

4 THE TRANSFORMATION OF CATTLE ECONOMY IN RONGO DIVISION,
SOUTH NYANZA DISTRICT, 1900 TO 1960. 4

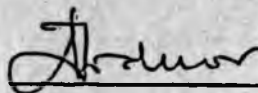
BY

GEORGE ODUOR NDEGE

A thesis submitted to the Department of History, University
of Nairobi, in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master
of Arts in History.

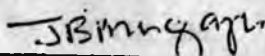
JUNE, 1989

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



GEORGE ODUOR NDEGE

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



DR. JUSTUS B. M'GAJU

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
Table of Contents	(iii)
Acknowledgement	(vi)
List of Abbreviations	(vii)
Glossary	(viii)
List of Tables	(ix)
List of Maps	(x)
Abstract	(xi)
 <u>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</u>	
1:1 INTRODUCTION	1
1:2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	5
1:3 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY	7
1:4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	8
1:5 HYPOTHESES	13
1:6 REVIEW OF LITERATURE	14
1:7 METHODOLOGY	23
1:8 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY	28
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE	30
 <u>CHAPTER TWO: CATTLE ECONOMY ON THE EVE OF COLONIALISM</u>	
2:1 INTRODUCTION	35
2:2 ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF CATTLE IN THE ECONOMY OF RONGJ	35
2:3 ACQUISITION OF CATTLE AND RIGHTS OF OWNERSHIP	42

	<u>PAGE</u>
2:4 FORAGING AND BREEDING PRACTICES	46
2:5 PROBLEMS TO CATTLE PRODUCTION	53
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO	58
 <u>CHAPTER THREE: CATTLE ECONOMY IN THE FORMATIVE YEARS</u> <u>OF COLONIAL RULE 1903-1918</u>	
3:1 INTRODUCTION	64
3:2 ADVENT OF COLONIALISM AND THE INAUGURATION OF COLONIAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURES	64
3:3 DEMAND FOR LABOUR	67
3:4 TAXATION	71
3:5 DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE	74
3:6 THE EXPANSION OF TRADE	77
3:7 MEASURES OF DISEASE CONTROL	83
3:8 THE EMERGING TRENDS	84
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE	87
 <u>CHAPTER FOUR: THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF CATTLE ECONOMY</u> <u>1919-1939</u>	
4:1 INTRODUCTION	93
4:2 THE INTER-WAR POLICIES PERTAINING TO CATTLE ..	93
4:3 THE SHIFT IN GOVERNMENT POLICY	99
4:4 ORGANISATION OF TRADE	109
4:5 THE IMPACT OF TRADE	122
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR	127

	<u>PAGE</u>
<u>CHAPTER FIVE: TOWARDS A DIVERSIFIED ECONOMY OF RONGO,</u> <u>1940-1960</u>	
5:1 INTRODUCTION	135
5:2 THE IMPACT OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR	135
5:3 CONFLICT OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS	141
5:4 POST-WAR II DEVELOPMENTS IN CATTLE PRODUCTION AND MANAGEMENT	144
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE	155
<u>CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</u>	162
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	167

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to all those who offered assistance in one way or another to make this study a success. Foremost, my deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor Dr. Justus B. Magaju for his invaluable suggestions, guidance and assistance. I am also indebted to Dr. Mwangi wa Githumo from whom I gained a lot of insights and encouragement that saw this work to its fruition.

Professors Mathias Ogotu and Elisha S. Atieno Odhiambo previously of the Department of History, University of Nairobi, and Dr. Casper Odegi Awaondo of the Department of Sociology deserve special thanks for their constructive criticism and sound advice. They read and commented on the earlier drafts of this thesis. I also wish to thank all the staff, colleagues and friends in the Department of History for their unfailing support. To each of them I say 'thank you'.

I extend my special and sincere gratitude to all my informants whose contribution in this study is invaluable. The data gathered from them has been instrumental in the writing of this thesis.

I am indebted to the University of Nairobi for the scholarship they offered me to do my post-graduate studies. Without their financial support, this study could never have been possible. My appreciation also goes to Mrs. Alice Bakoya who typed the thesis well and in a very short time. However, I am solely responsible for any errors, shortcomings and failings of this study.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	African Affairs
AEH	African Economic History
AR	Annual Report
ASR	African Studies Review
CC	Capital and Class
CJAS	Canadian Journal of African Studies
DC	District Commissioner
EAJ	East African Journal
EALB	East African Literature Bureau
EAPH	East African Publishing House
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
JAH	Journal of African History
JCA	Journal of Contemporary Asia
JEARD	Journal of East African Research Development
JPS	Journal of Peasant Studies
KAR	Kings African Rifles.
KHR	Kenya Historical Review
KNA	Kenya National Archives
KSI	Kisii
NLR	New Left Review
NZA	Nyanza
PC	Provincial Commissioner
QR	Quarterly Report
RA	Rural Africana
SK	South Kavirondo
SN	South Nyanza

GLOSSARY OF DHO-LUO WORDS USED IN THE THESIS

<u>Abach</u>	Blackwater disease
<u>Achany</u>	Foot and Mouth disease
<u>Adita</u>	A small container used in grain measure.
<u>Agingu</u>	East Coast Fever disease
<u>Atonga</u>	A large container used in grain measure
<u>Bala</u>	A type of salt used as cattle feed.
<u>Boro dhiang'</u>	The act of removing blood from a cow or a bull using an arrow
<u>Buch Johala</u>	Meeting of the traders.
<u>Goyo Kwath</u>	Cooperation in herding cattle
<u>Jachan</u>	A poor man
<u>Jodak</u>	Tenants on a given land
<u>Jopith madongo</u>	Large cattle owners
<u>Josemb dhok</u>	Those who 'walked' cattle to markets
<u>Jothieth madongo</u>	Famous medicinemen
<u>Jowi</u>	buffalo
<u>Kwach</u>	Leopard
<u>Lek</u>	Pasture
<u>Liech</u>	Elephant(s)
<u>Omuga</u>	Rhino
<u>Opere</u>	A serious rinderpest epizootic
<u>Peyo dhok</u>	Raiding cattle
<u>Nyar</u>	Daughter of
<u>Saga</u>	Community self-help work in agriculture
<u>Thim</u>	Wilderness
<u>Thuondi</u>	Warriors
<u>Wath</u>	River bank
<u>Yamo</u>	Anthrax or trypanosomiasis disease

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>PAGE</u>
2:1 APPROXIMATE CONTENTS USED IN GRAIN MEASURE	39
2:2 APPROXIMATE EXCHANGE RATES OF CATTLE AND GRAIN	39
2:3 APPROXIMATE EXCHANGE RATES OF CATTLE, AND SHEEP AND GOATS	40
2:4 MEANS OF PRODUCTION: BASIC CATEGORIES	47
3:1 REVENUE (IN RUPEES) FROM HUT TAX IN RONGO DIVISION, 1905-1912	71
3:2 TRADE RETURNS FOR SOUTH KAVIRONDO DISTRICT 1908-1911	77
4:1 ECONOMIC CONDITIONS BETWEEN 1918 AND 1955	99
4:2 LABOUR CONTRACTED FROM THE SOUTH KAVIRONDO DISTRICT, 1922-1935	100
4:3 PRICES OF CATTLE IN SOUTH NYANZA DISTRICT DURING LOCUST TIME IN 1931	106
5:1 VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL AND ANIMAL EXPORTS FROM SOUTH NYANZA DISTRICT, 1957-1960	149

(x).

LIST OF MAPS

	<u>PAGE</u>
1:1 LOCATION OF SOUTH NYANZA DISTRICT IN KENYA	2
1.2 ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS IN RONGO DIVISION AND BORDERING LOCATIONS AND DISTRICTS	- 3
1.3 RAINFALL DISTRIBUTION AND MAJOR RIVERS IN SOUTH NYANZA DISTRICT	4
1.4 CATTLE MARKETS AND ROUTES IN SOUTH NYANZA DISTRICTS	110

ABSTRACT

This study is an analytical product of archival, oral and library research on the dynamics of cattle economy in Rongo division during the colonial period. The study set out to examine why, how and with what results the pre-colonial viability and resourcefulness of cattle economy was eroded under colonialism. Hence, the thrust of this research was on the economic significance of cattle in the pre-colonial economy of Rongo, the principal forces of change and continuity which moulded that economy during the colonial period and the subsequent response of the local cattle owners and traders to the structural transformation of the cattle economy during the same period.

The study further shows how the performance of cattle economy during the colonial period was affected by various problems such as recurrent famines, livestock diseases, the global economic depression of 1929-35 and, above all, the colonial policies pertaining to taxation, labour, trade and crop production. It also analyses the central role of the colonial state in the transformation of the cattle economy in Rongo.

It is submitted that the dawn of colonialism and the subsequent inception of the colonial state set in motion a series of economic policies and changes which were instrumental in the integration of the traditional economy of Rongo into the wider colonial economy. Besides identifying these policies and changes

the study reveals the persistence of the traditional production and management methods under the colonial economy of Rongo.

The research also reveals that cattle owners and traders in cattle and related products were not just passive towards the economic forces which were impinging on their erstwhile cherished economy. In fact, the study shows how they faced the prevailing situation with considerable economic ingenuity. Some of them came to grips with the colonial capitalist economy and accumulated capital which they invested in various economic ventures. The findings of this study have invalidated the notion of equal deprivation and pauperization of the cattle owners and traders in the colonial economy.

It is further noted that cattle economy witnessed declining fortunes in the last two decades of colonial rule. The study attributes this state to the increasing demand for local labour in colonial establishments, the development of formal western education, expansion of area under crop and the demographic changes overtime which caused strain on cattle economy. The situation was further aggravated by lack of adequate breeding and dipping facilities in Rongo for most of the entire colonial period. The combination of these problems in the wake of other competing lucrative ventures eventually undermined the pre-colonial resourcefulness of cattle economy.

