. Bode in his Ph.D. Thesis entitled: "Leadership and Politics Among the Abaluhya of Kenya 1894-1963" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University 1978); Stafford Kay's Ph.D. on "The Southern Abaluhya the Friends African Mission and the Development of Education in Western Kenya, 1902-1963" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973) and Paul Asaka Abuso in A Traditional History of Abakuria 1400-1914 (Nairobi, Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980) among other scholars.
2. Cited in B.A. Ogot, (ed.) Hadith One (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1963) pp. 1-2.
3. See for example S. Kay, op.cit., for his argument on educational transformation during colonial period.
4. This is Gunter Wagner's argument of Land in Maragoli. But the attitude towards land in Maragoli and Tiriki were similar. See Gunter Wagner, The Bantu of Western Kenya Volume II (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 75.
5. Ibid., p. 75.
6. S.H. Ominde, "Land and Population in the Western Districts of Nyanza Province Kenya" (Ph.D. Thesis, Makerere University College, 1963) p. 166.

7. Wagner, op.cit., p. 34.
8. Compared with the far reaching change in the traditional system of agriculture, already described, the development of animal husbandry along modern lines did not progress very far. This was due not only to the fact that people clung more strongly to their cattle customs, but also to the circumstances that the main prerequisite for any effective rationalisation of cattle keeping was the breeding of better cattle. By the nature of things, this required a much longer time than the introduction of new crops or the raising of superior seeds. See Wagner, Bantu, Volume II, op.cit., p. 52.
9. Anthony Clayton and D.C. Savage, Government and Labour in Kenya 1895 - 1963 (London: Franck Cass, 1974), XIV.
10. Ibid., XIV.
11. Ibid., XV.
12. Ibid. Emphasis on Nyanza Province is mine. This is because the Nyanza official never cared for the policy and when it was abolished they greeted it with joy. See K.N.A., PC/NZA/1/18, Nyanza Province Annual Report for 1921.
13. Ibid., XVIII - XIX. Emphasis on the Tiriki mine.
14. Bode, op.cit., p. 233.
15. Ibid., p. 236.

16. Hugh Fearn, An African Economy: A Study of the Economic Development of the Nyanza Province of Kenya 1903 - 1956 (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 16.
17. Note that self-sufficiency was well pronounced in food but for other commodities like crafts and industrial objects and animals there existed some trade. See Fearn p. 30.
18. Bode, op.cit., p. 104.
19. See K.N.A., DC/NN1/13, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1939.
20. These included orphans, non-confirming individuals and those running away from forced marriages.
21. This is a report from the East African yearly Meeting records of 1912. Unfortunately the records do not give the exact number.
22. Ominde, op.cit., p. 2.
23. See for example Grace Shibadu, "Population as a Factor of Rural Development in Hamisi Division" (Master of Arts, thesis, University of Nairobi, 1980).
24. The Maragoli's were moving to this region due to severe land shortage in Maragoli. But Chief Hezron Mushenye banned further Maragoli migration into Tiriki in the late 1940s. See C.W. Gilpin "The Church and Community Quakers in Western Kenya 1902-1963" (Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University 1976) p. 255.

25. G.S. Were, A History of the Abaluhya of Western Kenya, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967) p. 74.
26. Ibid., p. 74.
27. Kenya population census, 1948 and 1962.
28. James Osogo, A History of the Abaluhya (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 129.
29. Kay, op.cit., p. 40.
30. Ibid., p. 40.
31. Walter Sangree, Age, Prayer and Politics in Tiriki (London: Oxford University Press 1966) p. 99.
32. C.W. Hobley, From Chartered Company To Crown Colony: Thirty Years of Exploration and Administration in British East Africa (London: HF&G Witherby, 1929) p. 124.
33. Osogo, op.cit., p. 1.
34. Bode, op.cit., p. 6.
35. Ibid., p. 6.
36. Other factors that brought about economic transformation include education, health care and population growth.

37. Of course Africans founded their own independent churches. These included Zakayo Kivuli who started the African Israel Church in the 1940s and Saul Chabuka who founded the African Divine Church in 1950s. The two had broken away from the Pentecostal Assemblies of East Africa due to wrangles in the church leadership.
38. See for example Adu Boaden "Colonialism in Africa; Its Impact and Significance", in Adu Boaden (ed.) General History of Africa: African Under Colonial Domination 1880 - 1935. Volume Seven (California: James Currey, 1990). p.
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62. C.W. Gilpin, op.cit.
63. Hugh Fearn, op.cit.
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CHAPTER TWO

SOME ASPECTS OF THE PRE-COLONIAL TIRIKI SOCIETY

2:0 INTRODUCTION

In the pre-colonial era, though the Tiriki were chiefly agriculturalists, they also kept livestock, practised hunting, food gathering and apiculture. They also involved themselves in several crafts, industry and trade.¹ It will be noted that during most of the pre-colonial period the Tiriki economic organisation was not stagnant and static but on the contrary, people had in the previous centuries witnessed rapid economic change and transformation due to population movement, the consequent changes in the production system and trading patterns.²

Like other agricultural communities in the world, land was very important to the Tiriki. They were deeply attached to it, and as Godfrey Muriuki argues in the case of the Kikuyu, it was more than an economic asset.³ Land was used to grow food for the family, to provide pasture for the herds, to obtain firewood for cooking and poles for housebuilding, among other uses.

The fundamental basis of land tenure in Tiriki sub-tribal system was that the sub-tribe as a whole was the proprietor of all the land contained within its settlement area. Land ownership was however, subject to the clans of the sub-tribe and it was not supposed to be sold or bought except under very special conditions. Consequently, it was because a man belonged to a particular clan that he possessed the right to cultivate a garden (Shamba) within the land for which his ancestors fought for before any other persons.⁴

Gunter Wagner argues that land needs and requirements of individual and social groups, were determined by the traditional techniques operating in the framework of a subsistence economy. He maintains that as land was abundant in relation to the culturally determined needs of its occupants, it had little or no exchange value.⁵ Moreover the subsistence economy provided no incentives to obtain land for the purpose of accumulating wealth.⁶ I shall, however, argue that just before the coming of Europeans, land in Tiriki locations had already gained a commercial value due to the drifting of the Maragoli from the neighbouring land who started to purchase land.⁷

Boundaries between clan land were well defined and often marked by both natural boundaries, like the natural landscapes of ridges and valleys and artificial ones like furrows, trenches or by planting wild fig trees. A no man's land of about one mile wide marked the boundaries between sub-tribes.

Regarding individual land rights, a distinction must be made between various forms of land ownership and utilisation. The Tiriki distinguished several different categories of land holders. These were the owner; the purchaser; the squatter; the renter and the land trustee.⁸ First, the owner of a plot or garden acquired it through three major ways - by inheriting the plot from the father or grandfather; by cultivating a piece of virgin land under the clan jurisdiction but with the permission of the clan elders; and by occupying land conquered in warfare with the permission of the war leader.

As the owner of the land, a man enjoyed permanent but limited right over it. Limited in the sense that he could not dispose it without the authority of the clan, but he could till it whenever he wanted or lease it out. He paid neither tributes nor taxes for the use of the land.

In the case of a purchaser (usually a man from a different clan or sub-tribe), the transaction between the buyer and the seller was supposed to be sanctioned by the whole clan. In the event of the clan sanctioning the transaction to take place, the purchaser became the owner of the plot, but holding the land on behalf of the new clan. Payment was made in terms of goats, sheep, grain and even a cow. There was also a person who could be called a 'squatter (Mumenya). This man, usually a stranger, came to a particular clan with the intention of staying for life. With the help of a sponsor, the individual acquired land. His right to the land was however not permanent. For in the event of scarcity of land in the clan's territory, the individual was forced to move elsewhere. Also bad behaviour, by the clan's standard, could result in the individual being rejected by the clan. Though the individual did not pay dues to the clan, he had no right to sub-let the land or sell it out. Apart from the above categories, there were cases whereby, with the permission of the clan, some land could be leased out to individuals from other clans. Such persons (tenants) did not build houses on the land and they paid dues for the use of the land.

Lastly, there was some land entrusted to a close relative (a trustee) of a deceased man who had immature sons. This trustee was supposed to hold this land on behalf of the latter until the time when they were considered mature. The trustee could not sell the land or sub-let it out but he could use it for his own benefit.⁹

Apart from the land used for cultivation, there was also land reserved for livestock grazing and for future use. Land for livestock grazing was the major part of the clan's land and any member, of the clan, plus those living within the clan's territory, were allowed to graze their animals on it. Land reserved for future use was held in trusteeship by the elders, who could allocate part of such land to clan members who did not have sufficient land, or it could be tilled in the event of poor harvests. Also areas with salt licks and other natural resources were protected by the clan elders, so that the community as a whole could benefit. The elders also safeguarded cattle tracks and paths leading to the watering places. When gullies began to form, people were called upon to protect the area against further damage. The common method adopted was to insert stakes across the gully by strains of banana plants.

Under the system of shifting cultivation, the elders decided when to move to new lands and would perform the opening ceremonies to secure the fertility of the land and its successful cultivation. But as the population grew and land became scarce, people were forced to settle down to become permanent cultivators and a man's holding would include land for the homestead with huts, granaries, cattle boma and land for cultivation or under fallow.¹⁰

2.1 PRODUCTION

This section of the chapter will examine the productive activities which resulted from the interaction of natural and human resources in the pre-colonial Tiriki. It will be argued, as A.G. Hopkins did in the case of West Africa, that indigenous economy experienced major historical changes; that it was capable of accepting and initiating novel types of activity; that it exhibited regional and occupational diversity and its organisation was complex.¹¹ It will be shown that,

"man had the ability to manipulate his environment to meet his needs ... produced iron tools, cleared forest ... and practised careful stock management. These technical developments were of great importance because they allowed more people to exist on a given piece of land that was not possible, when technology was based on a digging stick of agricultural communities.¹²

As for the production of goods and services, there was a sexual division of labour. Men were responsible for the clearing and opening up of new shamba, building structures (grain stores, bomas and houses), herding and hunting. They also exchanged fowl for goats and sheep and these again for cattle and conducted the kinship transaction. Women prepared and cooked food, drew water, collected firewood and took care of the children. In addition to the above duties, women also performed the greater and more tedious part of the garden labour. Hoeing, for example, was almost entirely a women's preserve. Both sexes could then join equally in harvesting of the crop and milking of cows. Apart from adults children were also trained at an early age to

take their position in the economic production. Indeed the kind of economic organisation found among the Tiriki called for a numerous offspring for the material well being of the group increased with the increase of its members who joined in the economic production. In any case, the scarce resource at this time was labour and not land.

In the labour organisation therefore, there was in the first place the co-operation of all the members of the family. Though a husband and each of his wife had a field or fields of their own, more of the work was done by all of them as a group, first in one field then in the other (buhasio). But co-operation in labour was more than that. A wealthy man could let it be known that he wanted help in the field on a particular day and he could count on a large body of men and women who would turn out to assist him in whatever task that required extra labour. In return, he was expected to provide large quantities of good food and plenty of beer. The work was normally done in one day and was followed by an evening of conviviality. A man of modest means contended himself with inviting the help of a few friends (either kinsmen or perhaps age-mates). As usual food and beer were provided and in return he was expected to assist his friends when they were in need of help.¹³

Women also joined together within the kinship in order to perform certain tasks such as the hoeing of the fields. Harvest time was also a period when outside help might be necessary with the helpers being given a present of grain in return for their assistance. Consequently in pre-colonial Tiriki there was nothing like working for wages.¹⁴

2.1.1 AGRICULTURE

As Hopkins notes in the case of West Africa,¹⁵ agriculture was the chief activity in the whole of Tiriki land. Agriculture was the matrix to which all other indigenous economic activities were set. Furthermore, it was not possible to give up farming in order to engage full time in other occupations, such as craft manufacture and food collection. Instead it was the agricultural surplus that made these part-time occupation possible. Subsistence agriculture was, therefore, the basis of pre-colonial Tiriki economy. Of the various geographical factors shaping their agricultural activities, the most important one was undoubtedly the rich fertile soils and well distributed pattern of rainfall. In their subsistence agricultural endeavours, the Tiriki had only digging sticks and later iron hoes with which to cultivate the land.¹⁶

During most of the pre-colonial period, the Tiriki used the shifting methods of agriculture as their principal system of cultivation.¹⁷ This was possible because, in the earlier pre-colonial periods, land was abundant and women were the principal determinant factors as to how many plots or how large the size of land a man could cultivate. But as the population grew and land became scarce, the Tiriki were forced to settle down and abandon the system of shifting cultivation in favour of a permanent one. This was witnessed a few decades prior to the coming of European rule. In the practice of agriculture, much liberty of action was left to the individual, though naturally he would conform generally to the agricultural system which experience had taught the sub-tribe was suitable for the immediate circumstances. The limits of freedom however, came with time when

the land needed to be rested. At this stage all the people had to conform to the change whereby new fields were opened in other areas and the old ones allowed to revert to grass. When land was abundant in relation to the population, the period allowed for fallow was four to five years. But when land started to become scarce, the length of the fallowing period was shortened to a year or even less.¹⁸

For most of the pre-colonial period the principal crops grown were grains, such as sorghum (mavele) and eleusine (vule) supplemented by sweet potatoes, bananas and various greens.¹⁹ Each family grew its own crops on its land and women had a greater share in the agricultural production. According to Gunter Wagner, the average monogamous family cultivated three to four gardens (milimi). Poor people had two and rich people who had many wives and many retainers cultivated more than six plots. Plots differed in size and shape but most plots were of a rectangular shape measuring about one acre.²⁰

In this region there were two main agricultural seasons in any given year. These were the season of long rains or the eleusine season (igudu) from March to June, and the short rains season (shuvi) from August to November. The distinction between the two seasons was clearly marked. For example, people could say the sorghum of the igudu or sorghum of shuvi. Within these two major seasons, the Tiriki distinguished a number of sub-seasons named after particular agricultural activities. For instance, the short rain season was divided into four sub-seasons and the long-rain into five sub-season. Wagner argues that, these sub-seasons were not merely descriptive in terms

of what people were doing at the respective times but they had become conventional symbols standing for certain times of the year.²¹

The crops were normally planted at different times of the year and sometime interplanting was practised. The grains (eleusine and sorghum) were planted in February and harvested in July. Others like sweet potatoes, were grown in July and harvested in November. In most cases rotational planting was practised. Apart from the above, we also had some supplementary crops - these included green vegetables and bananas. Green vegetables were grown in gardens immediately surrounding the homestead and they were grown almost throughout the year. Among the principal greens were corchorus olitorius (mrere), crotalaria brevidens, variety intermedia (mto), cynandropsis gymandra (tsisaga) and amaranthus hybridus (livogoi).²² Lastly, bananas which constituted the most important food crop were grown mostly within the compound but in the backyard of each homestead.

2:1:2 ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Apart from agriculture, animal husbandry played a vital role in the economic organization and production of the Tiriki. As in the case of the 'Kikuyu',²³ cattle in Tiriki community was in the first place a display of wealth, for a man was only regarded rich if he had a large herds of cattle. Secondly and more importantly, cattle had an important economic use this included the provision of milk, meat, blood (boiled and used as soup) and skins used for clothing, beddings and sandal making. Cattle also played an important economic function in that in the traditional setting they were used

as payment of brideprice and more importantly, a man of full adult status had the right, if his own crops failed, to barter part of his livestock (particularly cattle) for grain or other foodstuffs which he needed so as to sustain his family. Likewise, a man could slaughter a cow at his homestead and barter the meat against baskets of grain from the interested buyers. Finally, cattle owners had the right to pay a bull, a cow or a heifer to any person who had rendered him service to which a cow was by custom regarded as an appropriate compensation.

Apart from cattle, the Tiriki also kept sheep and goats. Sheep were mainly used for sacrificial purposes, though they were also used for trading. Four or five sheep were considered the equivalent to one bull. Goats on their part were important for their milk, meat and skin (for clothing). Finally we had fowls that were kept in nearly every homestead and they were valuable for their eggs and as a source of meat.

Apart from crop and animal husbandry, the Tiriki also engaged themselves in hunting, food gathering and trapping. But these three played an insignificant role in the system of food production for they were undertaken mainly on a part-time basis after shamba work.²⁴ Hunting was mainly done in the forests and the animals hunted included rabbits, hare and antelopes. On trapping, fishing, that was done in the big permanent rivers, apiculture and bird trapping (particularly the quails) were important, while food gathered included mushrooms, wild plants and fruits.

2:1:3 TECHNOLOGICAL PROCESS

The Tiriki engaged themselves in various technological processes. The most important ones were house-building, making of garments and beddings, pottery, basketry, wood-carving, iron work, and string and thread making.

With regard to house-building, there existed no specialization but there were some principal features of the traditional hut that were common throughout the community. The house was a circular structure with a peaked roof that rested separately on rather low walls. The roof was thatched with grass, Shivembe, and the framework of the house was of strong wooden posts, fixed in the ground and dabbed with mud. Some houses had additional support of a post erected at the centre of the house (centre post). The outside appearance was completed by two doors, one leading to the front yard (mostly used by men) and the side door facing the back-yard (mostly used by women). House-building was not regarded as a difficult undertaking and the necessary materials (grass and timber) were easily available. The task of house-building was jointly performed by a group of kinsmen and neighbours.²⁵

Houses were not built each and everyday. There was a specific time of the year (July) when house-building was favoured. This was usually a time when there was less work in the fields, for it was often after harvests, and therefore an opportune time for getting kinfolk together to come and help build a house. Furthermore, with granaries full it was possible for the owner of the house to brew beer and prepare Ugali

as a token of gratitude for the people who had come to help him.²⁶ Another factor that made July best suited for house-building was that it has the coolest and wettest month of the year and therefore there was plenty of water to mix with soil for dabbing the walls. Before embarking on the construction of the new house, the owner was supposed to assemble all the necessary materials such as poles, strings and grass. Other structures that were constructed in a similar manner included the grain stores (viagi), though the walls were not dabbed with mud, and boys' initiation houses - zirumbi.

Apart from house-building, many people also knew the art of leather work and in particular the art of making beddings and ordinary garments from cow hides and goats' skins. However the making of cloaks worn by important elders and the repair of ordinary skin garments was only undertaken by specialists - avanavi.²⁷ To prepare the raw skin or hide, it was scrapped with a knife and then pegged down on the ground to dry in the sun for at least two days. For the men's garment, only the inside side was scrapped while those to be used by women were scrapped on both sides. Apart from garments and beddings other skin products included leather bags, sandals, leather sheaths for swords and daggers, and the top of guitar resonance boxes. All being undertaken by specialists.

In the case of pottery, basketry, wood-work, iron-work and string and thread making, there was a substantial amount of specialization and trade in them. In pottery all the work from the start to finish was done by women. The digging of the clay, beating

it, moulding and drying and finally the burning of pottery products was the work of women. This occupation was the work of specialists who had mastered the procedure involved in pottery production and who knew the various types of clay suitable for pottery making. Items made from pottery included pots (for cooking, carrying and storing water) and utensils for eating from. Most of the pottery products were bartered or exchanged for grain, goats, sheep or even cattle.

Basket work was characterized by the solid and substantial appearance of the objects and the uniformity of shapes and styles. It was essentially a man's work, each specializing in a particular method. For instance, some men specialized in wick doors, others in quail cages while others specialized in making ordinary baskets, such as those used for carrying grain. Basket work products were in heavy demand during harvest periods for carrying grain. A reed called Iulundu that grows near rivers was the main material used in basket work, although luywe, a plant growing widely, was also used.

Wood-working was another occupation undertaken by specialists, although objects like handles for hoes, knives and pangas required little skill and, therefore a good number of men had some knowledge of how to make them. The elaborate and unique products of wood-working were undertaken by the avavazi (usually men). These people usually learnt their crafts through apprenticeship, that is working as assistant to their fathers, uncles or any other close relative, for a number of years before becoming independent and setting up

their own workshop. the technique of wood-working was confined to drilling and carving or piercing holes with an awl. Axes and hatchets were used for the rough wood work while adzes were used for moulding the objects into their appropriate shapes. Finally, various kinds of knives were used for carving out the details and putting a final touch to the objects. Objects made from wood included various kinds of stuff, scoops, mats and vegetable bowls, stirring paddles, threshing paddles, jugs, stools, bee-hives, mortars, pestles and digging sticks.

All wood-workers stuck to the then conventional styles and patterns with little or no variations. The wood-worker acquired a routine in the manufacturers of the objects because they tended to specialize in only a few objects. At most, the specialists' work was dictated by the demand of the consumers. Payment was made in kind e.g. grain, goats, sheep or even cattle.

In the case of iron-work, the Tiriki did not have iron reserves but they bartered the already smelted ore from Busia and the Wanga Kingdom in exchange for livestock and grain. the art of smithing was restricted to certain clans who were usually reluctant to teach it to outsiders for fear of competition. Wagner argues that,

a smith usually began to learn his craft by working the bellows for his teacher. Later he was instructed in the various techniques of smithing and wire drawing, and after several years of apprenticeship he was supplied with the chief tools by his master. 28

The most important objects made from iron were weapons like spears, bows and arrows, knives, razors, hoe-blades, axes and cow bells. Others were armlets, bracelets, necklaces, finger rings and coils. Most of these products were exchanged against grains, cows, goats and sheep. Other products of the traditional technological processes were string and thread making and musical instruments. These however were of little significance for they were not in high and constant demand, and therefore of little economic value.

2.2. EDUCATION

In crop and animal husbandry and technological process, the transmission of ideas was very important. Now the most important question to be asked is, how were these ideas transmitted from generation to generation? Was there a system of education that made this possible? In this section an attempt will be made to show that the Tiriki had evolved a unique and complex system of education that was very important in the economic production and organisation. For as Tiyeembe Zeleza states,

Education system is one of the most important ideological apparatuses through which the state maintains its control and the relations of production are produced.²⁹

Consequently in Tiriki, traditional education was the permanent transmission of knowledge by the older members of the society to the younger ones with the intention of socializing the youth for adult roles. At the same time education was important in the

conservation of the acquired knowledge; indeed Orima Odwako argues that,

Education took the form of indoctrinating children into their cultural tradition, so that they were adjusted not only to live and serve their society but also to become custodians and future transmitters of their culture.³⁰

Children's education was the responsibility of members of the society and the family in particular. At birth, children were regarded as important and useful family assets and their education was the responsibility of their mothers and the babysitters, who were supposed to teach the babies the good attributes that were acceptable to the community as a whole.³¹ The main aim of this early education was to expose the babies to good behaviour and to help them adopt good attributes. At the age of four to five years, the method of education changed. By this time the children were able to play from the mothers and with the help of their grandparents, they came to know one or two things about their surroundings. As they came to the full understanding of their surroundings, the children gradually separated themselves into boys' and girls' groups. The boys from then henceforth identified themselves with the male adults and learned male activities. At the same time, the girls identified themselves with their female adults and started to master the roles.

In the evenings after work, children's education was by means of riddles, proverbs, myth, songs and dances. All these carried a

special message cherished by the society. The children were expected to live by the virtues of the society as enshrined in the messages and disregard the vices.

At the age of seven, children were introduced to learning through work (learning by participation). This was so because African pedagogy put a big emphasis on practical learning.³² The child learned by watching and executing little jobs that immediately became useful to the family and the community. Thus, the boys went herding, fishing and hunting while the girls became babysitters, drew water and prepared meals. At first, such work was done under supervision but gradually the children were left on their own.

By the age of ten therefore, the young people were able to perform on their own most of the activities expected of them. This was because the child, as a member of the family, was expected to contribute to the wellbeing of the group. Consequently, education had a direct link with the immediate and long term needs of the family and the society.³³

The context of indigenous education therefore grew out of the physical and social environment.³⁴ It was strongly geared towards the knowledge of environment, that is to make children become adaptable to and learn how to utilize the physical environment. The physical environment was dominated by features such as rivers, forests, hills, and plains. A child had to learn to overcome their dangers and at the same time learn how to utilize their productive

aspects. A child was also expected to understand the climatic conditions related to his surroundings, for the environment dictated the nature and modes of economic activities that were carried out. These included cultivation, hunting, fishing, food gathering, herding, technological processes, and many others. Sifuna notes that,

From the earliest years elders aimed to adapt children to their physical surrounding and to teach them how to use it. Within the homestead and its environs parents and older relatives were responsible for training in economic duties.³⁵

In the case of the production of objects, like pottery work or smith work, that had practical and cultural value, parents trained their children in a particular art that the family or clan had specialised in.

Connected with the economic needs of education were the social needs. Here the children were taught to understand that they were members of a particular group and therefore, their behaviour was supposed to be in conformity with that of the group. Children were therefore taught things such as the virtue of sharing common tasks in the field and at home, and the decency of speech and behaviour plus respect for the older members of the society. Other issues of great importance here included the study of the community's past and its heroes, plus oral literature that reflected on the people's way of life. In Tiriki community there were also many ritual ceremonies, feasts and festivals that were used as means of incorporating the

young into the more adult groups. The most important ones here were the initiation of boys and the age-grade system.

Traditional education was mainly transmitted through informal and formal methods of instruction. Among the most prominent method of informal instruction was through plays. In this community, the significance of play was generally upheld. Children were consequently allowed to invent games that were attuned to the environment. Apart from play, oral literature constituted an important method of instruction. This included teaching through myths, legends and folk tales. Children also learned through dance and folk-songs. Proverbs were used widely in ordinary conversation.³⁶ Learning through the medium of work was also another informal method of education. Here they were involved in the medium of work, a factor that helped them to develop the right type of masculine or feminine roles.

Formal methods of education were particularly pronounced in the theoretical and practical inculcation of skills. For example, learning through apprenticeship was formal and direct. Children, who by virtue of birth or family were supposed to become special people, or parents who wanted their children to acquire certain occupational training (like medicineman, a blacksmith or a craftsman) were apprenticed to work with the specialist in the given field as helpers. The young person would then work under the specialist for a number of years before establishing his own workshop.

Among the Tiriki, formal education also took the form of succeeding stages of initiation from status to status. The age-group organisation was an important feature here, it affected directly or indirectly most of the major kinds of social activity. These age groups and age-grades were traditionally perpetuated by two sets of rituals which included the secret process of circumcision and the ceremonies by which formal status and duties of warriorhood were handed from the incumbent age-group to the succeeding age group. Perhaps it is important to note that education in the Tiriki community was a life time process for it started at birth and ended at death. This was necessitated by the fact that within the society there were new innovations and initiatives that the society adopted. These compelled everybody to master the new knowledge. All in all, education was a very important ingredient of the traditional economic production though it was not based in the classroom.

2.3 MEDICAL PRACTICE

Apart from education, the quality of life can also be measured through the provision of health services, which are of course very important for any country's economic development. The Tiriki had very precise and clear idea of the nature of diseases and of the treatment required. Therefore in the traditional Tiriki society medicine was very important.

The Tiriki believed that in everyday life man was confronted by invisible and yet real forces. They intervened in the course of

events, frustrated his endeavours and sent him illness and arrest or even death. Or they were favourable to him and promoted his health and material welfare. Ordinary people, experts or specialists, the spirits of the dead the supreme beings and a number of minor spirits were all agencies of mystical power. They wielded it (power) actively and consciously or served merely as passive vehicle in which such people resided independent of their own volition. Consequently, therefore, the Tiriki believed that diseases and accidents were not mere outbreaks but they were sent by agents (that is either by spirit or sorcerers).³⁷

So then, what were some of the types of the preventive and protective measures that the Tiriki used? First, it should be noted from the onset that though magic and herbal medicine were very important elements of protection and prevention in Tiriki, they did not dominate the entire field of medicine.

