

EAST AFR. PROT

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REC'D
REGD 28 MAR 10

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for Jackson 123

Masai Tribes

1910

7 Mch.

Submitted for approval action taken for the removal of the Masai from the Northern Reserve & concentration in Southern Reserve.

Last previous Paper.

4 Nov 1898
2 Nov 1899
2 Nov 1900

PRINTED FOR PARLIAMENT
Ct 5580 June 1910

Mr. Fildes

The circumstances in which the two Masai Reserves were established are fully set out in the papers with $\frac{70}{37344}$ 104. You will see that there was a written agreement - that the Masai were to have a road $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile broad connecting the two Reserves - that the agreement was to be "enduring so long as the Masai as a race shall exist & that European or other settlers shall not be allowed to take up ^(land in the) Settlement". See the passages which I have marked by red pencil in the papers - the map showing the two Reserves & the connecting road is annexed.

See p. 19 of 1900
and the paper dated Aug 22, 1900

subsequent Paper.
C1W
11806

provided that certain works are carried
 out for ensuring the water supply. We
 should be ~~sure~~ ^{well} ~~convinced~~ ^{convinced} ground if we could
 say that the new territory was equal
 both in value and in area to that
 surrendered.

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The arrangement, if approved, will
 no doubt be the subject of criticism
 in the H. of C. & we shall probably be
 told that it is a case of Naboth's
 vineyard & that we have only moved the
 fence out in order to give them such
 paying grounds to the white settlers.
 It is therefore necessary to see what has
 been said in the H. of C. on the subject &
 I should call attention to H. of C. 23/7/07 & 25/4/07.

H. of C. 1/8. I do not think that
 what it is proposed to us was in it
 variance with the statements which have
 been made in the House, see in particular
 Mr. Chamberlain's reply in H. of C. 25/4/07.

I think that it would be safer
 to ascertain in the first place from the
 Gov. whether of the works referred to
 in the 7th para. of his despatch are carried
 out or that in any case, in nearly an
 essential condition of the transfer) then
 new

retaining for a certain distance [the length
 of the Railway] the course which should
 have adopted. Some doubts were
 expressed the agreement of '04 by a document
 signed formally calling together the a
 suitable body of chiefs explaining the matter
 carefully to them, & getting their signatures
 to an agreement similarly attested by the
 chief-priests and leading local officials.

This was given a full & conclusive
 reply to representations - or misapprehensions
 - that the whole business had been engineered
 in the interests of the white settlers & was
 not really concurred in by the Masai.

A priori it was probable that such
 statements would be made, and in fact they have
 been made in some not serious circumstances.

A fort official has written privately to a friend
 in this country, suggesting that the 22nd V.I.
 questions asked in the H.C. in order to defeat
 what he calls the abominations of the fort is
 going to break the word. The assets best
 while Lenana the Panamanga Chief of
 the South is agreeable to the scheme, as it will
 strengthen his authority, the Masai - the
 words are not: "the Masai say they would
 move for Lenana, but that if the fort is
 behind Lenana they know they will have to
 go." - "The District Command told me that

Letter to
 the H.C.
 by the Fort

are false, in which case the writer deserves
 dismissal, or they are true, in which case
 the Gov. has rendered his position impossible
 by the ~~other~~ grossly unbecoming the Sec. of
 State on a matter of the first importance & of
 sufficient gravity to jeopardize the existence of
 an administration. We are bound to
 assume that the Gov's account is correct,
 but nevertheless it will behoove to clear
 anything of doubt, and the matter would be
 investigated. We have been affected with
 notice of the charges, & it is quite possible that
 they have been made to others in this country.

I think a copy of the written suitable
 for eventual publication if necessary. I
 wd. let out the ~~facts about~~ ^{facts about} the affair as
 as given above, till here that the D. V.
 could not possibly agree to what it without
 the clearest proof that it was a ~~conspiracy~~
 with the writer of the ~~mass~~ ^{mass} ~~papers~~ ^{papers} of
 the northern section, & that the only
 paper copy of ~~it~~ ^{it} is to be by a ~~sent~~
 agreement provided. He could as suggested
 above.