CHAPTER ONE

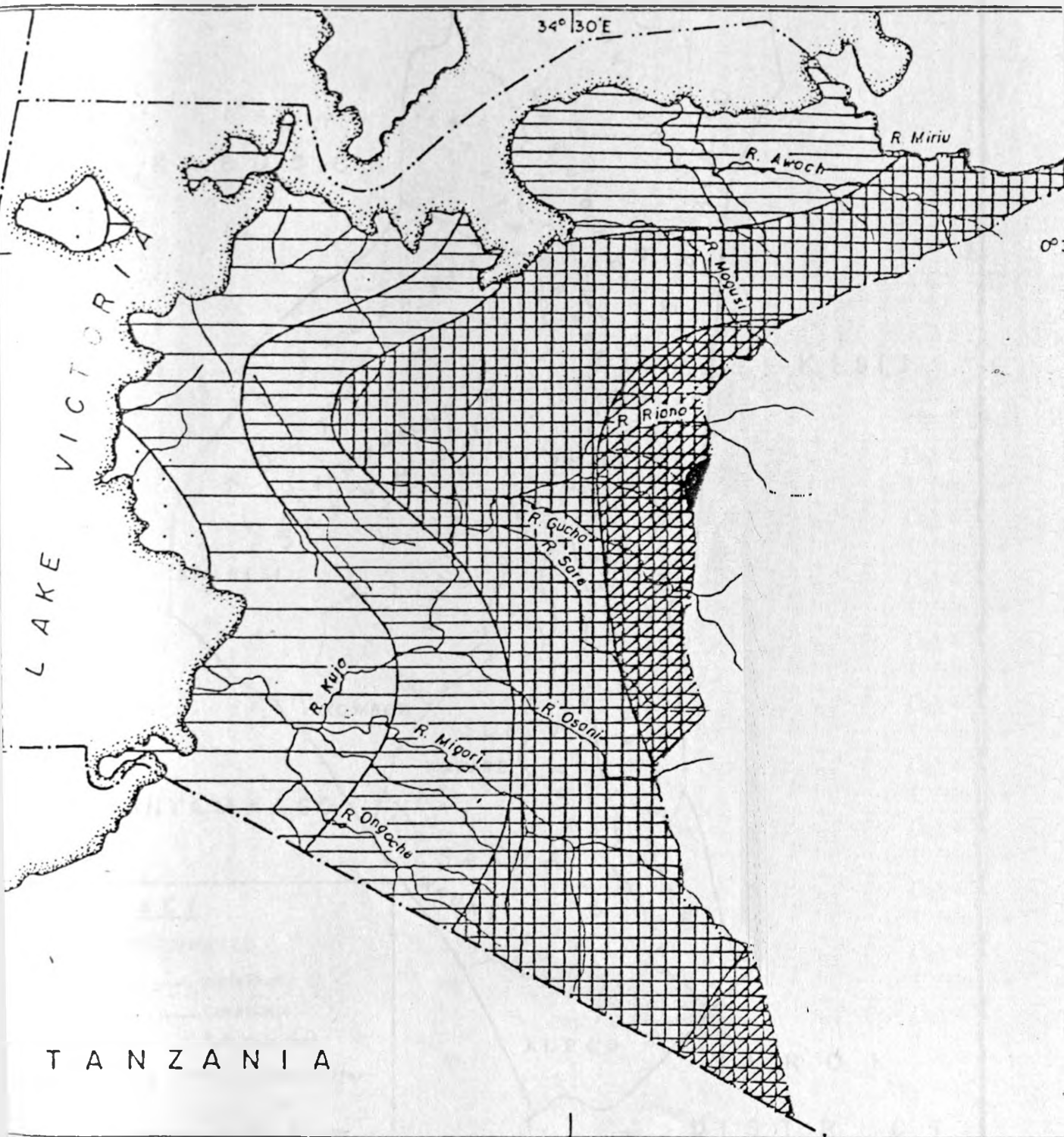
INTRODUCTION

1:1 INTRODUCTION

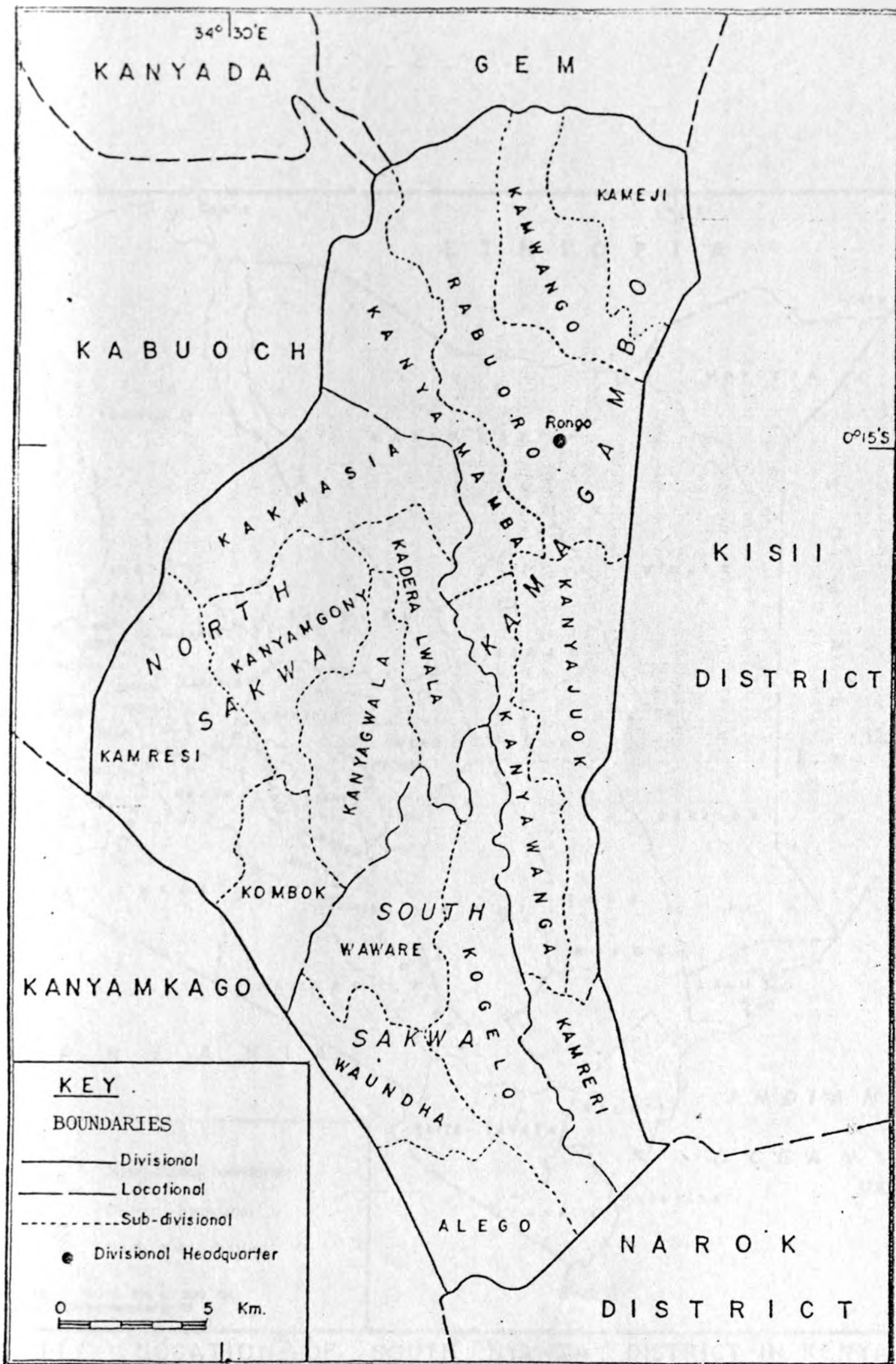
Rongo division is one of the nine administrative divisions of South Nyanza district (see map 1.1). The division is bordered by Gem to the North, Kanyada to the North West, Kabuoch to the West and Kanyamkago to the South West. To the East it is bordered by the Isiria Masai (see map 1.2). Rongo covers an area of 469 square kilometres.¹ By 1987 it comprised eight locations of North Kamagambo, Central Kamagambo, South Kamagambo, West Kamagambo, North Sakwa, Central Sakwa, South Sakwa and West Sakwa. In 1979 it had a population of 86,113.²

In terms of the physical terrain, Rongo is an upland plateau rising to 1,200 metres above sea level.³ It has an annual rainfall of 1500-1800mm and is drained by the four main rivers of Kuja, Sare, Riana, Misadhi and other seasonal streams (see map 1.3). Most of the land is high to medium agricultural potential.⁴ This physical environment was suitable for the development of mixed farming in the division.

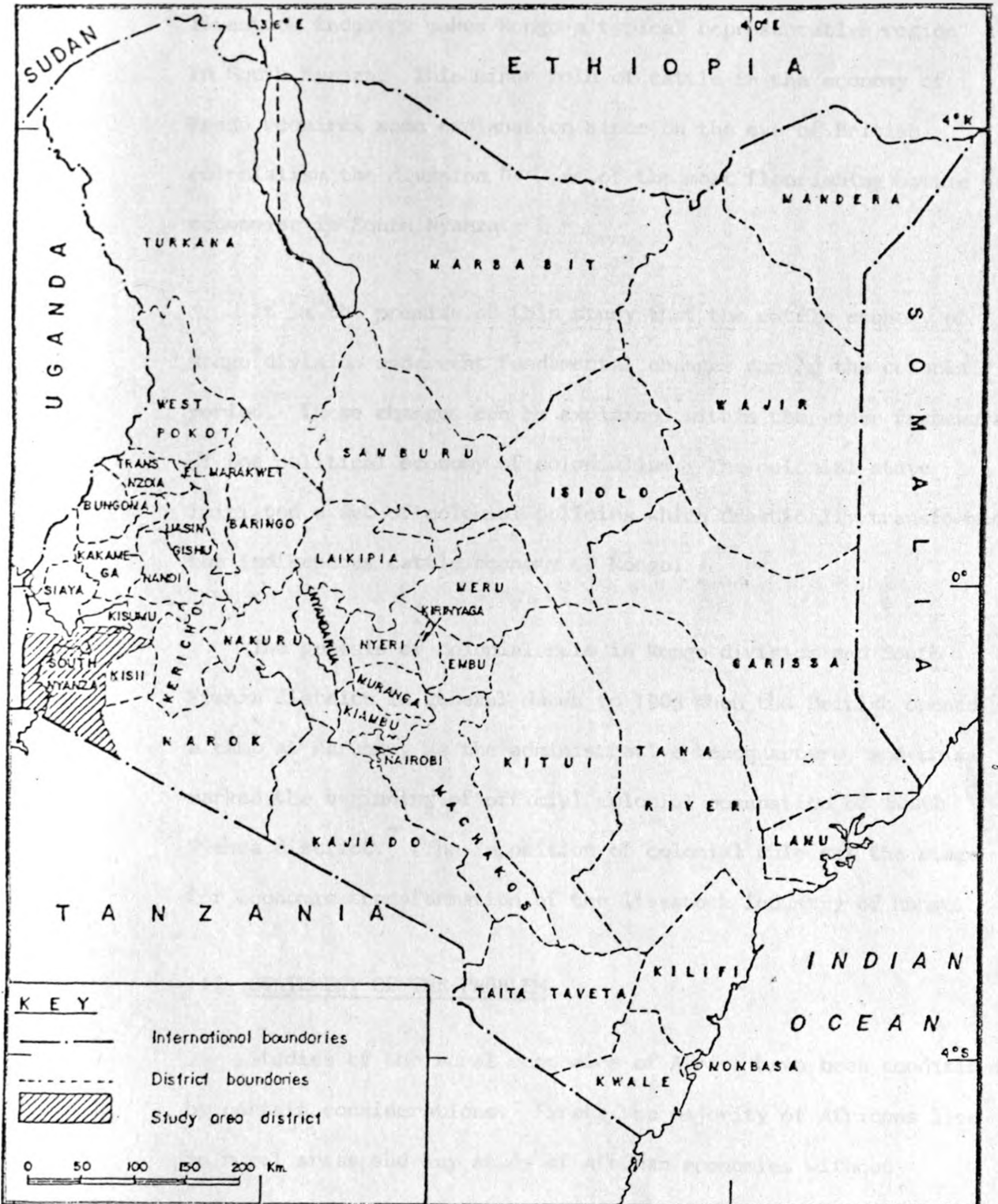
On the eve of colonial rule Rongo had a robust mixed economy with strong commercial links with its immediate neighbours notably the Mugirango.⁵ The economy of Rongo today is dominated by commercial and agricultural activities. In contrast the livestock industry in the division is only a minor sector of the economy. In 1959 it was reported that cattle made an insignificant contribution to local wealth.⁶ This underdevelopment of the



MAP 1-3: RAINFALL DISTRIBUTION AND MAJOR RIVERS
IN SOUTH NYANZA DISTRICT



MAP 1-2: ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS IN RONGO DIVISION AND BORDERING LOCATIONS AND DISTRICTS.



MAP 11: LOCATION OF SOUTH NYANZA DISTRICT IN KENYA

livestock industry makes Rongo a typical representative region in South Nyanza. This minor role of cattle in the economy of Rongo requires some explanation since on the eve of British colonialism the division had one of the most flourishing cattle economies in South Nyanza.

It is the premise of this study that the cattle economy of Rongo division underwent fundamental changes during the colonial period. These changes can be explained within the wider framework of the political economy of colonialism. The colonial state initiated a set of colonial policies which drastically transformed the indigeneous cattle economy of Rongo.

The genesis of colonial rule in Rongo division and South Nyanza district in general dates to 1903 when the British opened a camp at Karungu, as the administrative headquarters, and this marked the beginning of official colonial occupation of South Nyanza district.⁷ The imposition of colonial rule set the stage for economic transformation of the livestock industry of Rongo.

1:2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Studies of the rural economies of Africa have been conditioned by certain considerations. First, the majority of Africans live in rural areas and any study of African economies without reference to the agrarian subsistence systems is bound to be inadequate. Second, theories as dualism, dependency and articulation which have been used in the study of colonial

African economies need to be revisited with a view to highlighting the nature and working of the pre-colonial African economies. Such a highlight can provide a useful springboard for examining the extent to which the pre-colonial economies were transformed during the colonial period.⁸

One of the shortcomings of the existing studies of agrarian African economies has been their compartmentalization into pastoralism or crop production as if the two were mutually exclusive. Consequently, the studies on cattle have been dominated by anthropologists who have concentrated on the nomadic pastoralists.⁹ Some of those studies have not paid sufficient attention to the evolution of agrarian economies in historical perspective.¹⁰ They have also tended to neglect those African societies which developed mixed economies based on livestock husbandry and crop production.

On the eve of colonial rule the people of Rongo had a viable and robust cattle economy supplemented by agriculture. By 1960 cattle husbandry was no longer the principal sector of the economy of Rongo. There was shift of labour and investment from cattle to other sectors. Furthermore, the economy of the division had become more commercialised. Moreover, new innovations which tended to favour agriculture at the expense of animal husbandry had been introduced and this contributed to the structural shift from cattle to other economic activities. This study explores the change which occurred in the cattle economy of Rongo, how they

occured, the principal catalysts to this transformation and the response of cattle owners and traders to the dynamics of the cattle economy in a colonial framework.

1:3 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Cattle has been considered a major source of food for most peoples of Kenya both pastoralists and mixed farmers. It is therefore essential to explore the importance of cattle in the economy of Rongo.

As already indicated studies on the role of cattle in the economies of Africa have been mainly based on nomadic pastoralism. Little attention has been paid to the role of cattle in mixed farming communities. In this context Rongo division is still a virgin historical territory. This study attempts to demonstrate that cattle played a significant economic role among sedentary agricultural peoples just as it did in pastoral communities.