Most primary causes of diseases were treated or prevented by using very empirical methods. For instance, people who suffered from contagious diseases lived in isolation from other members of the family in varying degrees, depending on the strength and effectiveness of the danger of disease. In the case of people who suffered from contagious but harmless skin diseases they were not allowed to join the rest of the family in eating and drinking sessions. Such victims had their own utensils to use for themselves and slept far away from the rest.³⁸

People who suffered from other dangerous diseases that were thought to be infectious like tuberculosis, chickenpox, leprosy, dysentery, bubonic plague and even sleeping sickness were supposed to be in total isolation from the rest of community, for such diseases were thought to be spread by the mere presence of the person suffering from them. Such victims were thus left alone in their huts or special one's were built for them far away from the other houses. A particular person was assigned to take care of the victim until the time he or she died. Isolation was therefore the most important prevention of the spread of contagious diseases. This was in accordance with the belief that such diseases could not be treated by magic and herbal related medicine.

Protective and preventive measures based on the employment of medicine and charms were, perhaps the most important forms of treatment in the Tiriki Society. It was believed that nearly all human misfortune including illness were associated with the mystical forces. Consequently, protective magic and herbal medicine were employed over and above the taking of the ordinary precautions.³⁹ In taking remedy against misfortune and illness, magical power and herbal medicine were first used in the form of protective agents (equivalent to the modern vaccination methods). Counteraction (curative treatment) of the illness was only employed in case of the failure of the protective measures. Protective magic and herbal medicine were chiefly employed against human agents such as sorcerers and witches (wabila and walogi). Such protective magic and herbal medicine not only warded off the evil intentions of the sorcerers

and witches but also offered protection against further misfortunes and illness that could be caused by the same agents. People were also protected against other people's bad intentions or actions (like ill temper, theft and intrigue by the use of protective magic).⁴⁰

In Tiriki, protective magic consisted mainly of objects like bracelets which were usually known and at least all adults could obtain them. But the rare and powerful herbal medicine and charms were only purchased from the herbalist and/or diviners. By virtue of their profession these people dealt exclusively in and sold both the protective and curative medicine. The diviners were more important in providing medicine to counteract agents of misfortunes and illness. To the Tiriki, the efficacy of an amulet or a medicine increased with the distance of the place where it was obtained. Consequently herbalists were usually widely travelled or they maintained good contact and relations with the herbalist from neighbouring sub-tribes from whom they purchased their medicine.⁴¹

Amulets and herbal medicine were employed in various cases. This included protection against the death spell of the sorcerers. Here people licked the ashes of the fruit of the indovo bush and various specific plants, roots and animal organs (like the bone or the shinunqu bird that was burned and licked). People also wore iron armlets, either around their left wrist or hidden under the garments. To be efficacious, however, it was supposed to be purchased from a herbalist who had rubbed it with a particular medicine which included leaves, roots or branches of shisugi plant.

Other plants that were used against the effects of sorcerers included shisungulua, shinazogi and shigundu which were planted around the house to protect the occupants. People used various methods against the effect of witches. For instance, the fruit of indovo plant was tied to an iron necklace and worn as an amulet or a shisugi plant were used. To become a medicine man or a herbalist, a person was supposed to have either inherited the act of dealing in medicine or taught by a recognized and a good herbalist or medicine man.

In case of failure of protective and preventive measures, people resorted to the second line of defence against illness, that is the counteraction measures and the appeal to higher authority (gods). These two measures were aimed at combating, neutralizing or destroying forces that had become active. This second line of treatment was mainly reserved for the diviners (vakhumu) and the ancestral cult (misabwa) that aimed at gaining influence over the powers emanating from the superior beings, to neutralize them as far as they were evil and on the other hand to enlist their services as far as they were deemed to be helpful.

Diviners were specialists who had inherited the art from their parents or other close relatives or people who had been specifically trained in the art by a good and widely recognized diviner. Diviners involved themselves in detecting the causes responsible for any illness or misfortune and on the strength of such a diagnosis the appropriate counter-measures were taken. Diviners thus aimed at

discovering mystical connection (rather than at predicating future events) and then combating and neutralizing the cause detected. Consequently, after the causes of misfortunes and diseases were known, the counteraction measures that were appropriate to be taken were more or less automatically determined. But with a slight deviation from the normal causes of illness, new methods of diagnosis were called for.⁴²

People were compelled to consult a diviner in various instances. This included cases of sudden and violent illness, for example dysentery, stomach and intestinal trouble, eye diseases and skin eruptions. Persistent diseases, particularly if the person afflicted used to be strong and healthy, chronic ailment and recurrent pains also needed the attention of the diviner. Lastly, people sought the advice of the diviner when diseases or dangers threatened the entire clan, for example, epidemic and cattle diseases. Payment made for the services offered by medicine herbalists and diviners included tobacco, grain, beer, goats, sheep and even cattle.

2.4 TRADE AND EXCHANGE

Before concluding this chapter it will be important to look at the systems of trade and exchange and to find out if they were important in the whole arrangement of economic production and organisation. Perhaps to start with, was trade and exchange of any significant value to the Tiriki? It should be observed from the onset that the traditional Tiriki family was essentially self-sufficient

unless rare and abnormal occurrence like drought, hailstone or prolonged sickness occurred upsetting the family food reserves. When this happened the family had two options, either it could rely upon the members of its kinship group for assistance or, as a last resort, took to trade and exchange of animal and other material goods against grain and other foodstuffs. Thus the system of mutual obligation tended to minimize the need for a market. But although the community's consumer needs could be satisfied through mutual obligation there was none the less some local trade.⁴³ Such trade existed in the field of crafts and industrial products (in some cases specialist worked to order) that were exchanged for fowl, goats, sheep or cattle. Cattle, sheep and goats were also exchanged either with grain or more valuable objects of iron or else as payment for services rendered or received. Indeed to a very small extent iron was used as currency. By and large, trade and exchange therefore played a less significant role in the system of economic production and organisation.

Perhaps the most important question to be asked is, why was the situation like so? Firstly, this was due to the similarity of the goods produced in the traditional economy. Similar resource endowment and produce in the region (Western Kenya) was a factor that minimized the development of inter-tribal trade and markets. Secondly, within the community (Tiriki), the low level of technical knowledge prevented the growth of highly developed specialization in handicrafts and consequent marked economic differentiation. This would have involved an organised economic

differentiation that is essential for exchange of goods. Indeed, most craftsmen pursued their crafts, more as a hobby rather than as a profession. This was partly due to the fact that the skill required for any craft was low and therefore many adults knew something about one or two of the traditional technologies.⁴⁴ This had several effects which included a low number of customers for every craftsman and therefore, apart from the magical and medicine practitioners, whose occupation required a higher degree of training, skill and personality, they received very low profit from their occupation. This meant that the craftsmen did not increase their possession substantially from their occupation.⁴⁵

Thirdly, livestock (cattle, sheep and goats) were the only possession that had a pronounced exchange value. However the actual use of livestock, particularly cattle, as a means of economic exchange was limited. This was due to the fact that there were few things in the sub-tribal economy that had an equivalent utility value as cattle or the acquisition of which made it worth while to part with cattle. (cattle was regarded as a measure of wealth).⁴⁶ Indeed, cattle alone could not transform a subsistence economy into an exchange one, unless the exchange value of other goods increased at the same time or, the offer of desirable goods or services by a foreign community and its corresponding demand for goods produced by the community economy.⁴⁷ The exchange of cattle was therefore only important in the sense of social life and purpose (it acted as bond of marriage and a means of kinship bond integration).

2:5 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it should be noted that the Tiriki have been agriculturalists as far back as they can remember. They also kept cattle, sheep and goats. When the first Europeans entered the Luhya land in general, they were struck by the richness of the land and the great amount of food available. Joseph Thomson, the first European to approach this area by land, had this to say,

We were in the midst of abundance. The hardship and horrors of our late fare were forgotten as we picked the bones of fat Kavirondo fowl with accompaniment of groundnuts, sweet potatoes and maize.⁴⁸

The German Carl Peters expressed the same thought seven years later, and so did C.W. Mobley and Sir H.H. Johnstone after him. On agriculture.

Thomson noted that,

Almost every foot of ground was under cultivation, the people seemed to have some idea of the rotation of crops for they allowed land to lie fallow, occasionally such parts being used as pasture ground for the cattle and flocks.⁴⁹

On craft and other products, the Tiriki made pots of all types as well as baskets of many shapes and sizes. In addition, some clans made iron tools by forging them. Indeed some iron hoes were used as currency. As Sir H.H. Johnstone pointed out, the Luhya made salt by burning reeds and other water plants and treating the mixture to produce a salty brown cake.

The nuclear family constituted the basic social group that co-operated intensively in the activities of day to day life. This nuclear family was also the basic unit of production. Wealth was measured in terms of possession of cattle and other livestock, wives and land. Wealth could also be acquired through the limited traditional exchange arrangement. Permitting the exchange of livestock in terms of goats for sheep and sheep for cattle plus the payment of bridewealth offered an ample opportunity to an individual to become wealthy. All in all, the traditional Tiriki society was characterised by different features that were not static and stagnant but dynamic and changed according to the needs of the society.

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CHAPTER THREE

COLONIAL PENETRATION AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION 1902 - 1938

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The colonial period saw the development and the eventual emergence of the Kenya state of which Tiriki was an integral part and subject to policies formulated at its centre. For the Tiriki the gradual establishment of European hegemony and the accompanying European influences therefore represented the most profound cause of economic transformation in the years to come.

Before 1902 the Tiriki still found themselves locked in the straitjacket of a subsistence economy and were therefore totally unaware of those animating experiences common to so many communities of the coastal regions. These were the experiences that came from trade, the social intercourse of the market place, the journey away from home and the acquisition of a new yet simple life. Not that subsistence economy necessarily involved grinding poverty, but everything depended on the local environment. The situation in Tiriki and Kenya as a whole was therefore very different from that prevailing in West Africa where African producers living near the coast or within each navigable river had been supplying European merchants with steadily mounting quantities of palm oil, groundnuts and other tropical produce for many decades. Consequently the basic theme of Kenya's economic history during the colonial period is to be found in the removal of these constrictions, the development of a more efficient system of communication and the introduction of new forms of agricultural produce, easily saleable on the world market. Economic transformation is never easy to bring about and in Kenya the difficulties were more formidable than in many other parts of the continent.¹

The aim of the colonial government was to turn the then East African Protectorate (Kenya) economy towards export markets, by making the area dependent on economic arrangements in Europe. It was therefore to be a source of raw materials rather than an area for industrialization. Martin Kaniki argues that there were some fundamental assumptions which seem to have acted as guideline for both the framers and the practitioners of colonial economic policies. First, the colonies were expected to provide raw materials (agricultural produce and minerals) to feed the machines of the industrial imperial powers. Secondly, colonies had to import manufactured goods from the imperial power. Thirdly, the colonies had to be self-supporting. The colonised people had to raise revenue for the general administration and for whatever limited development. Fourth, the British, like other colonisers, went out to the colonies primarily, if not exclusively, to enrich themselves and promote their own interest and those of their commercial firms. The development of the colonized, charges Kaniki, was none of their business. Accordingly therefore, their main preoccupation was to create and maintain effective conditions for the orderly running of economic activities. These included the maintenance of law and order which facilitated effective exploitation of colonial resources, both human and materials.²

In the Kenyan case, since there were no mineral resources to speak of this meant that agricultural production was to be the main economic development. But if there was to be agricultural production for export there still remained two related questions. What kind of agriculture to be practised and how was it to be organised? Relevant

to both question was the salient feature of the whole situation, namely the scarcity of labour. Besides being few in numbers, the natives were thought to be conspicuously inept.³ It was through this partial misapprehension that helped Sir Charles Eliot, who arrived as Commissioner in 1901, and other administrators to think of the country as another New Zealand, a Whiteman's Country in which the native question (would) present but little interest.⁴ It was thus natural to infer both that there was ample room for immigrants and that without them (immigrants) there could be little hope of a rapid growth of production and trade.⁵ A variant of this theme was the introduction of Indian peasant colonists as a race that could have developed agriculture. But when this scheme was ignored and was in effect prohibited, everything then pointed to European - directed agriculture and thus to European immigration and to European right to land. It can therefore be inferred that the economic history of Kenya was based, to a large extent, on agricultural and labour transformation.

3.1 LAND TENURE SYSTEMS

The establishment of British rule in the area had the powerful effects of undermining the establishment authorities through which land was acquired and passed on to the following generations.⁶ First, all the land in Kenya was divided into two major parts, the scheduled areas and the non-scheduled areas (reserves). The Tiriki were put under the North Kavirondo reserve and they were administered under two locations, the Tiriki and Nyang'ori locations.

The idea of the establishment of reserves was conceived by the European settlers as the only way by which the economic potentials of the protectorate were to be fully realized. Two methods were used by the government in establishing reserves for the natives. One method was by way of agreement between the tribes and the protectorate authorities (the Maasai example). The other method was by use of the Outlying Districts Ordinance of 1902. Here, the intention of the government was to prevent non-natives from entering districts not yet under administrative control, unless special passes had been granted by the authorities. This was intended to avoid unwarranted clashes between the native and the foreigners over their land. The measure was also intended to force the natives to start looking for employment on European farms due to population growth and shrinkage of farm land in the reserves. Usually the boundaries of districts were not surveyed but were merely described by geographical features such as by ridges, rivers, hills etc. When later, the idea of the establishment of native reserves became legally recognized under the 1915 Crown Lands Ordinance, most of the reserve boundaries were drawn along the former boundaries of the districts. Thus, the district constituted native reserves in themselves since the natives were not permitted to move out of them except with special permission from the government.⁷

The Crown Land Ordinance of 1915 was important in two major respects. Firstly, the ordinance altered the status of all the land in the protectorate by declaring all such lands crown lands. Initially only public lands were crown land as according to the East Africa (Lands) Order in Council of 1901. Public land was defined as land that was

not physically occupied by the natives. Such lands were declared waste and unoccupied. Secondly, the ordinance, for the first time, contained a provision for the establishment of reserves for the natives. Section 54 of this ordinance provided that,

The Governor in Council shall reserve from sale, lease or other disposal any crown land which in his opinion is required for the use or support of the members of the native tribes of the protectorate.⁸

From this year onwards native reserves were set up by the commissioner by way of official proclamation in the government Gazette. It is to be observed here that most of the reserves boundaries had been roughly defined by 1909. All that was done by the official proclamation under the 1915 Crown land ordinance was to give those boundaries legal recognition. In 1926, for instance, in exercise of powers conferred upon him under section 54 of the Crown Land Ordinance of 1915 the Governor declared twenty four native reserves. Among them was the North Kavirondo reserve. Consequently the importance of section 54 was to establish reserves for the natives only. No member of any tribe was to live outside his reserve belonging to the members of his tribe, unless he was specifically permitted to do so by some other law. The intention here was to avoid interpenetration of reserves by outsiders. Thus, the system to a large extent curtailed the free movement of the Tiriki from place to place. Methods of land fallowing and to a small extent shifting cultivation could no longer be practised freely. There were restrictions. For instance, these farming practices could only be continued in the reserves but not outside even though the amount of land available could not

permit these especially as the number of people within the reserves continued to rise without a corresponding increase in the amount of land within the reserves.⁹ This was later to affect the Tiriki land tenure system since people were to confine themselves to particular holdings, thus tending towards the system of individual tenural structures. This was of course a new innovation in the Tiriki land tenure structure.

Was the intention of the Crown Land Ordinance of 1915 to declare that natives had no rights over land? This ordinance was interpreted to mean that natives had no legal rights to the land (either individually or tribally). Natives were held to be merely tenants at will of the crown and could be dispossessed at any time. Administratively the law was interpreted to mean that the natives could be dispossessed, that is part of the reservation could be cancelled by the Governor, with the approval of the Colonial Secretary if the land was not beneficially occupied. Apparently there was no security for natives, they held land under a tenure no whiteman could accept.¹⁰ Consequently upto 1930 the natives were regarded as mere tenants at will of the crown with only recognizable rights of occupancy. But starting from the very late 1920s right into 1930s the government recognition of the land rights to the natives began to take root. This was largely because reserves had been established for the native and the Highlands had specifically been reserved for white settlers. Outside the reserve and the highlands, the rest of the country was unalienated crown land. Hence the settlers would easily be provided with land from this unalienated crown land without the government having to

worry about how to move the native out of such land first.

According to Ominde, the first milestone in a move towards modern stable form of tenure was the enactment of the Native Trust Ordinance in 1930. This was the first move by the government to recognize the claims of the indigenous people in the area to their land. The ordinance had the effect of reserving in perpetuity tribal land listed in government notice number 394 and published in the official Gazette of October 1926. The ordinance provided for the specific boundaries and a copy of the relevant map to be deposited with the appropriate local authority of the District. By this ordinance the inhabitants of western province in general held their respective tribal land under the authority of a central board. The Native Land Trust Board with the Governor as its president was to manage and control the demarcated reserves.¹¹ But Ominde argues that the real beginning to record the practices which were only vaguely known in Western Kenya came with the appointment of a Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. G.V. Maxwell in 1929. The Committee was to investigate the land tenure practices in the Kavirondo Native reserve. This committee was more concerned with the traditional authorities and recording of the method of tenure.¹² A cautious attitude towards the modification of traditional tenure was well illustrated by the observation of the Kenya Land Commission in 1933, which followed in the wake of the above committee. The Commission noted that,

Modification in the system of tenure may be expected to a large extent to come about spontaneously as the native outlook accommodate itself to changing conditions and it will be task of administrative officers to observe and sometimes to guide.¹³

But the Commission was by and large convinced of the general importance of the individual land tenure system. It stated that,

While we state our opinion that a gradual advance to more private forms of tenure is to be welcome and while elsewhere in our report we mention some difficulties which are likely to be encountered, the detailed study of the question is a task proper to the administrative officers on the spot. But we wish to stress on the fact that the question of land is of fundamental importance for the development of the reserves especially among the agricultural tribes.¹⁴

However, Ominde argues that when the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939 and the Native Land Trust Ordinance of 1938, were enacted to implement the recommendation of the Kenya Land Commission, the basic problem of the individual title deeds was not the chief objective and no provision was made to modify the traditional land tenure. Consequently the traditional systems of land tenure were still strongly entrenched in Tiriki by 1938.

The results of the creation of native reserves, the restriction on migration and population growth in the reserve were that there was an explosion in the Land litigation while multiplying the price of land. Wagner argues that the sale of land had begun in the twenties and by the thirties the prices of land had risen tenfold and was as high as three to four hundred shillings per acre, making it impossible for many to acquire land if they needed it.¹⁵

3.2 AGRICULTURE

Since agriculture was supposed to be the main productive activity in the colony, the availability of good fertile land was very important. Indeed the first demand of the settler was for exclusive land rights for European in the highlands. The settlers argued that,

Since the profitability and viability of the protectorate depended upon them, the administration should give European agriculture every freedom and assistance that the European settler community deemed necessary.¹⁶

Consequently all the land in the protectorate was divided into the scheduled and non-scheduled areas. Africans were pushed into non-scheduled areas, otherwise called reserves, where a law against migration was imposed. In the reserves, the Tiriki had to follow government directives in their agricultural activities. Since agricultural production was supposed to be a European-directed one, Africans were not allowed to grow certain cash crops. This was due to the fact that the settlers, who had borrowed heavily from their home banks, were to repay their loans and if exposed to African competition this could not have been possible. Moreover the imperial goals¹⁷ could only be met by a vigorous development of the European agricultural sector and therefore each and every effort was directed towards this end. What this meant was that the government support for native agriculture was ineffective and spasmodic.¹⁸ In fact from about 1908 to 1914 there was considerable conflict between members of the colonial administration who were trying to stimulate African

agricultural production and the settlers who wanted tax support for an economic infrastructure and a guarantee supply of African Labour. But in response to the settlers' demands, colonial officials began to force labour out of the reserves, increased taxes, supported private labour recruitment and imposed constraints on the development of African agriculture. In 1909 the government began to collect taxes in Nyanza with some degree of efficiency and revenue from hut tax rose significantly thereafter.¹⁹ The initial Tiriki response to new monetary demand was to extend their cultivation and develop cash crops. This was the most obvious course for an agricultural people and it was encouraged by both missions and local colonial officials. At first the Tiriki found it difficult to raise money from their agricultural produce, but by 1911 the Tiriki were reported to be growing large acreage of simsim in place of less valuable wimbi (millet). But African were prohibited from growing the high priced export crops and market crops which they were permitted to grow gradually collapsed. Simsim was a low yielding crop unsuitable to an area such as Tiriki, where land pressure was already becoming noticeable.²⁰ In 1915 the world market for simsim collapsed to an uneconomic level. The District Commissioner at Mumias feared the growing African distrust of the government and increased difficulties in collecting the hut tax, while the Provincial Commissioner took the occasion to voice despair at the general agricultural situation in the reserves. He noted that,

Bad prices have been paid for all economic crops grown by natives. Cotton is not bought. Simsim at present prices does not pay the cost of production ... Such troubles are to be anticipated during the present period, but the effect on the native in regard to future farming operations will be disastrous.²¹

According to Gilpin, the collapse of market prices for agricultural products and the onset of war only increased further the already growing numbers of migrant Luhya labourers.²²

To rectify this situation the government started to send agricultural officers in the rural areas. For the case of Nyanza province, the first agricultural officer was posted to the province in the early 1920s, but the agricultural officer concentrated his effort on the cotton growing areas of North west. Prior to that time only occasional and unco-ordinated measures were taken.²³ Probably the most significant contribution of the government in the 1920s was the introduction of maize that superseded eleusine and sorghum as the main food crop due to its higher yields per acre.²⁴

During this period, the Tiriki geared their efforts towards the sale of their agricultural produce with the aim of improving their standard of living.²⁵ Among the first Tiriki to have such initiatives were the Christians or those with some exposure to the mission. It was the Christians who first planted new seeds distributed by the government and who adopted the techniques urged on them by the administrative and agricultural officers. Christians also introduced the new customs of men doing the greater and tedious part of the shamba work. This was done with the hope of expanding their production for sale in order to purchase the new consumer goods, to improve their homes and to meet such new social expenditure as school fees and church dues. Most of the other Tiriki remained subsistence farmers who, were more interested in maximising their satisfaction within the traditional sphere than in making the most of the

opportunities offered by the market. If they had a surplus of grain left after their food and tax needs were met, it was used to fulfil kinship obligation or to brew beer, beer drinking being an important institution in the Tiriki society.²⁶

In the 1930s several factors combined to boost the African agricultural production markedly although not necessarily agricultural incomes.²⁷ For instance, in 1930 a permanent agricultural officer was posted at Kakamega. Since then the average monthly field staff employed by the agricultural department had increased from twelve in 1933 to a total of sixty-four in 1938 (the latter figure - including twenty seven Native agricultural officer trained at Bukura). During this period, the ultimate aim of the agricultural policy in the whole district of North Kavirondo was to secure a marked increase in the production, while at the same time trying to preserve the fertility of the soil. To this end, two lines of approach were followed. The first was to convince the Tiriki farmer of the defects in the traditional methods of tillage and demonstrate improvement. The second line was to introduce a number of new crops and improve those traditionally grown by the provision of superior seeds. The main criticism made by the agricultural department of the traditional methods could be summed under four headings. These are, failure to prevent soil erosion which had been particularly dangerous in the densely settled areas; failure to dig deeper, a shortcoming that was caused by the shape and size of the traditional native hoe. Others were the failure to prevent soil exhaustion through unwillingness to manure their land and destruction caused by animals.²⁸

Another factor that led to the increased involvement on the part of colonial government in the African agricultural development was the shrinkage of trade and the fall of prices resulting from the 1930s world wide depression, a factor that confronted the government with declining revenues.²⁹ This, plus the possibility of famine after two successive years of locust infestation in Nyanza, spurred the government into an energetic and systematic campaign to increase production. Research was undertaken to determine which cash crops were best suited to the different parts of the district and the findings distributed to missions, schools and chiefs.³⁰ On their part, the Tiriki took a special interest in increasing production. This was because the depression that resulted into a fall of prices meant that they had to expand their output simply to stay even. At the same time, the development of the economy and the spread of new values and practices had widened the demand for consumer goods as well as for social services, such as education. Consequently, many of the Tiriki people engaged more in agricultural production to secure income.

To some extent, however, a growing population undermined the ability to expand agricultural output in the 1930s. The pressure on the availability of land meant that the average holding was shrinking and also led to a greater fragmentation of the individual plots hampering efficient production. Furthermore, the continuous use of land led to soil infertility and soil erosion.³¹ However, some relief was provided by the increased yields from the new seeds as well as increased cultivation of bananas.³² But one solution to the

problem of population growth and which the missionaries and the Tiriki called for was the cultivation of high priced cash crops like coffee and tea. However the government refused to permit their cultivation for political reasons.³³ But instead it urged, rather cautiously, migration out of the highly populated location to less populated areas of the district.³⁴

By and large, it should be noted that from 1909 when the government established effective control of the Luhyaland in general and Tiriki in particular up to 1938, the African agricultural sector was overshadowed by wage employment. In fact wage employment remained a dominant feature of economic development among the Tiriki.

Connected to the transformation in agriculture was animal husbandry. Here, there was the introduction of veterinary services (particularly pronounced in the inoculation against rinderpest and foot and mouth diseases) and also the introduction of cross-breeding. But the important issue here was the government's forceful destocking that was witnessed almost throughout the colonial period. There was also voluntary destocking due to the shrinkage of grazing plots and payments of taxes. Apart from the above innovation cattle still played the same economic function as during the pre-colonial period.

3.3. LABOUR

According to Bode, changes in the economy during the years 1902-1938 were not systematic and fluctuated according to the influence of different agencies - the government, private entrepreneurs, shifts in

the world economy and the pressure flowing from population increases. He argues than before the First World War, the most significant change was the development of wage labour. He further maintains that,

Prior to the establishment of colonial rule, the exchange of labour for some kind of payment let alone the movement of labour was virtually non-existent. If additional labour was required as for certain agricultural tasks or for the hut construction, it was mobilized through the kinship system. With the arrival of the British this pattern continued. But at the same time a number of external demands for labour was introduced. In the days before motor transport the government required men to act as porters on a regular basis in the districts and then on an extra-ordinary basis during the war. Further it needed men to build roads and bridges within the location as well as to work on communication projects outside them. In addition various private individuals required labour. Like the government the first traders depended on locally recruited porters to carry goods into and out of the district.³⁵

But of greater significance was the demand of the European farmers (settlers) who started to arrive in 1905 after the decision of the protectorate's second Commissioner, Sir Charles Eliot (1901 - 4), to permit and encourage white settlement in the Rift Valley and central highlands. The settlers totally changed the employment patterns due to the fact that settlement involved three major labour problems: to obtain men by recruitment or compulsion, to retain them in the local context (to prevent them from deserting) and to make them work delightedly.

In economic terms, white settlement meant an injection of white capital or capital in the form of skills for development. This capital was spread over a large number of small projects, most of which in themselves were without sufficient capital.³⁶ Apart from market-gardening around Nairobi, large-scale farming was necessary if profits were to be made. Consequently to clear the ground and in the absence of skills and equipment, the farmers were obliged to seek a sizeable labour force of several score, sometimes several hundreds of men to work with their own rudimentary implements. But the capital necessary for such labour force was beyond the reach of most new settlers whose difficulties were worsened by the high interest rates charged by the banks on loans. This situation was neither an economic climate in which the interest of labour was likely to flourish nor the labourer likely to receive a wage which genuinely and permanently attracted him. The attitudes of the settlers themselves to the labour reflected these difficulties.³⁷ For the settlers therefore their ultimate aim was to convert the African into a worker. This belief was reflected in the settlers' thought that they were superior to the Africans and that they were performing a fundamental and rare service to humanity by employing them (African).³⁸ Indeed the belief of the pre-1914 world was that, due to the growth of world population, more food was required and Europeans who provided it were serving an expanding world, and at the same time offering Africans an opportunity of instruction in general civilization.