I wd. add that statements had been
 made to persons - ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~country~~ ^{country} - giving a
 brief outline as above. I wd. let them on of
 course ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~complete~~ ^{complete} ~~confidence~~ ^{confidence} of the Gov.
 desps, & wd. therefore the D. V. is unable to

I agree - Mr. Fiddes's minute
 puts the case most clearly and
 fully, and it is evident that
 nothing more to be done without a
 searching inquiry, all the more
 as there is no conceivable urgency.
 The Land Com^{rs} can give his case
 if Sir P. Gwynne can give his case
 some delay in acting on his advice
 would be immaterial. Messrs' report
 action could never be repaired -

C 18 IV.

Colonial Office,

Downing Street, S.W.

Mr. Rend

Have you any objection to make on them?

1910 15/3

~~Mr. Rend~~Mr. Vernon

all we know about this project has come to us in connection with the Estimates for 1910-11. Please see marked passages on p. 14 of attached print A & on p. 15 of attached print B.

In the desps. approving of the Ests. (No. 129 of 11th 11 on Treasury print not yet available) we ⁵⁶⁸⁸ said:-

The proposal to incur expenditure on irrigation works in the Southern Water Reserve raises, as you will see from the remarks made in the memorandum

prepared in this department, very
large questions of policy, independently
of the question of expenditure. I
have to request that you will furnish
me with a detailed account of your
proposals and of the reasons for them,
with particular reference to the con-
siderations indicated in the memo-
randum. In the meantime, of course,
no expenditure should be incurred
on this service, and no steps of any
kind should be taken which would
lead either the Mosai or other residents
in the Protectorate to suppose that the
Government are committed to the
scheme.

JAB

March 15.

16th March, 1910.

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My dear Geoffrey,

Many thanks for sending me Professor Gilbert Murray's letter and that from his correspondent, both of which I return.

The question of the Masai is, of course, one of the utmost importance, and the considerations to which Professor Murray's correspondent draws attention have not been overlooked by us at the Colonial Office. We first heard of the project for removing the northern Masai to the Southern Reserve in connection with the estimates for 1910-11, and in sending these estimates to the Treasury, for their approval, we made the following comments upon it:-

"The object of the scheme is to locate all the Masai in the Southern Reserve, part of which is at present useless owing to lack of water, instead of partly in the Southern and partly in the Northern Reserve, and so, in addition to facilitating administrative control, liberate a large tract of country suitable for European settlement. The proposal is attractive, but the Secretary of State can hardly approve of it without considerable

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in the Protectorate to suppose that the Government are
committed to the scheme.

I think this will suffice to show you that
we are fully alive to the importance of keeping any pro-
mise which may have been made to the Masai.

Yours ever,

7th April, 1910.

My dear Geoffrey,

You wrote to me some little time ago enclosing a letter which Professor Gilbert Murray had received from a friend in East Africa about a proposal to move the Masai. We have now received a despatch on the subject from Sir Percy Girouard, and it would be a convenience if you could let me see again the letter from Professor Murray's correspondent, which I returned to you. Of course we shall not bring him into it in any way, but we wish to see whether the different points raised in his letter are covered by the Governor's despatch.

Yours ever,

British East Africa

Feb. 2, 1910

Dear Mr. Murray

I wonder if you can help me in a certain matter. There is grave danger that the Government of this country will do great wrong. -- I am, rightly, forbidden to write to the papers, not forbidden to write to you. And I hope you will be able to do me some useful.