There is an urgent need for studies of East African rural economies similar to Polly Hill's work in West Africa.¹¹ It is submitted that such researches are long overdue. Such rural empirical investigations when undertaken and accomplished will enrich our understanding of the African economies in a bottom-up approach fashion and thus break from the syndrome of universally applied theories which have often been devoid of empirical foundations. This study is a venture into one of the most important economic sectors of rural Africa from a historical perspective.

This study covers the period from 1900 to 1960. Since the district first witnessed colonial occupation in 1903, the year 1900 serves as a suitable starting point for the analysis of the role of cattle in the economy of Rongo on the eve of colonialism upon which subsequent changes are assessed. The year 1960 marked the climax of colonial rule in Rongo.

1:5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is inspired by a number of theories which over the years have been used in the analysis of colonial African economies. These theories are Dualism, Dependency and Articulation.

The Dualism theory propounded by the works of Arthur Lewis and Ann Seidmann identified two aspects of colonial African economies.¹² These are an export enclave economy and a subsistence economy. According to the theory the export enclave economy is characterised by modern technology, is dynamic and cash-oriented as opposed to the subsistence economy which is characterised by primitive technology and is static. In this theory the capitalist economy is seen as running parallel to the pre-capitalist economies. In fact, the pre-capitalist economies are depicted as being outside the orbit and control of the colonial economy.

The Dualism theory suffers from a number of limitations. It presupposes that the traditional subsistence economies have to assume the same development of western societies.¹³

Mafeje has rightly explained the shortcomings of the Dualism theory in the following words:

Empirically there is no justification for a dichotomous distinction between what is imagined to be the change-resistant 'traditional sector' and the so-called 'modern sector' given the existence of certain specific forms of interaction and exchange between the two.¹⁴

Similarly, Neil Parsons and Robin Palmer have criticised the Dualism theory. They have argued that Dualism imputes "to Africa inherent economic backwardness and irrationality" which has been discounted by certain works on colonial African economies.¹⁵

Nevertheless, it would be interesting to observe whether or not the Rongo colonial experience uphold the Dualism theory.

The Dualism theory has also been criticised by the Dependency theorists. The leading exponent of this theory of Dependency is Andre Gunder Frank. His main thesis is that:

Contemporary underdevelopment is in a large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between satellites, underdeveloped, and the now developed metropolitan countries. Furthermore, these countries are an essential part of the structure and development of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole.¹⁶

Thus, while refuting the Dualism theory, the dependency theorists suggest that it is in the conception of underdevelopment as a product of in-built dialectic between developed (metropole) and underdeveloped (satellite) countries that the dynamics and the nature of the colonial economies can best be illuminated.¹⁷

Unfortunately, the dependency theory leave some questions unanswered. For example, are exchange and surplus extraction the only economic components of a mode of production? What are the production relations within a given social formation? How do various social formations relate to a given dominant mode of production? Thus, a critical analysis of the Dependency theory shows that it ignores the fact that modes of production are abstractions which have neither empirical nor historical foundations. Consequently, modes of production lack necessary sequence of time element and cannot per se shed light on the internal dynamics of the economies of specific localities. Although, the dependency theory is more illuminating at the exchange level it ignores the production relations which are crucial in capitalist production. On this note Laclau, in the Latin American context, has argued that:

It is not in the analysis of the relations of exchange or circulation as the dependency theorists contend, but in a rigorous marxist analysis of the relations of production and the articulation between the capitalist and persisting pre-capitalist modes of production that the essential nature of the societies of Latin America can be properly comprehended.¹⁸

Laclau's main argument is that to understand the internal economic workings of any economy it is vital to understand the given formations.

Meanwhile, Goran Hyden in his analysis of the uncaptured peasantry has emphasized the need to distinguish between integration and penetration in the assessment of the impact of capitalism on the African economies.¹⁹

His main thesis is that integration and penetration are not necessarily synonymous and hence, although Tanzania was by and large brought within the orbit of the capitalist economy her peasantry was never fully penetrated, restructured and brought within the ambit of that economy. In his words the Tanzanian peasantry remained "uncaptured".²⁰ While logical questions may be raised over Hyden's conclusions, our concern here is his methodological formulation.

Hyden rightly suggests that to understand the nature of African economies it is vital not only to explore the extent to which the underdeveloped economies have been integrated into the World capitalist system but also the extent to which the systems of production in those economies have been penetrated by capitalism. This need to explore the systems of production within the colonial social formations to determine the extent of capitalist penetration into the traditional African economies has been the main thesis of the advocates of the theory of Articulation.

According to Bruce Berman, this critical and systematised analysis of the articulation of the traditional economies with the capitalist economies should be seen in two perspectives. First, in the ways through which European capital and the colonial state attempted to control the labour power and production of African societies and second, in the extent to which European capital interfered with the pre-colonial forms of production which resulted in the decline of productivity and widespread pauperization.²¹

However a theoretical consideration of the agro-pastoral economy must address itself to three main issues: ecological setting of agro-pastoralism, economics of production and exchange in livestock economy and the herd and flock structure.

Peter Rigby in an attempt to come to grips with the above issues has discounted many of the conceptualizations of pastoral and other pre-capitalist social formations current in history.²² He contends that abstract theorization unsupported by contextual understanding of the politico-economic transformation of particular pre-capitalist social formations cannot shed light on the socio-economic change among the pastoral societies. His extensive research among the Ilaparakuyo Maasai of Tanzania has demonstrated that cattle economy is more life - enhancing and has a pride of place in agro-pastoral societies.

Jeremy Swift and Frederick Barth have also provided some insights into the political economy of agro-pastoralism as a form of production.²³ They have identified certain features that are germane to agro-pastoral production. These include rapid population growth, limited carrying capacity of communally owned pastures and the generation of economic inequality. They contend that the features have been instrumental in effecting the adverse developments such as "environmental hazards, diseconomies of scale in herding and a consequent sedentarisation into agriculture at the rich and poor ends of the pastoral wealth spectrum".²⁴

Notwithstanding the significance of the above three variables in highlighting the dynamics of cattle economy during the colonial period, it is important to emphasize the fact that they were subject to the political and economic structures inaugurated by the colonial state. This is least surprising since the transformation of cattle economy in Rongo during the colonial period poses pertinent questions revolving around the nature and working of the pre-colonial Rongo economy and its subsequent incorporation into the colonial economy. For example, what was the role of cattle in the economy of Rongo on the eve of Colonialism? What was the basic unit of labour organisation and how was it organised to ensure proper husbandry methods? Who controlled cattle products? Who utilised cattle products? How did the dawn of colonial rule and the inception of the colonial state affect the labour organisation in cattle production and management? Under colonialism who controlled and utilised cattle products in Rongo? How did cattle owners and traders react to the colonial policies such as destocking and quarantines? What was the economic impact of trade in cattle and cattle products? Moreover, how far was the cattle economy integrated into the World Capitalist system and to what extent did capitalism penetrate the Rongo countryside? This study attempts to answer some, if not all, of these questions within the foregoing theoretical framework of Articulation.

1:6 HYPOTHESES

1. The policies of the colonial state contributed to the relative economic decline of cattle in the economy of Rongo.

2. . The development of trade and the penetration of money into rural Rongo transformed the purpose and methods of cattle production.
3. . The commercialisation of the cattle economy led to the development of local entrepreneurship in Rongo.

1:7 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Several studies have already been carried out on the general as well as specific aspects of the economy of colonial Kenya. Consequently, the articulation of the pre-capitalist African economies with the World capitalist economy had been a subject of analysis by Henry Bernstein, Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, and Dupre and Rey who have analysed the relationship between the two economies by looking at the specific conditions of existence and organisation of the determinate mode of production.

Bernstein in his analysis of the diverse ways through which the rural producers were incorporated into the circuits of the World economy has argued that a proper understanding of the dynamics of a social formation can best be illuminated by examining how the "conditions of production and reproduction are determined by the operations of capital".²⁵ Consequently, Bernstein asserts that the destruction of the natural economy, which was mainly characterized by production of use values, and the commoditization of the peasant economy eroded the culture of production and subsequently disqualified the traditional skills.

Bernstein's theoretical analysis provides a 'mirror' through which the relationship between the pre-capitalist and capitalist social formations can be analysed. For example, was the natural economy of Rongo destroyed and if so with what results? To what extent was the pre-colonial culture of production in Rongo eroded under the colonial capitalist economy? Were the 'traditional' skills completely disqualified in the colonial economy of Rongo? These questions arising from Bernstein's formulation are vital in understanding the dynamics of cattle economy.

Georges Dupre¹ and Pierre Rey in their discussion of Theory of Exchange have drawn attention to the relationship between the pre-capitalist and capitalist systems.²⁶ They argue that under the capitalist mode of production there are discernable social formations which are, however, bound by the mechanisms of capitalism as the dominant mode of production. The capitalist mode of production controls the reproduction of the pre-capitalist social formation through the provision of such items as goods and money which are specific to the labour power. In a sense capitalism creates a form of dependency and transforms the purpose of economic organisation and production in pre-capitalist social formations. It would be interesting to observe whether this also applied to Rongo.

Claude Ake in his analysis of the political economy of Africa identified some features through which the pre-colonial economies became dominated by the western metropolises.²⁷

These features include the transport systems, taxation, monetisation, and commoditization as crucial factors in the dislocation of the production patterns of the pre-colonial economies and their subsequent incorporation into the circuits of the capitalist economy. It is vital to explore how these features affected the cattle economy of Rongo during the colonial period.

In their analysis of the colonial state, Berman and Lonsdale argue that the state is the "ultimate unit of economic reproduction, or accumulation and of political reproduction, or social control";²⁸ Because of the economic conflicts inherent in the colonies due to "contradiction in capitalism's articulation with indigeneous mode of production," the colonial state was bound to intervene in the management of the colonial economy.²⁹ In colonial Kenya the situation became even more complicated because of the various economic interests of the settlers, private capital, Africans and the Asian merchant capital. It is important to find out how the divergent interests of these groups were being mediated by the colonial state in Rongo.

Edward Brett and Richard Wolff have analysed the exploitative nature of colonialism in Kenya. Brett argues that colonialism required the establishment of an export-oriented production system.³⁰ Although the establishment of this system necessitated development in various factors of production, particularly land and labour, its success depended mainly on the extent to which the pre-capitalist forms of production could be restructured.

Peasants had to be brought into the money economy but according to Brett this, "did not necessitate the total transformation of their environment since it was only necessary to integrate some small part of their production into the new system, leaving the remainder to provide for a wide range of subsistence needs".³¹

However, Brett does not specify which part of the peasants production were brought within the ambit of the new production system. Furthermore, he does not make it clear whether those parts of the pre-capitalist production system were autonomous or not. Brett's general conclusions and assumptions on colonization and underdevelopment in Kenya need to be verified with regard to the cattle economy of Rongo.

It is Wolf's contention that the colonization of Kenya was essentially an economic plan which was conceived and executed by Britain.³² Consequently, the economic developments in the Kenya colony were by and large designed to meet the metropolitan demands. This occasioned adjustments in the pre-capitalist forms of production under the supervision of the colonial state. He goes further to assert that the alienation of land in Kenya set the stage for the application of British colonial development strategies which entailed the reorganisation of the African labour and the subsequent development of a Kenyan wage-earning class. This study hopes to explore how this reorganisation of the African labour under colonial capitalist economy affected chores in cattle economy.

Although the above cited works have tended to be more theoretical and sometimes too broad and general, the ideas formulated from their broad contextual analysis are of great relevance to the study of dynamics of cattle economy during the colonial period.

Van Zwanenberg and Anne King have surveyed the economic history of Kenya and Uganda between 1800 and 1970. Of immediate relevance to this study is their discussion of the changing fortunes of African cattle herds in Kenya during the colonial period.³³ They argue that the imposition of colonial rule and the entrenchment of the white settlers in livestock farming adversely affected the development of African cattle enterprise. African cattle were viewed as veterinary hazards and were constantly kept under quarantine to prevent or at least control the spread of disease to the settler dairy farms and ranches.

However, Van Zwanenberg and King concentrate their discussion on the pastoral communities and those who lived in close proximity to the settlers. Nevertheless, Zwanenberg and King's pioneering work is a useful starting point in the study of cattle economy in Rongo.

Gavin Kitching has taken a study of social differentiation and economic distinction amongst the Africans.³⁴ One of the strengths of Kitching's study is his analysis of economic change within the rural countryside during the colonial period.

With regard to cattle he argues that the monetisation of the economy facilitated the development of cattle trade and the transformation of the purpose of cattle production from the satisfaction of subsistence domestic needs to profit making. However, the author mainly focuses on the Somali stock traders but is silent on the impact of colonialism on the local cattle traders.