The settlers argued that the government had arrived before them, had encouraged them to settle in the territory and join the White

civilizing mission and that it was in the government hands to see that they (settlers) did not fail through the unavailability of labour.³⁹ Labour they claimed would teach the Africans that idleness was wrong and work the basis of prosperity. Through labour the African would learn new skills in working and that anyway he had now nothing else to do since tribal warfare had ended and work should be his thanks to the British blessing. Finally, they argued that work improved the African physically. Settler argument often gained an added bitterness from the fact that when reward appeared at last in their group it was jeopardised by lack of manpower.⁴⁰ Indeed Ewart Grogan, a pioneer and famous settler from South Africa, was supported by many other settlers from South Africa when he wrote,

... the African is fundamentally inferior in mental development and ethical possibilities ... to the whiteman ... on principle he never tells the truth and consequently never expect to hear it.

Grogan regarded leniency and kindness as either weak or suspect and recommended that,

... a good sound system of compulsory labour would do more to raise the natives in five years than all the millions that have been sunk in missionary effort for the last fifty years. Work was the keynote to the betterment of the Africans.⁴¹

Accordingly, work was to be called education to pacify critics and payment was to be fixed at a rate of three shillings. But working for themselves as farmers or craftsmen, Africans could generally

provide comfortably for their family needs and often more besides. Furthermore not yet having the use of modern forms of money, they saw no advantage in going to work for money wages. They preferred to stay at home.⁴²

The Colonial rulers therefore had to make Africans leave their homes. They found several ways of doing this, which included taxation, the size of the land to be reserved for them, the attitudes of the administration and legislators.

Taxation had an innocuous origin in the need to pay for the cost of administration in the years that labour had not become a serious problem. But the hut tax legislation of 1897 and 1902 quite soon became a vehicle used not to meet the cost of administration but to draw labour out of Africans. No better summary statement exists of the official view on the purpose of African taxation than a dinner speech of the governor of the protectorate, who stated that,

We consider that taxation is
compelling the native to leave his
reserve for the purpose of seeking
work. Only in this way can the cost
of living be increased for the native
and ... it is on this that the supply
of labour and the price of labour
depends.⁴³

Consequently in 1901 the Colonial Secretary, Lonsdowne, sanctioned the levy of three rupees or its equivalent in stock or labour per African dwelling (the Hut tax). But before 1903 the collection of hut tax touched on a very small proportion of the African population. As a

result the measure did not increase the labour supply and settlers continued to complain. For example, Lord Hindlip expressed a general settler feeling that payment in kind should be abolished and that Africans should be obliged to work in order to earn money to pay taxes. He also favoured a tax on wives and a poll tax to discourage loafers and general idlers.⁴⁴ The government agreed to meet some of these demands. In the ordinance number nineteen of 1903 the poll tax principle was introduced by making all adults in a dwelling liable either to hut tax (the owner and his wife) or poll tax (all other persons in the dwelling over 16 years of age). Also, by 1906 payment in kind was dying out as Africans started to become sufficiently familiar with money. But the demands of the settlers did not end here. In 1907 a Colonist Association demanded a poll tax on African cattle and severe action against tax defaulters. In reply the government established a formal Department of Native affairs, specially formed to deal with the African labour supply.⁴⁵ In essence the government had succumbed to the settlers' demand that it include as a definite routine task recruitment of labour for private farmers.⁴⁶ This resulted into the formation of the professional labour recruiters. These recruiting agents for European farmers bribed chiefs and headmen to forcibly collect some of their labour demands.⁴⁷ The agents particularly took the advantage of the understandable confusion in the minds of the chiefs and headmen's failure to distinguish between labour for the government projects which was often involuntary and labour for private enterprises which was voluntary. To the chiefs and headmen there appeared to be no such differences especially as the district officials made it clear that they had a duty to persuade their people

to seek work.⁴⁸ The result was that chiefs and headmen used force or pressure to secure labour for both the government and the private recruiters.

By 1910 payment of tax in kind was abolished and the Tiriki started to be aware of a new occupational structure and the new economic demands and constraints of the colonial situation. Their initial response to this new monetary demand was to extend their cultivation and develop cash crops. This was of course the most obvious course for an agricultural people and it was encouraged by both mission and local colonial officials. At first the Tiriki found it difficult to raise money from the agricultural produce, but, by 1911, the Luhya in general were reported to be growing large acreage of sesame in place of less valuable wimbi (eleusine) to pay taxes. In fact by 1913 Nyanza became Kenya's major source of railway freight providing 28,000 tonnes of local produce. Administrative Officers in collaboration with the mission actually encouraged this development.⁴⁹ The Provincial Commissioner, John Ainsworth, urged that the government should adopt a policy of educational, agricultural and trade development which would make for the advancement and betterment of the native population generally. He was actually against migrant labour which he regarded as fatal to tribal discipline and cohesion and denounced a system of taxation which compelled Africans to subsidize, European settlement and warned that,

... any policy which aims at making the black simply a hewer of wood and a drawer of water will ultimately result in the demoralization of the natives and the deterioration of the Whites, and prove without any doubt the ruin of the country.⁵⁰

Even before 1910 the administration was complaining about the effects of increasing migrant labour on agricultural development and it was estimated that there were 25,000 migrant labourers leaving Nyanza Province for at least three months in the year. But as the number of settlers grew, the pressure discouraging agricultural production from the reserves and encouraging the supply of labour to the white farmers intensified. In fact the District Commissioner of North Kavirondo had to complain that District Officers were in an unstable position of being regarded as recruiting agents by the public while steady refusal to act as such was seen as obstructing labour supply.⁵¹

It is thus evident that even in the pre-war years migrant labour among the Tiriki was rapidly increasing. For instance, the number of registered labourers from Nyanza increased by 57 per cent over the previous years and in addition there was a large number of unregistered labourers.⁵² When testifying before the Native Commission Ainsworth stated that some Luhya people were both increasing their production of cash crops and supplying the largest proportion of the labour leaving Nyanza province for outside employment.⁵³ Consequently, a tradition of voluntary labour migration had well developed in many parts of Nyanza (Tiriki included) before the First World War.⁵⁴ In many cases a group of age-mates travelled to Kisumu together, motivated both by curiosity and a spirit of adventure. These were mostly groups of young, unmarried men, many of whom had already come in contact with a mission, church or school. They usually migrated for short periods during the slack period of the agricultural

calendar, so as to raise money for taxes.⁵⁵

The First World War provided the impetus for a large scale mobilisation of the African labour that served both to demonstrate its potential availability and to guide the post war labour policies of the British authorities. The war thus imposed infinitely more severe burdens upon the Tiriki population. At the same time, the political and economic demands of the European settlers were at the same time greatly increased in both scope and pressure.⁵⁶ During the mobilisation for the war, the British authorities resorted to portage due to the inadequate road system and the prevalence of the tsetse fly that made use of oxen not possible. Consequently a total of 10,394 Africans from the district of North Kavirondo served as unarmed carrier corps.⁵⁷ The war thus resulted in a mobilisation of Tiriki which was far more extensive than any previous recruitments of Tiriki for public and private labour. It was also during the war that the most Controversial Native Recruitment Ordinance in September 1915 was enacted. This ordinance that was enacted due to the need for more and more men (a minimum of 3,000 men per month) gave district Commissioners powers to instruct chiefs and headmen to supply a specified number of recruits under thirty-five years of age for carrier service, under threats of severe penalties.⁵⁸ This measure was received with warm approval by the settlers. Letters to the "Leader" earlier in the year had demanded action against loafing niggers in Nairobi. The paper commented that under the ordinance the idle and irresponsible natives will at last be compelled to do their duty towards the empire.⁵⁹ The ordinance gave a clear legal authority to the district commissioners to order men to enlist as

carrier corps. The result was a large increase in the number of men conscripted.⁶⁰

The conscription of large numbers of men brought about the question of payment towards the carrier corps. At the outbreak of the war, carriers were engaged at between 10 to 15 rupees with rations, a rate considerably above that of farm labour to the alarm of up-country employers. Angered by the fact that the government was offering a higher wage to carrier corps, the settlers successfully pressured the protectorate administration into making carrier corps wages to conform to the average wage labour. Their demands were made effective by the enactment of the native registration which introduced a version of the South African pass system. This registration system provided for a Kipande (identity document) to all adults. The pass was to record personal particulars, employer, wages and discharge, among other issues. This led to the conscription of any African who did not have the proof of current employment. Thus the fear of conscription produced a supply of African labour that was ready and sufficient. This had not occurred in any earlier period.⁶¹ Indeed the resistance of European employers to conscription of their employees focused conscription on the reserves as a source to be exhausted before employed Africans would be tapped.⁶²

Notwithstanding all the difficulties, mobilization had clearly demonstrated that Africans could be put to work in numbers fairly exceeding the requirement of European settlers. The need to monitor and control the movement of all African adult males to make these

numbers available was recognised in the Native Registration Ordinance. All Europeans agreed at least implicitly, that after the war, conditions of life for Africans should be regulated so as to provide incentives as effective as fear of conscription to induce Africans to provide wage labour. After the war therefore, the settlers sought to maintain the war conditions (total pressure to achieve equivalent results) and to effectively institute the pass system.⁶³

The years 1919 and 1920 witnessed a severe labour shortage due to the end of mobilization and African realization that there existed a wide range of possible alternatives for them. The result was a curtailment of the flow of labourers to the European farms.⁶⁴ This confirmed settler attitudes and pointed out the lesson of the war. However the most important events, particularly between 1919 and 1921, were a great expansion of the world economy interrupted but not halted by a slump and increased European settlement which to some extent altered the nature of previous controversy over the size of the African reserves. Asian immigrants also increased. The overall result of these events was a demand for a large number of men for work to be obtained by renewed encouragement or by open compulsion for the state sector. Tax increases were to be a further goad to oblige men to seek work and introduction of registration⁶⁵ and expansion of the resident labour system were to ensure that men remained at work. But by this time, most Africans were aware of their rights and had learned how to choose between economic options. This coupled with the pressure of the International Labour Organisation and the British Labour Party, resulted into partially effective

labour inspectorate and better terms for the African labour. Furthermore the harshest of pre-1914 settler attitudes were already diluted by the fact that almost all the new settlers were British rather than South Africans. In addition, some older settlers had acquired sympathy for Africans through the shared experience of active service in German East Africa. As a result of these pressures, the policy of persuading African to work was abandoned in Nyanza and elsewhere in Kenya.⁶⁶ But indirect pressure remained. For instance, the need to earn tax money was one factor stimulating a continued flow of labour.⁶⁷ Consequently in the years after the First World War and before the Second World War wage labour remained a dominant feature of economic development among the Tiriki and the entire Luhyaland.

Table on average monthly percentage employment of able-bodied men of North Kavirondo District,

Year	1926	1927	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
percent	41.5	38.8	44.1	43.2	34.1	34.7	37.9 ⁶⁸

In 1937 Wagner estimates that in the entire district 30% of all adults males were working outside their location. During these years most of the Tiriki people worked for a short period only (for six years to two years). They went out with a target in mind and on achieving it, they returned home and did not seek employment again at least outside their locations. Only a minority lived and worked away from home for five or ten years.⁶⁹ During the thirties also there was a fall in prices resulting from the depression. This had the result of inducing many Tiriki men to search for work although

few were employed.⁷⁰ Indeed in the mid - 1930s, 40 percent of all African incomes were taken by taxes and fines. This was an average of about twenty shillings per household per annum. On the other hand more and more of the Tiriki sought work voluntarily to fulfil personal needs and goals. Some of these were traditional ones, such as the desire to secure cattle for marriage. Other modern ones were the wish to purchase items from among the expanding array of consumer goods imported from overseas. Some invested their wages in land and livestock while others put it into business or trade. But one particular important investment was the payment of school fees for the education of one's children.⁷¹ The importance of these goals points to another difference in the pattern of wage employment. Before the First World War the higher percentage of workers were "pagan", but afterwards Christians or those with some education constituted a disproportionate share of those employed.⁷² By and large, by 1938 there was a regular labour supply and the labour situation demonstrated the completion from the pre-colonial economic structure of the Tiriki to a more or less smoothly, functioning colonial plantation economy. From peasant proprietors, African increasingly became hired labourers dependent on regular wages on European farms.⁷³

3:4 CRAFTS AND INDUSTRY

The growing complexity of the material basis of the Tiriki during the early years of colonial rule resulted into a significant change in the methods employed in traditional technologies and introduction of new ones. Changes were clearly seen in the

construction of houses, ironwork and leatherwork.⁷⁴

In the colonial period, the conditions the traditional type of house described earlier and the technique of its construction, as well as the magico-religious observances connected with it, underwent a number of changes. The most widespread of these recent changes in the technique of hut-building consisted in the use of nails instead of string for fastening the horizontal bands and hoops to the upright, in the replacement of anti-proof timber by that of the more quickly growing eucalyptus tree, and in that of the traditional wicker work doors by wooden doors provided with hinges and sometimes padlocks. Furthermore the new type native dwelling was mudded on the outside as well as on the inside. Its walls were higher and the eaves did not come down so low, so that one could enter and leave the hut with little or no stooping. Under the influence of mission teaching a number of thatchers had by 1938 specialized in an improved technique of even thatching, for which a special kind of grass (evizu) was employed. The progressively minded man kept his livestock in a separate hut and to a growing extent the cooking was done in a separate hut.⁷⁵

Apart from these innovations which had by 1938 led to a new standard of housing for a fairly large section of the community, a very small group of economically advanced people, chiefly traders, teachers and headmen had altogether abandoned the traditional type of dwelling in favour of square house of more or less European design, built of bricks and with improved straw or corrugated - iron roofs.

But no standard types of such modern dwellings had been developed by 1938. They showed all kinds of individual designs, some of them being very close copies of European bungalows with rooms furnished in semi-European fashions, and surrounded by a lawn and a flower garden. In proportion to the entire population, their number were still negligible by 1938. These new types of houses were built by the paid labour of African masons and carpenters trained by the industrial department of the Friends African Mission, the Pentecostal Assembly Mission or the Native Industrial Training Department (N.I.T.D.) at Nairobi.⁷⁶

In ironwork, the manufacture of weapons formerly the chief pride of the smiths' craft had been almost completely abandoned by 1938 as warfare and, to a large extent also hunting had become things of the past. The principal objects made by smith were kinds of knives, razors, billhooks and hoe-blades, axes, adzes awls and occasionally cowbells. There was also still a certain demand for iron ornaments, such as plain and twisted armlets, bracelets, neckless finger-rings and coils. Elderly people especially "pagan" were profusely adorned with such trinkets, while younger people wore iron bracelets and rings, but with general adoption of European clothing, however, the traditional iron ornaments were increasingly replaced by glass beads and other cheap European jewellery.⁷⁷

In pre-colonial Tiriki smiths were wealthy people, receiving much higher prices for the products of their crafts than wood-carvers or potters. One or two hoes for instance sold for a goat and a spear for a cow or even more. The competition of imported iron

goods however, rendered the smith profession far less profitable. When European hoes could be obtained for sixty to seventy cents, the native smith could no longer charge a goat or its equivalent in money (four to five shillings) for African hoe but had to sell it for one shilling even though it would last twice as long as a hoe of European make. Moreover, owing to the decreasing demand for the products of the native iron-work, the number of smith appeared (by 1938) to be much smaller than it was in the pre-European days. Consequently smith work was in most days of colonial rule largely restricted to sharpening and repairing knives and hoes, and the special respect formerly given to the smith had given a way to an attitude that did not appreciably differ from that toward any other kind of specialists.⁷⁸ Similar if not same kind of change was seen in leatherwork, where the products made from leather were increasingly neglected in preference to European clothing and beddings. Consequently the leather work was almost abandoned by 1938.⁷⁹

Pottery was not affected to any marked degree by European influence. The traditional techniques of shaping and firing pots was by 1938 still employed without any innovations nor had the traditional designs undergone any changes, except for occasional experiments carried out at mission centres. Although petrol tins - where they could be obtained - were used for fetching water, pots and other vessels of European manufacture had not superseded native-made pottery in the same way in which hoes of European make had crowded out the African hoe.⁸⁰ Generally a similar case, as the continuity of pot manufacture was seen in basketry, string and thread making and wood working.⁸¹

New industries that were introduced by Europeans included carpentry, bricklaying, thatching (modern style) and tailoring. In fact the development of these new crafts and industries led to a massive increase in the number and variety of the manufactured objects available to the peoples of Tiriki.⁸² The technical knowledge and skills required for all these new activities had been imparted by the industrial and handicraft department of a mission or government schools and to a lesser extent by apprenticeship with the Indian fundis. While some of these crafts, like making and laying of bricks, were still practiced in 1938 almost exclusively under the direct European guidance and supervision, others had already become an integral part of the Tiriki economic life.

From the point of view of personnel, there was no relation between traditional and modern crafts. In all cases, the youngmen who were engaged in modern crafts did not come from families in which similar crafts had been traditionally practised. Furthermore there was no single case where, for example, an old-style wood-carver had tried to adapt European technique of wood-working by learning how to use European tools (plane, saw or drill).⁸³

Most of the young men who had taken or received a training in the industrial department of a mission or government school often preferred to take up jobs as craftsmen in European or Indian employment rather than set up a workshop of their own in the reserves as did the craftsmen in the traditional technology. Furthermore most of the objects made from the industries were made for sale so as to get income. For the women, the colonial education and missionary training provided them with opportunities to engage in new crafts, like sewing and knitting, apart from engaging in the traditional

crafts such as pottery. Once again, these objects were made with the aim of offering them for sale.⁸⁴

3.5. TRADE AND EXCHANGE

Some trade, exchange and markets had existed in pre-colonial Tiriki but these were on a very small scale and limited to emergency situation like famine. With the imposition of the British rule, the sale and exchange of produce in goods expanded and, of course, changed in character due to the effect of a variety of developments. These included the improved methods of agricultural production, the introduction of money and the creation of improved transportation systems and the establishment of peace among the Nyanza people. Others were the foundation of new markets and the enterprises of the Asian traders. But the most important of all was the government demand for taxes that forced the Tiriki to start selling their livestock and engaging in trade so as to get some income.

Until 1910, the nearest and permanent market for the South West Luhya was Kisumu, save for the only indigenous markets like that of Indevere in Maragoli and Serem in Tiriki. In 1910 a trading centre was established at Lunyerere in North Maragoli and in 1912 at Kakamega.⁸⁵ In addition some chiefs and headmen in Tiriki instituted market days in conjunction with the weekly barazas they held. At these markets, the Tiriki exchanged their surplus grain or livestock for traditional trade goods such as beads, brass wire, cloth as well as for more modern ones such as pipes, watches and bicycles.⁸⁶ Part of the produce brought for sale or exchange included crops introduced by the

government, such as sesame, groundnuts and maize. Although trade expanded and spread out, it was still limited in scope during this time. This could be explained by the fact that before the 1920s, with the inadequate transportation system, the cost of moving goods by human portage, donkeys or carts limited export and sale of goods to the higher-priced produce, such as simsim or animal hides, and imports to cloth and simple metal wire. Rising costs further was the absence in the Tiriki of any adequate road system. Indeed the system was only being created largely through communal work gangs in the location at the same time.⁸⁷

The condition changed in the 1930s. With road improvement and other stimulants there was expansion of trade.⁸⁸ This sector started to show signs of growth. For instance in 1933 it was reported that the oxen and grazing shortage was forcing many Luhyas to invest increasingly in motor lorries.⁸⁹ Indeed African traders began to replace Asians in the sale of foodstuffs and certain other commodities and by 1937 there were about 200 African shops in the district.⁹⁰ Again in the same year there were more than sixty-four recognized markets in the district, including about half a dozen large ones where trading was carried on an inter-tribal scale.⁹¹ These markets were run by the tribal chiefs who collected fees or dues from everyone taking his produce to the market, and were required to enforce the government regulation on trade. Furthermore this period also saw the emergence of a number of Tiriki traders and shopkeepers. Prominent in this case were those Tiriki who were Christians and educated.⁹² This was due, to a large measure, to the fact that they had the skills needed. They had acquired literacy and sometimes a rudimentary

knowledge of commercial technique.. They also had been trained in tailoring or carpentry. At the same time, though, just as they responded eagerly to the opportunities in agriculture so they became active traders, shopkeepers and craftsmen in order to meet their greatly enhanced demand and to reap the prestige that went with such undertakings. In the 1930s the pull of these opportunities was reinforced by the push of necessity and led to an increase in the number of Tiriki engaged in trade, business and crafts.⁹³

3:6 EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

Colonial education had an economic function in that the colonial division of labour was a vehicle for implanting and encouraging capitalist individualism and was an instrument of cultural imperialism. Colonial schooling was education for sub-ordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment.⁹⁴ Colonial education therefore had the double task of incorporating the colonised people into the Western capitalist system and reproducing relation of production in each colony.⁹⁵ In the capitalist colonial economic system, education was seen as being chiefly as a vehicle for the transmission of metropolitan cultural capital (ways of thinking, communication skills, tastes, dispositions etc), ideology and skills.

The main aim of colonial educational system was therefore to reproduce the western cultural and ideological outlook and skills among the social groups that had been forced to accept the exotic

cultural capital and henceforth politically and more importantly for our case economically linked to the dominant modes of production. This was done simultaneously with the notion of undermining the previous cultural values.

The colonial government was however conspicuously absent from promoting African education in the early colonial period. The government inactivity stemmed partly from a preoccupation with the building of a white colony, and partly from a genuine lack of concern about educating Africans. Indeed,

Colonial officials did have other priorities to deal with in the new protectorate. Limited funds and manpower also served to restrict the government concern to such matters as maintaining law and order, establishing a political system and promoting an infant economy.⁹⁶

The task of establishing schools was therefore monopolized by missionaries who had followed the Uganda Railway into the interior. The most suitable areas where missionaries concentrated their activities included areas where settlers had set up farms and where the colonial government had imposed law and order. As time went by, the missionaries established themselves and carved out their areas of influence and consequently certain areas came to be identified with particular missions for a very long time. Each mission therefore had the task of spreading out its influence faster and setting up schools was seen as a very important means to this end. For our case, the Friends African Mission (F.A.M.) which founded a station at Kaimosi in Tiriki in 1902 monopolised this area until the late 1920s.

The government, however, could not ignore completely matters pertaining to education. This was because by 1908 there was a growing need for the government to provide schooling for the settlers' children and more important was the settlers' request to the government to provide vocational training for Africans. The settlers aimed at obtaining an inexpensive semi-skilled labour force that would not become politicized. But education was meant to make the African a more useful and amenable subject. Following this demand, a department of education was set up in 1910 and Mr. J. Nelson Fraser, the Principal of the Training College of Bombay University was invited to the East African Protectorate to advise the government on the education of Africans. Fraser was asked not to put forward plans for the literacy education of the Africans, but to consider the possibilities of developing industries among them.⁹⁷ Following the direction, Fraser recommended that the government should establish an industrial apprenticeship scheme using indentured learners. He also put forward a recommendation that missions doing industrial training be given government subsidies and that a Director of Education for the whole protectorate should be appointed. Mr. J.R. Orr was appointed a director in April, 1911. After his appointment Orr initiated two trial programmes. The first one was to provide subsidies to industrial training missions and secondly to give out grants for the education of chiefs' and headmans' sons who were supposed to be employed as clerks and junior technicians for the expanding administrative bureaucracy. Technical training was also supposed to meet the settlers' demands (to prepare Africans to work on the European farms) and also enhance the economy and life in the reserves.

By the start of the First World War, there were nearly one hundred indentured apprentices trained in the eight missions receiving government grants countrywide. A system of payment by result was used where participating missions received a sum of money for each pass students recorded in examinations given by any of the government departments.⁹⁸ This system which had been abandoned in England by 1890 was not viable educationally and by 1918 it was replaced by an inspection system. By the early 1920s only eight mission station schools, plus two government schools, which were together enrolling one hundred pupils, shared in the technical subsidy programme. In contrast, in 1923 one year before the government assumed a more active role in African education, over nine hundred unaided mission affiliated schools enrolled over forty thousands pupils.⁹⁹ It is therefore, true that during the first two decades of colonial rule, the government role in initiating and directing educational system for its African peoples was very minimal. With the passing of the Education Ordinance of 1924, the government entered the educational scene and found a vast sprawling network of poor quality school already in existence. In Tiriki division the Friends African Mission Schools were a representative segment of that system.

Missionaries mainly viewed western education as a vehicle for spreading the gospel in particular and western civilization in general.¹⁰⁰ The school was therefore supposed to be a focal point of Christian propaganda and all the civilizing process,¹⁰¹ because at school the opposition to African cultural practices was better articulated. Given the nature of African environment, missionaries realised that

Christianization and civilization could be achieved only if native students were kept away from the influence of the tribe. For instance, the most feared secret circumcision of boys among the Tiriki and the institution of children shared beds with their grand parents were condemned by the church as the places where "pagan" beliefs were taught. Natives had therefore to be kept away from the interaction with retrogressive influence. Christian Africans had to be civilized, a process which could only be accomplished by taking them completely out of their "pagan" environment for a sufficient length of time. This led to the necessity of boarding students to facilitate missions' work.¹⁰²

Apart from the assumed primitivity of Africans, the missionaries also had a racial and a class approach the civilizing mission of Africans. To most missionaries, Africans were at the bottom of the racial and cultural pyramids. Consequently they were proletariats and the best they could do was to work for Europeans. Curtin notes that,

... the mission transferred to Africa a curriculum and method designed to meet the needs of the British class. Since the goals of both system was to teach the virtue of hardwork and the principle of evangelical Christianity.¹⁰³

With the above background in mind, it is now important to trace the contribution of missionaries to the educational transformation in Tiriki. It must be emphasised from the onset that in this area the provision of educational facilities was monopolized by the Friends up to the late 1920s.