The story, as briefly as I can put it, is this. The Masai, a total tribe who on our advent, occupied the immense tract of our highlands of East Africa, and ruled a still larger area rich in flocks and herds though far in numbers themselves. The Railway runs through their Masai country for over a hundred miles. White settlers came from the west was found near the railway. A large and fertile area of the Masai country was given over to White Settlement. A treaty was made with the Masai. Its two provisions were, a promise not to disturb them in the possession of two areas, one north and one south of the railway, the country between being kept for White Settlement, and a promise to give the Masai access to the ancient Site for certain periodic ceremonies - this Site being in the alienated area. The treaty was signed, in 1907, by the late Sir Donald Stewart, then Governor, by other officials, by ^{European} because the paramount chief, and by other chiefs of the Masai.

About two years ago Sir Harry Johnston wrote an article in, I think, the "Nineteenth Century" advocating moving the Northern Masai down beside the Southern, in the interests of the European Settlers. The Northern Masai reserves contain some of the best land in the country. Lord Delamere and others began a local agitation and the proposal was investigated by the Government. One important question was whether there is room and water in the South for the immense flocks and herds of the Northern Masai. I am certain there is not but the present Government seems to differ. The last Governor Sir James Sadler said publicly a

year ago that the matter was being investigated but that he would not ask the Masai to move against their will.

This year was the time for the ceremony of the Northern Masai on the traditional Site. They had actually begun when the District Commissioner in charge of the Northern Reserve was told to stop them and to go to see the Governor, Sir Percy Girouard, in Nairobi. I saw him when he came back. I learn from him that it is practically settled to move the Northern Masai. The Governor says that Lenana, ~~the paramount chief~~ was -s then to go. Lenana, the paramount chief, lives in the Southern Reserve. He is paid a salary and is a Government agent. He has never had real authority over the Masai in the Northern Reserve. He would like to have. This stopping of the ceremony is of his wish. Without Government support he could never have done it. The real source of authority in the tribe is the elders and the depositories of ~~the~~ the custom which is law, and Lenana in the old days would never have dreamed of going to stop the ceremonies on the traditional Site. (Lenana is an example of the cautious practice of making native agents into Government intermediaries and still pretending that they represent the people.) The ceremonies will probably still go on, that is still unsettled, but unless something unexpected happens, the Masai will have to move. The other authorities, who live in the Northern Reserve, and the people themselves, do not want to go. The Governor says the only person with a right to an opinion is Lenana. The District Commissioner told me that the Governor asked him if the Northern Masai would fight rather than move. The answer was, No. That proves the Governor knows they don't want to go. The Masai say they want to move for Lenana but that if the Government moves Lenana they know they will have to go.

The importance of the question is not the possible harm to them if I was be wrong (though I am sure I am not!) in thinking that there is not enough grass and water for these people in the South. The a

tion is that the Government is going to break its word. A year ago Winston Churchill came and made speeches to Natives that the reserves were theirs for ever. Now we are going to break advantage the only written treaty ever made in this country. It is native tribe. If the Masai knew enough they would appeal to Courts and law. Because they don't know enough for that and know too much to fight we are going to wrong them.

It isn't easy now to persuade natives that we are here for their benefit and that the British Government wishes to help them. If this ^{scheme} ~~project~~ to move the Masai succeeds it will be proof to every intelligent native that the profit of the European immigrant is the Government's main object. So to break our word is more than criminal. It is madness. I am trying to stick to bald facts so I must pull up.

What can be done? Most of the rank and file of the officials in the Province feel as I do, though few of course are inclined to "make their I suppose a few of us resign and go home and agitate and be called in and get the support of Mr Redmond and Mr. Keir Hardie and many ^{other} ~~emphatic~~ and unimportant persons. It is just possible that the result be good. But even supposing the best result there is no advantage letting the Government get so far as to find itself found out in ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~and~~ dishonesty.

Can nothing be done now? The one thing Colonial Governments fear well-informed questions in the Commons. The answers, carefully ~~made~~ ^{made} for home consumption, are not always candid. But I don't believe one would dare give untruthful answers to such questions as "do signatories of the Masai treaty agree to the move?", or "do the people themselves wish to go?". Also, it wouldn't be a bad idea to ask for report by Messrs. Podge and Hollis on the grazing capacity of the proposed new pasture.