Helge Kjekshus and Harold Schneider dealt with cattle in the context of the East African ecological setting. Kjekshus argues that the cattle owners were dynamic, innovative and technical in their approach to methods and practices of disease control. He identifies methods of control used by the people of Tanzania. Controls cited include nocturnal movements, smoking, bush clearing and wildlife eradication schemes.³⁵ Kjekshus attributes the existence of large numbers of cattle to the capacity of African herdsman to control the environment. This control was eroded by colonialism. Thus, Kjekshus rightly suggests that cattle keepers were aware of the closer relationship between cattle production and ecological balance. In the same vein Schneider has emphasized the influence of ecology, rainfall, tsetse fly and soil types in the reproduction of cattle in East Africa.³⁶ He further focuses on inter-ethnic trade of cattle and cattle products but is silent on the effect of political and economic policies on reproduction, trade and marketing of cattle particularly within the colonial setting.

Moreover, both Kjekshus and Schneider have not highlighted the household labour relations pertaining to cattle production and management in the colonial period. For example, they do not discuss the effects of colonialism on the pre-colonial labour organisation and production relations at the household and homestead levels. The present study hopes to fill some of those gaps in the existing studies on the colonial economy of Kenya. Following the example of Kjekshus the study further attempts to show how colonialism disrupted the traditional cattle management in the physical environment of Rongo and to indicate the consequence of this disruption.

There have also been a number of regional studies which are relevant and useful to this study. This importance of cattle as a major component of the economy of the Luo people, particularly at the turn of the century, has received some attention from William Ochieng, Michael Whission and Jean Hay. Ochieng has stressed the importance of cattle among the Luo both in their subsistence economy and exchange relations with their Gusii neighbours.³⁷ Similarly, Whission asserts that until the disastrous rinderpest epizootic of the 1890's which wiped out vast numbers of livestock, cattle was an important component of the Luo economy.³⁸ Hay emphasizes the prominent role of cattle in the economy of the Kowe and agrees with Whission that the epidemic forced the Luos to switch to fishing and crop production.³⁹

These studies by Ochieng, Whission and Hay raises a number of questions about the colonial economy of Rongo. Did cattle continue to be important in the subsistence economy of the people of Rongo during the entire colonial period? How important was this exchange relationship between Rongo and her Gusii neighbours under the colonial capitalist economy? Did the Luo ever revert to cattle production or did the epidemics of 1890's mark the beginning of a permanent shift from cattle to crop cultivation and fishing? Were there other factors apart from epidemics which determined the change in production priorities during the colonial period; Were there other sectors apart from fishing and crop production which the people of Rongo resorted to under the colonial capitalist economy? These are important questions which this study hopes to answer.

A.B.C. Ocholla-Ayayo has a rich and discursive analysis of cattle exchange, cattle as bridewealth and cattle as meat but one is struck by the static and timeless nature of his approach.⁴⁰ At least for historical purposes one needs to go further and show how the importance of cattle for subsistence and commercial purposes has changed overtime and what caused these changes.

Pertinent issues relating to the role of the colonial state in the cattle enterprise is equally vital in the analysis of the changing role of cattle. The role of the state in enforcing regulatory measures in cattle trade and in cattle products in the Nyanza province of Kenya has been analysed by Hugh Fearn, Judith Butterman and, Atieno-Odhiambo and David Cohen.

Hugh Fearn analyses regulation of cattle movements and asserts that this was done primarily to serve interests of the white settlers through the separation of the African stock from those of Europeans to avoid spread of disease.⁴¹ Fearn, however, does not show the extent of African participation in cattle trade and the markets and marketing system of cattle as a commercial enterprise. This study hopes to find out the applicability of Fearn's researches to the Rongo division.

Judith Butterman has a detailed treatment of cattle transactions in South Nyanza district.⁴² Cattle products particularly ghee, hides and skins, and milk are identified and their importance in the colonial economy of South Nyanza is rightly emphasized. She shows that the Local Native Councils were important statutory organs which were effectively utilised in breaking the monopoly of non-indigenous middlemen in certain economic sectors in South Nyanza district. Although the article is silent on cattle trade and its organisation, since more emphasis is laid on cattle products, it is indispensable in this study because of its illuminating analysis of the transactions involving cattle products.

Atieno-Odhiambo and David Cohen have examined cattle production and management, more specifically cattle trade, under the political economy of colonialism.⁴³ They discuss movement and exchange of surplus cattle, commercialisation of cattle products such as ghee,

meat and, hides and skins. They identify cattle traders and cattle 'walkers,' and the accumulation of capital that accompanied this trade. They also analyse the policies pertaining to the cattle trade as well as the traders' responses to these policies. They further identify cattle trade as a contributory factor in rural urbanization. The value of this work which used data drawn from Siaya is that it constitutes a useful springboard for the study of the cattle economy in Rongo division.

1:8 METHODOLOGY

This work is a product of three major sources. These are library, archival and oral sources. The first task was to study all the published books relevant to the subject. These studies were vital in the formulation of research questions through the identification of the gaps and shortcomings in the existing literature. Special attention was paid to works pertaining to cattle production and management, the nature and working of the colonial and pre-colonial economies, socio-economic change during the colonial period and the role of the colonial state in the colonial economies. Pre-colonial African economies were reviewed to identify their salient features since this was vital in the provision of background information upon which structural continuities and discontinuities in the colonial period are examined.

Before proceeding to the field for oral interviews archival research was undertaken at the Kenya National Archives.

Several records were perused through, and analysed. Most important among the records were the South Kavirondo district and Nyanza province annual reports, Local Native Council reports for the South Kavirondo district and minutes of Local Native Council and African District Council meetings. The Colonial Handing Over Reports and Political Record Books for South Kavirondo provided useful information pertaining to various political and economic aspects of various locations in the district. The agricultural and veterinary reports were very illuminating on the endemic and epidemic disease of cattle, food shortages and the reaction of both the government and the local residents of the district to these crises. In a sense archival information provided insights which helped during field investigations.

In the field, personal interviews were conducted and open ended questions were asked. Except for interviews with the District Officer and Divisional Livestock Officer for Rongo, all other interviews were conducted in Dho-luo language. This was because all the informants speak Dho-luo language, and since the interviewer also speaks the same language, there was no communication barrier and this ensured a two-way dialogue between the informants and the interviewer. During the interviews tape-recording and note-taking were used simultaneously. The tapes were interpreted and transcribed at the end of the working day and the information synthesized within the set themes of the objectives.

Although personal interviews were mostly conducted, there were cases when doubts arose over certain information and group interviews were arranged for the verification of the facts. During such group interviews the informants were allowed to talk freely over the given issue with slight interjections to determine and verify the validity of the facts and to avoid the domination of the session by particular informants.

In the choice of those informants who participated in trade in cattle and cattle products, archival records were used as a starting point. Names of active traders in cattle and related products were sorted out from the colonial records at the Kenya National Archives. The particular individuals, at least those who were still alive, were identified and interviewed. From them names of their other business associates who were not mentioned in the colonial records were received. The names were then grouped according to the various trades which they specialised in, whether one was a cattle trader, a trader in ghee, a trader in hides and skins or butcher. Within the locations two cattle traders, two ghee traders, two traders in hides and skins and two butchers were chosen randomly from amongst the list of the location. This ensured that all the parts of the division were in the collection of oral data. The chosen people were then interviewed.

However, some of those mentioned in the records had died. In such cases their wives and/or sons were interviewed on the business activities of the deceased.

Coincidentally, some of the sons were active traders who operated under the umbrella of their fathers and provided valuable information. The information received from these relatives of the deceased was cross-checked with information received from the surviving business associates of the deceased, and from colonial records at the National Archives.

For interviews of cattle owners, assistance was received from the chiefs, assistant chiefs and headmen in the division who provided the names of those who owned cattle during the colonial period. While this ensured that at least each and every sub-location in the division was brought within the sample frame, the list was not binding on the persons to be interviewed. Two sub-locations were then chosen at random from each location and from each of the chosen sub-locations a cattle owner was chosen at random and interviewed. This procedure was chosen in order to ensure a representative choice of the informants.

In terms of age structure, emphasis was laid on the 1900-1940 cohort. This was to ensure that as much information as possible was received from not only those who owned cattle but even those who looked after cattle, prepared cattle products for consumption, or exchange and were active in those chores by about 1960.

The Divisional livestock officer for Rongo and all locational Animal Health Assistants were also interviewed. They provided professional information pertaining to actual veterinary conditions in Rongo division.

In all seventy four informants were interviewed in the field. After gathering information from the library, Kenya National Archives and field research, all of them were cross-checked, synthesized and analysed.

However, during field research some problems were encountered which will have some reflection in this work. Outstanding among them was lack of adequate quantitative data. Data relating to the number of cattle owned by individual at various times, acreage under crop cultivation, the amount accruing to cattle owners and traders in Rongo division after sale of their products, and the prices of cattle and cattle products in the division at various times during our period of study are vital data but unfortunately could not be obtained from the informants with adequate precision. This was mainly due to blurred or failing memory on the part of the informants and the lack of precise figures in oral sources.⁴⁴

Be that as it may, oral sources had their own means of quantification which though not precise, nevertheless, provided some meaningful insights into the scale and numerical dimension in certain aspects of cattle transactions and other sectors of colonial economy of Rongo. Such information from oral informants was utilised after cross-checking with the available data for the district whenever such data was available. Thus effective use has been made of the available quantitative data, albeit scanty, through a rigorous cross-checking, synthesis and analysis of the library, archival and oral sources to ensure a consistent, analytical and sound work which portrays the transformation of cattle economy in Rongo.

1:9 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The approach in the arrangement of the chapters is thematic although it follows a chronological order to allow for the development and flow from one chapter to another. The study is organised in six chapters. This first chapter has given a general overview of the study by stating the problem, outlining the objectives and setting the hypotheses. A review of some theories which have been used in the study of the colonial economies, literature related to the study and sources of the study have also been highlighted.

The second chapter surveys the role of cattle in the economy of Rongo division on the eve of colonialism. The chapter serves as a basis upon which the subsequent developments on the cattle economy during the colonial period are assessed.

Chapter three examines the immediate impact of colonialism on the cattle economy of Rongo in the period 1903 to 1918. The development of roads, the establishment of trading centres, the introduction of taxes and new crops and the demand for labour are analysed in terms of their impact on the cattle economy of Rongo.

The fourth chapter explores the inter-war economic trends through the identification of both internal and external crises and strains to cattle production and management in Rongo division. The responses to these crises by cattle owners and traders in cattle products from Rongo are also explored.

The fifth chapter argues that the period 1940-1960 saw new innovations in the cattle economy of Rongo. The Rongo economy became more diversified than ever before and this resulted in the eclipse of cattle as the principal sector of the economy of the division. The chapter shows how these innovations affected the cattle economy.

The summary and main conclusions of the study are given in chapter six.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Republic of Kenya, Kenya population census volume 2 (Government Printer, 1979), p. 91.
2. Ibid.
3. Ministry of Finance and planning, Kenya Range and Ecological Monitoring Unit, Technical Report No. 116 (April, 1985), pp. 1-4.
4. Ibid.
5. See William R. Ochieng; An outline History of Nyanza Upto 1914 (Kampala, E.A.L.B. 1974), p. 208, and S. Birundu, "Gusii Trade in the Nineteenth Century" (B.A. dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1973), p. 14.
6. KNA, DC/KSI/1/21, Annual Report for South Nyanza District, 1959.
7. KNA, DC/KSI/3/3, History of SK district, 1903-11. Also see V. Harlow, et al (eds), History of Africa volume 11. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 28.
8. This is even more so in South Nyanza District where there have been very few historical studies undertaken pertaining to the dynamics of colonial economy. However, there have been two works in this area. See Judith Butterman, "Luo Social Formations in Change; Karachuonyo and Kanyamkago" (PH.D. Thesis, Syracuse University, 1979) and Peter O. Ndege, "Socio-Economic Change in Kasipul-Kabondo, 1800-1960" (M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1987).
9. For example see, A.H. Jacobs, The Pastoral Maasai of Kenya; A report of Anthropological Field Research (Urbana, Illinois, 1963).

10. For example see, M.J.Herskovitz, "The cattle complex in East Africa," in American Anthropologist Volume 28 (1926), pp.230-272.
11. See the introduction in B.A. Ogot, (ed), Economic and Social History of East Africa (Nairobi, E.A.L.B., 1975) p. ix. Also see P. Hill, Studies in Rural Capitalism in West Africa (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970).
12. Ann Seidmann, Comparative Development Strategies in East Africa (Nairobi, E.A.P.H., 1972). For a critique of the theory, see H. Marcussen, "The theory of modernisation and Notion of Dualism" and A Mafeje, "The fallacy of Dual economies Revisited,," both in R. Leys, (ed), Dualism and Rural Development in East Africa (Institute for Development Research, Denmark, 1973), pp. 19-20 and 27-52 respectively, A. Lewis, The Theory of Economic Growth. (London, 1955).
13. H. Marcussen, op.cit. pp.19-20.
14. A. Mafeje, op.cit. pp. 27-28.
15. N. Parsons and R. Palmer, (eds), Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa (London, Heinemann, 1977), p.4.
16. A.G. Frank, Latin American: Underdevelopment or Revolution (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1969) p. 4, also quoted in R. Leys (ed.), op.cit., p. 32.
17. Ibid.
18. E. Laclau, "Feudalism and capitalism in Latin America," in NLR Volume 67 (May-June 1971), p.4.
19. G. Hyden, Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania, Underdevelopment and Uncaptured Peasantry (London, Heinemann, 1980). p. 21. See also J. Banaji's articles, "Backwood Capitalism, primitive accumulation and modes of production," in JCA Volume 3 No.4.. (1973), pp. 393-411; and "Mode of production in a materialist conception of History," in CC Volume 3 (1977), pp. 1-44.
20. Ibid.