Gambogi and Shiru came up during this time. Furthermore, the market days at Serem and Hamisi were increased to two days in a week.⁶⁷

Fearn argues that the planned markets of the post - 1945 era in Nyanza was intended for the sale of small quantities of foodstuffs and African-made goods, such as Kavirondo matting twin, pots and wood products. He asserts that most markets had the 'bartering' area as their central feature.⁶⁸ These were fenced with an entrance at which A.D.C. market masters and clerks sat and collected dues from the African people who brought goods for sale. He says that the 'bartering' which went on was not the exchange of goods, but in these areas transactions were in cash and 'bartering' meant bargaining about the price between sellers and buyers.⁶⁹ In Tiriki this feature was well pronounced in Serem and Hamisi markets.⁷⁰

It is not possible to obtain any estimates of the amount of trade which was transacted in the myriad bargains of the bartering - areas. These transaction had little relevance to the trade in the province in terms of imported goods or the sale of peasant produce. The bartering - areas had become the institutionalised patterns for the few exchanges which were important in indigenous Tiriki society; that is exchange of produce and goods to supplement subsistence needs. But according to Fearn, the bartering area had an important function with regard to the trade of the African dukas built around the bartering areas. The bartering area was the main attraction, for it had a social as well as an economic importance. Each market day men, women and children brought their goods and spent a greater part of

and tedious ones in the garden, which contrasted the novelty of the classroom could not hold the youth in place.¹¹¹ Accordingly, the youth found ways to do both the compound duties and school work. Indeed the missionaries in the field recommended that classes should be held early in the morning so that the children could still perform their household duties during the remainder of the day.¹¹² With the new-found knowledge and its importance, the young pupils also enticed younger brothers and sisters into the classroom. A psychological revolution was at work among the youth. Moreover,

already denied their traditional future as warriors by the colonialists, they began to seek alternative identities and roles in the emerging social order. The primitive outschools and the mission classrooms were the first step for many towards realizing a new social purposes.¹¹³

Going by the attendance figures for F.A.M. schools, it will be realised that a rush to the classrooms had begun. For example, in 1905 the F.A.M. had been educating an average of fourteen students per day while in 1910 an average of 194 students per day were being educated. And in 1915, 3700 students per day were being educated.¹¹⁴

These increases were not only caused by the social factors mentioned above, but also economic factors played a very crucial role. For instance, the educational value of becoming a court clerk, the chiefs' interpreter and secretary to the local tax collector and a village teacher plus money with which to buy clothes and shoes, to pay taxes and to afford his own bride wealth payment were very important. Consequently after the First World War the figures

continued to increase. In 1920 ten thousands pupils were taught per day and by 1938 the station was operating 317 school with 17,000 students per day.¹¹⁵

All the Luhya people were exposed in varying degrees to the pressure and innovations that accompanied colonialism. But each individual society did not respond in the same way. For instance, in education the Tiriki proved right the old adage that familiarity often breeds contempt. Kaimosi station had been established at the edge of their division and with the defeat of the Nandi, most Tiriki moved to inhabit the attractive virgin land around the station. But in many ways the presence of the Friends seemed to have deeply annoyed the Tiriki and up to 1927 they had a small share in the overall number of the students attending classes per day. Consequently from the earliest time, the Friends missionaries found out that their greatest Luhya response and support for Christianity and education came not from the Tiriki but from the neighbouring Maragoli. This can be explained by several factors. First, there was the hostility the missionaries expressed towards the secret Tiriki circumcision and initiation customs (other Luhya sub-tribes did not perform their circumcision ceremonies in seclusion nor were their ceremonies followed by such lengthy and secret initiation rites).¹¹⁶ In Tiriki circumcision and initiation rites were ceremonies that constituted individual membership into the all - important age grade. Thus these rites were not only of enormous importance to the organization and maintenance of both warfare patterns and peace time activities, but they were also the principal symbolic basis for a sense of sub-tribal identity and unity.¹¹⁷

Consequently the Tiriki disliked the missionaries for their attempt to block or discourage their circumcision and initiation practices. Furthermore any Tiriki attending F.A.M. school, who left the classroom to undergo the traditional operation, faced difficulties in continuing his education afterwards. This was because the parents held the fear that initiates might be forced to reveal secrets of the ceremonies and therefore thwarted attempts to have their sons return to the classroom. In addition, the young Tiriki adult felt embarrassed and humiliated to have to sit in the same classroom with uncircumcised boys. But perhaps more important here was that Christian teachers from other regions who dominated the F.A.M. teaching staff, apparently harassed those initiated Tiriki's who returned to the classroom for fear that the initiated Tiriki with their traditional sexual privileges, which circumcision bestowed on them, would molest the Christian girls.¹¹⁸

The second factor was the feeling of disgust that the Tiriki soon came to harbour towards the missionaries because of the aliens, outcasts, witches and irresponsible youth (by their standards) that the mission willingly recruited for their first African helpers and converts.¹¹⁹ Prior to the First World War the missionaries at Kaimosi recruited their largest proportion of their African house servants, students, evangelists and teachers from the Maragoli sub-tribe. The Idakho and Isukha sub-tribes supplied the second largest number of recruits to Kaimosi, while the Tiriki were a poor third. Thus there was real substance to the Tiriki contention that the majority of the Africans working in the mission were from alien tribes and that the missionaries were encouraging the strangers to push Tiriki out of their

homestead.¹²⁰ Furthermore, Kaimosi became a refugee camp for 'irresponsible' youth and Africans who had violated traditional customs. For example, Tiriki girls who had refused to get married to undesirable husbands received protection at Kaimosi and later became brides of the early non-Tiriki Christians. In addition, the missionaries took a very strong stand on certain Tiriki customs. They labelled as sinful such traditional Tiriki pastimes as dancing, smoking and beer drinking and polygamy. Since F.A.M. enjoyed an educational monopoly over the Tiriki for nearly three decades there were no other means by which the Tiriki could obtain more than a rudimentary education. This combination of the missionaries overzealous attack on the traditional customs of the Tiriki and the Tiriki persistence on clinging to the same resulted in a serious lag in education development among the Tiriki.¹²¹

To get rid of the above indifferent attitude of the Tiriki towards the missionaries and education, the Friends missionaries followed a policy of trying to induce the British appointed sub-tribal leaders to send their sons to the mission to learn how to read and write. Encouraged by the British authorities chiefs and headmen took up the practice of sending one of their sons and several others from their clans to Kaimosi to live there. For instance, Joshua Dungu was sent to the Friends' School by his elder brother, headman Mushenye. But although the system worked well and the rate of conversion to Christianity and the willingness to pursue the whiteman's education increased through the 1920s, it continued to lag behind that of Maragoli, Idakho and Isukha.¹²² But the conversion of chief Amiani to Christianity in 1927 marked the beginning of a new period of Tiriki

missionization. Amiani's action, immediately after his conversion, helped fan into flames the smouldering resentment over mission attitude towards Tiriki circumcision and a full blown pagan Christian factional split quickly came into being.¹²³ But it increased the rate of conversion and acceptance of Christianity and education. In 1931 the rate of conversion shot up even more when the same chief Amiani resigned from the Friends church and joined the Salvation Army.¹²⁴ Once he joined the Salvation Army, Amiani threw himself into its activities with his usual vigour. He soon convinced most of his headmen, tribal policemen and other tribal employees that they should join the Salvation Army. In the decade that followed, Amiani did much to aid the establishment and growth of strong Army congregation in Tiriki, Nyang'ori, Maragoli and Bunyore. He in fact built a big church at Jimamoyi that served as a school and as the centre of Salvation Army activities in Southern North Nyanza. Also in the 1930s, the Pentecostal Mission that had been established at Nyangori in 1924 started a school at the same place and in 1937 Goibei school was founded. Consequently there was a renewed rate of conversion and acceptance of education in the 1930s. Indeed it was during this time that religious and educational monopoly of the Friends Mission in Tiriki was broken.

The missionary educational curriculum was basically based on industrial training and apprenticeship. The industrial subjects included carpentry, bricklaying, tailoring and sewing plus other courses given by the various government departments that included teacher training, nursing courses and clerical work. Indeed in 1924 the Provincial

Commissioner lauded the contribution of missionary education and said that although these schools were mainly concerned with evangelisation, in many cases, they also offered opportunities for the African to learn the rudiments of reading and writing.¹²⁵ As Chilson once noted, although their primary duty was to teach Christianity, some literacy education was necessary in that connection.¹²⁶ Formal education was therefore a means for boosting church membership and commitment. Consequently by 1938 educational innovation in Tiriki was monopolized by three missionaries, the F.A.M., P.A.E.A. and Salvation Army while the government role was limited to providing small grants and limited manpower.

Apart from education, missionaries also involved themselves in other activities that worked to transform the economic life of the Tiriki. For example, when the F.A.M. was being established at Kaimosi in 1902 a young American Quaker stood above the falls of the GoliGoli river at Kaimosi and through his Swahili interpreter he carefully explained to a group of wondering Tiriki that the missionaries planned to make the swift flowing waters of the river grind grain into meal to the amazement of the natives.¹²⁷ About two years later (1904) a mill had been constructed. The water was also providing power to drive a saw through logs and rip them into boards. The same water was also harnessed to grind grain into meal with no effort on the part of their women. Missionaries also engaged in the construction of roads and houses.

From the beginning the missionaries sought every opportunity to stress their deal of self-propagation by the African church. For the new African converts in the early period of missionary work, an apprenticeship to one of the missionaries was a prerequisite. This was a conscious decision on the part of the missionaries who were aware of the importance of education and literacy as tools of evangelism. Their efforts met with success and within a few years African converts were taking their new learning experience back to the villages beyond missionary stations.¹²⁸ The early Christians were conscious of their role as innovators and pioneers. They had developed a commitment to religious, political and economic change. They often chose to interpret their experience as apprentices in ways not foreseen by the missionaries and began to use what they learned as a frame of reference in evaluating all economic, social and political relationships.¹²⁹

Missionaries were also very helpful in the distribution of seeds and agricultural implements and encouraged the planting of economic crops such as simsim, groundnuts and maize. They were particularly active in promoting these developments, which they viewed as inseparable from the growth of a strong self-supporting church. In addition, missionaries engaged themselves in the growing of cash crops like coffee and timber production where Africans were employed on better conditions. Indeed it was the mission adherents upon whom the government relied for the promotion of economic development and raising of living standards in the Tiriki. It had already become clear in many parts of East Africa, where missionary influence were growing, that there was a relationship between entrepreneurship and

detachment from the traditional society through education or conversion to Christianity.¹³⁰ Christians became committed to economic change and by 1914 they were already beginning to experiment with new crops and implements.

Perhaps the most important activity that the Friends engaged in, and which totally transformed the economic life of the Tiriki, was the establishment of the Christian villages in 1920. These villages marked the success of the Friends in creating an institution which moulded the lives of its members into a single, harmonious, educational experience reflecting a common set of belief and values. To many European observers,

the Christian villages seemed as idyllic pastoral scene, the happy and united community working in concert to improve the common lot, insulated from the impingement of the outside world. Within the villages the educational aims and experiences of family work, school and church were combined to provide a single set of reference by which all aspects of life could be evaluated. Moreover education was a deliberate continuing experience which embraced children and adults. While this education inculcated new belief and rules of conduct, it did not attempt to question the fundamentals of social and economic organization.¹³¹

It was thus clear that education and church membership offered not only a new community experience but also new opportunities and advantage in dealing with the colonial situation. In fact some Friends in the villages started to emerge as individuals and signs of growing economic inequalities began to appear. These were the anxious

advocate of modernity, progress and change.¹³²

The Christian villages attempted to replace the clan with the church as the basis of unity and co-operation. The form of co-operation in the traditional and Christian society were similar but the social relationship which provided the rationale were different, for the church elders assumed the responsibility of kinship heads in the training of children and the maintenance of social and economic life. Here the members were taught to live in the spirit of Ujamaa (The economic life and organization was organised on the spirit of self-help and communal effort).¹³³ This communal co-operation was perhaps better pronounced in the agricultural labour. Here individuals held their own plots and were entitled to the produce from them, but the women in the church formed small groups (of about ten) Buhasio and worked in turns on members' plots. Traditionally they had done this under the clan arrangement but they were now initiated by the church spirit of co-operation. Indeed, some christian believed that co-operation in a Christian spirit brought bigger harvest.¹³⁴

Although in the 1920s Christian communities invested in maize-grinding mills, established shops and butcheries, developed carpentry and masonry skills, these activities were largely organized to meet subsistence needs and to try and raise the standards of living in the communities as a whole rather than to encourage the entry of an individual into a cash economy. Similarly, the missions encouraged the development of agriculture in the villages not with the purpose

of expanding cash income, but in response to the nutritional needs of the families in the villages.

In the 1930s things changed and Christians in the villages started to become individualistic. For example, the expansion of local Native Council activities brought work for the Friends and by the late 1920s there were twenty seven African owned buses and lorries operating between Kisumu and Mumia's. Indeed it was reported that in 1933, the oxen and grazing shortage was forcing most Luhya men to invest in motor lorries.¹³⁵ In 1935, the christian villages had posho mills and were obtaining contracts to supply flour to the minefields. To the Luhya in general and the Tiriki in particular, church membership and access to missionary advice in the villages brought economic dividends.¹³⁶

3:7 MEDICAL SERVICES

Apart from educational development, missionaries, particularly the F.A.M., also monopolized the field of medical services. Shortly after the missionary station was founded in 1902 the first medical doctor arrived in 1902 to establish medical work. However he spent a lot of time supervising construction than treating the sick. From 1903 there was almost always one and sometimes two doctors, carrying out the increasingly heavy medical responsibilities. In the early years, the doctor was patient and tactful and gradually the Tiriki began to come to the mud hut which served as a temporary dispensary. They (Tiriki) often came only as a last resort when the traditional medicineman/woman curses and medicine had failed.¹³⁷

By 1911 so many Tiriki were being treated that a special appeal was made to Friends in America for funds to build a hospital in 1913. The First World War interrupted the construction and this delayed the completion until 1918. In the same year the mission received a gift of a motorcycle that eased the trouble of moving from one station dispensary to another. By the 1930s, the Tiriki had already accepted the Whiteman's medicine and treatment. The missionaries saw this success as being closely linked up with the aim of serving souls. On its parts, the government had only one hospital in the whole district at Kakamega.

The health services aided survival of the African population by preventive measures against diseases endemic to the area such as small-pox, sleeping sickness and malaria.

3.8. POPULATION

Perhaps the most notable result of the introduction of new crops (with higher yields and nutrients) new foods, better medical care and generally better standards of living was higher population growth. Infact a major consequence of the advent of the British rule was the growth of the African population. Each decade of colonial rule witnessed an increase in total African population of Nyanza and there is some justification to call this population growth an introduced change for the ending of the tribal warfare brought about by the establishment of law and order under the British administration and the conquest of diseases endemic to this tropical region had an effect upon the death rate. With the advent of British rule there was

an increased possibility that men and women could be able to live and reach the upper age limits at which they can and do have children. This had a cumulative effect upon the birth rate and the development of medical services had aided survival at birth and death rate.¹³⁸

Unfortunately the estimate of African population of the whole district prior to the 1948 population census always varied on the basis of accounting and had many defects in the methods of calculation. The only basis of these estimate had been the tax-registers which were maintained by the African hut counters. However, records show that the district had the following population. From the years 1923 - 1934.

Year	1923	1924	1925	1926
Pop	296953	298801	301743	312944
	1927	1928	1929	1930
	314123	324954	329683	341232
	1931	1933	1934	
	346014	336001	347580	¹³⁹

In 1923 the population of Tiriki was 17,342.¹⁴⁰

3:9 OTHER FEATURES

Before concluding this chapter it is important to examine some of other factors that brought changes in the Tiriki economic life during colonial rule. Included here are the effects of the First World War, and measurement of wealth.

The First World War interrupted African tribal life because of its large scale recruitment of young men for the military service as

carrier corps. The geographical isolation of the sub-tribe structure was disrupted as its young men were sent hundred of miles away. This was a shock of dramatic proportion which was followed by a crushing blow to the economic basis of sub-tribal life. Instead of subsistence farming, the Tiriki were introduced to western civilization, that is individualism, working for wages and rewards in form of wonderful manufactured devices. Soon the demand for the African labour in distant white farms became stronger, a labour to be paid with cash. With the cash Africans paid taxes, bought bicycles and ultimately cars, and drifted to urban areas to find new jobs. In short, the effects of the First World War and thereafter brought about the disintegration of the traditional sub-tribal society.¹⁴¹

Indicators of wealth also underwent a remarkable transformation during the first four decades of colonialism. In the traditional setting, the indicators of wealth were wives, livestock and land. With the establishment of colonial rule and its structures, the indicators of wealth changed. First in this line of change was the Christian view towards polygamy. Missionaries emphasized that having one wife was a pre-requisite for church membership and that polygamy was anti-Christianity. Second, the limitation of grazing land in the reserves affected the number of livestock to be kept by an individual. And thirdly, the high cost of living coupled with shrinkage of family land holdings undermined the need for a large group of dependents. Consequently the indicators of wealth came to be based on the position that one held in the colonial administration, acquisition of western education, land and ownership of business. All in all, nearly all sectors of the Tiriki economy underwent a marked transformation during the first four decades of colonial administration.¹⁴²

END NOTES

1. See, for example, Robin Hallet, op.cit., p. 588, for more information on this argument.
2. M.H.Y. Kaniki, "The Colonial Economy: The Former British Zones", In Adu A. Boahen (ed.) General History of Africa: African Under Colonial Domination 1800 - 1935 (California: James Curry, 1990) p. 173.
3. C.C. Wrigley, "Kenya: The Patterns of Economic Life 1902-45". In V. Harlow and E.M. Chilver (eds.) History of East Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1965) p. 212.
4. C. Eliot, The East African Protectorate (London: Oxford University Press, 1905) p. 302.
5. C.C. Wrigley, op.cit., p. 213.
6. S.H. Ominde, "Land and Population in the Western Districts", op.cit., p. 166.
7. A.S.A. Shitsmah, "A Determination of the Land Rights of Natives in Kenya With References to Ikolomani Division" (L.L.B. Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1979) p. 25.
8. See Ibid., p. 25 for more information on this issue.
9. Ibid., p. 26.
10. This is M.R. Dilley, Conclusion. See Dilley, M.R. British Policy in Kenya Colony (London: Cass 1966) p. 252.
11. S.H. Ominde, op.cit., pp. 166 - 167.
12. Ibid., p. 167.
13. "Kenya Land Commission Report", 1933, paragraph 1106.

14. Ibid., paragraph 1107.
15. G. Wagner, Family op.cit., p. 48, Bantu op.cit., p. 96.
16. R.D. Wolff, Britain and Kenya 1870 - 1930: The Economic of Colonialism (Nairobi: Trans-African Publishers, 1974) p. 56.
17. Goals of Imperialism included, making the protectorate pay its way (finding exportable agricultural products and getting the best possible return on the capital invested to produce the products). Kenya was also expected to produce those commodities that could lessen or remove what British businessmen and authorities deemed a dangerous dependence on foreign sources and supply. These goals could only be met by a vigorous development of the European agricultural sector. See, for example, Richard Wolff op.cit., pp. 50-57.
18. Africans were for a long time forbidden from growing high priced cash crops like coffee and tea on their plots. This was to stop Africans from earning a share of the market for cash crops or earning enough money to pay taxes without having to work for Europeans. See Gilpin op.cit., pp. 60-93 and Basil Davidson. op.cit., p. 17.
19. Gilpin, op.cit., p. 58.
20. Ibid., p. 61.
21. K.N.A., PC/NZA/3/3/20, DC, Mumias to PC Nyanza Province, January 25 1915; Assistant PC Nyanza to Chief Secretary, January 29, 1915.
22. Gilpin, op.cit., p. 62.

23. Before the 1920, the government had trained a number of native agricultural instructors but they apparently served less as extension workers than watchdogs of the government tree planting programmes. The government had thus limited itself to the establishment of demonstration plots, the distribution of new seeds and the exhibition at barazas. The information is drawn from various reports for Nyanza province between 1922 and 1929.
24. Gunter Wagner, Bantu, op.cit., p. 19.
25. Bode, op.cit., p. 103.
26. Fearn, op.cit., pp. 115-6.
27. See Bode, op.cit., p. 110.
28. Wagner, Bantu, op.cit., p. 30.
29. In 1935, the agricultural officer for Nyanza urged the Bukura Institute to concentrate on training African farmers to increase their cash income rather than training them to improve crop husbandry. But this did not happen until 1949. K.N.A., Agric 1/115, Agricultural Officer to Director of Department of Plant Industry, November 18th 1935.
30. K.N.A., PC/NZA2/480, Minutes of Nyanza DC's meeting 12-13 January 1933, also see Fearn, op.cit., p. 156.
31. The government was especially alarmed by the deterioration of the land in Tiriki and devoted much of its agricultural staff to combating it. See, K.N.A. DC/NNI/17-20. North Nyanza Annual Report for 1935-1938.

32. Oral interview, Arthur Litu, Mbale, 19th January 1993 and Mark Kidula, Goibei, 19th February 1993. Also See Bode, op.cit., p. 112.
33. Ironically the ban on coffee growing probably intensified African oppositions. One Nyanza official aware of the connection suggested perhaps sarcastically, that the Luhya be allowed to grow orange and lime trees. See K.N.A., DC/NNI/18, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1936.
34. K.N.A., PC/NZA/3/45/2, PC/NZA/2/68, North Nyanza Intelligence Report from June to July, 1930.
35. Bode, op.cit., p. 101.
36. Clayton and Savage, op.cit., p. 20.
37. Ibid., p. 20.
38. Ibid., p. 21.
39. Ibid., p. 21.
40. Ibid., p. 21.
41. Ibid., p. 21.
42. Basil Davidson, op.cit., p. 16.
43. Wolff, op.cit., p. 93 quoting the "East African Standard" of 25/3/1911.
44. Clayton and Savage, op.cit., p. 28.

45. Minutes of Secretary Lobb 17 July, Sander to Elgin 11 June, 1907 quoted in G. Bennett, Kenya A Political History, The Colonial Period (London: Oxford University Press, 1963) p. 25.
46. Wolff, op.cit., p. 107.
47. K.N.A., DC/CN1/5, Kisumu Annual Report for 1913/14.
48. The DC of Kisumu District noted in his report of 1919/20, "The constant insistence upon the duty of a fair proportion of the able-bodied young men going out to work has had its effects upon chiefs and councils". See K.N.A., DC/CN1/5/2, Kisumu Annual Report for 1919/20. Earlier the DC of Mumias District had noted 'the tendency' of official to confuse whitemen in government service and white man, trading on their own accounts. See K.N.A., DC-PC5/7/09, PC/NZA3/31/1/1.
49. Gilpin, op.cit., p. 59.
50. K.N.A., PC/NZA2/3, John Ainsworth on East African Protectorate Native Policy, June 1913.
51. K.N.A., DC/NN1/1, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1911-1912.
52. K.N.A., DC/NZA2/3, Nyanza Province Annual Report for 1913-14.
53. Ainsworth in Native Labour Committee, 1912-13 (Evidence).
54. This was particularly due to overpopulation in the native reserves. See Wolff, op.cit., p. 98.

55. K.N.A., DC/CN/45/1 Kisumu District Quarterly Report for March 1910.
56. Wolff, op.cit., p. 93.
57. K.N.A., DC/NN1/3, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1913-14.
58. The Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance, Ord. 29 of 1915, "East African Protectorate Gazette", 8th September, 1915.
59. Clayton and Savage quoting "The Leader" (Newspaper) of August, 1915, op.cit., p. 83.
60. Clayton and Savage, op.cit., p. 83.
61. Ibid., p. 84.
62. Wolff, op.cit., p. 110.
63. Ibid., p. 110.
64. Ibid., p. 112.
65. The registration of Native Ordinance as passed by 1915 was ammended by a bill which became a law in 1920 providing for a number metal case (the number being the same as one's certificate) to be given to each male African so that his certificate be protected. (Kenya Gazette 18th August, 1920).
66. Nyanza officials who had never cared for the policy greeted the decision with particular joy. The Annual Report of 1921 called it "Emanicipation Act". See K.N.A., PC/NZA/1/8 Nyanza Province annual Report for 1921.

67. Population growth led to shrinkage of farming plots meaning that agricultural income was supposed to be subsidized by wage labour. See oral interview, Hezron Vuyoywa, Tambua 15th January, 1993 and Joel Ludenyo, Kamuluguywa, 7th January, 1993.
68. K.N.A., Nyanza Province Annual Report. Unfortunately figures are not available for the years before and after the date in the table. Able-bodied men were defined as those between the ages of 16 and 40.
69. Bode, op.cit., p. 106.
70. Commodity prices reduced African agricultural incomes and forced more men to labour outside the reserves. Even progressive farmers like William Shibadu was unable to make farming pay in the depression years. See oral interview with William Shibadu, Senende, 21st January, 1993, and Meshack Isiaho, Gavudunyi, 13th January, 1993.
71. Oral interview, Wilson Inyumiri, Senende, 5th February 1993 and Johanna Inyanje, Jeptulu, 30th January, 1993.
72. Bode, op.cit., p. 107; Wagner, op.cit., pp. 179 - 81.
73. See Wolff, op.cit., p. 93 for this argument.
74. Gunter Wagner, Bantu op.cit., p. 7, also oral interview, Peter Amwoga, Kamuluguywa, 11th January 1993; Jacob Aluda, Jilwani, 14th February, 1993 and Salome Asiavukhaya and Simeon Asiavukhaya, Buronya, 3rd January, 1993.

75. Oral interview, Beru Magonya and Catherine Magonya, Senende, 16th January, 1993: Benson Shamola, Buronya, 6th January, 1993. See Also Gunter Wagner, Bantu op.cit., p. 7.
76. Gunter Wagner, Bantu, op.cit., p. 7. Also oral interview Dorika Iposhe, Jeptulu, 1st January, 1993 and Charles Muga, Kamuluguywa, 12th January, 1993.
77. Gunter Wagner, Bantu, op.cit., p. 10.
78. Ibid., p. 14. Also oral interview, Elijah Shivelenje, Kamuluguywa, 11th February, 1993 and John Saina, Hamisi, 13th January, 1993.
79. Oral Interview, Hezron Vuyoywa, Tambua, 15th February, 1993: Reuben Anyolo, Jilwani, 15th February, 1993 and Joel Dingiri, Buronya, 6th January, 1993.
80. Gunter Wagner, Bantu, op.cit., p. 14. Also oral interview, Loisi Ifedha, Shamalago, 10th January, 1993, and Norah Kaane, Gahumbwa, 24th January, 1993.
81. Oral interview, Sarah Mnadi, Hamisi, 22nd January, 1993: Grace Misigo, Senende, 21st January, 1993 and Marie Mundeida, Kapnjeri, 7th January, 1993.
82. For more information on this discussion see Robin Hallet, op.cit., p. 707.
83. Wagner, Bantu, Volume Two, op.cit., p. 17.
84. Oral interview, Grace Misigo, Senende, 2nd January, 1993 and Marita Asunya, Senende, 2nd February, 1993.
85. Bode, op.cit., p. 100. Also oral interview, Arthur Litu, Mbale, 19th January, 1993.

86. Oral interview, Thomas Shiraho, Nairobi, 15th December, 1992.
87. Bode, op.cit., p. 105.
88. Stimulants included the payment of taxes and lack of work on European farms due to the 1930s depression.
89. K.N.A., PC/NZA/3/1/8, DC Kisumu to PC, 1931.
90. K.N.A., DC/NNI/14 North Nyanza Annual Report for 1933~~3~~; Wagner, Bantu, op.cit., Volume Two p. 173.
91. Also in the 1930s African traders began to replace Asians in the sale of foodstuffs and other commodities. By 1937, there were about 200 African shops in the District. See K.N.A., DC/NN/1/14 North Nyanza Annual Report for 1933.
92. Wagner, Bantu, Volume op.cit., p. 178-81.
93. See Bode, op.cit., for a discussion of this argument.
94. Rodney, op.cit., p. 264.
95. Tiyeembe Zeleza, op.cit., p. 60.
96. Kay, op.cit., p. 75.
97. Kenneth King, "African and the Southern States of the U.S.A. Notes in J.H. Olden and American Negro Education for Africa" Journal of African History, Volume 4, 1969, p. 104.
98. K.N.A., ED/3/5/7. Department of Education Annual Report for 1930.

99. Kay, op.cit., p. 77.
100. Zeleza, op.cit., p. 61.
101. Daniai N. Sifuna "Some factors underlying Christian Missionary Educational Activities in Kenya", op.cit., p. 2.
102. Ibid., p. 2.
103. Philip Curtin, The Image of Africa, (Madison: Wisconsin, 1964) p. 246.
104. Gilpin, op.cit., p. 13.
105. R.W. Hotchkiss, Then and Now in Kenya Colony, (New York., Fleming H. Revell 1937) p. 95.
106. R.W. Hotchkiss, Stretches From the Dark Continent, (Cleveland: Friends Bible Institute, 1901) pp. 37 and 164-5.
107. Kay, op.cit., p. 91.
108. D.N. Sifuna, "The Maragoli and the Tiriki", op.cit., p. 6.
109. Gunter Wagner, "The political organization of the Bantu Kavirondo" In M. Fortes and E.E. Pritchard (eds.) African Political Systems (London: Oxford University Press, 1940) p. 234.
110. Wagner, Bantu, Volume 1 op.cit., pp. 225-7.
111. Kay, op.cit., p. 116.