Another plan is to get somebody to go the Colonial Office. I believe in the honesty of the people there. But they are badly informed - they must be allowed what they do. I often wish for one hour with the man in charge of the South African Protectorates. Not that I know more than or as much ~~as~~ ^{as} many others.

I would rather the thing did not get into the Radical or Socialist. I don't want to see my grievance keeping company with the numerous still unredressed grievances, both real and bogus, that have been mentioned in these papers for many years. Besides, in the event of the substance of this letter becoming public the District Commissioner ~~may~~ ^{may} referred to would get into trouble. He has no idea I am writing.

You can depend on the accuracy of my account. Act with regard to it entirely on your own discretion. Use my name if you like, if it makes the difference of success. I don't see how it can. And it would ~~only~~ ^{only} mean my dismissal.

I know this will trouble you. I fear it may trouble you more than I would like. *do not apologise*

A very curious situation has arisen owing to the separation of the Masai into 2 reserves. Stewart promised them a road half a mile wide between the two reserves, but long before my arrival here this promise had been broken and the land given away for settlement. This year a circumcision ceremony of the Masai had to take place - as you know, in this country, every 4 years - at Kinangop. The ceremony is perhaps the most important function that the tribe ever has and is surrounded by rights peculiarly their own. It is the duty of the chiefs who wish to carry it out



BRITISH EAST AFRICA

(7)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
BRITISH EAST AFRICA

5.3.10.

together again.

The whole matter has really been a demand from the chiefs themselves who are influenced in no way by anyone. The combination of the 2 sections will not only make the question of dealing with the Masai a great deal simpler but will also remove a great many difficulties which are beginning to occur in the North as between the Northern section and the white population. All the white settlers on the Uasin Nyiro have agreed to give up their farms, and the Masai will thus have a continuous reserve extending from Kui to the borders of the Sotik country. The matter has come about rather quickly, and is almost entirely due to the action of Lenana himself. When he found that the circumcision ceremonies were not going on to his satisfaction, he ordered the whole of his Northern people who were carrying them out to come down to his own kraal with their cattle. This they did without any demur, and 10,000 cattle which had come as far South as Kinangop have crossed the railway into the Southern Masai reserve. If I had not supported Lenana's authority the consequences might have been very awkward. The solution on the whole is a very satisfactory one indeed, and is I think approved by all sections of the population.

Yours sincerely,

Handwritten signature/initials

Handwritten signature

March 7th 1910.

EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE.

No. 125.

My Lord,

PRINTED BY THE GOVERNMENT
C/O 5580 1910

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28 MAR 10

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9-10
I have the honour to report with reference to paragraph 22 of my despatch No. 686 of December 9th 1908 on the proposed movement of the Masai from the present Northern Reserve.

2. Action in regard to this project, which has now for some time been under consideration, has been accelerated by circumstances lying outside administrative control.

3. The occurrence of the E-vote or circumcision ceremonies, a tribal rite of the highest importance taking place every four years, has forced my hand in this matter as it has incidentally shown the great disadvantages arising from the division of the tribe, which was made in 1904, and has particularly accentuated the difficulties

experienced

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE,
THE EARL OF CREVE, K.C.,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,
DOWNING STREET, LONDON, S.W.

led by Lenana, the Paramount Chief, dealing with the people of his tribe. These ceremonies require the active participation of Lenana himself and involve the movements of large herds of cattle between the two portions of the Reserve. With some difficulty owing to the necessity for passing over white lands it was arranged for 10,000 head to travel with the Moran, or warriors of the tribe, from Laikipia to Kinogop where the ceremonies have usually taken place in the Past. The principal Chiefs of the Northern section - Masikondi and Legallian - did not accompany their people to the ceremony which was in charge of some of the less important sub-chiefs of the tribe. Through some misunderstanding of the native custom in the matter the ceremonies were begun prematurely and without the necessary medicines, &c. - always supplied by the Paramount Chief. The latter therefore sent his symbol of office long existent in the tribe as a summons to the sub-chiefs to appear at his kreal at Ngunga Eges - at the same time appealing to me through the District Commissioner and pointing out that unless his authority was recognized and his instructions obeyed he feared a disruption between