21. B. Berman, "'The Concept of Articulation' and the political Economy of colonialism," in CJAS Vol. 18 No. 2. (1984), p.407.
22. Peter Rigby, Persistent Pastoralists, Nomadic Societies in Transition (London, Zed Press, 1985)
23. See Jeremy Swift, "The economics of production and exchange in West African pastoral societies", in M. Adamu and A. Kirk-Greene (eds.), Pastoralists of the West African Savanna (Manchester University Press, 1986), and Fredrik Barth, "Capital, Investment and the social structure of a Pastoral Nomad Group in South Persia," in Firth, R. and B.S. Yamey(eds): Capital, Saving, and Credit in Peasant Societies (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964).
24. Jeremy Swift, Op.Cit. p. 176.
25. H. Bernstein "Notes on capital and peasantry" in RAPE No. 10 (1978). p. 61.
26. Georges Dupre' and Pierre Rey, "Reflections on The Relevance of a Theory of the History of Exchange," in David Seddon, (ed.), Relations of Production (London, Frank Cass, 1978, p. 206.
27. C. Ake, A Political Economy of Africa (Harlow, Longmans, 1981).
28. J. Lonsdale and B. Berman, "Coping with contradictions: the development of the colonial state in Kenya, 1995-1914," in JAH Vol. 20 No. 4 (1979), p. 489.
29. Ibid. p. 504.
30. E.A. Brett, Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa (London, Heinemann, 1972).
31. Ibid. p. 168.
32. See Richard D. Wolff, Britain and Kenya 1870-1930, The economies of colonialism (Nairobi, Transafrica Publishers Ltd., 1974).

33. R. Van Zwanenberg with A. King, An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda, 1800-1970 (London, MacMillan 1975), pp.79-109.
34. G. Kitching, Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The making of an African Petite Bourgeoise 1905-1970 (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1980)
35. H. Kjekshus, Ecology Control and Economic development in East Africa History: The case of Tanganyika, 1850-1950. London, Heinemann, 1977), pp.51-68.
36. H.K. Schneider, Livestock and Equity in East Africa: The Economic Basic Structure of Society (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1979).
37. William R. Ochieng, op.cit. p. 208.
38. M.G. Whission, Change and Challenges: A Study of Social Change among the Kenya Luo (Nairobi NCKK, 1964).
39. M.J. Hay, "Economic Change in Late nineteenth Century Kowe, Western Kenya," in B.A. Ogot, (ed.) Hadith S. Economic and Social History of East Africa. op.cit., pp.98-100.
40. A.B.C. Ockolla-Ayayo, "Marriage and cattle exchange among the Nilotic Luo," in Paideuma, Volume 25 (1979), pp.173-193.
41. H. Fearn, An African Economy: A Study of the Economic Development of Nyanza Province, 1903-1953 (London, Oxford University Press, 1956).
42. J. Butterman, "The politics of Marketing in South Nyanza district, Kenya 1919-1945," in E.S. Atieno-Odliambo, (ed.), Sango, No. 3 (1983). pp. 27-45.

43. E.S. Atieno-Odhiambo and D.W. Cohen, "strategies of Survival in the Rural Economy: Studies from Western Kenya." Paper presented at The Kenyan Economic Association (October 24, 1986). Unpublished.

44. For paucity of data in Oral Traditions, see J.B. Mugaju, "The problem of quantification in Oral Traditions," Seminar paper No.7, University of Nairobi, (1986/87).

CHAPTER TWO

CATTLE ECONOMY ON THE EVE OF COLONIALISM

2:1 INTRODUCTION

In order to appreciate the importance of cattle production and management, it is necessary to give a general review of cattle economy on the eve of colonialism. As already mentioned, the people of Rongo were mixed farmers. Cattle and crop production were the mainstay of their economy. These activities were supplemented by hunting, food gathering and river fishing. These peripheral activities were usually intensified during periods of drought and food scarcity. However, among all the economic activities in the division cattle production was the most important. This chapter analyses the economic significance of cattle in the general economy of Rongo on the eve of colonialism with reference to ways of acquiring cattle, rights of ownership, foraging and breeding practices and the division of labour. Constraints to cattle production and management are also examined. The main argument of this chapter is that cattle economy in Rongo on the eve of colonialism was, by and large, viable and robust.

2:2 ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF CATTLE IN THE ECONOMY OF RONGO

Cattle was considered so important that a person who had none was considered a poor man, jachan.¹ Cattle ownership was the main yardstick of an individual's social and economic status in pre-colonial Rongo society. Cattle were important because they performed many social and economic functions.

First and foremost cattle were a principal source of food. Milk was the most important cattle product. A meal without milk or its ingredients such as butter or ghee was considered not only to be incomplete but also unsatisfactory. Blood and meat were also important cattle products. However, as opposed to milk they were not daily products. In the slaughter for meat bulls were preferred. The slaughter was mainly common on special occasions such as during harvest and social gatherings. Cows were slaughtered for meat when they were sterile or old. The economic rationale for this was that the cattle keepers wanted to avoid the diminution of the herds and the erosion of the economic resource base.² Cattle food products such as milk and meat which were not immediately consumed were preserved for future use.

Cattle also provided the inhabitants of Rongo with their material requirements. Hides and skins provided clothing and bedding. They were also used in making bags, containers, shields and drums. Cow dung was mainly used as fuel and in smearing houses. The varied functions of cattle products in the households of Rongo indicates that cattle played a vital role in the economic life of the people in the division.

Cattle in Rongo were not only sources of consumption goods but they were also an agency for production, sustenance and perpetuation of labour which was the driving force behind most of the economic activities in the division. In fact, the larger the herd one possessed the more he was assured of a sound economic

base which was prerequisite for the perpetuation of that particular lineage and availability of labour.

Bridewealth was paid in cattle.³ As a result, the more cattle one possessed, the more women one could marry. Women provided labour themselves by participating in various cattle chores and other economic activities such as crop production. Through procreation they introduced more labour and enlarged the social group. As Jeff Guy has argued in a different context, cattle accumulation in Rongo, "was not an end in itself but practised in order to transform these cattle into human beings, thereby increasing the size of the social group and the amount of labour power at the command of the individual."⁴

That cattle was an agency through which the labour of the households and hence social groups in Rongo division was increased is quite explicit from both the oral and archival sources.⁵ These sources do concur that in Rongo and, indeed, the entire Luo community the loss of human labour was compensated for in cattle. In cases of homicides, the deceased's relatives got cattle from those responsible for the death. Compensation varied from three to five cattle depending on the nature of offence, age and gender.⁶

Large cattle owners in Rongo were respected and rated very high in the social ladder. Emphasising this phenomenon, Whission noted that cattle were vital, "to the ladder of social status which most men essayed to climb at some time in their lives."⁷ However, this respect and high rating was two dimensional; social

and economic. In Rongo the respect and rating arose not out of cultural or social aspects but, rather, out of the economic dynamics of cattle accumulation. In fact, the social aspects were mere outcrops of the economic foundations of cattle husbandry. Unlike the Swazi, the people of Rongo were conscious of the need to balance both quality and quantity.⁸ The cattle owners in Rongo were skilled and caring herdsman. The social esteem enjoyed by the cattle owners was to a large extent a measure of their success in cattle husbandry. However, this economic success had its costs and benefits. While a cattle owner commanded respect and was accorded high status in Rongo, he had social obligation to the rest of the community. Cattle accumulation in Rongo "entailed the burden of generosity."⁹

The accumulation of cattle in Rongo was an investment policy and economic insurance. It was a form of saving for the future benefit of the individuals, households, homesteads and future generations. The herd acted as a 'bank' from which resources could be drawn upon to satisfy certain urgent needs like settling debts, purchasing grain in time of food scarcity, compensation and bridewealth. The larger the herd one possessed, the more he was able to cope with emergencies without seriously depleting the size of the cattle herd.

Cattle were also important as a medium of exchange and a standard measure against which grain, sheep and goats were valued (see tables 2.2 and 2.3). It is evident from these exchange rates

that a cow was the most highly valued livestock. A bull and a heifer were more or less of the same value. It should be noted though that these measures were only approximate and there were considerable variations from one locality to another. Generally the measure was relative to the size and health of the animal and the prevailing market conditions.¹⁰

The trade in cattle and related products were at three major levels namely local, regional and long-distance. At the local level values were worked out between Jo-Kamagambo and Jo-Sakwa and even between the various clans which comprised Kamagambo and Sakwa.¹¹ Milk, ghee and dried meat were the most important cattle products. At this localised level one could slaughter an animal with the express motive of getting grain. Meat was exchanged for grain and the exchange rate was governed by the law of demand and supply.¹² The measure of grain varied with the sizes of the baskets (see table 2.1). Ondweto or Adita was the smallest measure while Atonga was the largest measure in exchanges involving meat. Extra meat was given in addition to the agreed quantity.¹³ When grain was not immediately available, a credit system was used. The would-be grain owner would be given meat, and she would take an agreed basket which she would fill with grain and return when she had harvested. Oral narratives indicate that this loaning system was quite reliable.¹⁴ Credit facilities were denied to notorious defaulters.¹⁵

TABLE 2.1

APPROXIMATE CONTENTS USED IN GRAIN MEASURE

<u>ATONGA RUM</u>	Largest size of measurement. It contained 6-8 tins of sorghum. (A tin which weighs about 20 Kg.)
<u>ATONGA</u>	Medium size which contained about 20 Kg of sorghum
<u>KAMIERO</u>	Contained about 10 Kg of sorghum
<u>ONDWETO/ADITA</u>	Smallest size. contained about 5 Kg.

TABLE 2.2

APPROXIMATE EXCHANGE RATES OF CATTLE AND GRAIN

1 COW	8-10 ATONGA-RUM of sorghum
1 HEIFER	6-8 ATONGA-RUM of sorghum
1 BULL	6-8 ATONGA-RUM of sorghum

TABLE 2.3

APPROXIMATE EXCHANGE RATES OF CATTLE, AND SHEEP AND GOATS

1 COW	12 Sheep or goats
1 HEIFER	8 Sheep or goats
1 BULLOCK	9 Sheep or goats

SOURCE: Based on Oral Interviews at South Sakwa, North Sakwa, Central Sakwa, West Sakwa, South Kamagambo, North Kamagambo, Central Kamagambo and West Kamagambo.

In Rongo, sometimes crop yields were so low that, extra grain had to be found to make up for the deficit by importing grain from their Abagusii neighbours.¹⁶ Cattle were taken to Gusiiland and exchanged for grain, particularly finger-millet. The sour milk from Rongo also found a ready market in Gusiiland where it was highly valued because it could stay for long without going bad.¹⁷ This regional trade offered an opportunity for exchange relations not only between Rongo and Gusiiland but also with neighbouring locations such as Kagan and Kanyada.¹⁸ These two locations exchanged their cattle with grain from Rongo when the division witnessed bumper harvest.

Cattle did not only change hands among various peoples in Rongo and her neighbourhood but also in the whole region stretching from the present day northern Tanzania in the south to Siaya in the north and Gusiiland in the east.¹⁹ In so far as cattle transactions

are concerned the regions formed interdependent economic units with the local trade being the foundation upon which both the regional and long-distance trades were built. This free movement of people and cattle in this region made it part of the wider 'common market' of the lake region whose economic prominence has been underscored by Jean Hay when she asserts:

Taking a very broad perspective, one might say that the whole lake region had become a kind of 'common market' in the 1880's and 1890's with a free movement of people and goods which had little respect for the tribal or political boundaries which would seem so important later on.²⁰

Thus, on the eve of colonialism, Rongo was not an economic 'island' isolated from the other regions. Cattle was an important item that facilitated the commercial links between Rongo and other localities within the lake region.

2:3 ACQUISITION OF CATTLE AND RIGHTS OF OWNERSHIP

Because of the importance of cattle in the economy of Rongo, there was always a drive to acquire and accumulate cattle. There were eight main ways of acquiring cattle in Rongo division.²¹ Inheritance was one of the most common ways through which cattle was acquired by members of the family of a deceased cattle owner. But for a few exceptions, inheritance was usually patrilineal.