112. E.A.Y.M. (East African Yearly Meeting) R. Staller, Personnel Report, 1918 and Kay's interview with Shem Alushiola, Mbale, 2nd July, 1971.
113. Kay, op.cit., p. 166.
114. E.A.Y.M., Annual Report, 1918.
115. These figures represent the whole District of North Nyanza.
116. Oral Interview, Mark Kidula, Goibei, 19th February, 1993.
117. Sangree, op.cit., p. 125.
118. Oral Interview, Johnstone Kaane, Gahumbwa, 24th January, 1993.
119. Oral Interview, Arthur Litu, Mbale, 19th January 1993 and Abraham Misigo, Senende 4th January, 1993.
120. Sangree, op.cit., p. 125.
121. See Kay, op.cit., p. 127 for more information on this argument.
122. See Sangree, op.cit., p. 125.
123. Ibid., p. 125.
124. Amiani defected from F.A.M. due to a quarrel that arose between him and Fred Hoyt who was in charge of the industrial and building programmes at Kaimosi. The dispute was over the construction of a church at Munzatsi. See Sangree, op.cit., p. 135.
125. K.N.A., PC/NZA/1/19 Nyanza Province Annual Report, for 1924.

126. K.N.A., PC/NZA/3/10/5/1 Nyanza Province General Matters Report for 1925-1926.
127. K.L. Painter; op.cit., p. 19.
128. Gilpin, op.cit., p. 43.
129. Ibid., p. 43.
130. Ibid., p. 72.
131. Ibid., p. 93.
132. C.E. Black, The Dynamics of Modernization, (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 67 - 68.
133. Gilpin, op.cit., p. 154.
134. Oral Interview, Jonnesi Lusangalu, Senende, 25th January 1993; and Hezekia Asunya and Marita Asunya, Senende, 2nd February, 1993.
135. K.N.A., PC/NZA/3/1/8 DC Kisumu to PC, December 31st 1927.
136. Oral Interview, Abraham Misigo, Senende, 4th January 1993; Johanne Inyanje, Jeptulu, 30th January, 1993 and Mark Kidula, Goibei, 19th February, 1993.
137. Rowe, op.cit., p: 47.
138. Fearn, op.cit., p. 41.
139. K.N.A., DC/NNI/4-15, North Nyanza Annual Reports for 1923 to 1934.
140. K.N.A., DC/NNI.4, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1923.

141. First World War uprooted youngmen from their villages and when they came back, they had realized the importance of change. See oral interview, Effrahim Shibira, Hamisi, 20th January, 1993.

142. Oral Interview, Pius Malongo, Buronya, 4th January, 1993 and Joel Ludenyo, Kamuluguywa, 7th January, 1993.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SECOND WORLD WAR TO THE INDEPENDENCE

4:0 INTRODUCTION

The Second World War marked a major break in the economic organization and development of the Tiriki, and indeed of the entire country. It was after the war that Africans intensified their demand for more freedom and political independence. To them independence was important for it had a direct link to African economic advancement and self-determination. On the administrative scene, the government extended, and in some cases intensified, programmes that had been started and implemented before the war. Production (particularly of maize) for sale increased and at the same time traditional food crops - like sorghum, eleusine and others - were grown for sale. This was in line with the government's need for more food during the war. In fact the greatest contribution of Kenya towards the war was found in the intensification of food production. But a notable event in the mid-1950s was the granting of permission to Africans to grow coffee. In the early 1960s production of tea was also permitted but on a restricted basis.

4.1 LAND TENURE

In land tenure, there was a greater need for individual land ownership and issuing of land title deeds. Following the recommendation of the Kenya Land Commission, which under the chairmanship of Sir Morris Carter carried out a full investigation of the land problems of Kenya during 1932 and 1933, the Kenya Native Area Order Council of 1939 was made. This defined the boundaries of what were

called the native lands as those set out in the schedule to the Native Land Trust Ordinance (Cap 100 of the Revised Laws of Kenya, 1948) and vested them in a body known as the Native Land Trust Board (later Land Trust Board). The order in council provided that native lands should be administered in accordance with the provisions of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance and both the order in council and ordinance conferred certain powers and duties upon the Native Lands Trust Board which was responsible to the Governor for all matters relating to the native lands. In addition to the native lands proper, various areas of crown land were reserved for the use of African tribes or groups. These were the native reserves, the temporary reserves, the native settlement areas, the native leasehold areas and the communal reserves.¹

Section 68 of the Native Land Trust Ordinance provided that,

.. every African tribe, group, family and individuals shall have the rights which they enjoy or may enjoy by virtue of existing law and custom or any subsequent modification thereof...

This meant that although clan and group ownership was established in a loose sort of way, the right of an individual were undefined, and by no means secure. Indeed and as argued before, when the Kenya (native areas) Order in Council of 1939 and the Land Trust Ordinance of 1938 were enacted to implement the recommendation of the Kenya Land Commission, the basic problem of individual titles was not the chief objective and no provision was made to modify the traditional land tenure. In fact the idea of protection of indigenuous people in the non-scheduled areas was still too strongly entrenched.²

As late as 1948, a meeting of Provincial Commissioners could do no more than agree on the desirability of granting individual titles to Africans in native land. Consequently in September 1954 the council of ministers met to discuss various issues touching on land tenure system. These included their approval, in principle, the registration of individual title in the native areas, formation of a working party to study the land problems in the reserves and preparation of the necessary legislation touching on land.³ Further, the East African Royal Commission of 1955-1956 underlined the need to develop the individual form of tenure by stating that,

we conclude that a policy concerning tenure and disposition of land should aim at individualization of land ownership and at a degree of mobility in the transfer and deposition of land which without ignoring existing property rights will enable access for its economic use.⁴

The government accepted the Royal Commission recommendation by putting in place the Chief Native Commission of 20th June 1956. The commission then stated that,

It is the policy of the government to encourage the emergence of individual land tenure amongst Africans where condition are ripe for it and in due course to institute a system of registration of negotiable titles.⁵

This view was adopted from the working party recommendation mentioned earlier. But the unwillingness of the government to enforce the pace of individual form of tenure was a major factor in the slow development in Tiriki where the conditions were ripe for it. This was because

in this area, there was mounting pressure of population and the consequent competition for land had intensified partly due to the migration of the Maragoli to the Nyang'ori location of Tiriki division. The Maragoli started drifting into Tiriki in large numbers after 1935. This was necessitated by the fact that the severe shortage of land in Maragoli was to be relieved by opening for migration, the neighbouring location of Nyang'ori. By 1936 about 4,000 people had taken up the opportunity to immigrate from the congested Maragoli locations.⁶ This in return meant that land in Tiriki had gained an important economic value. Indeed, the permission granted to the Tiriki to grow coffee in the mid-1950s meant that there was a growing need for individual land tenure system to protect the perennial crops. Furthermore there was evidence in Tiriki to the fact that establishment of new and more valuable crops and the adoption of better farming methods were being held up owing to the insecurity of the communal land tenure.⁷

With these issues in mind many of the Tiriki progressive farmers who included Andrea Jumba, William Shibudu and Meshack Isiaho called on the authorities to speed up the registration of land and the issuing of title deeds to individual farmers. In fact Jumba was the first African in Tiriki location to have his land surveyed and planned by the governments' agricultural department in the early 1950s, despite the anger and threat of his neighbours.⁸ Title deeds were important for they gave the individual farmer security against other members of the community and also protected the farmer against litigation in respect of any demand on the land prior to granting of the title.

Indeed the government, through the agricultural officer, gave special support to those farmers whose lands had been planned and they issued them with title deeds. Support here included credit facilities, grants in terms of fertilizers and close supervision by the agricultural officers. Further, the government protected these farmers against the interference from those individuals who were against the individual land tenure system.⁹

But land registration and issuing of land title deeds led to land fragmentation, land sub-division and a landless class of people. As long as there were undistributed clan land, the sub-division of holdings was kept within reasonable limit, as some sons did not claim their right to a share in the family land but either cleared a plot of virgin land or lived as a mumenya (squatter) on the land of their uncles or in-laws. In 1950s to 1960s however, family land was usually divided between all the heirs and many people tried to redeem fields which their fathers or grandfathers had given to a mumenya or which they had sold the personal rights of the user to a muguli (purchaser).¹⁰ This led to land litigation. The tribal court however, in decision on land disputes, tended to recognise the principle of long occupation with that of first cultivation and indefinite inheritance of claims resulting therefrom. Accordingly, in disputes between heirs claiming land cultivated by the forefathers and avamenya occupying such lands, a compromise was generally reached by dividing the contested plot of land between the litigants.¹¹ The progressive subdivision of holdings again led to further fragmentation as many could only satisfy their land needs by occupying a patch here and there. Many

Tiriki held three to four plots often separated by a distance of several miles. This extreme subdivision and fragmentation not only led to a hopeless confusion of claims and titles, but was incompatible with the improvement of African agriculture especially with the introduction of mixed farming which required consolidated holdings. Thus the introduction of a plough failed in many areas of Tiriki chiefly because individual holding were too small and widely scattered.¹² By and large therefore, the colonial government introduced far-reaching transformations to the system of land tenure that is there to stay for good.

4.2 AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Notwithstanding the infamous conscription of the African into the K.A.R. and to work on the settler farms, it does not mean that the African peasants constituted an indifferent lot. On the contrary, during this period the accumulated interests and opportunities for the various sectors of the peasantry diverged and developed even more. Although the colonial state continued to impose numerous restriction on the peasant production as a whole, there was still a general extension of community production in the reserves during most of the war period. For example in North Nyanza, marketed agricultural output rose by over 20 per cent. Indeed there is evidence to show that during the war more medium and intensive methods of cultivation, like mixed farming, were adopted by the peasant which led to increased productivity.¹³

For the people of Tiriki, the post-war years brought what Lonsdale termed as the second colonial occupation with an attempt on a massive scale to revive the subsistence economy, and halt the deterioration of the soil. The government policy of encouraging maximum food production during the war years had in one way or another hastened this deterioration. This was partly due to the fact that the continuous use of land without the application of fertilizer led to soil infertility and soil erosion. After the war, agricultural extension staff took drastic steps (like the digging of trenches, planting of grass, construction of stone trenches and the application of artificial fertilizers and manure) to reverse this situation, warning that African farmers must not be allowed to imagine that the government is no longer concerned on how the land is treated.¹⁴ However, most of the Tiriki were no longer concerned with the problem of soil conservation, but their main worry was how to receive assistance from the government and the permission to grow high priced cash crops, like coffee and tea. But for political reasons, the government opposed such ideas and instead continued with soil conservation programmes. This does not mean that soil erosion was not a serious problem in the division or that the government conservation programmes were not of ultimate benefit to the Tiriki. The Tiriki had opposed or were wary of the initial scheme undertaken in the late 1930s and during the war due to several factors. Among them was their misgivings of the methods used to implement the whole scheme and the fear that the digging of trenches, planting of grass and construction of stone terraces was a prelude to the alienation of their land to Europeans. Changes in the methods and the accumulating benefits of the progress

led the Tiriki to support them.¹⁵ For instance, the traditional clan institution of liguru (traditional village or neighbourhood leadership) was revived as a system of mass education and of organizing communal labour for soil conservation. Furthermore, in contrast to the strong protests of the North Kavirondo Central Association against soil conservation measures in the 1930s, the Tiriki with people like Andrea Jumba dismissed ideas that Europeans were plotting the alienation of African land and threatened to take action against those opposing soil conservation measures.¹⁶

At the same time during the years before 1954, the government did not wholly neglect the development of the Tiriki agriculture. It sought to encourage the improvement of agricultural techniques and the diversification of production. The ideal in the minds of agricultural officers at the time was to be mixed farming which, by combining animal husbandry with agricultural production and following this advanced methods of agriculture, would protect the soil while providing the farmer with an improved standard of living.¹⁷ Bode maintains that budgetary restrictions and the overwhelming concern for the conservation programmes meant that this ideal was not systematically developed. The number of agricultural officers and African agricultural assistants had increased significantly, but they relied on exhortations at Barazas or working with selected farmers (the progressive farmers) who were to act as models of change for the mass of the peasantry. Under various schemes, termed as group farming and better farming, these farmers received modest loans, some agricultural equipment and technical support.¹⁸ According to Bode however, the results of these schemes were negligible. Agricultural Officers noted little improvements in methods, nor could it be

otherwise given the limited scope of the programme. For instance, there were only 240 better farmers (progressive farmers) in the entire district in 1953, while in 1954 the number had dropped to 200 as a result of some farmers neglecting the improved methods of agriculture and reverting to the traditional farming systems.¹⁹

In the mid-1950s, the government had begun to change its agricultural production. The administration was particularly concerned about the political effects of the growing unemployment and declining agricultural production in highly populated areas like Nyangori area, and the apathy and suspicion engendered by years of what one administrative officer termed as "bash 'em down" school of agricultural betterment.²⁰ Consequently, renewed and systematic efforts to develop the African agriculture were initiated. These renewed efforts were given a major boost by the £17 million Swynnerton Plan of 1954.²¹ The Swynnerton Plan was the most important of the government's planning effort that was directed towards transforming the economy of the land in African areas. It embodied and extended the role of the government in planning. It sought - by consolidating and enclosing land holdings and establishing individual titles to land, by providing capital and supervisory services, by encouraging the extended production of cash crops and improved livestock - to enable farmers to derive an appreciable money income beyond the needs of subsistence. The plan both encouraged and depended upon the co-operative effort of farmers in adopting new patterns of land tenure, in the planning of their farms and in undertaking intensive methods of farming. It set targets for farm incomes and, in pursuit of these targets, it sought to

co-ordinate assistance to each stage of farm layout, the provision of water and credit for production facilities, for marketing output and to safeguard the long-term needs of soil conservation. The programme concentrated on raising the productivity of existing farms in those areas (like Tiriki) where the pressure of people on the land limited potentialities for a high level of agriculture. But some farmers were also to be resettled in the underdeveloped parts of the country.²²

This boost by the Swynnerton plan prompted the agricultural officers to adopt a new approach that was aimed at developing the production of export crops by the African farmers. Indeed the plan aimed principally at the development of high priced cash crops among African small holders. It noted that,

... in the long term the greatest gain from the participation of the African community in running its own agricultural industries will be politically contented and create a stable community.²³

Gilpin notes that in the line with the new policy agricultural officers shifted their attention from the soil conservation works to providing advice and credit to the minority of progressive farmers who had adjusted to the concept of individual land tenure and modern cash crops' production techniques.²⁴ For the Tiriki, the new policy led to the introduction of those high priced crops, like coffee and tea, which they had demanded for a long time.²⁵ Africans were given permission to grow coffee in 1955 and tea in early 1960s. But though of good intention the shift did not bring to an end the controversy between the agricultural officers and the Tiriki farmers. Initially,

coffee planting was restricted to farmers with plots of seven acres or more under the belief that smaller plots were agriculturally uneconomical. But strong opposition from the Tiriki not only resulted into the reduction of the minimum plot size to three acres in 1958, but also to the abandonment of some of the most strict regulations regarding planting, weeding, pruning and harvesting of the coffee.²⁶ However, the introduction of coffee and tea did not solve the problem created by population growth and fragmentation of land. As a result, only some 7000 acres were under coffee in the whole of North Nyanza plus four pulping stations in the district. One of the station was at Lwandoni in Tiriki division. Ominde estimates that out of a total population of about 200,000 farmers in 1962, only some 2300 in the Southern locations of North Nyanza districts were growing coffee.²⁷ According to Bode, the far more beneficial agricultural impact on most of the Tiriki peasants was the introduction of a new hybrid of maize at the end of the colonial period. This development offered considerably higher yields and helped to offset the shrinking sizes of the average holdings and provided the assurance of subsistence if not more.²⁸ In fact maize was the main export from Nyanza province during most of these period. By and large therefore, colonial rule brought about tremendous transformation of the agricultural organization of the Tiriki. The Tiriki were transformed from being self-reliant in food to dependence on the outside markets. What never changed was the agricultural seasons, and the European introduced crops like maize and beans fitted well in this arrangement.

4:3 LABOUR AND WAGE EMPLOYMENT

As in the First World War, Africans had to contribute in terms of labour force to the Second World War. Large numbers were asked or compelled to serve in British forces.²⁹ Outside the armed forces and as in the First World War, the Second World War also saw Africans being conscripted into farming and other forms of labour on a big scale and with much destructive results.³⁰ According to Basil Davidson, people were forced or organized into massive effort to increase production for export. The negative effects of the long and forced war efforts (as the colonial governments called it) were severe particularly in its effects on the rural folks. He argues that,

'Coming on top of previous years of forced labour, the strain of these years deepened rural poverty, further interfered with farming and family life and drove even bigger numbers of rural people to seek relief in towns. From about 1940, the number of town dwellers began to grow from few to many. Like the First World War, the second forced Africans in many colonies into a higher labour effort.³¹

At the outbreak of the war, the colonial state acquired broad powers of coercion over labour, among other issues. Accordingly, new regulations were passed such as the Defence of the Native Personnel regulation which gave the governor immense powers to order all the Provincial Commissioners to produce certain quotas of workers for military and other essential services. All such powers argues Tiyembe Zeleza, emanated from the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act passed by the British government when the war broke out which suspended all

constitutional guarantees and were made applicable to the colonies through orders in council. Consequently, the colonial Government of Kenya used its new and reinforced coercive powers not only to mobilise and recruit labour for the army and services designated as essential but also to ensure that private white farmers and employers received ready and sufficient labour.³²

Many of the Tiriki who joined the Kenya's African Rifles (K.A.R.) were in most cases conscripted in several ways. This included men captured by chiefs and headmen on District Commissioners' orders and forced to join the army.³³ Others were ordered to get into lorries while at labour recruitment centres only to land at military training depots. Yet others were forcibly removed from school and sent to the army while others found themselves dispossessed of their employers by being told to get into a military lorry which was standing there waiting for them.³⁴ Those who joined voluntarily did so either because the army was just another one of the many European jobs available, or they fell prey to the false rumours that either military services would exempt them from paying taxes, or that those who waited to be conscripted into the army were always sent to the front lines where fighting was fierce.³⁵

Apart from the use of force and tricks, the colonial government also used propaganda to recruit labour. The propaganda that was used were simple but effective. For instance, Africans were given false promises of a better and fuller life after the war, funds for trade and land for settlement, permanent and high wage employment

and other tempting opportunities.³⁶ All these methods produced substantial numbers of men from Tiriki to serve not only in the army itself and the military campaigns but also in the work of urgent operational necessity, such as the construction and extension of airfields, roads, harbours and military training camps.³⁷

Another area where conscripted labour was needed was on the whiteman's agricultural farms. In fact, it was agricultural production that was regarded as Kenya's chief contribution to the war effort. Consequently, even a larger number of Africans were conscripted for the settler farmers and other private employers. Crops - such as sisal, sugar, pyrethrum, rubber and flax - were designed as essential, meaning that it was permissible to use conscript labour for their production. Indeed settlers agitated for conscript labour because of the growing labour shortage due to large scale military conscription and urban employment. There were also attempts to strengthen the Kipande system during the war years, and village headmen were empowered to return deserters to their place of employment.³⁸

During most of the war period, settlers relied heavily on conscript labour. The figures show that the number of free agricultural labour fell. For instance, there were 206,610 monthly paid agricultural wage employees in 1941 and in 1945 the number was 139,713. Zeleza shows that part of the shortfall was covered by an increase in resident labour. The number of recorded resident labour rose from 23,325 in 1941 (excluding women and children) to 58,598 (including children) in 1945. This was not enough to make up for the shortfall especially

in view of the expansion in settler agriculture. Conscript labourers therefore made up for a greater part of settler labour supply.³⁹

In North Nyanza, records show that about 2105 recruits were sent forward for military service whilst 1000 labourers either volunteered or were compelled to assist the Kitale flax farmers.⁴⁰ Indeed in 1941, the District Commissioner of North Nyanza noted that conscript labour recruitment for essential undertakings had overshadowed every aspect of normal administrative routine and the latter had to be dovetailed into conscript safaris.⁴¹

Apart from conscription for the K.A.R. and other strategic services, there was also wage employment. Within the locations of Tiriki and the district of North Kavirondo, the expansion of educational system and the development of government programmes in agriculture, health, communication and the expansion of cash crop production offered increased opportunities for seasonal labour.⁴² As before 1940, employment outside the location on European farms or growing cities was still the most important form of wage employment for most of the Tiriki.⁴³ Moreover, for the increasing number of the better educated Tiriki, employment lay not in the rural areas but in the fast growing urban centres. Figures of the 1948 population census showed that about 20 per cent of all the Luhya male and 12 per cent of all females were living outside their location, most of whom were probably engaged in wage labour. In 1962 population census, it was revealed that there was a slight decline in the proportion of Luhya males living outside their locations (22 percent) a slight increase of females (18 percent). This could be explained by the slight overall

decline in employment which occurred in Kenya between 1955 and 1963, as employers switched to machines and the hiring of fewer skilled workers instead of many unskilled ones.⁴⁴

Higher demand for wage employment in Tiriki also came about due to the effects of higher population growth rate without a corresponding increase in the sizes of the reserve, the need to pay taxes and an obligation to provide for the family needs. Population growth led to a growing pressure on land a factor that developed and was most noticeable in the post-war years. Indeed before and after the Second World War, the drifting of the Maragoli to the location of Nyangori and Tiriki⁴⁵ led to a higher population density to these areas and by 1950s most areas of Tiriki division had become densely populated. One solution to these problems was to supplement the shrinking income derived from agricultural sector by wage employment or to leave the agricultural sector and engage fully in wage labour or business. Pressure on the land undoubtedly contributed to the high and probably expanding level of voluntary wage employment as fathers sought to meet their families' needs, and sons sought an alternative source of livelihood because of insufficient land at home.⁴⁶ This pressure also altered some aspects of labour migration. Before the Second World War, while the time spent away from home had been short, (between six months and a year), the percentage of men working outside their location had been high. After the war, men spent longer periods away from home and in some instances took up permanent residence at their place of work.⁴⁷ Another factor that forced men to seek wage employment in towns and other urban areas was the payment of taxes. This was as a result of

the poor returns from agricultural produce (due to the land fragmentation and shrinkage of farming plots) which was blamed on high population growth rates within the reserves. Wage employment was thus to ensure that there was a possibility of tax payment and also to provide for the families. By 1963 therefore, most Tiriki men had become accustomed to voluntary wage employment and a good number of them were living outside the location, working in urban areas.

4.4. TRADE AND EXCHANGE

As with the expansion of agriculture trade among the Tiriki underwent a marked expansion. Trade in produce increased throughout the war period until the fall of production in the late 1930s - 1940s.⁴⁸ At the same time, trade in consumer goods tended to be sluggish throughout the post-war period due to a number of factors. The first factor was limited cash which was spent by Africans in the division. This was determined in the first place by the income opportunities afforded by the Africans of the division. Unfortunately, the study cannot construct a table which demonstrates the total cash income of the division, as there was no statistics available of the wages earned by the Tiriki people outside and brought into the division. In Tiriki, this avenue of African income was perhaps the most important.

The second factor that handicapped the African traders' progress in consumer goods, and which indicated a major problem in the economic development of the division, was the limited extension of the range of consumer desires and preferences with regard to imported trade goods.

According to Fearn, the Nyanza people in general preferred to spend their money on those possessions which gave status and wealth in the traditional society.⁴⁹ The third factor was the fact that most Africans in Tiriki were engaged in petty trade, selling the same limited range of goods - kerosene for lamps, soap, the cheaper brands of cigarettes, matches and a few pieces of goods - which were low priced articles and as a result the income return was low.⁵⁰

The fourth factor that explains the low turnover in consumer goods was lack of credit facilities on the part of Tiriki traders. Operating under the disadvantage of lack of credit facilities, the need for working capital was even more necessary, but the Tiriki trader did not appear to have had success in raising working capital as he had in raising the initial capital with which to build.⁵¹ Consequently, about 30 per cent of the traders in Tiriki were aided by their relatives, and though licenced in the individual's name, these shops were run as companies' or as partnership- if they may be called so. There were no written partnership agreement; once again traditional kinship ties had become involved with modern trading arrangements. Kinship obligation were mutual, and once an individual had received aid from kinsmen, then he was obliged to give them aid in return. Thus the Tiriki trader, having received assistance from kinsmen in the raising of capital, was expected to let his kinsfolk have goods from his shop at a cheaper price. Under such conditions trading was not profitable, and non-existent or low profits were not conducive to obtaining further capital, even from the same source.⁵² Many traders in the entire North Kavirondo District

were of the view that this situation of lack of capital could be remedied if the Kenya Government or the African District Councils (A.D.C.) would give loans to traders. But by 1963 such a scheme had not been implemented.⁵³ Albeit these shortcomings the number of the Tiriki traders, although small in absolute terms, increased. Yearly, the number of shopkeepers and the number of livestock and grain dealers in the locations' markets rose.⁵⁴

According to Hugh Fearn, the exigencies of the Second World War facilitated a more adequate control and marketing (buying and selling) of maize which was later extended to other crops.⁵⁵ He argues that in Kenya, the emphasis was to grow more food. Food was required for the allied armies based in East Africa. To achieve this, a more effective control of produce marketing in Kenya was necessary to meet the changed situation, but little was done by the government beyond the injunction to the African and European farmers to grow more food until the colony experienced shortages of maize and wheat in 1942. As a result of this situation, the government under emergency powers set up a maize and produce control board (in May 1942) which was to operate in the African zones of Kenya, principally in Nyanza, where the greater bulk of African-grown maize was marketed. Fearn goes on to argue that under the Defence (Control of Maize) Regulation of 1942 the Kenya government gave the maize controller (appointed by the government) the sole right of buying and selling maize and controlling the imports and exports of this produce. Under these emergency measures the government-appointed controller - had powers over European grown maize marketing as well as maize grown by Africans in the colony.⁵⁶

But after protests from the settlers the regulation was amended in October 1942.⁵⁷ The new regulation took away the powers of the controller and rested them in the Kenya Maize Board, and the controller became the executive officer of the Board.⁵⁸

The above control was instituted solely to protect the consumer's interests (its main aim was to make sure that there was a continuous adequate supply of food during the war period). But according to Fearn, the consumer's interest could not be separated in African society from producer's interests. Furthermore, producers were to be encouraged to grow more maize so that there would be a sufficient supply for internal consumption needs in East Africa. But the producer and consumer interests of the Africans were inter-related as the quantity of maize affected their need for cash and subsistence requirements. In theory, the African maize-grower (the producer) only sold any excess over subsistence needs (the consumer). In practice, he sometimes sold more of his harvested maize and other produce than he ought to have done. He therefore forced to supplement his insufficient supply at his homes.⁵⁹ With this in mind, the colonial government had the task of encouraging the African farmers not only to grow more maize but also to sell the surplus. To achieve this end, the colonial administrators and agricultural officers opted to determine the price of maize before the crop was harvested. This method worked well and there was a tremendous increase in production and marketing of maize in the whole of Nyanza province. For instance, in the years 1943-44, 25,000 bags of maize were sold by the African farmers (excluding maize sold to Indians and other dealers who sometimes offered higher

prices than the board). In the year 1948-1949 39,000 bags of maize were sold while in 1954 70,000 bags were sold.⁶⁰ In subsequent years up to 1963, the production and sale kept on increasing. Maize therefore was the main export from North Nyanza District and it has been shown that in Tiriki it helped to offset the effects of shrinking size of the average holding and provide the assurance of a surplus. This increase in maize production and marketing also had other linkages in the economy. This was due to the fact that farmers who sold maize had extra money to engage in other business like shopkeeping and the provision of transportation services, among others.