cattle over white farms was concerned. It was fortunately unnecessary for the Government to intervene actively in support of this attitude on Lenana's part, but, if the Chiefs had shown any desire to disobey his instructions we should have had to do so otherwise Lenana's prestige amongst his people would have been irretrievably lost and our difficulties in dealing with the tribe increased a thousand-fold.

5. I was however reluctant to ignore the wishes of the two Senior Chiefs of the Northern Reserve - it was as I said only the younger men who accompanied the cattle in the first instance - and requested Lenana to send for Masikendi and Legalishu in order that I might hear their views. They came accompanied by the District Commissioner Mr. Golliver, who has been in charge of the Laikipia Reserve almost since it was constituted, and a conference took place at Lenana's kraal on the Kiserian River, at which were present myself, Lord Delamere, an old friend of the tribe, Mr. McClure District Commissioner of the Southern Reserve.

6. The result was a strikingly unanimous decision in favour

favour of concentration in the Southern Reserve. The proposal was indeed received not so much with acquiescence as with enthusiasm, a result highly satisfactory to me, as I had anticipated some reluctance on the part of the Northern Chiefs. No such feeling was however exhibited and I can confidently assure Your Lordship that the contemplated move has met with the unanimous approval of the leading men of the Tribes.

7. I need scarcely say that the various considerations involved had been most carefully weighed previous to this. The area which the Masai will now occupy has been examined and found to be suitable provided that certain works are carried out for conserving the water supply. It is in connection with these that the sum of £2,000 has been inserted in the estimates for 1910-11 and I trust that the Treasury objections to this most urgent and necessary expenditure may be met and overcome.

8. The territory now assigned to the Tribes is equal in size to that which they will relinquish on Laikipia. It marches with the present Southern Reserve and it does not lie in the heart of the White Settlement Area as Laikipia does. The position of the latter would have almost certainly

certainly involved us in difficulties sooner or later whereas the area, which the Masai will now occupy, is so situated as to avoid much chance of friction with settlers.

The few who at present occupy farms in the region to be handed over are quite prepared to accept compensation and I anticipate no difficulty on this score.

9. I shall address Your Lordship further on this subject later, but I trust that the procedure so far adopted will meet with approval. Though it is in accordance with principles which have been regarded with favour for some time, I admit that owing to the circumstances described above events have marched recently with greater rapidity than had been anticipated. I have been actuated in supporting the Paramount Chief solely by the interests of the tribe and I explained to them that had there been any reluctance or opposition on their part Government could not have approved of Lenana's proposals. The decision has come rather more quickly than anticipated but this is a fortunate circumstance for it is not often that such decisions are reached entirely by the aid of the native

authorities

authorities themselves. It will solve many difficult questions and notably that of making the White Settlement more equitable. I may say at once that although the question of throwing open the present Northern Masai Reserve to White Settlement has been before the Government for some years I was in no way actuated in the present negotiations or decision by any consideration of this kind.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's humble,

obedient servant,



(In the absence of the Governor).

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Sent 3.45pm

WRM
19/4/10

DRAFT

Telegram

Gimard

Almonsey

19 April

Nairobi

number

MINUTE

with ref to your despatch of 7 March

Mr. Parkin 18/4

Mr. Butler 19

Mr. Fisher 19-5

Mr. Just

Mr. Cox

Sir C. Lucas

Sir P. Hopwood

Cpl. Sealy

Lord Crew

within 123

123

suspend action till

further instructions

follows by mail

Crew

Return papers
to Mr. Butler
as soon as Tel
has gone.

1908/11/10

9075/1910

East Africa Protectorate.