Bridewealth was another important way of acquiring cattle. In this aspect girls were highly valued. Oral evidence indicates

that at the turn of the century bridewealth payments averaged thirty head of cattle.²² Bridewealth was usually shared between the father and his immediate relatives.²³ For example, some were given to the paternal uncles of the bride not only to cement or reinforce the local kinship system but also to spread risk in the event of divorce.

Cattle could also be purchased through barter trade. People in Rongo sometimes produced grain surpluses which they often used in purchasing cattle. Oral evidence indicates that cattle owners in the division often resorted to this method of cattle acquisition after epizootics.²⁴

Payment was also an important way of acquiring cattle. Specialists in medicine, iron working and pottery as well as spirit mediums acquired cattle in form of payment for the service rendered to the community. They were paid in cattle, in goats and sheep in return for their professional services. Those who received many goats and sheep exchanged them with cattle. In fact, oral evidence clearly shows that in Rongo famous medicinemen, jothieth madongo, were also large cattle owners, jopith madongo.²⁵

Fines and compensations were also other ways through which some individuals in the society acquired cattle. When somebody committed a serious offence such as homicide he was supposed to compensate the bereaved family in cattle, or sheep and goats.

Credit facilities were extended to those who did not own or had lost cattle as a result of disease or raids. This was manifest in the type of internal loaning system of cattle among the people of Rongo. A cattle owner who had a large herd could give a friend or relative some cattle. The recipient would keep the cattle so given, look after them well and consume the milk, ghee and blood. He would keep the cattle until he had built his stock or, in cases of epizootics, after replenishment of his herd he would return the cattle he was given to the owner retaining their offspring.

As opposed to loaning, gifts were used as a way of helping others to acquire and build stock. An individual could get cattle from several large cattle owners. However, he was not under any obligation to return the acquired cattle even after replenishing his stock. Both loaning and gifts as ways of acquiring cattle operated within a scheme of stock associateship. Stock associateship extended beyond the kinship system and one could have several stock associates with whom he maintained recognised and reciprocal rights of stock relations, either for assistance or for risk diversion.²⁷

Another important and often violent way of cattle acquisition was through raiding and rustling. Rustling as a way of cattle acquisition was an important economic activity. There were clan skirmishes as well as inter-ethnic skirmishes though within restricted limits and subject to checks and controls by the elders

from the warring clans. Such skirmishes usually ended in cattle raids, peyo dhok, where a clan could lose several hundreds of head of cattle to their antagonists. Although such raids were also mediated and checked through fear of compulsory compensation and retaliatory raids, not all cattle raided were recovered. Brave warriors, thuondi, exploited opportunities occasioned by such raids to accumulate cattle.

Rights of cattle ownership in Rongo was quite complex. The man as the head of the homestead and proprietor of cattle distributed cattle to various households within the homestead. The distributed cattle were under the trust of the head of the household who was the woman. Despite the trust, the households could not transfer or offer for sale any cattle without reference to the head of the homestead. As Shipton has argued the Luo:

exhibited 'house property complex' in which a male homestead head allocated land and livestock to his wives and offspring to use during his life time while retaining the senior rights himself.²⁸

However, it needs to be emphasized that, because of the importance attached to the family herd in Rongo, the senior rights were not absolute. The head of the homestead could not unilaterally transfer cattle without consulting his wife or wives and eldest son.

Rights of cattle ownership in Rongo were not dichotomised as there were overlapping rights depending on the mode of acquisition, requirements of the household and composition of the household.

Cattle which were brought to the homestead as bridewealth belonged to the man although the woman whose daughter was married would be consulted, or at least informed, of any transactions involving such cattle. Even a son who had cattle but still lived in the homestead of his father could not claim direct ownership of such cattle.²⁹ The cattle, in theory, belonged to the father although he could not transfer or sell them without consulting the son.

The distribution of cattle in each household of the homestead was determined by the number of people living in the house. As sons came of age and established their own homesteads they were given cattle from their respective households. Rigby has, thus, rightly argued that western concepts of absolute ownership do not apply in the African context. He has pointed out that, "women played an essential pivotal role in the transfer of this control, by inheritance primarily transmitted from one generation to another through the mediation of matrilineation."³⁰ It is also necessary to underscore the fact that there were variations in the amount of stock held by various individuals and households within a homestead. Furthermore, since cattle was the yardstick of one's economic status, there was no egalitarianism in Rongo society because of the existing inequalities of wealth.

2:4 FORAGING AND BREEDING PRACTICES

On the eve of colonialism the short-horned zebu cattle were the only breed in Rongo.³¹ The composition of a typical herd,

which on average was about one hundred head of cattle consisted of cows, bulls, oxen, calves and heifers.³²

Cattle husbandry in Rongo division was conditioned by a number of factors. These included the system of land tenure, the pattern of human settlement and climate. Land tenure systems in Africa have already received considerable attention from scholars.³³ Meek, for example, gave a lucid picture of the system of land tenure in most African societies when he stated:

Land is held on (a) kinship and/or (b) a local group basis. Individuals have definite rights, but these are qualified by a membership of a family, kindred and Ward (or small village). Similarly the individual claims of families exist concurrently with the wider claims of the clan or local group. Title therefore has a community character the elder is the custodian of land, but not its owner (emphasis mine).³⁴

This applied to Rongo and Luo society in general where kinship and belonging to the membership of a particular group were important qualifications in attaining usufructural rights.³⁵ In Rongo the system of land tenure guaranteed individuals and families grazing, occupation and cultivation rights. In the division, as indeed in most of the Luo areas, land for pasture was given the first preference followed by land for occupation and cultivation.³⁶ In fact, land was indispensable in the management of cattle enterprise (see table 2.4).

TABLE 2.4

MEANS OF PRODUCTION: BASIC CATEGORIES

MEANS OF PRODUCTION	SETTLED AGRICULTURE	BASIC CATEGORIES AGRO-PASTORAL	'PURE PASTORAL'
Land	+	+	-
Labour	+	+	+
Livestock	-	+	+

* + = Strong/primary

- = Weak/Secondary

SOURCE: Peter Rigby: Presistent Pastoralists: Nomadic Societies in Transition (London, zed Press, 1985),p.132

Because of the importance attached to proper husbandry methods there was no discrimination, against the 'jodak' who were tenants, in so far as grazing rights were concerned.³⁷ In fact the relationship between the 'jodak' and their hosts has been aptly described by;

P. Shipton when writes:

Farmers who wished to move away from their natal lands could become established as 'jodak' (sing. 'jadak'), land clients with provisional rights of residence and use, on or around the holdings of affines or strangers.³⁸

Although individuals' usufructural rights, particularly accessibility to land for pasture, was a basic tenet of the nature of the Rongo landholding system, it needs to be emphasised that the provisional rights were not absolute. They could be withdrawn at any time if the 'jadak' did not fulfil agreed obligations to his host. Such obligations included the undertaking of domestic chores as herding for the host and good conduct and behaviour, of the 'jodak', to the satisfaction of the clan.

Oral evidence indicates that the 'jadak' who fulfilled the agreed obligations was treated very well and accorded the respect just as any other member of the host community. After some time, normally three to four generations the descendants of the 'jadak' would generally be absorbed into the host community. Thereafter they became entitled to all the benefits and privileges and attained absolute rights of land tenure. From the foregoing it is arguable that the individuals' usufructural rights, particularly accessibility to land for pasture, was a basic tenet of the nature of Rongo land holding system.

The nature of land holding system and the precaution against raids determined both pattern of human settlement and the

nature of cattle grazing. Cattle grazing was afforded scope within the geographical limits of the clan. This limit was set and marked by theoretical but honoured boundaries between various clans of the division and their neighbours outside the division. Various clan lands were separated by free zones, or no man's land, locally known as 'thim.'³⁹ These free zones existed between Jo-Sakwa and their neighbours the Isiria-Maasai, Jo-Kamagambo and their Wanjare and Mugirango neighbours of the Abagusii community. Even at localised levels, as between Jo-Sakwa and Jo-Kamagambo, Jo-Sakwa and Jo-Kabuoch, and Jo-Kamagambo and Jo-Kanyada these zones existed.⁴⁰

Within the limits of the clan land, grazing was free and was done in the open fields with common and communal grazing being a marked feature. So long as cattle were properly looked after and confined within the pastures, without any interference and damage to crops, there was a lot of flexibility in the usage of the pastures. The mixing, grazing and moving together of herds from various families was also a security measure since more people were involved at any one given time and could ward off any attack on their herds from hostile clans or communities as well as predators.

The daily cattle routine in Rongo was a very busy schedule for the herdsmen. Cattle were released from the kraals and taken for grazing within the neighbourhood of the homestead. This was the work of young boys. They had to ensure that the cattle did

not extend their grazing to the adjoining cultivated areas. During this time, the boys removed any ticks from the cattle. At around eleven in the morning cattle were taken further a field by young men over nineteen years of age. Calves did not accompany other stock. They remained behind and were watered at home. In their husbandry duties the herdsmen carried spears, bow and arrows, and clubs for self-defence against predators or hostile communities.

Cattle activities were also influenced by the seasonal changes, the division of labour, distance and size of grazing area and the productivity of the herd. During the rainy season when pasture was plentiful and water was easily available, cattle grazed on moistured pastures and drank from pools and streams which were flowing during the rainy season. The rainy season was the best time for cattle owners. Pastures were abundant and water was also easily available. As a result the cows were healthy and milk production was at its peak. Furthermore, less labour was involved in the general field husbandry of cattle during the rainy season. Consequently, some labour was released for agriculture which was at its busiest moments.

During the rainy season cattle occasionally trespassed and damaged the crops within the vicinity of the grazing lands especially if the herdsmen were negligent. This often resulted in misunderstanding and quarrels between the cattle keepers and the crop producers. Such misunderstandings were resolved through mediation. The elders of the villages concerned warned the owner

of the herd, not the herdsman, to be responsible and make sure that his cattle were properly looked after.⁴¹ Usually no fines were imposed if the destruction was limited. However, in cases where the damage was extensive the farmer would be compensated either in cattle or grain. The compensation which was usually based on the extent of damage was fixed by the elders.

In the dry season, pasture was less plentiful. Apart from calves, cattle had to be taken to rivers for drinking. Cattle had to be extensively grazed. This required more labour, and herdsman had to reconnaissance potential and suitable pastures for grazing. Production often fell during this period.

All members of the family irrespective of age and gender participated in cattle husbandry. Milking was done by boys and young men. It was done twice a day, in the morning and in the evening. Watering of the calves was the duty of children both boys and girls. Women helped in the watering of calves during the dry seasons. Kraals were usually cleaned by the young girls. Men built the kraals and prepared water wells.

Given the importance attached to cattle people were trained from youth in the art of cattle husbandry. This training was usually informal and entailed observation of and participation in day-to-day cattle chores like watering the calves, removing ticks, cleaning the kraals and milking. Young boys often accompanied young men in grazing cattle away from the homesteads. This gave

them the opportunity to learn the craft of cattle husbandry. This learning process involved the identification of best pastures and the defence of the cattle from predators or raiders.

The health of the herd and its productivity was a major pre-occupation of the cattle owners and all those who were involved in cattle husbandry. In order to ensure proper management cattle owners used various methods of breeding and stock raising. For example, only bulls of high quality were retained for breeding purposes. Those bulls which were inferior were culled or castrated and kept as oxen. Emphasis was also laid on proper grazing methods and watering of the stock. Cattle were taken to salt licks. Furthermore, during gestation and calving periods milch cows were fed with a type of salt, bala, to ensure high milk production. Through these practices the quality and productivity of the herd was often enhanced.

2:5

PROBLEMS TO CATTLE PRODUCTION

Cattle production in Rongo division was sometimes bedevilled by a number of problems. These included reduced pastures during drought and seasonal rivers which dried up during such periods. Furthermore epidemic and endemic cattle diseases, wild predators and cattle rustling sometimes undermined the viability of cattle economy. Only small quantities of milk were obtained in comparison to periods when conditions were favourable. Cattle owners during such periods released cattle for grazing earlier than in normal circumstances when pasture was plentiful.

The extra hours that cattle stayed out were necessary since cattle were taken further afield for grazing. Despite this adjustment cattle owners had to put up with the decrease in production, at least, during periods of drought.

The ever present danger of wild animals affected the performance of cattle economy in Rongo. References as, thim jope, 'wilderness of buffalos', kor liech, 'the path of elephants' and God kwach, 'mountain of leopards' were common particularly in the present day South Sakwa and South Kamagambo locations which bordered the Isiria-Maasai.⁴³ Although nucleated settlements and the large expanse of land acted as a check, instances of leopards and hyenas attacking cattle in the pastures, lek, or at the river bank, wath, when they were being taken for drinking or worse still within the homesteads at night is reported.⁴⁴ In order to minimise the risks of such attacks, the people often organised hunting parties and herdsmen armed themselves while going out for grazing cattle. Within the homesteads big fires were made and this scared away the wild animals. Although rustling was also a danger, it was checked through mediation by council of elders and fear of retaliatory raiding.