Therefore, there was an expansion of the marketing opportunities in Tiriki since the mid-1930s with the siting of African markets under the A.D.C.s in the province. This was the major marketing development of the post - 1931 period, becoming most marked in the post - 1945 period with the accelerated entry of the Africans into trade. Indeed in the Annual Report of 1945, the D.C. of North Nyanza noted that during the year, the constant Africans' cry was to obtain imported goods on the same terms as Indian traders but the difficulty in arranging for these were nearly insurmountable. Towards the end of the year, the situation showed signs of easing as the imports controller began to enter on a more positive policy to meet the particular situation. But the experience of trade goods which did not come through had the natural effects of whetting appetites for more and provoking complaints from those who did not get a share. In the same year, the African urge to get into trading and transport was intensified. This was due to surplus money that had poured into the reserves during

the war years. The money came from the sale of crops at good prices, military sources, livestock control and from wages earned mostly outside the reserves.⁶¹

By 1930s barter markets for produce had become fixed in place and time. Markets came to be fixed where the chief headquarters were established. This meant that there were two markets in Tiriki, one at Serem and another one at Hamisi. The markets were first under the control of chiefs and elders, but in later 1930s the control of these markets was transferred by the government to the African District Councils (or Local Native Councils as they were then called). Unfortunately the minutes and records of these councils tell us nothing about the population of the traders attached to them even in the post 1945 era of the planned markets. Fearn estimates that in the 1954 there were 133 markets in the whole of North Kavirondo, but he does not give any estimation on trader - population.⁶² It must however be emphasized that more and more of the Tiriki wanted to become traders but the government did not want too many of them (traders).⁶³ Furthermore, the African trader could not get credit. According to Fearn, this was so because in the early days of British administration in East Africa, regulations which had been operative in India under British rule were adapted to the needs of the new colonial territories. Sometimes regulations were introduced in East Africa in an attempt to avoid some of the undesirable experiences in India. In Kenya, for instance, the government was anxious to avoid the complication and distresses of indebtedness which India had experienced. It was, therefore, enacted that a debt could not be recovered by legal

proceedings from an African debtor, beyond a very small sum, unless the creditor had obtained an authorization from administrative officer to grant credit to an African beyond this amount. And further, in an attempt to avoid the entry of too many African traders after the Second World War, the Kenya Government recommended that licences to trade should be issued in the ratio of one trade licence per four hundred heads of population.⁶⁴ But Fearn shows that in Nyanza the 1946 recommendation was not adhered to in practice.⁶⁵ This was because the growth of A.D.C. markets in Nyanza and the number of African traders had been influenced by African ideas of prestige in the local society and to local government needs. He argues that the then locational boundaries coincided with the boundaries of land units of the sub-tribes of the Nyanza tribes. Something of the sub-tribal loyalties and prestige had been transferred to the Location Councils which had been set up by the British Administration as local government bodies. These were subsidiary to the A.D.C.s and although they had little power, they influenced the growth of African trading in Nyanza in two ways. First, if a man wanted to become a trader and applied for a licence to the marketing committee of his A.D.C., he was to apply through, and be recommended by his locational council. Second, to safeguard against their location being behind any other, they pressed the A.D.C. to add plots to the numbers already existing in their markets, and asked for increased marketing facilities by demanding either additional markets or that one of the existing markets should be opened on more days of the week. Faced with such demands, the A.D.C. marketing committee often succumbed to the request.⁶⁶ Consequently in Tiriki for example, market places like Jeptulu, Shamakhoho, Banja, Senende,

Gambogi and Shiru came up during this time. Furthermore, the market days at Serem and Hamisi were increased to two days in a week.⁶⁷

Fearn argues that the planned markets of the post - 1945 era in Nyanza was intended for the sale of small quantities of foodstuffs and African-made goods, such as Kavirondo matting twin, pots and wood products. He asserts that most markets had the 'bartering' area as their central feature.⁶⁸ These were fenced with an entrance at which A.D.C. market masters and clerks sat and collected dues from the African people who brought goods for sale. He says that the 'bartering' which went on was not the exchange of goods, but in these areas transactions were in cash and 'bartering' meant bargaining about the price between sellers and buyers.⁶⁹ In Tiriki this feature was well pronounced in Serem and Hamisi markets.⁷⁰

It is not possible to obtain any estimates of the amount of trade which was transacted in the myriad bargains of the bartering - areas. These transaction had little relevance to the trade in the province in terms of imported goods or the sale of peasant produce. The bartering - areas had become the institutionalised patterns for the few exchanges which were important in indigenous Tiriki society; that is exchange of produce and goods to supplement subsistence needs. But according to Fearn, the bartering area had an important function with regard to the trade of the African dukas built around the bartering areas. The bartering area was the main attraction, for it had a social as well as an economic importance. Each market day men, women and children brought their goods and spent a greater part of

the day at the market.⁷¹ Markets like Serem and Jeptulu had in addition to the bartering area, an auction ring for the sale of livestock.⁷²

Apart from trade in open markets and shops, another activity undertaken by some of the Tiriki after the war was transport.⁷³ The opportunity to emulate the Asian transporter was provided by the availability of ex-military vehicles which the returned African soldier bought from his gratuity and savings. But by 1948, the transport in Nyanza, both passenger and produce carrying, was again very largely in the hands of Indians. Fearn gives two reasons that explained this situation; these were one, mechanical and two, financial problems which accounted for the failure of the African transporter to keep his vehicles on the road. On mechanical problems, Fearn argues that the African transporter depended upon Asian garages for repairs but both the skill and the integrity of the Asian mechanic were questionable. Indeed for the African transporter, the loss of business and financial losses involved arose from vehicles being laid-off, a situation which led to a gradual indebtedness to an Asian garage and the eventual acquisition of the vehicle by an Asian competitor.⁷⁴

Perhaps the most important question that Fearn put across is, if the problem of the African transporter and trader in the whole of Nyanza were so great and unrewarding, why then was there a demand to become engaged in these activities? To him, none of the traders engaged in trade as their only economic activity. Most of them had shambas and, where the amount of produce harvested enabled them

to market the surplus, they always had cash income from their agricultural pursuits. Many of them had also alternative income - earning jobs, either in government service as chiefs, headmen and school teachers, or in A.D.C. employment; others were employed in towns of Kenya or on the farms in the 'White Highlands'. In their absence from the market, the shops were either operated by their wives or kinsmen or closed until they returned. Most of them had become traders because this gave them prestige and status, but many of them hoped that it would be a quick way to wealth, as they imagined the Asian traders to be very wealthy. Prestige was enhanced by the possession of a duka, which was evidence of 'wealth' for here was a building superior in structure to the ordinary African housing; and although few traders lived on their premises, there were rooms at the back which could be used for meeting people. A man gained in status if his shop or back room was filled with Africans discussing the latest news and current problems. But some Tiriki had succeeded in obtaining quite a large income from trade, but, such incomes were derived from the buying of produce and not from the sale of goods.⁷⁵ But to the entire population of the Tiriki, trade and exchange of goods had become an integral part of their economic activities and it was there to stay for ever.⁷⁶

4.5 THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

In the post-war years, earlier colonial economic structures were continued and intensified. World War Two was an important marker in the spread of Christianity. In the years before the war, while Christians exercised influence within the locations, they were clearly

a small minority.⁷⁷ But in the very late 1930s the churches began undergoing a sustained and accelerated growth. Individual factors accounted for some of this expansion. The assumption of the local control of the Friends Church in 1946 (it came to be known as the East African Yearly Meeting, E.A.Y.M) and thereafter run by African leaders probably contributed to its revival and rapid growth. Much the same was probably for the Pentecostal Assemblies of East Africa (P.A.E.A.), that came under the African control in the 1950 and changed its name to Pentecostal Assemblies of God (P.A.G.).⁷⁸ There were several causes of these active participation in the Church affairs by the Tiriki. First, was the tendency of the Tiriki to connect the church with education and therefore, because education had become a very important economic asset, many of them decided to join one of the several churches operating in this region. Of second importance was the psychological and spiritual needs. With the decline of traditional beliefs and the uncertainties arising from the changes in society, more and more Tirikis joined one of these Christian churches so as to find a new vision of the world as well as support and reassurance.⁷⁹ But the most important one was the cumulative effects of several decades of socio-economic changes (or rather the changes that had occurred and were still going on in the family, the kin group and the sub-tribes' political and economic relationship).⁸⁰ These had the effect of increasing the number of the Tiriki who considered that Christianity was more appropriate to their new requirement, like education and economic change. Indeed during the 1950s the Friends became noteworthy for their involvement in promoting change. This was due to the fact that mission leaders shared the belief that the church should be responsible for the improvement of

economic conditions of its members.⁸¹

Furthermore, the missions were particularly concerned about the growing unemployment and land pressure in Tiriki locations following the end of the 1950s emergency and the need for the church to alleviate the situation. Of course this concern was shared by the administration which noted that people had lost faith in agriculture except as a means of subsistence. More so, sporadic famine had become an annual event while at the same time over 60 per cent of the registered tax payers lived outside the district.⁸² Accordingly, the administration was ready and anxious to enlist the support of missions and churches in promoting rural development. Missions like the Friends' Church had already come up with the proposal to train Africans in handicrafts and small industries and the development of more efficient training organisation. The missionaries believed strongly that the school could contribute to such development and that certain business ethics, such as the responsibility of the producer and the usefulness of the businessman and entrepreneurship, should be emphasized to the society so that it could venture fully in the field of business.⁸³

Another contribution of the church towards economic change came in the mid-1950s. During this time the government had abandoned practical training in intermediate schools arguing that it was too expensive, and that school committees should make it their responsibility to ensure that students received practical training of this kind.⁸⁴ With this shift in the governments' educational policy, the missionaries expressed

deep disapproval of its policy. Missionaries therefore, renewed their support towards the development and expansion of the crafts education and institutes. The churches again, particularly the Friends, engaged in adult education programmes. These programmes proved to be very popular among the older Tiriki who had missed education during their youthful years; (Education had become a necessity if one had to secure a well paid job).⁸⁵ Further, the government and leading Tiriki leaders persuaded the churches to give a field and technical assistance in the development of tea as a cash crop in Tiriki locations.⁸⁶

When discussing grassroot development, Gilpin argues that the churches' contribution was very important. For instance in 1955, the Friends African mission recruited Rodney Morris as an agricultural missionary. Initially, while he was involved in planning the development of the Kaimosi land, he proposed dividing the agricultural land into plots that could be rented by the local Africans who were willing to employ improved husbandry methods. By 1959 he had become convinced of the need for some type of programme that the natives could be involved in directly. He proposed the Lord's Acre programme to teach improved crop husbandry on small plots with the participants agreeing to use the produce to support the church. Accounting courses were also planned for all monthly meetings. The purpose of the programme was to teach both Christian stewardship and the methods of increasing agricultural productivity without initially involving the farmer in risking his subsistence needs.⁸⁷ By the end of the first year of the programme, increased yields were recorded on the Lord's Acre and this

had the effect of luring many Christians to join it. Due to its success, the Lord's Acre was supplemented by another scheme known as the Rural Service Programme in 1962. With funds from the World Neighbours in America, the scheme organised agricultural demonstration plots in the location and gave free advice on various issues, among them health care.⁸⁸

According to Gilpin the Lord's Acre and Rural Service Programme performed an important role in the life of the church. They demonstrated the concern of the Yearly Meeting and mission leadership for the welfare of the church members as a whole. Through these two schemes, many church members came to realize the importance of improved agricultural husbandry, health care and educational advancement. Indeed, the workers of the schemes were preferred to government agricultural workers because they lived in the village and they not only explained the theory of agricultural improvement but were also accessible to people in their churches and homes to give advice and practical demonstrations. The effects of the Rural Service Programme demonstrated that the spirit of self-help, and the sense of the role that the church could still play as a community in developing its own locality, remained strong among the Tiriki Friends. Church members realised the limitations as well as the benefit of both the government and missions and they (members) were the driving force in changing their own villages.⁸⁹

As always, the community concern of the church were expressed most strongly in relation to its school. This was particularly true of those Tiriki who, faced with the soaring price and growing shortage

of land, increasingly viewed education as an alternative investment to land.⁹⁰ Indeed most Tiriki Christians linked their economic success and advancement to the protestant ethic of hardworking and thrift. For instance, Christians were forced to avoid the practice of polygamy and beer drinking. They were encouraged to think and to have well articulated plans for the future. They were also supposed to conserve their resources and to use their time more efficiently. Most economically successful Christians attributed their success to the church. To them, economic success and church going were related. Furthermore, they argued that the church provided a climate of trust in which business partnership could be formed as a prerequisite for individual success.⁹¹

4.6 EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Educational development paralleled the expansion of Christianity before and after the war. The demand for education increased markedly and included a developing demand for more intermediate, secondary and even overseas University training. Once again the main actors in the provision of educational service were the colonial government and missionaries.

During the Second World War, the government was so pre-occupied with aiding the war effort that there was a shortage of both funds and supervisory personnel for African education. The amendments in 1940 of the educational ordinance attempted to increase regulation but this proved to be of little consequence. In Nyanza Province there remained only but a single government inspector to oversee a school population which between 1943 and 1945 grew from 80,000 to

115,000 pupils.⁹² Indeed in 1945 the District Commissioner of North Nyanza commented that there could be no doubt that the minds of the Luhya were wet on political and educational advancement, these being considered as complementary.⁹³

It must be noted from the onset that from 1939 to 1963, the government officials, the churches and the influential Tiriki had different educational concerns. Quite predictably, the government continued to relate its educational policies to its over-riding interest of political control and economic stability. But under the increased pressure from many sides, the colonial government eventually agreed to accelerate the rate of expansion of African education. But it continuously tried to limit school growth to available financial resources. Meanwhile, with growing educational aspirations, the Tiriki continued to press the government and missionaries alike for more and better schooling. At the same time, they (Tiriki) were ready (through district and locational councils) to raise their educational expenditure rates. Furthermore the Tiriki were not only willing to tax themselves to the limit to provide more money towards the schools, but in addition to contribute money and other useful materials voluntarily to the schools sponsored by the government and/or the missions.⁹⁴ Finally when the government and/or the mission appeared unable or unwilling to meet their demands, they occasionally attempted to fulfil them on their own.

Perhaps the most important question to ask is, what led to this escalated demand for education? Behind the dramatic war-time school demand and expansion among the Tiriki lay two important factors.

These were the presence of a new group of talented leaders dedicated to the spread of education, and a socio - economic climate in which education became attractive more than ever to all Africans. The 1940s were reminiscent of the First World War era when local Tiriki leaders, (chiefs and headmen) aided substantially in the spread of schools. Young educated and English-speaking men who were eager to restore vigour and action to their offices were sworn to various administrative offices. For the most part these young men were succeeding ageing men do had lost interest in leadership and well-being of their locations. Perhaps the best example here is that of chief Hezron Mushenye, a former Friends teacher at Tigoi and a district court clerk who was elected to replace chief Amiani.⁹⁵ At the same time, another group of young educated Luhya formed teachers' clubs. Indeed,

these clubs organised community improvement projects and petitioned the government officials for schools, in intelligent and forceful fashions. During the war, other Friends Makerere graduates like Mathew Mwenesi, Simeon Sabwa and Philip Ingutwa helped to form the Luhya youth society which travelled around North Kavirondo District as a torch bringing light to the people.⁹⁶

Consequently, the chiefs, headmen and the educated Africans rose to prominence while the war was undermining the last vestiges of traditional Tiriki society. Indeed employment outside the district and overseas service had removed the majority of the Tiriki young men during the war from the confines and influence of traditional norms. As these men returned home, they brimmed with enthusiasm for education, business ventures, politics and western luxuries. Traditional institutions and beliefs seemed increasingly anachronistic to these worldly men and their doubts began to spread.⁹⁷

Indeed, nowhere did changes in attitude regarding education undergo a more marked transformation than among the Tiriki, whose location had long been considered a bastion of traditionalism and anti-missionary feeling.⁹⁸ Immediately after Hezron Mushenye was elected chief in 1946, he began to cement the existing rift between the Tiriki Christian and traditionalists, (who had differed over the procedure of circumcision). Mushenye proved acceptable to the two factions because he was a Friends' member who was educated in both Friends and Pentecostal schools, circumcised in the traditional Tiriki ceremony, came from a family influential in pre-colonial times and an experienced district court clerk. As a chief, he embarked on a strong campaign to promote education among the Tiriki, Christians and traditionalists alike. Mushenye systematically approached the European managers of the Friends, Pentecostal and Salvation Army and later Roman Catholic missions for assistance in sponsoring the schools in Tiriki. At the same time he blamed the F.A.M. for favouring the Maragoli in the past at the expense of Tiriki. Mushenye also resumed beer drinking and later took a second wife which won traditionalist approval. His combination of policies seems to have broken down the earlier tendency among many Tiriki to identify education solely with the Friends Christianity.⁹⁹ Thus "pagans" began more widely to favour education for their children and the overall demand for schooling grew larger.¹⁰⁰

Another reason that made more of the Tiriki to demand more education was due to the rivalry along ethnic and church lines. This led to the establishment of educational boards within the locations with the aims of furthering and expanding the acceptance of education.¹⁰¹

In Tiriki, chief Hezron Mushenye established a Tiriki Educational Board (T.E.B.) and blamed the missionaries (particularly the Friends) for favouring the Maragoli in educational development against the Tiriki. He shortened the non-Christian male initiation period from one year to three months (so as to reduce the interruption in one's education) and petitioned the missions to concern themselves more with educational development in the location than previously.¹⁰²

Yet another factor that led to the greater demand for more education during the post-war years was a growing unemployment among the school leavers. The Tiriki's priority was secondary education, but there was also a strong demand for technical and vocational training, as a supplement though not as an alternative to academic education. Indeed the Tiriki requested for both secondary and vocational training since there was no land in the location to absorb these unemployed victims as tillers.¹⁰³ Request for commercial and trade training was also voiced to the A.D.C. as an alternative to unemployment for those who could not gain entry into secondary school.¹⁰⁴

How was this new demand for education met? The government turned once again to a confused educational scene after the war. Africans were clamouring for more educational services and the local councils were willing to spend a greater part of their tax revenue to provide for it. For instance the three Local Native Councils (L.N.C.) in Nyanza provided £18,000 in 1945 as educational grants and wanted to budget \$42,000 for 1946.¹⁰⁵ But since the rapidly growing elementary and intermediate schools were relying heavily on poorly trained and

lowly paid teachers, the government started getting worried about the deteriorating quality of African education. However a remedy to these problems was found in 1945 with the passage of the Commonwealth Development and Welfare Act. This programme promised to provide some relief to countries with financial problems (like Kenya), provided that they come up with a definite educational development plan stating precisely how and where the funds would be used. Kenya won the approval of the committee in 1948 when she developed a ten-year plan with the aim of providing six years of schooling for at least half the African school-age population. She was also to provide an adequate number of secondary school places. The first six years of education were to be funded by the Local Native Councils while the central government was to concentrate on funding the expansion of secondary and teacher training education. The ten year plan imposed no limit on the amount of money that the government bodies could spend on primary education. Also in 1948 the publication of the Report of the Salaries Commission initiated substantial increase in teachers' salaries.¹⁰⁶ In practice the report meant that L.N.C.'s would be burdened by greatly increased expenses which produced few immediate improvement in the quality of education. However the ten year plan failed due to overspending. It had estimated that L.N.C.'s expenditure would rise from £100,000 annually to £342,000 over a ten year period, but after just one year the L.N.C.'s were already half way to their spending maximum. The alarm was sounded and another commission was hastily summoned to investigate education financing.¹⁰⁷

Under the leadership of Leonard J. Beecher, an Anglican Archdeacon, the commission was given the mandate to examine all aspects of African education. The report was published in 1949 and it became the Kenya's Bible for educational development. The Beecher Report (as it came to be known) called for enlarged government inspectorate, supervisory teams and specific district development plans, which would spell out exactly how many schools would be aided. Further, the report called for change of the school system into a 4.4.4. system of education.¹⁰⁸ It was hoped that nearly all the African school-going population would have received at least a four-year school education by the end of the report's first decade. Kay adds that,

The Beecher report also mapped out a financial strategy whereby the government would assist financially in expanding the middle and upper school tiers. Finally the commission stressed the need to make schooling more practical, and to provide African pupils with moral and character training. For the former they recommended renewed injection of vocational training and agriculture into a system they felt had been academically oriented. For the latter, they extolled the Christian influence the mission could and should exert in education. Since the mission still sponsored nearly three quarters of all the schools and provided most of the teachers, the colonial government willingly agreed to continue the educational partnership during the next phase of development.¹⁰⁹

Among the Tiriki, the creation of the Locational Advisory Councils (L.A.C.'s) by the central government in 1946, provided the new chief with a forum and funds with which to prod his location into

school projects. The chief was to receive nominal local native grants if he came up with more ambitious and articulated school projects. Apart from these grants, the community also undertook the task of building classrooms and paying teachers through voluntary contributions. Through such schemes, the community hoped to put pressure on the central government to fulfil its development promises of educational upgrading, training teachers and more post-primary education. But despite these local initiatives, real progress was hindered as long as the government's development plans remained in limbo between 1945 and 1948.¹¹⁰ With this confusion on the part of the government, the mission once again came up with viable solutions to the increased African educational demands. For instance, the Friends set up a full boys' secondary school at Kaimosi and improved the Kaimosi training college in 1948. In fact by 1945, all the sub-elementary and elementary education in North Nyanza District were in the hands of the Local Native Councils, getting assisted from the District Education Board through the grants - in - aid programme.¹¹¹

Apart from the demand for expanded elementary education facilities, the Tiriki also demanded more secondary school places. But although the government realized that the Tiriki (this also applied to all Africans in Kenya) clearly wanted more new secondary schools, it claimed that, African leaders had little regard for the economic consequence of more schools. Government officials had only to look at the spiralling education expenses of the African District Councils (A.D.C.'s replaced L.N.C.'s in 1950) to confirm their own fears. In the mid - 1950s, extra funds from the government seemed unavailable due to the

disturbances created by the emergency period. The government was even forced to delay the expansion of more important projects like teacher training colleges. But on the other side there were some other issues to be considered. Among them was the issue of uncontrolled and unsupervised expansion which would breed another Kikuyu - like revolt (Before the emergency period, Kikuyu Independent Schools were widely believed to have become centres of sedition). Yet, it was dangerous for the government to appear to be against educational progress. Consequently, officials were willing to lend a cautious ear to new school proposals, particularly if they promised little in the way of additional government expenses and if they promised to avoid the alleged extremes of the Kikuyu Independent schools.¹¹²

In the 1960s, the government came up with the idea of day schools. Such schools were thought (and indeed they were) to be cheaper to run and they would therefore leave the central government with extra funds to meet the increased African demand for more secondary education. With the independence of the colony in the horizon, the British government officials were after two things. First, an educated citizenship for the independent state. Secondly, educated Africans to replace colonial administrators and expatriate members of the civil service (the Civil service had been opened to Africans for the first time in 1955). Thus there began an enormous push to expand post-primary schooling as quickly as possible.¹¹³

To achieve an educated citizenry, Kay argues, the government officials concentrated on expanding intermediate and secondary levels

of African education. In 1961, an agreement between the government and the Christian Churches Education Association (C.C.E.A.) helped to permit a rapid expansion of aided intermediate schools. A number of factors including shortening the eight year primary and intermediate school course to seven years, sharing mission education administrative duties and consolidating small schools made expansion possible. The C.C.E.A. with African and European staff drawn from its mission affiliates became the interim managers for all protestant primary and intermediate schools in the colony. This body assisted in such areas as teachers appointment, grant-in-aid matters and inspection until local government had the staff and machinery to assume control. On a colony-wide basis the expansion meant that whereas only 30 per cent of the standard IV graduates entered Standard V in 1960, a fully 80 per cent did so in 1963.¹¹⁴ A similar expansion occurred in secondary education. Over a three-year period the government added 52 new secondary schools to the grant-in-aid list, so that by independence (1963) there were 85 schools aided by the government. In addition, higher school certificate classes (form five and six) were started in 14 schools.¹¹⁵ Tiriki division shared in these expansion. For instance, Kaimosi Girls School became a fully aided government school. Others like Kaimosi Boys, Tigoi, Munzatsi, Nyang'ori and Goibei school, were either aided by the missions or were run on a harambee basis. There were also two teacher training colleges in the division - one at Kaimosi and another at Nyangbri. In 1959 Tiriki division had 44 primary schools, 6 intermediate schools and 2 teacher training colleges. By 1960 North Kavirondo District had a total primary school population of 61,958 pupils, 36,424 boys and 25,534 girls.¹¹⁶ However this progress

in Nyanza and in Tiriki did not proceed rapidly enough for many Tiriki parents who had school - going children who could not find space in the secondary schools.¹¹⁷ Consequently, the number of secondary schools established outside government control (schools that received no grants) in the district jumped from 26 to 90 between 1960 and 1964.¹¹⁸ In Tiriki such school included Shamakhokho, Erusui and Senende.¹¹⁹

As from the late 1930s therefore, the demand for western education in Tiriki underwent a tremendous expansion and by the 1960s the number of schools technical institutes and colleges could not match the demand for the same. Consequently this period witnessed a total acceptance of western education due to the advantages that accrued from it (education).¹²⁰ But these developments in education did not mean that the traditional forms of education had completely died off. On the contrary, the traditional system of education still played an important role in the economic organisation of the Tiriki. Learning by participation (especially in farming, herding and house chores) was still practised upto 1963. Indeed, the ceremonies surrounding boys' initiation were still very important and the family was still playing a major role in the education and socialization of young ones.

4.7 OTHER FEATURES

Before concluding this chapter, it will be important to examine other issues that played a significant role in the economic transformation of the Tiriki people during this period. These included transport, crafts and industry, animal husbandry, co-operative movements, women organization (Maendeleo ya Wanawake) medical services and population growth.