CONFIDENTIAL
22 April 1910

DRAFT

EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE

Downing Street,

22 April, 1910.

CONFIDENTIAL

Governor

Sir Percy Girouard, K.C.M.G., C.S.O., P.E.

MINUTE

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the

receipt of your despatch No. 123 of the 7th of
March relating to the proposed movement of the

Masai from the present Northern Reserve,

2. The question is, as you are aware,

one of the gravest importance, and great circum-
spection is required in dealing with it.

~~It is not, on the other hand, a matter of~~
~~great importance, and a decision on your~~
~~proposal should be reached immediately.~~ There

are certain points on which I feel it neces-
sary to ask for further information before

See 11249/10

- Mr. ~~...~~
- Mr. *Baker April 31*
- Mr. *Fiddis 24*
- Mr. *Just*
- Mr. *Cox*
- Sir *C. Lucas*
- X Sir *F. Hopwood*
- Col. *Seely*
- Lord *Crewe*

22.4.10
22.11

[Handwritten signature]

arrangement, and we bind ourselves and our successors, as well as our people, to observe them. We would, however, ask that the settlement now arrived at shall be enduring so long as the Masai as a race shall exist, and that European or other settlers shall not be allowed to take up land in the Settlements".

4. Sir D. Stewart, in forwarding the agreement, which he signed conditionally on the approval of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, observed - "The Laikipia lands are well known to the Masai and will suit them well: they are a good long way from the railway and not tempting to the present settler, though in the future it is quite possible that when the Masai have grazed down the grass and got it sweet, envious eyes will again be cast on their lands, and so I cannot express too strongly to your Lordship the absolute necessity of making these Laikipia lands an absolute native reserve for the

Masai".

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DRAFT.

Protectorate as it has been in other British possessions. The definite acceptance of the policy of native reserves implied of course an absolute guarantee that the natives will, so long as they desire it, remain in undisturbed and exclusive possession of the areas set aside for their use".

6. Nothing can be more solemn and binding in form than the agreement. I feel that I could not possibly agree to ^{cancel} ~~upset~~ it without the clearest proof that this is in accordance with the wishes of the Masai, and especially of the Northern sections. The only proper ^{method of procedure} ~~way to ascertain this~~ would, in my opinion, be ^{to} ~~by~~ abrogating the agreement of 1904 by means of a document of equal formality procured by calling together a similar body of Chiefs, explaining the matter to them carefully and ~~if they are then willing to give their~~ ^{getting their signatures} to an agreement similarly attested by the interpreter, and by the

leading

IX

the fact that some two years ago Sir H. Johnston publicly advocated moving the Northern Masai, and that a local agitation was begun with this object. In this connection I note that you state in the last paragraph of your despatch that the question of throwing open the present Northern Masai Reserve to White settlement has been before the Government for some years. *You may also be aware* that in 1907 and 1908 questions were asked in the House of Commons which indicated uneasiness in the minds of Members of Parliament in this regard. A further statement has been made that there is not enough grass and water in the Southern district for the flocks and herds of the Northern section.

8. These statements are of course in complete contradiction with the statements made in your despatch, and I am therefore unable to regard them as having any foundation. Nevertheless it is necessary, if only in your

interest

interest as the Governor of the Protectorate,
that I should be in a position to answer
them fully. I should therefore be glad to
be informed whether you have received any
communication from the Secretary ^{for} ~~of~~ Native
Affairs or from any other officer concerned
which would suggest that the Masai, or the
Northern section of them, are, or are not, in
favour of the removal. If so I have to
request that you will furnish me with copies
of such communications.

I have also to enquire whether any
report has been made on the grazing capacity
of the district proposed for the new reserve,
and, if so, that I may be furnished with a
copy of it.

Yours, &c.

(H.M.) GILBERT

9. You will of course understand that
no further steps should be taken in
the matter until I have been able
to consider your reply to this despatch
and to communicate with you further
on the subject. I have