Disease was the most dangerous threat to cattle in Rongo. The cattle owners in the division recall certain endemic diseases at the turn of the nineteenth century. The most common were East Coast Fever, agingu, Anthrax and Trypanosomiasis, yamo, Blackwater, abach or agobadi, Foot and Mouth, Achany and Heartwater, Kawirawira.⁴⁵

In fact, the last decade of the nineteenth century in Rongo was an era of catastrophes which entailed rinderpest epizootic, opere, 1891-93 and famine, madara, 1888-1890.⁴⁶ These catastrophes upset the production balance in the division. The epizootic wiped out cattle in their thousands. It forced people to find alternative means of survival pending the replenishment of stock. Crop cultivation was intensified and high yields of sorghum are reported. The returns from crop yields were instrumental in the replenishment of stock in Rongo. Surplus grain was exchanged with cattle. This exchange was intensified throughout the 1890's. By the turn of the century the division had enough cattle to exchange with other areas.⁴⁷

That the local people were still able to check and contain the spread of the diseases, and still maintain large herds of cattle is an attribute to their environmental understanding, skills, innovation and experience in methods and practices of disease control. An established cattle owner could tell that an animal was not well by observing the physical appearance, the look of its hide and ability to graze well. For milch cows a drastic decline in milk production under normal conditions signified that the cow was sick. One informant summed up the whole diagnosis experience in the following words:

If you grow up with something, live with it, spend most of your time with it, depend on it for your livelihood, you cannot fail to know when something is wrong with it, even at a glance.⁴⁸

The implication of this statement is that the health of cattle was closely monitored and cattle diseases were promptly indentified and treated.

The cattle owners also carried out inoculation. The blood from the infected animal would be removed by using an arrow in a process locally known as, boro dhiang. This blood would then be mixed with medicinal herbs and then given to the uninfected animal to drink. This immunised the animal. Furthermore, once the disease had stuck, the animals were quarantined. It is clear therefore that by the standards of the time the cattle keepers had developed sophisticated veterinary methods and practices to check, control and treat a variety of cattle diseases.

The control of cattle diseases was somewhat neutralised by the traditional husbandry activities which have been described above. Communal grazing in the open fields, common rivers for drinking, common salt licks and late detection of disease symptoms rendered precautionary and curative methods in certain diseases futile. Nothing illustrates this point better than the case of, opere, rinderpest which because of its short incubation period (6-10 days) and the rapidity of its spread proved difficult to detect let alone contain.

For all the foregoing problems of production cattle economy on the eve of colonialism was viable and resourceful. It provided the peoples basic food requirements, material culture and was central in the exchange relations between Rongo and her

neighbours. It was also a store of value and its accumulation was an index of measuring one's economic status. More importantly, cattle was a means through which the Rongo society reproduced itself. Gender distinctions and age segmentations were harmonised and unified for various tasks in cattle husbandry to ensure optimal utilization of labour in cattle management. Selective breeding was practised to enhance the quality of the livestock. Disease, predators, drought and rustling sometimes disrupted the regular cattle activities and undermined the dominance of cattle in the overall economy of Rongo. These problems were, however, contained and checked through the people's environmental understanding, innovation, and political and social institutions all of which enabled cattle economy to be the lifeblood of the Rongo economic system. How did this economy relate to the new political and economic order inaugurated by colonialism? This important question will be dealt with in the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Oral Interview with Duado Omiti, at Koluoch, 2/9/87 and with Thadayo Anyango at Uradi 4/9/89.
2. Also see Ag Hama, "Consumption and Marketing of Pastoral products among the Kal tamacheq in the Niger bend, Mali" in John G. Galaty, et al (eds.), The Future of Pastoral Peoples (Ottawa, IDRC, 1981), pp. 244-45, and H.K. Schneider, Livestock and Equity in East Africa: The economic basic for social structure (London and Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1979), Chapter iv.
3. Oral Interview with Plister Ngore, at Nyarago 5/12/87, Johana Akal, at Otacho, 13/11/87 and with Charles Oduk, at Okumba, 25/8/87.
4. Jeff Guy, "Destruction and Reconstruction of Zulu Society," in R. Rathbone and S. Marks (eds.), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: Africa Class Formation, Culture and Counciousness 1870-1930 (Harlow, Longmans, 1982), p. 171.
5. Oral Interviews with Lukio Onguka Orwa, at Changiwadu, 24/9/87 and with Charles Oduk, at Okumba, 25/8/87. For archival source see KNA, PC/NZA3/31/8/12, Anthropology of Natives 1925-26.
6. Ibid.
7. Michael Whission, op.cit. p. 51.

8. Allan Booth, "Homestead, State and Economy in Swaziland" in AEH No.14, 1985, also see, A.G. Hopkins An Economic History of West Africa (London, Longman, 1980), p.42
9. Hoyt Alverson, "Arable agriculture in Botswana: Some contribution of the traditional social formation," in Rural Africana Volume 4-5 (Spring-Fall, 1979), p. 42.
10. Oral Interview with Eliakim Nyatuga, at Obama 12/8/87 Duado Omiti, at Kolouch, 2/9/87. and with Agnes Ofuona at Misori, 7/12/87.
11. Ibid.
12. Oral Interview with Plistar Ngore, at Nyarago, 5/12/87, Mary Aluoch, at Mahena, 5/12/87, Agnes Ofuona at Misari, 7/12/87 and with Duado Omiti, at Koluoch, 2/9/87.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Oral Interview with Oyugi Tombo, at Kanga, 10/10/87; Owuor Orony, at Omware, 24/11/87 and with Johana Akal, at Otacho, 13/11/87.
17. See S. Birundu, "Gusii Trade in the Nineteenth Century" (B.A. dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1973), p. 36.
18. Oral Interview with Eliakim Nyatuga, at Obama, 12/8/87 and Patroba Akech, at Ngongo, 13/10/87.
19. Ibid.

20. M.J. Hay, op.cit. p. 106.
21. These ways were mainly documented from the oral interviews with cattle owners in the division, for example, oral interview with William Angila, at Nyamarere, 20/9/87, Obongo Maraga, at Nyachuria, 30/9/87; Duado Omiti, at Koluoch, 2/9/87 and with Ngani Legadho, at Kichuri, 27/9/87.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid. These informants asserts that this way of purchasing cattle was quite common at the turn of the century following the rinderpest epizootic that decimated most herds of Rongo in the 1890's.
25. For example Bati nyar Kabongo and Ondhawo On'gweya who were famous medicinemen accumulated in this manner, oral interview with Patroba Akech, at Ngong'a, 13/10/87) and with Samson Oluya, Mariwa.
26. See footnote 5 above.
27. Most of the informants were emphatic that stock associateship hardly existed between close members of a family as for example between members of the same household. This was probably due to the fact that proximity in settlement patterns of such close members could not sustain the risk diversion motive in case of any disease outbreaks.
28. Parker Shipton, "Lineage and Antithetical principles in East Africa systems of Land Tenure." Unpublished Paper. p. 118.

29. Oral interview with Duado Omiti, at Koluoch 2/9/87; Eliakim Nyatuga, at Obama, 12/8/87 and with Ngani Legadho, at Kichuri, 27/9/87.
30. Peter Rigby, Persistent Pastoralists, Nomadic Societies in Transition (London, zed Press, 1985), p. 145.
31. Oral Interview with Duado Omiti, at Koluoch, 2/9/87. Celestinus Mwangi, at Kotieno, 21/9/87; and with Thadayo Anyango, at Uradi, 4/9/87.
32. Ibid.
33. For example see H.W. Okoth-Ogendo, "The political economy of Land Law: an essay in the organisation of underdevelopment in Kenya, 1895-1974" (PH.D. Thesis, Yale University, 1978), and C.K. Meek, Land Law and Custom in the Colonies (London, Oxford University Press, 1946).
34. C.K. Meek, op.cit. pp. 26-27, also quoted in R. Nasimiyu, "The participation of women in the Political Economy of Kenya: A case study of Bukusu Women in Bungoma District, 1902-1960" (M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1984). p. 35. This was also confirmed by the Pinney Report findings in Area A of the present day South Sakwa location of Rongo division: See KNA, DC/HB/4/2, Maasai Boundaries, 1953-1961.
35. For example see Parker Shipton 'Lineage and Antithetical principles in East African systems of Land Tenure' Unpublished Paper.
36. See A.B.C. Ocholla-Ayayo, Traditional Ideology and Ethics among the Southern Luo (Uppsala, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1976), p. 37.

37. Oral Interview with Obon'go Maraga, at Nyachuria, 30/9/87.
38. Parker Shipton, "The public creation of private property. The uses of misunderstanding in the Kenyan Land Tenure Reform." Unpublished paper prepared for the workshop on land issues in Africa at Harvard University (March 15, 1986), p. 14.
39. Oral Interview with William Angila, at Nyamarere, 20/9/87 and with Guako Achila, at Ongo, 26/9/87.
40. Ibid.
41. Interview with Marcus Ogur Oloo, at Ombasa, 31/8/87.
42. Ibid.
43. Oral Interview with Agnes Ofuona, at Misori, 7/12/87; Paul Ayieko, at Kabuoro, 24/8/87 and with Charles Oduk, at Okumba, 25/8/87.
44. Ibid.
45. Oral Interview with Anyona Othuona, at Kuja, 11/11/87, Zachariah Omore, at Kabuoro, 4/9/87 and with Okombo Adingo, at Nyarombo, 1/9/87.
46. That this seems to have been a widespread phenomenon see J. Lonsdale; "The European scramble and conquest in African history," in G.N. Sanderson and R. Oliver, (eds.) The Cambridge History of Africa 6: From 1870 to 1905 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 680-766.

THE ECONOMY IN THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF A COLONIAL STATE

INTRODUCTION

47. For example see E.S. Atieno-Odhiambo and D.W. Cohen, op.cit. p. 15.
48. Oral Interview with Duado Omiti, at Koluoch, 2/9/87.
49. Ibid.

THE ECONOMY OF COLONIALISM AND THE LEGISLATION OF COLONIAL

STATUTE BOOKS

After covering the first administrative stages of the... of Lake Victoria in 1891. The construction of roads... public-private business and of the early promulgation of the... made were done in the... of the...

CHAPTER THREE

CATTLE ECONOMY IN THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF COLONIAL RULE, 1903-1918

3:1 INTRODUCTION

Most historians of Africa have argued that the imposition of colonial rule was precipitated mainly by economic considerations.¹ For the realisation of its economic objectives the colonial government in Kenya introduced policies and changes which were instrumental in the integration of the pre-colonial Rongo economy into the western capitalist economies. These included taxation, introduction of money, forced labour and infrastructures. The implementation of these policies in Rongo division, in particular, and South Nyanza district in general, yielded mixed results during the formative years of colonial rule. This chapter analyses the impact of these economic policies on the cattle economy of Rongo. It also highlights the emerging trends brought about by the political economy of British colonialism. The central argument of this chapter is that the formative years of colonialism set the stage for the incorporation of the Rongo economy into the colonial economy.

3:2 ADVENT OF COLONIALISM AND THE INAUGURATION OF COLONIAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURES

After opening the first administration station at Karungu on the shores of Lake Victoria in 1903, the construction of roads and bridle-paths became one of the major pre-occupations of the colonial government. Roads were seen as pre-requisites for

opening the district for trade. The roads and bridle-paths provided outlets from the division and the district in general, and at the same time enabled merchandise from outside the district to reach the people in the countryside.

The colonial programme of road construction was to some extent successful. By 1908 the Kendu road was nearing completion with the exception of bridges.² In 1910 the road connecting Rangwe and Homa trading centres was widened to its full sixty feet and the pier at Homa was given a better surface.³ By 1912 bridle-paths had been constructed and traversed the entire district. The bridle-path from Kisii to Kanyamkago through Rongo had been re-made and put in good condition while the construction of the bridge over Kuja at Sakwa was completed.⁴ By 1913 the new road from Kisii to Suna and neighbouring locations through Rongo had been constructed with all rivers bridged.⁵

Through these road constructions Rongo became linked to Homa the main port of the district and Kisii the administration headquarters since 1907.⁶ Furthermore, there was a major breakthrough in the commercial links between Rongo division and its neighbouring locations. The roads intensified the already existing network of cattle transactions by facilitating easy movement of cattle.