On communication, this period witnessed expansion and elaboration of the road system in Tiriki. It was during this period that roads passing through Shamakhokho - Majengo, Shamakhokho - Banja and Majengo - Serem were constructed. Indeed the construction of these major roads plus many minor ones had a positive effect on the production of goods and services in this area in that transportation costs were reduced and thereby increasing the profit margins of traders. Furthermore, major urban areas like Lunyerere, Mbale Kiboswa and Kisumu became accessible.¹²¹

This period also saw a marked expansion in the production of crafts and industrial objects. In fact many of the Tiriki who had been working under Indian employment came back to the villages to set up their own workshops, and the objects made from these workshops were sold in the major markets in the division. By 1963, these modern items of crafts were in high demand and the Tiriki preferred them to the traditionally made one.¹²² For the women, new methods of making pots and pottery objects were taught at the Friends Industrial School and once again many of them (pottery objects) were offered for sale. Indeed it was at this time that work in crafts and other industrial objects became a full time occupation and individuals could be able to meet their family needs from the same.¹²³

In livestock husbandry there was a marked trade in animals. This was partly due to government measures towards destocking¹²⁴ and partly due to the shrinkage of land space which could no longer hold many herds. In fact the government development plans aimed

at keeping a few but quality animals. To achieve this end, the government introduced the idea of the cross-breeding technique. Here the traditional cows were to be cross-bred with exotic bulls' semen through the artificial insemination methods. However, this system had failed in Tiriki chiefly due to the idea of communal grazing leading to uncontrolled breeding. In addition to the above, the government intensified its inoculation programmes against diseases like rinderpest and foot and mouth. According to the District Commissioner of North Nyanza however, these measures did not produce any marked change. He (District Commissioner) reported in 1957 that on the whole, the interest taken in livestock was remarkably small. There were isolated pockets here and there throughout the district where keen interest was shown and some progress had been achieved.¹²⁵

Co-operative movements were a new feature that was started after the permission was granted to Africans to grow coffee in the 1950s.¹²⁶ In Tiriki division, the most important one of these was started after the establishment of the Lwadoni pulping station. Coffee farmers in this division came together to form these co-operatives through which they could sell their coffee and they believed that through collective bargaining, they could be able to earn more from their produce. In fact it was through this co-operative movement that the authorities were pressurised to extend the coffee growing permission to farmers with smaller plots. The success of the coffee co-operative society led to the formation of other co-operative societies in this region, though most of them if not all, collapsed.¹²⁷

Perhaps another new development that helped to bring about economic change was the development of women groups, bulala, today better known as Maendeleo ya Wanawake. These groups were formed on the traditional basis of Tsisirika (self-help women groups). But unlike the traditional one, these new ones had the prime aim of bettering the women lot economically and help them offset problems that had become important, like payment of school fees. Consequently these groups engaged in income-generating ventures like pottery making, sewing, basket making, charcoal burning and working on individuals farms (all these activities were undertaken with the prime aim of earning cash). Perhaps more importantly these groups engaged themselves in lecturing on child welfare, general cleanliness habits, importance of a balanced diet and the significance of women education. Churches once again were important in the formation of these groups and provided halls for the women groups to use as lecture halls. Indeed, the government used such groups to distribute improved maize and vegetable seeds.¹²⁸

On medical services, the programmes that were started before the war (like vaccination against diseases such as small pox) were extended to cover the whole division and in most cases they were intensified. For instance, the Friends and Catholics expanded and increased their outstation dispensaries, nurses and doctors.¹²⁹ On its part the government expanded its only hospital in the district of Kakamega and employed more doctors, midwives, nurses and social workers. These increment in the provision of health services aided survival of the Tiriki by preventive measures against disease endemic to the area,

such as small pox and malaria. Furthermore they reduced infant mortality rate and people could expect to live for a longer period. All these measures led to increased population growth. For instance in 1948, the population of the division was 35,134 people while in 1962 the number had risen to 50,900, meaning that within a span of 14 years there was an increment of 15,766 people.¹³⁰

Population growth can thus be termed as an introduced change. The growth brought about changes in the economic structures and organization of the Tiriki. For instance, the study has shown that due to high population growth in the reserve land sub-division, fragmentation and the general scarcity of land was evident. All these meant that many people had to supplement agricultural incomes with other sources of income like wage employment, or ventured into business.¹³¹

4.8 CONCLUSION

This period, therefore, marked a very important step towards the total economic transformation of the Tiriki society. For it was during this period that most of the traditional economic values were discarded in preference to the European introduced ones. For instance, the period saw the emergence and development of individual land tenure systems and the issuing of title deeds. A feature that meant that land no longer belonged to the clan but to individuals. During the war, there was a renewed effort to induce farmers to produce more food, to intensify the fight against soil erosion and practice modern methods of farming. But perhaps a notable event in the agricultural sector that took place during this period was the permission granted to Tiriki farmers to grow coffee and tea in the mid 1950s and early 1960 respectively.

On labour, and as in the First World War, the Tiriki were conscripted in large numbers to serve in the K.A.R. And apart from the conscription for the war, the Tiriki were also conscripted to work on European agricultural plantations. This period also witnessed increased numbers of voluntary labourers and in fact many young Tiriki complained to lack of employment. Furthermore, trade became an integral feature of the Tiriki economic organization and it was this period that saw the expansion of market places like Hamisi, Serem and opening up of others like Jeptulu and Gambogi. More importantly, during this period education came to be strongly linked to individual economic progress and the Tiriki started to request for more of it (education). In fact the demand for education during this period far outstripped its supply. There was also a great emphasis on girl's education, a development in which the churches took the lead. By 1959, girls made up of 42 per cent of the total enrolment in the government aided primary schools of F.A.M. and P.A.G., though they tended to drop out earlier than boys.

Girls dropped early from school due to various reasons. Among them was the view that girls were supposed to be trained in household chores and consequently many parents did not permit their girls to go to school lest they missed husbands. Secondly, many parents preferred to educate their sons than their daughters because once married the daughters ceased being members of the family and therefore were of little help. With scarce financial resources, many parents struggled to concentrate on the education of boys and hence girls were forced to drop out of school earlier.¹³²

However the first fully aided secondary school in Tiriki - Kaimosi secondary school - was a girls school. What this meant was that girls could now compete equally with boys in seeking employment. This had the effect of changing even more the traditional division of labour.

Other features of the Tiriki economic organisation like crafts and industry, animal husbandry and transportation systems were expanded in character and some income was generated from them. Once again this period saw the introduction of co-operative movements and a new form of women organization. Finally the indicators of wealth no longer revolved around cattle and wives but on higher western education, a good paid job within the government bureaucracy, ownership of business and large tracts of land. All the above changes plus improved medical and health care resulted into higher population growth leading to land sub-division and fragmentation. As a result many youngmen drifted to urban areas to seek for employment because their position in the traditional set up had been overtaken by the new economic values.

END NOTES

1. Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Water Resources; African Land Development in Kenya (Nairobi: Government Printer 1962) p. 233.
2. S.H. Ominde "Land and Population in Western Districts of Kenya" op.cit., p. 167.
3. Report of the Working Party on African Land Tenure, 1957 - 1958, p. 57.
4. East African Royal Commission Report, 1955 - 1956, p. 346.
5. See Ominde, op.cit., p. 169.
6. Wagner, Bantu, Volume 11, op.cit., p. 96.
7. Oral Interview, William Shibadu, Senende 21st January 1993; Meshack Isiaho, Gavundunyi, 13th January 1993 and Arthur Litu, Nairobi, 10th March 1993. See also Gilpin, op.cit., p. 243.
8. Gilpin, op.cit., p. 243. Also oral interview, Moses Luvembe, Serem, 20th January, 1993 and Jacob Aluda, Jilwani, 14th February, 1993.
9. Ibid.
10. Wagner, Bantu, Volume 11, op.cit., p. 97.
11. Ibid., p. 97.
12. Ibid., p. 97.

13. Zeleza, "The establishment of Colonial Rule 1905 - 1920",
op.cit., p. 18.
14. See W. Lonsdale, op.cit., pp. 571 - 2; John Iliffe Agricultural Change in Modern Tanganyika (Dar-es-salaam: East Africa Publishing House, 1971), pp. 34 - 6.
15. K.N.A., DC/NN1/22, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1940.
K.N.A., DC/NN1/25, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1944.
K.N.A., DC/NN1/3, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1949. Also see Bode, op.cit., p. 238.
16. Gilpin, op.cit., p. 243.
17. Bode quoting the government policy on agriculture in K.N.A., DC/NN1/38, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1949.
18. K.N.A., DC/NN1/31-33, North Nyanza Annual Reports for 1948 to 1951; Bode, p. 239.
19. K.N.A., DC/NN1/33, North Nyanza Annual Report 1951; Bode op.cit., p. 239. Emphasis on why farmers neglected the new farming methods is mine.
20. K.N.A., DC/NN3/20, Handing over Report, Hoskins to Loggin, Vihiga, July 1958; Gilpin, op.cit., p. 284.
21. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya; A Plan to intensify the Development of African Agriculture in Kenya (Nairobi, Government Printer, 1954).

22. Economic of Development of Kenya Report, op.cit., pp. 114-115.
23. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya: A Plan to intensify the Development of African Agriculture, op.cit., p.8.
24. Gilpin, op.cit., p. 284.
25. K.N.A., AGR/KMG/11, Kakamega District Agricultural File for 1958.
26. Bode, op.cit., p. 240, also K.N.A., DC/NN1/36-39, North Nyanza Annual Reports for 1954 to 1957, Oral Interview, Abraham Misigo 4th January, 1993.
27. Ominde, Land and population Movement, op.cit., p. 37.
28. Bode, op.cit., p. 240.
29. All in all there were about 98,000 Kenyans who served in the armed forces in one capacity or another, at home or in the military campaigns as far as Burma. The maximum total at any one time appeared to have been about 75,000. See Clayton and Savage, op.cit., p. 232.
30. See Basil, Davidson, op.cit., p. 64.
31. Ibid., p. 64. For example in North Nyanza the number of voluntary labour attested was 1,315 men while those working outside were 41,834 in 1944. In 1945, 56,738 men from the district were employed outside their location and indeed North Nyanza supplied more labour in proportion to its population than any other District in the Colony. See the K.N.A. North Nyanza Annual Reports, 1944 & 1945

32. Zeleza, op.cit., p. 147.
33. Oral interview, Joekeli Mukunne, Senende 13th January, 1993 and Charles Muga, Kamuluguywa, 12th January, 1993. Zeleza, op.cit., p. 147.
34. Oral interview, But for details see O.J.E. Shiroya, "The Impact of World War Two on Kenya: The Role of Ex-Servicemen in Kenya Nationalism". Ph.D. Thesis (Michigan State University, 1968). But note that Shiroya discusses the entire country.
35. Zeleza, op.cit., p. 147; Oral interview, Joel Ludenyo, Kamuluguywa, 7th January, 1993, and Charles Muga, Kamuluguywa, 12th January, 1993.
36. Ibid.
37. Over 500 men from Tiriki served in the army and other important services. See Oral interview Johnstone Kaane, Gahumbwa, 24th January, 1993 and Charles Muga, Kamuluguywa, 12th January, 1993.
38. Zeleza, op.cit., p. 148.
39. Ibid., p. 148.
40. K.N.A., DC/NWI/22, North Kavirondo Annual Report for 1940.
41. K.N.A., DC/NNI/22, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1922.
42. Bode, op.cit., p. 232.
43. Oral interview Thomas Shiraho, Nairobi, 15th December, 1992 and Pius Malongo, Buronya, 4th January, 1993.
44. S.H. Ominde, Land and Population Movement in Kenya, op.cit., p. 168; Bode, op.cit., p. 234.

45. The Maragoli were drifting to Tiriki division due to the severe land shortage in their (Maragoli) division. In fact this movement was encouraged by the administrative officers who opened these areas (particularly Nyang'ori) for settlement of the Maragoli. By then (1935) Nyang'ori location was not as populated as Maragoli land. Within a year more than 4,000 Maragolis had moved into this area. See Wagner, op.cit., p. 95.
46. See Page 120 for figures, Note 31.
47. Oral interview, Mariko Limera, Kapnjeri, 7th January, 1993, Mukhala Sungu, Senende, 16th January, 1993 and John Indenje, Kapsotic, 17th January, 1993.
48. Statistics for trade in North Nyanza are sketch at best, let alone for Tiriki Division in particular. One suggestion of growth was in the expansion of the number of licenced traders which rose from 447 in 1946 to 1322 in 1954. On the other hand an indication of fall in production can be attributed to the fall of commodity prices in the late 1950s. See Fearn, op.cit., pp. 157 - 60, and also Table 15 p. 176; K.N.A., DC/NNI/28, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1946.
49. Fearn, op.cit., p. 184.
50. Ibid., p. 184.
51. Ibid., p. 185. See also oral interview Abraham Misigo, Senende, 4th January, 1993 and Effrahim Shibira, Hamisi, 20th January, 1993.

52. Fearn, op.cit., p. 185. Oral interview, Daniel Amudavi, Senende, 27th January, 1993; Wilson Inyumiri, Senende, 25th February, 1993 and Hezron Vuyoywa, Timbua, 15th February, 1993.
53. See p. 182 as to the reasons why African traders could not receive a substantial amount of credit.
54. Africans applying for trading licences in the district increased yearly. See K.N.A., DC/NNI127-38, North Nyanza Annual Reports for 1945 to 1956.
55. Other crops exported or sold in local markets included maize, mtama, simsim and cassava. See K.N.A., DC/NNI/28. North Nyanza Annual Report for 1946; Fearn, op.cit., p. 157.
56. Fearn, op.cit., p. 157.
57. Settlers protested because, for many years they (settler farmers) wanted some control over African production and marketing to protect their own interest, but resting of control over maize in this manner would have meant that settlers' interests were also subject to government directives. See Fearn, op.cit., p. 157.
58. Ibid., p. 157.
59. Ibid., p. 159.
60. Ibid., p. 161.

61. K.N.A., DC/NN1/27, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1945. Furthermore the Annual Report of 1946 noted that, another line of business which Africans were anxious to take part in was that of transport (both of goods and human) for which innumerable applications were received for vehicles and transport licences). See K.N.A., DC/NN1/28, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1946.

62. Fearn, op.cit., p. 175.

63. See note 61.

64. Fearn, op.cit., p. 175.

65. In North Nyanza the situation was as below:

Number of Licences African traders	Total Population	Average population per trader
1954	1948	
1,322	633,568	479

This meant that in North Nyanza district, the African trader was serving less than 400 people. See Fearn, op.cit., p. 176.

66. Ibid., p. 177.

67. Oral Interview Mukhala Sungu, Senende, 16th January, 1993

68. Fearn, op.cit., p. 178. Also see figure sixteen on 178.

69. Ibid., p. 179.

70. Oral interview, Mukhala, Senende, 16th January, 1993 and Pius Malongo, Buronya, 4th January, 1993.
71. Fearn, op.cit., p. 180.
72. Oral Interview, Mukhala : Pius Malongo, op.cit., and John Indenje, Kapsotic, 17th January, 1993.
73. See not 61.
74. Fearn, p. 190.
75. Ibid., p. 191. Oral Interview Abraham Misigo, 4th January, 1993.
76. By 1963 apart from the agricultural produce, the rest of the household essential goods were purchased from dukas and/or markets.
77. Wagner cites a figure of 15.6 per cent for the whole of North Kavirondo District in 1938. Presumably the percentage would have been lower in Tiriki Division where the missions had fewer followers. See Wagner, Bantu, Volume p. 37.
78. Bode, op.cit., p. 244.
79. Ibid., p. 244.
80. Ibid., p. 244.
81. Oral interview Jonnesi Lusangulu, Senende, 25th January, 1993 and Mark Kidula, Goibei, 19th February, 1993.
82. K.N.A., DC/NNI/37, Report of the Southern Divisions, North Nyanza District, in North Nyanza Annual Report, for 1955.
83. Gilpin, op.cit., p. 295.

84. K.N.A., ED3/KMG/36, Provincial ~~Statement~~ Policy on "Education in Nyanza Today", July, 20th 1960.
85. Oral Interview, David Lung'afa, op.cit
86. Gilpin, op.cit., p. 296.
87. See Ibid., pp. 299-300.
88. Ibid., p. 300.
89. Ibid., p. 300.
90. K.N.A., DC/NN2/20, North Nyanza Handing over Report for July 1958.
91. Oral Interview Arthur Litu, Nairobi 10th March 1993; William Shibadu, Senende 23rd January, 1993.
92. Kay, op.cit., p. 229.
93. K.N.A., DC/NN1/27, North Nyanza, Annual Report for 1945.
94. K.N.A., DC/NN1/25, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1943.
95. Kay, op.cit., p. 233.
96. Kay's Oral Interview, Secretary of the organization, Mathew Mwenesi, Kigama, 14th July, 1971.
97. Kay, op.cit., p. 255.
98. Sangree, op.cit., p. 52.
99. Kay, op.cit., p. 237.

100. See Sangree, op.cit., pp. 147 - 54.
101. Rivalry along ethnic line (like the Tiriki versus the Maragoli) arose because education was seen as an indicator of modernization and consequently, the competition between sub-tribes and even clan to produce the largest number of students led to the demand for establishment of more schools in the locations. See Gilpin, op.cit., p. 255, and Bode, op.cit., p. 246.
102. Gilpin's oral interview, Mushenye 15th May, 1973, Sangree, op.cit., pp. 137-50; and minutes of T.E.B. Munzatsi 11/2/50. See K.N.A., ED/KMG/4/22, Kakamega District File.
103. K.N.A., ED/KMG/2/1, Department of Education, Kakamega District 'File, 1951.'
104. K.N.A., ED/KMG/2/1, Kakamega District File, 1951, Gilpin, op.cit., p. 252.
105. Kay, op.cit., p. 237.
106. Kay, quoting James R. Shieffield "Policies and Progress in African Education in Kenya, 1949-1963". (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1964), p. 122.
107. Ibid., p. 122.
108. The 4.4.4. system of education provided for 4 years of education in elementary school another 4 years in intermediate school and finally 4 years of education in Secondary school.

109. Kay, op.cit., p. 239.
110. See Ibid., p. 241 - 242 for this discussion.
111. K.N.A., DC/NNI/27, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1945.
Kay, op.cit., p. 244.
112. See Kay, op.cit., for more information.
113. For a discussion on providing African manpower or 'Locational' see the "Economic Development of Kenya", A Report prepared for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1963).
114. Kay, op.cit., p. 280.
115. Ibid., p. 280.
116. K.N.A., DC/NNI/38-39, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1959 to 1960.
117. For instance in 1954 there were 459 primary school, 4 intermediate schools and only 3 secondary schools. See DC/NNI/37, North Nyanza Annual Report 1956.
118. E.A.Y.M. Report on primary school and intermediate school, 1946.
119. Oral interview, Moses Luvembe and Elija Khagayi, Kamuluguywa, 12th January, 1993.
120. Higher Education was a prerequisite for acquiring a better paid job.
121. Oral interview, Arthur Litu, op.cit.
122. Oral interview, Musa Siahi, Buronya, 5th January, 1993 and Johnstone Kaane, Gahumbwa, 24th January, 1993.

123. Oral interview, Mariko Limer, Kapnjeri, 7th January, 1993 and Joel Dingiri, Buronya, 6th January, 1993.
124. Destocking was aimed at reducing the number of livestock an individual held, as a measure to reduce soil erosion that was being caused by overstocking.
125. K.N.A., DC/NNI/38, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1957.
126. In 1954 there were 40 co-operatives in the District, K.N.A., DC/NNI/35, North Nyanza Annual Report for 1954.
127. All of the newly established co-operatives collapsed due to mismanagement. See Oral interview, Johnstone Kaane, op.cit.
128. See K.N.A., DC/NNI/34, North Nyanza Annual Report, 1952.
129. For instance outstations were opened at Buyangu and Hamisi.
130. Kenya National Population Census 1948 and 1962.
131. See page 129 for details.
132. Oral interview, Grace Misigo, Senende, 4th January, 1993, Edani Lung'afa, Gahumbwa, 3rd February, 1993 and Jonnesi Lusangalu, Senende, 25th January, 1993.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This study has been concerned with the economic transformation among the Tiriki during the colonial period. It has examined in detail the incorporation of the colonial modes of production among a people who had been essentially agriculturalists as well as the effects of the transformation.

While intended in the first place as the recovery of the neglected chapter of Kenya's recent history, this study was undertaken to a large extent as a contribution to a general assessment of colonialism in Kenya. Beyond that it sought to explore some legacies from the colonial experience which have helped to shape the economic organization and development among the Tiriki.

Proponents of what has been called the colonialists school of interpretation would find ample material, in the economic experience of the Tiriki, to support their contention that colonial rule led to a significant transformation among these people.¹ The subjugation of the Tiriki to an alien power, their incorporation in a new far-reaching political entity along with other people and the radical transformation of the economic organization were real changes and had both immediate and long term effects on the Tiriki. Indeed the process outlined in the study - settler domination, new land tenure systems, peasant commodity production, introduction of a coercive labour control system, new crafts and industry, growth of commerce and trade, new form of education and European medicine - entailed dramatic as well

as subtle changes in the Tiriki socio-economic structures and organization.

On land, the study outlined the changes that took place in this sector. It (the study) showed that in the pre-colonial era land was communally owned by the clan and, by virtue of being a member of a particular clan, an individual was guaranteed land within the area under the clan's jurisdiction. If land was scarce in this area, an individual could easily acquire land from his in-laws or uncles. Consequently the issue of landlessness did not exist. Indeed the study outlined several ways in which an individual could occupy land. These were the owner, the purchaser, the squatter, the renter and the land trustee.

With the establishment of colonial rule, it was argued that the established authorities through which land was acquired and passed to the following generation were undermined. First, all the land in Kenya was divided into two major parts-the scheduled and non-scheduled areas. The Tiriki were restricted in the North Kavirondo reserves. Secondly, the 1915 Crown Land Ordinance deprived the natives of their claim to their lands and they (the natives) were essentially tenants at will of the crown with no legal rights to their land. This meant that the natives could be dispossessed of the land if the authorities so wished. But from the late 1920s to early 1930s the government started to recognize the natives' legal rights to the lands in their areas. This change was contained in the Native Land Trust Ordinance of 1930. This development continued through the 1950s when the government started

to plan and issue title deeds to individuals. These changes meant that the individual was now the owner of a given plot of land which then had nothing to do with the clan (for the clan had no control over the individual plot or plots).

What were then the effects of the transformation in land tenure systems? First, the transformation resulted into land acquiring a greater commercial value and assumed greater importance than it had before, thus making it a real asset. Furthermore, the introduction of individual land tenure system meant that individuals intensified their concern about soil conservation and land fertility. Indeed the introduction of artificial fertilizers meant that soil exhaustion was reduced and farmers could expect to get more from the same sizes of plots.²

Secondly, the introduction of a new land tenure system and restriction on migration meant that a lot of pressure was exerted on land due to population growth. This pressure on land meant that the average plots were shrinking due to greater fragmentation and subdivision of individual plots and consequently hampering efficient production. Furthermore, the continuous use of land led to soil erosion and loss of soil fertility. Finally, the increasing population sparked an explosion in land litigation³ while multiplying the prices of land. For instance the study showed that the sale of land (for cash) began in Tiriki in 1920s. By the 1930s prices of land had risen tenfold and were as high as three and four hundred shillings per acre, making it well nigh impossible for many to acquire land

if they needed it. As a result, the question of landlessness cropped up, yet this was an agricultural community fully dependent on land. In return, this had the effect of compelling the landless individuals to drift to the urban areas to seek for an alternative means of living.

On agriculture, the study showed that in the pre-colonial era, agriculture was the main activity in Tiriki and it was not possible for an individual to give up farming in order to engage fully in other activities. But it was the agricultural surplus that made these part-time occupation (like carpentry and trade) possible.

In their agricultural pursuits, the Tiriki used the shifting methods of cultivation, but due to the population growth and scarcity of virgin land they settled down to adopt permanent cultivation of fallows that depended on the availability of land within the clan area. Where the population was sparse the fallowing periods were longer and vice-versa. During most of this time women were the principal determinants of how many plots a man could cultivate. The principal crops grown were eleusine and sorghum supplemented by sweat potatoes, bananas and various vegetables like murele, tsisaga, muro and livogoi. Normally the main food crops were planted twice a year.

With the establishment of colonial rule, far-reaching changes were effected in this sector. One of these changes was the introduction

of new crops - maize, coffee, tea and cassava, among many others. These crops became very important as a source of income and the main feature of Tiriki political economy. In fact a crop like maize quickly replaced the low yielding eleusine (vule) and sorghum (mavele) as the main food crop. Furthermore the spread of cash crops enabled the Tiriki of whatever social status to acquire wealth and raise their standard of living.⁴ But on the other hand, cash crops assumed an insidious omnipresence during most of the colonial period. Taxation was the most effective weapon with which the peasants were forced into cash crop production. Furthermore whether edible or unedible, crops were commercialized meaning that production for household consumption was increasingly relegated to a secondary position.⁵ This commercialization of peasant production either undermined food production or weakened the Tiriki ability to retain food surplus for future use. Consequently, food shortages became more frequent and slipped into famine more readily than before.⁶ The Tiriki were therefore transformed from being self-reliant in food production to dependence on outside supplies. In fact, in most cases the Tiriki were made to produce what they did not consume and to consume what they did not produce. This was a clear evidence of the lopsided and exploitative nature of the colonial economy.⁷

The introduction of the European hoe and to a small extent farm machinery was the second type of change that the colonial government brought to the traditional Tiriki agricultural practice. The results of the two innovations was that a larger portion of farming land could be put under cultivation using a fairly small labour force. Moreover,

the deep digging that was possible with the new hoe controlled soil erosion.⁸ But one factor that undermined increased agricultural output was high population growth. Population growth meant that the average plots kept on shrinking and also led to a greater fragmentation of plots. This had the effect of undermining the efficient production and the continuous use of land led to soil erosion and soil infertility.

To control this situation, the agricultural department introduced new methods of crop production (like mixed farming) and introduced new methods of soil conservation (like construction of stone terraces and digging of trenches). But the changes that took place in this sector did not mean that the agricultural organization of the Tiriki was totally transformed. On the contrary the agricultural calendar remained the same and the new crops had to fit in the arrangement. Moreover traditional crops were not totally neglected in preference to the new crops but they continued to play an important role in the agricultural practices of the Tiriki. All in all however, colonial rule introduced far-reaching changes on this sector.

Connected to agriculture was animal husbandry. The study argued that in the traditional Tiriki economy, cattle was in the first place a display of wealth, for a man was only called rich if he had a good number of cattle. Secondly cattle provided milk, meat, blood and skins for clothing. Indeed cattle played a leading role in trade and they (cattle) were one of the items that had an exchange value. The Tiriki also kept sheep, goats and fowls all of which had an important economic function.

During the colonial period, a number of changes were effected in this sector. Firstly, there was destocking that was caused by several factors. These included the government measure to have few and high quality animals, the need to pay taxes and the land shortage caused by higher population growth. All these led to a marked reduction in the number of livestock an individual could own.

Secondly there was the introduction of selective breeding and cross-breeding. But the two had little impact by 1963 due to communal grazing leading to indiscriminate breeding. Lastly, there was the introduction of European medicine to control the spread of animal diseases, like rinderpest, foot and mouth diseases and East Coast fever. However, when compared to the changes that took place in the agricultural sector, these were minor changes for by 1963 livestock in general still played almost the same economic function as in the pre-colonial period.

Another significant revolutionary impact of colonial rule was the introduction of wage labour and employment. In the pre-colonial period there was a gender division of labour in Tiriki and all members of the family were assigned specific duties to do. When a family needed extra labour, it was organized in the system of buhasio and tsisirika. Such labour was not paid. Consequently in the pre-colonial period, there was nothing like working for wages.

During the colonial period, the Tiriki were forced to seek work on European farms, so as to get money to pay taxes and provide for

the family needs. Furthermore, many Tiriki were conscripted to serve in the two world wars. By 1963 voluntary labour had become the order of the day and infact many Tiriki had become accustomed to working for Europeans by even before 1940s.

These changes in labour organization had far-reaching effects. Firstly, the old division of labour based on gender and age acquired new forms as the household became articulated with the new colonial capitalist economy and the idiom of social status began to change from the acquisition of traditional assets to baptism in the crucibles of the new order - the colonial school and the colonial town.⁹ Furthermore, the gradual shift from economic self-sufficiency within the society to a growing dependence on the outside markets and a money income from wage labour affected both the division of labour and the social cohesion of the society. The effects however differed both in extent and direction according to circumstances. With regard to the division of labour, the balance of duties became under some conditions tipped on the side of the wife and under other conditions on the side of the husband. In families where the increased demand for cash income was met by a more increased intense cultivation of the soil for the production of commercial crops, the female members of the household often had to bear the brunt of the extra work while men were comparatively idle, especially the unmarried sons who no longer had to fulfil their traditional duties of hunting, of raiding cattle and defending their families' herds against animals and hostile raids and who could therefore leave the herding to the younger boys. On the other hand, in families which lived in the native location of a

township area, temporary workers on the European farms without having sufficient land on which to grow their own food, the division of labour often became upset in the opposite direction. The husband became almost the sole supporter of the family and the wife suddenly freed from the accustomed burden of working in the field led a somewhat idle life.¹⁰

The change in emphasis from subsistence to an exchange economy did not only affect the quantitative share of the sexes in the division of labour but also the nature of the economic independence of the various family members. In the traditional Tiriki society, the duties assigned to each family member could neither be delegated to other persons nor was there any choice in the way in which they could be discharged. The daily maintenance of the household required the continuous personal and direct co-operation of all its members. In the colonial days, on the other hand, a larger percentage of the household members did their share in supporting the family by performing wage-labour on farms as clerks or as domestic servants. And with the exception of short monthly, semi-annual or annual visits to their homes they were often separated from their wives for many years leading to family disintegration.¹¹

The other major consequence of years spent in employment was drastic modernization of almost Stalinist severity for the traditional Tiriki society. Within less than sixty years scores of hundreds of Tiriki became accustomed to regular work, for a regular wage, modern means of transport, wages paid in money and arrangements for

personal savings, modern communication media, modern medicine, among many other new items. Many Tiriki consciously or unconsciously emulating European families for whom they had worked as domestic servants, aimed at a westernized bourgeois, small family styles of life at a white collar status and retirement to a small country home. For almost all, there were new horizons of religion or ideology to replace old fears and superstitions. The early settlers were not entirely without justification when they spoke of the educative effect of work, although a few were aware of the implications of all that was learned.¹²

However the development of paid labour meant that hundreds of men were uprooted from the rural economy to build the colonial infrastructure and fight in European wars. Labour movement in fact drastically altered the social and ecological organization of agriculture and this undermined collective response to food shortages. Indeed labour movements and payment developed due to the need to secure money to pay taxes and not to better the standard of living of the Tiriki.

On the technological process, the study has argued that in the pre-colonial era the main technological activities in Tiriki were house-building, making of garments and beddings, pottery, basketry, wood-carving, iron work and string and thread making.

The establishment of colonial rule led to a massive increase in the number and variety of the manufactured objects available to the people of Tiriki. Household utensils made of wood, grass, leather

or clay were superseded by manufactured objects of metal and plastic - the basin, enamel pots, plastic containers and so on. New and better forms of furniture based on European modes - chairs, tables and iron beds - had replaced or supplemented the sparse furnishings of the past.¹³ At the same time, new materials were utilized in the construction of houses and European cloth totally replaced the traditional clothing. Furthermore, the introduction of new tools such as the saw, the plane and hammer meant that craft work became less involving. Indeed the colonial period saw an intense commercialization of the crafts and industrial products and an individual could provide for their families adequately from only this occupation.¹⁴

But the changes that occurred in this section meant that the pre-colonial Tiriki crafts and industries were neglected and almost destroyed. It was pointed out that in the pre-colonial period, the Tiriki industries produced all that they needed. Had these crafts and industries been encouraged and promoted through the modernization of productive techniques the Tiriki could have steadily improved their technology. But these crafts and industries were virtually killed as a result of the importation of cheap commodities produced on a massive basis into Kenya. The pre-colonial Tiriki technology was thereby halted and was never developed until after independence.¹⁵

Before the colonial period, trade and exchange in Tiriki was important when abnormal occurrence like drought, hailstone or when prolonged sickness occurred, thus upsetting the family food reserves.

Otherwise the family was usually self-sufficient and did not depend on the outside world for its food supplies. But however, some trade existed in the field of crafts and industrial products that were exchanged for fowls, goats, sheep and cattle. Also cattle, sheep and goats were exchanged for grain or more valuable objects of iron or else as payment for services rendered or received. Trade and exchange therefore did not play an important role in the economic organization of the Tiriki in the pre-colonial era.

With the establishment of the colonial rule, trade and exchange expanded in character and became an integral part of the Tiriki economic organization. Buying and selling came to be conducted not only in the open markets (like Hamisi, Serem, Shamakhokho, Jeptulu and Gambogi) but also in the retail shops. In fact retail shops and stores came to serve the Tiriki to an increasing extent. Through the shops and open markets, the Tiriki were increasingly introduced to new foodstuffs, beverages, cloths and tools. Expanded trade also led to the Tiriki being introduced to the cash economy. With money, they were able to acquire for themselves novel commodities of European manufacture. Further, trade spread out and consolidated the money economy in Tiriki and with it there was a change in the traditional standard of wealth and status to the benefit of many Tiriki.¹⁶ Also many of the Tiriki engaged themselves in activities not for subsistence alone but also to earn money and this led to the emergence of a new class of wage earners and salaried groups. Indeed wealth could not be measured in the number of cattle an individual owned but on actual cash.

However the monetary policies pursued by the colonial government must be held partly responsible for the present underdevelopment of Tiriki. Under these policies, the colonial currencies were tied to those of the metropolitan country and all its foreign exchange earnings were kept in the metropolitan country and not used for internal development. The expatriate commercial banks and companies were allowed to repatriate their desposits, savings and profit instead of re-investing them in the rural areas for further development. Finally, African goods were increasingly discarded in preference for the imported goods meaning that all the indigenous industries virtually collapsed.¹⁷

Connected to trade and exchange was the whole idea of communication. In the pre-colonial Tiriki human portorage was the main mode of transport. During the colonial period, the traditional modes of transport were to a small extent replaced by bicycles and motor vehicles,¹⁸ thereby releasing scarce human resources for other productive activities. Furthermore the new communication lines reduced the cost of transport and thereby increased the profit margins of producers and encouraged the expansion of the cash sector. Indeed this area was opened by the new transportation system permitting the flow of new ideas. But the new forms of communication provided by the colonial government were not as adequate or as useful as they could have been.¹⁹ Most of the roads for instance, were constructed not to open up the rural areas or facilitate inter-tribal trade and contacts or promote the overall economic development of Kenya as whole, but merely to connect the areas having high potentiality for the production of cash crops with

the capital and sea. In the second place, such economic growth that occurred in Kenya was based on the natural resources of the area and this therefore meant that areas with less agricultural potentiality like Tiriki were almost totally neglected. Furthermore the new cars and bicycles were not only expensive for an individual in Tiriki to purchase them but there were restrictions places on the ownership of such means of transport. This meant that only a few Tiriki could afford to own a bicycle and consequently they (Tiriki) depended on Asians to provide them with motor transport.²⁰

The study also attempted to analyze the transformation that occurred in the social structures which had a direct bearing to the economic organization of the Tiriki. The fields included here were education, medicine and health care and population growth.

On education, the study has argued that in the pre-colonial Tiriki education and socialization of the youth was the responsibility of the society. The indigenous education was geared towards the knowledge of environment, that is to make children become adaptable to and learn how to utilize the physical environment. The study also pointed out that traditional education was mainly transmitted through the informal and formal methods of instructions.

When the Europeans came to Tiriki they brought a new, more formal system of education to the area. The main aim of the new education was to create a semi-skilled cheap labour. Indeed colonial education was education for subordination and exploitation of the Tiriki. This new

education had many effects on the people of Tiriki.

First, the new education immensely increased the opportunities of intercourse with the outside world and provided a far more effective means of storing information than reliance on human memory. Secondly, through colonial education the Tiriki were introduced to new techniques such as carpentry, printing, dressmaking, accountancy and improved methods of agriculture and animal husbandry. With the expansion of western education an ever increasing number of the Tiriki were brought into contact with a wide range of new techniques which steadily widened as the education structure developed.

At the same time, the development of European education led to the emergence of a new social group, usually described as "western-educated elite" whose membership was distinguished from their contemporaries initially not by wealth or rank but by the prestige attached to the possession of the new techniques introduced by the White man.²¹ With the advent of independence, many members of this group were able to move into the posts vacated by the retiring colonial officials and so acquired salaries and other remuneration that served to give them almost the status of plutocrats when their income was compared with that of the mass of rest of the Tiriki people. Indeed western education was the only way through which a Tiriki could get better employment (teaching, clerks and local chiefs among other jobs).

The other beneficial result of the spread of western education was that it was mainly responsible for producing the educated Kenyans

who were mainly responsible for spear-heading the overthrow of the colonial rule.

On the other hand, however, colonial education was a vehicle for implanting and encouraging capitalistic individualism and was an instrument of cultural imperialism. Colonial schooling was education for the creation of mental confusion, subordination and exploitation. In addition, the education that was provided during the colonial period was grossly inadequate and therefore not as beneficial as it could have been for the Tiriki. While many primary schools had been established in Tiriki by the 1950s, there was relatively very few secondary and technical schools or teacher training colleges.

Moreover, not only were these inadequate education facilities unevenly distributed in Tiriki but the curricula provided by these institutions were irrelevant to the Tiriki needs and closely modelled after those of the metropolitan country. Indeed the neglect of technical and industrial education and the emphasis on liberal and clerical training, and the consequent love for White-collar jobs also created among the educated folk a contempt for manual labour and agricultural work²² which was still dominant in Tiriki by 1963.

In the field of medicine, the study made several remarks. The first was that in the pre-colonial period, medicine in Tiriki was very important. In this society diseases were most feared because they interfered with individual productive capabilities, and consequently the sick person's duties were taken over by other individuals and yet

in the pre-colonial era a large family was very important because the scarce resource of production during this time was labour and not land. The Tiriki therefore had developed many methods in which the sick could be treated. The treatment was either to prevent or protect people against certain diseases. During this time all medicine was handled by medicinemen who had learned and specialized in the art of medicine.

During the colonial period the European introduced new types of medicine. In place of herbs, curses and amulets, tablets and injection were introduced. This change had a number of effects. First, diseases which had been ascribed to some malignant spiritual or human agency were shown by modern medicine to be products of natural causes. Moreover endemic diseases were checked that the Tiriki became less susceptible to these diseases. But these new changes had the effects of undermining or completely destroying the importance of herbal medicine in Tiriki. Some diseases could only be treated by using herbal medicine. Consequently, if these traditional types of medicine could have been developed, the problem associated with side effects and unavailability of western drugs could have been controlled long time ago. But it was only after independence that most Tiriki once again realized the importance of the traditional herbal medicine.

Finally, the study attempted to show the role of population in economic transformation. It was argued that in the pre-colonial era population growth led to the intensification of systems of land use

involving changes in land tenure system and agricultural practices. In Tiriki the shift was from shifting cultivation, to permanent cultivation with long fallowing periods to short fallows implying eventually a drop in output per man-hour.

The introduction of new crops (with higher yields and nutrients), new foods better medical care and general higher standards of living led to even higher population growth. Indeed population pressure was clearly one of the major forces making for change. Unfortunately the estimates of African population of the whole North Kavirondo district prior to the 1948 population were not accurate for they were based on the estimates of the tax-payer registers which were maintained by the African hut counters. Using these registers the population of Tiriki in 1923 was 17,342.²³ More accurately the figures of 1948 population census show that the population of Tiriki was standing at 35,134, while in 1962 the population had risen to 50,900.²⁴ But this rapid population growth had several effects. Among them was the problem of land fragmentation and land sub-division leading to a class of landless Tiriki. Furthermore the continuous use of land led to soil infertility and soil erosion and hence lack of sufficient food to feed the population resulting into frequent food shortages that regularly slipped into famines.

This study was undertaken largely to solve two important questions: how the pre-colonial economic structures of the Tiriki were transformed during the colonial period and the effects of the

transformation on the society. Consequently it (the study) had three objectives and four hypotheses.

The first objective of the study was to examine some aspects of the pre-colonial Tiriki society. Aspects included here were land tenure systems, agriculture and animal husbandry, technological process, trade, education, medical care and population growth. This objective was successfully achieved in chapter two of this work. Indeed the study showed that the pre-colonial Tiriki economic organization was not static and stagnant on the contrary it always changed to meet the peoples' needs and aspirations. Consequently, the first hypothesis that postulated that pre-colonial economic system of the Tiriki was not static and stagnant, on the contrary it always changed according to the needs and aspiration of the people concurs with the research findings.

The second objective of the study was to trace the origins of colonial penetration in Tirikiland and the changes that the colonialists brought to the traditional economic system. The period that was examined was from 1902 to 1963. The study has shown that colonial rule led to a marked transformation in the economic organisation of the Tiriki. It has been noted that pre-colonial Tiriki aspects like land tenure systems, agriculture, labour organization, trade, crafts and industry, education, medical health and population growth, underwent a far-reaching transformation during the colonial period. This transformation has been examined in detail in chapter three and four. Indeed the study has shown that the Tiriki

were responsive to the new economic challenges and opportunities brought about by colonial rule. For example in order to secure money to pay for taxes and services like educational fee, hospitals bills and church dues, the Tiriki increased the cultivation of the traditional crops and started to cultivate cash crops like simsim and later on coffee and tea. In addition, the Tiriki ventured in trade, adopted new crafts and industry and most important ventured into wage employment. Thus to a very large extent the Tiriki were responsive to the whiteman introduced change and consequently, the second hypothesis that postulated that the Tiriki were not responsive to the new economic challenges and opportunities brought about by the colonial government and its agents is in contrast with the research findings.

The third hypothesis that postulated that colonial government and the agents brought radical transformation on the economic structures and organization of the Tiriki concurs with the research findings. This is clearly shown in the changes that took place in the land tenure systems, agriculture and animal husbandry, labour trade, crafts and industry, education, medical care and population growth. But this does not mean that these changes were just imposed on the Tiriki and that they (Tiriki) consisted of indifferent lot. On the contrast the Tiriki, with the help of missionaries and to some extent government officials took initiatives in certain areas. For example, when the government appeared to be unable to provide enough schools in Tiriki, the Tiriki took the issue up, and built schools on harambee basis and taxed themselves to pay the teachers.

The last objective of the study was to attempt an evaluation of the transformation that occurred in the economic system of the Tiriki during the colonial period. The study has shown that, the economic transformation that took place in Tiriki during this time had both positive and negative effects. Thus the last hypothesis that postulated that, the colonial government, its agents and policies were responsive for the economic transformation that brought about economic growth and development in Tiriki is in contrast with the research findings. This is due to the fact that economic growth and development are among the positive effects of colonial rule while the negative ones like economic exploitation and creation of underdevelopment have been left out in the hypothesis.

The study thus was conducted out successfully due to the fact that all the research objectives were achieved and the hypotheses tested.

The colonial period therefore saw the development and eventual emergence of the Kenya state of which Tiriki was an integral part and subject to economic policies formulated at its centre. It (colonial period) marked a clear watershed in the history²⁵ of the Tiriki and the subsequent development of Tiriki, and therefore its history has been and will continue to be very much influenced by the colonial economic impact on Tiriki and destined to take a course different from what it would have taken had there not been any colonial interlude.

END NOTES

1. For a discussion of the different schools of interpretation of the colonial period see the chapters by J.F.A. Ayayi, "The continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism" and John Lonsdale "The emergence of African Nations" in T.O. Ranger (ed.) Emerging Themes of African History (Nairobi: East African Publishing House 1968). Also see L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan Burden of Empire (New York Praeger, 1967) pp. 360-388.
2. Note that only a few of the Tiriki farmers (the progressive farmers like William Shibadu, Andrea Jumba and Meshack Isiaho) could afford to purchase and use the artificial fertilizers. The rest of the farmers doubled the use of manure as a result of the advice of the agricultural officers.
3. For a discussion of the issue of land litigation, see for example Gunter Wagner, Bantu, volume II, op.cit., pp. 95-97 and Oral interview Peter Amwoga, Kamuluguywa 11/1/93 and Hezekia Asunya, Senende 2/2/93.
4. Oral interview, Johnstone Kaane, Gahumbwa 24/1/93; Simeon Asiavukhaya, Buronya 3/1/93; and Isaac Liyengwa, Serem 20/2/93.
5. For more information on this argument see, for example, Tiyyembe Zeleza, "The Establishment of Colonial Rule 1905 - 1920," op.cit., p. 59.

6. Famines were witnessed in the following years 1908, 1910, 1918, 1920, 1943-45 and 1955. See James Osogo, op.cit., p. 135.
7. This is Adu Boahen's conclusion. See Adu Boahen "Colonialism in Africa", op.cit., p. 332.
8. Agricultural officers had associated intense soil erosion, among other factors, with the failure on the part of the Tiriki to dig deeper, a shortcoming that was primarily caused by the shape and sizes of the traditional native hoe.
9. Zeleza, op.cit., p. 58.
10. Gunter Wagner, Family, op.cit., pp. 33-34.
11. Ibid., pp. 34 - 35.
12. Clayton and Savage, op.cit., p. 459.
13. See Gunter Wagner, Family, op.cit., p. 48 and Bantu, p. 96; and Bode, op.cit., p. 112.
14. The study noted that in the pre-colonial era crafts and industry were undertaken on a part time basis and individuals did not depend on their proceeds to earn their living.
15. On this argument, see for example Adu Boahen, "Colonialism in Africa", op.cit., p. 332.
16. In the pre-colonial period, Tiriki cattle was the most important measure of wealth, and those who could not acquire a substantial number of animals were considered poor.

17. Adu Boahen, op.cit., p. 332.
18. Very few Tiriki owned motor vehicles. Otherwise they (Tiriki) depended on the Asian to provide them with motor transport.
19. Adu Boahen, op.cit., p. 33.
20. In most cases, the Asian exploited the Tiriki by over-charging the rates paid to transport goods. This means that the profit margins of many farmers and traders in Tiriki remained low.
21. Adu Boahen, op.cit., p. 330.
22. Ibid., p. 335.
23. K.N.A., DC/NN1/4 North Nyanza Annual Report for 1923.
24. Ministry of Planning and National Development, Kenya Population Census 1948, 1962.
25. This is Adu Boahens' conclusion; see Adu Boahen, op.cit., p. 339.

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Note on Sources

A student of history attempting to reconstruct the history of the Tiriki during the colonial period has several advantages over his counterparts studying the pre-colonial period. A substantial amount of written documentations exist and many individuals are still alive who can provide eye-witness accounts of events of the period. However, a student of the colonial period shares some of the handicaps of a student of the pre-colonial history. The documentations that are available varies widely in quality and must always be treated critically. For specific localities moreover, the documentations offer only episodic information. This study has used much but not all of the material available in order to gain some insight into the basic outlines of the economic history of the Tiriki during the colonial period. At the same time the study made use of a wide range of sources - government official reports, written and oral - to overcome the weakness in each as well as to complement their strength.

Written documentation consists of government records in the Kenya National Archives (KNA). Such as the files of North and Central Kavirondo Districts, Kakamega District, Nyanza Province and Western Province. Others include the files of the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Agriculture. These various documents provide the basic data on government policies and to some extent mission policies as well as their implementation. They also provide contemporary data on the Luhya response as well as initiatives to these policies. Lastly, they establish a skeleton of events and a sure chronology. This material, while important, is not

without weakness. To start with, they are uneven in the coverage (the documentation generally increases as the colonial period progresses). Furthermore, often the scope of the reports is broader, that is information about development was often generalized to the district as whole. Much specific information on the division is available, but this is scattered throughout the records and does not provide a continuous picture of development in the division. Finally and more important, any information (either general or specific) that is available need to be evaluated critically when it deals with the action or motives of the Tiriki. The report might have been distorted by the cultural bias of the officials. Similarly the European officials tended to overlook some important information which other sources indicate were quite important.

Apart from the government records, the study also examined records of the Friends African Mission or the East African Yearly Meeting (E.A.Y.M.), reports of the Catholic Churches, Salvation Army reports and Pentecostal Assemblies reports. Like the government records, these records and reports were important. They provide basic information on policies and developments, while the various accounts and studies offer a detailed study of selected aspects of the Tiriki society. Apart from these archival reports, the study also made use of available Books and other articles that talk about the Tiriki. However the above two sources are limited in quality and exhibit some of the shortcomings of the government records. The mission records for example have even more lacunae or are unavailable for examination. Those that the study examined were narrow in their topical treatment and were

always spotty. To a large extent, these church reports talk only about church affairs and offer little information or insights into the development in the division. And like the government records the reports should be treated with special care for possible cultural bias.

To fill the gaps in the written records, oral information was collected from the field. Indeed the evidence from oral interviews filled in many gaps in written documents, corrected or clarified data and presented the Tiriki perspective on development during the colonial period. As noted earlier, interview schedule was used and the author tried to be as informal as possible by asking very few questions when the informant was talking. Admittedly however, this line of evidence has its own problem, memories were not perfect and were subject to distortion. Moreover, there was a problem of quantification, hampering data interpretation. But as already shown most of these problems were controllable. Consequently, the two kinds of evidence did not only check each other but were also complimentary.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Vital Statistics

Name

Year of Birth

Place of Birth

Present home

Reasons for moving from place of birth.

Education, occupation and religious affiliation.

Land Tenure Systems

Pre-colonial land tenure systems including the significance of land and Land rights.

Changes that were effected on the pre-colonial land tenure systems and the effects of the changes.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Significance of pre-colonial agricultural production.

Organization of pre-colonial agriculture, including main crops grown, methods of farming, tools used for cultivation and labour organization.

Changes brought about due to colonial rule, including new crops, the economic significance of the new crops and the effects of these changes.

Economic significance of animals domesticated during the pre-colonial period. Types of animals domesticated, feeding and housing of the animals.

Changes effected on this sector due to colonial rule and the effects of the changes on the society.

Labour

Pre-colonial labour organization, including division of labour.

Colonial Labour organization including compulsory labour, war conscription, voluntary labour and resident labour, division of labour and work experience.

Trade

Significance of pre-colonial trade, modes of transaction, arrangements of markets and transportation of the goods during this period.

Changes that took place on this sector during colonial period, introduction of new goods and services, penetration of Asian traders and money economy. Effects of these changes.

Technological Process (Crafts and Industry)

Pre-colonial crafts and industry, including methods of manufacture, personnel and uses.

Changes brought on this sector during colonial period and the impact of the changes.

Education

Significance of pre-colonial education and characteristics. Missionary and colonial education, including first contacts. Description attitude and significance.

Medical Care

Significance of pre-colonial medicines and characteristics.

Introduction of European hospitals, medicine and characteristics.

The effects of the changes.

Population Growth

Changes brought to the pre-colonial Tiriki society due to population growth and the approximate growth of population. Effects of colonial rule on the size and growth of population and the impact of these changes on the economic organization of the Tiriki.

Religion

First contacts with whiteman churches, early impression of the churches, Christian way of life, including reasons for joining and/or leaving Christian villages.

How villages were established.

Influence of the churches on economic and social behaviour on the individual's and/or society's economic achievement.

ORAL INFORMANTS

Jacob Aluda, Jilwani, 14th February, 1993 about 80 years old.

Daniel Amudavi, Senende, 27th January, 1993 about 70 years old,
a Friends Church member and former primary school teacher.

Peter Amwoga, Kamuluguywa, 11th January, 1993 about 85 years old,
a farmer and among the first Pentecostal Assembly church member
in Tiriki.

Reuben Anyolo, Jilwani, 15th February, 1993 about 80 years old,
a trader dealing mostly in the sale of cattle.

Salome Asiavukhaya, Buronya, 3rd January, 1993 about 75 years old.

Simeon Asiavukhaya, Buronya, 3rd January, 1993 about 80 years old.

Hezekia Asunya, Senende, 2nd February, 1993 about 85 years old.

Marita Asunya, Senende, 2nd February, 1993 about 80 years old.

Joel Dingiri, Buronya, 6th January, 1993 about 85 years old, a
trader dealing in the sale of cattle.

Loisi Ifedha, Shamalogo, 10th January, 1993 about 60 years old.

John Indenje, Kapsotic, 17th January, 1993 about 75 years old,
trader and for a long time area councillor.

Johanna Inyange, Jeptulu, 30th January, 1993 about 75 years old,
for a long time a pastor of Pentecostal Assembly of God.

Wilson Inyumiri, Senende, 25th February, 1993 about 70 years old,
built the first modern-look shop at Senende.

Dorika Iposhe, Jeptulu, 1st February, 1993 about 75 years old.

Meshack Isiaho, Gavudunyi, 13th February, 1993 about 70 years old,
a successful farmer.

Phoebe Isilinja, Chebnaywa, 9th January, 1993 about 70 years old.

Effarina Kaane, Gahumbwa, 24th January, 1993 about 60 years old.

Johnstone Kaane, Gahumbwa, 24th January, 1993 about 75 years old, worked for Kenya Postal Office for a very long time.

Norah Kaane, Gahumbwa, 24th January, 1993 about 70 years old.

Elijah Khagayi, Kamuluguywa, 12th January, 1993 about 60 years old, former primary school teacher.

Mark Kidula, Goibei, 19th February, 1993 about 80 years old, former General Secretary of Pentecostal Assembly of God church at Nyang'ori.

Mariko Limera, Kapnjeri, 7th January, 1993 about 70 years old, a carpenter.

Arthur Litu, Mbale, 19th January, 1993 and Nairobi, 10th March, 1993 about 70 years old, trader at Mbale market.

Isaac Liyengwa, Serem, 20th February, 1993 about 65 years old, a former Assistant Chief.

Joel Ludenyo, Kamuluguywa, 7th February, 1993 about 85 years old, a former headman.

David Lung'afa, Gahumbwa, 3rd February, 1993 about 75 years old.

Edani Lung'afa, Gahumbwa, 3rd February, 1993 about 65 years old.

Jonnesi Lusangalu, Senende, 25th January, 1993 about 65 years old, one of those who lived in Christian villages at Senende.

Musa Luvembe, Serem, 20th January, 1993 about 70 years old, a former primary school teacher.

Catherina Magonya, Senende, 13th February, 1993 about 65 years old.

Beru Magonya, Senende, 16th February, 1993 about 70 years old, a part-time barber.

Pius Malongo, Buronya, 4th January, 1993 about 75 years old, a thatcher.

Joekeli Makunne, Senende, 13th January, 1993 about 70 years old, served in the Second World War as a carrier corp.

Abraham Misigo, Senende, 21st January, 1993 about 65 years old, a former primary school teacher.

Grace Misigo, Senende, 21st January, 1993 about 60 years old.

Sarah Mnadi, Hamisi, 22nd January, 1993 about 90 years old.

Charles Muga, Kamuluguywa, 12th January, 1993 about 70 years old, served in the Second World War, a former chief and secondary school teacher.

Sungu Mukhala, Senende, 16th January, 1993 about 75 years old, a trader dealing in the sale of cattle.

Erica Muleme, Gayudunyi, 14th January, 1993 about 85 years old.

Marie Mundeida, Kapnjeri, 7th January, 1993 about 80 years old.

John Saina, Hamisi, 13th January, 1993 about 75 years old, a former Policeman.

Benson Shamola, Buronya, 6th January, 1993 about 70 years old.

William Shibadu, Senende, 21st January, 1993 about 70 years old, a successful farmer.

Effrahim Shibira, Hamisi, 20th January, 1993 about 80 years old.

Thomas Shiraho, Nairobi, 15th February, 1993 about 70 years old.

Elijah Shivelenje, Kamuluguywa, 11th February, 1993 about 75 years old.

Musa Siahhi, Buronya, 15th February, 1993 about 70 years old.

Hezron Vuyoywa, Tambua, 15th February, 1993 about 75 years old, former Paramount Chief.

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 - Ministry of Lands Files.
 - Ministry of Education Files.
 - Ministry of Health Files.

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