Indeed, the economic rationale for the development of infrastructures is quite evident from the way they were linked

to each other. All of them led to three main ports at Homa, Karungu and Kendu of which the first two were the most important in handling the export and import trade of Rongo. Their radiation from the trading centres in the interior to the ports enhanced the flow of trade to and from Rongo. In a sense this pattern of development in the infrastructure network was an important feature through which the economy of Rongo became linked to the wider colonial economy.⁷

Besides the construction of roads, the establishment of the registered trading centres was another major colonial undertaking in the first two decades of colonial rule. The idea of markets and trading places was not a new phenomenon in Rongo, or for that matter elsewhere in Africa.⁸ The only new innovation was that the colonial government demarcated and gazetted the trading centres. These centres handled commercial transactions within the localities in which they were situated. More importantly, they acted as collection centres for hides and skins.

By 1911 South Nyanza district had eight trading centres at Kisii, Karungu, Homa, Rangwe, Oyugis, Mirogi and Suna none of which was in Rongo. As a result cattle products from Rongo particularly ghee, and hides and skins were sold at Rangwe and Suna trading centres which served the division. The products were later transported from these centres by head portage and ox-carts to Homa and Karungu ports for shipment to Kisumu.⁹

The colonial administration was eager to enhance the volume of trade. Consequently, the local people were forced to sell their products in order to raise taxes and to purchase colonial merchandise.¹⁰ In this aspect the trading centres were nodal points of economic activity to both the residents of Rongo and the colonial government. Though Rongo was a rich source of hides and skins it was still largely outside the reach of the trading centres. The local administration became quite concerned at the inadequacy of the existing trading centres and called for the establishment of more trading centres. The District Commissioner of South Kavirondo, Mr. G. Northcote noted:

a native will not as a rule carry his merchandise more than fifteen or at most twenty miles to a market and so far we are only tapping the trading of the country within the radius of fifteen miles of Homa Port.¹¹

This radius excluded parts of Rongo particularly Sakwa.

Nevertheless, the development of roads and market centres though still far from adequate did affect the cattle economy. There was shift in the flow and direction of trade from the traditional trading networks to the outside world. Rongo was, through these infrastructures, brought more closer to the extensive colonial trading network whose details shall be discussed later in the chapter.

3:3 DEMAND FOR LABOUR

In order to construct roads the colonial government required

the supply of cheap labour. The mobilisation of labour was done through government appointed chiefs. In Sakwa and Kamagambo, Ongoro and Ngonji were respectively appointed chiefs.¹² These chiefs, being appointees of the colonial government, were accountable to the District Commissioners and carried out orders from the government. This became more marked with regard to labour mobilisation.

The main way of mobilising labour in Rongo during the first two decades of colonial rule was mainly by force. The powers of the chiefs in this task was initially spelt out in the 1912 Native Authority Ordinance. By this ordinance they were empowered to recruit labour for public works. But people some how managed to evade forced labour. Accordingly, in order to curb this evasiveness the government introduced The Native Registration Ordinance and The Native Followers Ordinance in 1915. These ordinances gave the chiefs wide ranging powers including punishing those who evaded work in colonial establishments. For example, the chiefs were given the following mandate:

In the event of a refusal on the part of the natives to do the work (road construction) the chief is to call upon each village for so many men in proportion to its size, and if they fail to respond he is to report to the District Commissioner or punish the people himself (emphasis mine).¹³

The delegated authority to the chiefs was often used arbitrarily. In Rongo those who turned out for work were initially paid in cattle.¹⁴ A cow was equivalent to a worker's three months

salary.¹⁵ Those who did not turn out for work were required to pay cattle in lieu of their labour.¹⁶ The number was left at the discretion of local chiefs. Since there was no fixed number of cattle in lieu of labour the chiefs often abused the system to enrich themselves at the expense of the cattle owners.¹⁷

The use of cattle in the payment of wages shows that cattle was, in the formative stages of colonial rule, a medium of exchange just as it had been during the pre-colonial period. However, the payment of wages in cattle was not without its shortcomings. The District Commissioner for South Kavirondo, Mr. Northcote, attributed the outbreak of Gastro-Enteritis which spread to every part of the district in 1908 and decimated most herds in Rongo to these cattle. He reported that, "the distribution of cattle for road construction no doubt assisted materially in spreading the disease as many of them were infected before we noticed the outbreak."¹⁸ This veterinary inconvenience raised a hullaballo from the local people with a demand that labour be paid in currency.¹⁹

It should be noted though, that the demand for labour in the period before the First World War was fairly limited.²⁰ In fact, it was the First World War that marked the turning point in the supply of labour which seriously affected cattle economy. While official records put the number of men contracted for work outside the district in the period 1908-1912 at 4707, the same records show a sharp increase during the war period.²¹ Although the colonial records of South Kavirondo do not give a break down of

the soldiers who were recruited from each division, oral evidence from Rongo suggests that the division made a significant contribution to the war.²²

The records indicate that in 1915-16, six thousand nine hundred men were recruited from the district. In 1916-17 ten thousand more men went to the war from South Kavirondo district. The total number of men who left the district for either the carrier corps or other employment between 1915 and 1918 is estimated at about twenty five thousand.²³ This massive outflow of labour created acute labour shortages for the cattle economy in Rongo. In response to these shortages the traditional household division of labour was adjusted. More younger people and elderly people increasingly took part in cattle husbandry. This was a new trend in the Rongo economy which was brought by the demands of War. The demand for labour also resulted in loss of cattle among some cattle owners. They had to dispense with some cattle to avoid conscription into the war and other employment in the colonial establishment.

However, the outflow of labour brought some unintended benefits. The war opened other avenues of cattle accumulation. The war veterans used their war earnings to purchase cattle. A good example is the case of Okumu Lwania. Before 1914 he had been a poor orphan. After the war he used his war savings to buy cattle and as a result he became one of the richest cattle owners in Rongo.²⁴

3:4 TAXATION

Taxes in Kenya were initially introduced to meet the costs of colonial administration and to make the country self-sufficient.²⁵ Secondly, taxes were imposed in order to force the Africans into wage labour.²⁶ In Rongo, like elsewhere in South Nyanza district, hut tax was first collected in 1905.²⁷ The rate was three rupees per hut.²⁸ The people of Rongo were compelled to sell cattle and related products in order to raise taxes. Interestingly enough Rongo division had a good and marked record of payment. For the period 1905-1911 hut tax payment in the division never went below ninety five per cent of the estimated revenue (See table 3.1).

The tax figures were highest in the period 1908-11 with the peak being in 1910-11 for Kamagambo and 1910-11 for Sakwa. Two main factors account for the marked record of payment in Rongo. The first of these was the restriction of migrations. People were not supposed to move from one area to another without the permission of the colonial administration. In a directive issued to all chiefs and local councils on the issue it was stated:

Chiefs and local councils should be advised to check unauthorised migration of people from one sub-division to another, such migration, if necessary in periods of scarcity or for other good reason should only be done with the cognisance of the District Commissioner.²⁹

The implementation of this directive helped to minimise tax evasion in Rongo.

The second factor was the enthusiasm of the tax collectors who stood to gain because they kept some amount for themselves.³⁰ These colonial officials not only rigorously collected the hut tax but they often demanded more than three rupees which was the official tax rate.³¹ In 1916 when the colonial government increased hut tax from three rupees to five rupees the tax collectors demanded anything upto eight rupees.³² Because of this over-taxation the division was able to meet most of its expected amount.

The colonial officials themselves were aware of the burden of taxation on the local community. Reporting about over-taxation in Nyanza province in general the provincial commissioner of Nyanza, Mr. John Ainsworth, wrote:

If the Taxation of Native Ordinance is really an ordinance to enable the government to obtain from the natives their share of the expense of the administration of the protectorate, I would with all deference remind the treasurer that the natives of this province already contribute by means of direct taxation nearly one fifth of the protectorate (not counting the railway earnings) and about one half of the total direct native taxation of the protectorate.³³

Unfortunately the government ignored Ainsworth's protest and introduced poll tax in 1917 which aggravated the burden of taxation. Ainsworth once more complained about the introduction of poll tax. He expressed his objections in the following words:

TABLE 3.1

REVENUE (IN RUPEES) FROM HUT TAX IN RONGO DIVISION, 1905-1912

YEARS	KAMAGAMBO			SAKWA		
	HUTS COUNTED	RUPEES PAID	EXPECTED AMOUNT	HUTS COUNTED	RUPEES PAID	EXPECTED AMOUNT
1905-1906		2994			1548	
1906-1907	2373	7086	7119	1291	3561	3873
1907-1908	2566	7374	7698	1261	3615	3783
1908-1909	2719	8151	8157	1297	3840	3891
1909-1910	2789	8367	8367	1555	4659	4665
1910-1911	2925	8769	8775	1541	4623	4623
1911-1912	2907	8715	8721	1660	4971	4980

SOURCE: KNA, PRB/116, "History of South Kavirondo District," Kisii Political Record Book
KSI/28, Reel 6.

Under any and all circumstance the main idea seems to tax the natives. We take their spare land and call it Crown Land; we tax their huts and now we want to tax their heads The native must provide the labour for transport work, European farm work, road work, buildings and in hundred other ways he makes it possible for the white man to live in the country.

By all means let us have a European colony if such a thing is possible, but why one should expect the natives to pay for the cost appears at least strange.³⁴

Ainsworth's views were inconsistent with the state's interests and as Thomson has noted elsewhere, "his memoranda were pigeonholed in the secretariat" before he retired 'disgracefully' in 1918.³⁵

The cattle owners in Rongo were in an economic dilemma since the state was uncompromising on tax demands. The colonial government was determined to raise as much revenue as possible. Indeed, the colonial state in Kenya "laboured under a palimpsest of contradictions of accumulation and control."³⁶ Taxation in Rongo, during these formative years, was an important instrument not only in raising revenue but also in mobilising labour for the colonial regime since taxation forced men to seek paid employment.

3:5 DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

In order to develop a more viable and diversified economy the colonial authorities encouraged cultivation of food and cash crops. Crops like groundnuts, wattle, cotton and rice were

introduced in the division during the first decade of colonial rule.³⁷ By 1911, groundnuts, pulse and grain were some of the major agricultural exports from Rongo division.³⁸ Maize and bean seed varieties were also distributed by the government just before the First World War.³⁹

The chiefs were given agricultural development and demonstration lessons.⁴⁰ In Kamagambo a large garden of Rose Cocoa beans and blackwattle was established at Ngonji's home.⁴¹ The chiefs were required to disseminate the knowledge they acquired to the people in their localities.⁴² In fact they were instrumental in the promotion and spread of crops. However, not all crops were received with enthusiasm. Blackwattle never proved popular because it took a long period before maturing.⁴³ As a result sim sim, finger millet, sorghum, groundnuts and Rose cocoa beans became the major crops of Rongo.

Although crop production had been a minor sector of the Rongo economy, it started to gain momentum in the first decade of colonial rule. This was due to a number of factors. In 1905 Rongo division suffered from the famine of Opande.⁴⁴ Worse still in 1908 the division was stuck by the Gastro Enteritis epizootic.⁴⁵ The combination of famine and disease left Rongo in a state of economic turmoil. This was compounded by colonial taxation. As a result of these developments the people of Rongo reluctantly went into agriculture not because they loved it but because they wanted to replenish their cattle. Furthermore cattle was still

considered a valuable source of livelihood and the cattle owners were not willing to dispense with their cattle.

The rapid development of agriculture was important to the colonial economy during these formative years. It was a step towards a balanced and diversified economy. Hitherto the wealth of Rongo was built on cattle accumulation. But as already indicated the cattle economy was vulnerable to the outbreak of cattle diseases and epidemics. Not suprisingly therefore the outbreak of the cattle disease in 1908 was yet another setback for the economy of Rongo. Fortunately the expansion of the agricultural sector and the subsequent increase in grain production helped not only to considerably neutralise the effects of the epizootics but also enabled the people of Rongo to meet their tax obligations to the colonial state.

The development of agriculture led to diversion of labour from cattle husbandry. Agriculture and cattle management from then onwards had to compete for the available labour. This became more marked during planting, weeding and harvesting periods. This competition for labour led to the intensification of Saga system in agriculture and goyo kwath system in cattle herding. In Saga people helped one another in planting, weeding and harvesting.⁴⁶ Goyo Kwath in cattle herding was shared by neighbours on a three day cycle basis.⁴⁷ In this partnership members of one household herded cattle for three days and then the partners from other households did the same for similar number of days.⁴⁸ Thus, goyo

kwath in cattle herding and saga in agriculture were designed to cope with the problem of labour shortages. This ensured some equilibrium in the economy of Rongo.

3:6 THE EXPANSION OF TRADE

The establishment of colonial rule stimulated the expansion of trade in cattle and cattle products in Rongo division. In the first decade the trade in hides and skins was more important than trade in cattle and ghee.⁴⁹ As already indicated hides and skins were mainly used for clothing and bedding. From 1908, with the establishment of trading centres and the subsequent large influx of "coloured cloths, such as cotton shawls, American cloth, blankets of various qualities, cotton and khaki shorts, tunic and shirts and coats," hides and skins were gradually being replaced in their traditional roles.⁵⁰ Furthermore hides and skins had a readily available export market. Indeed as Table 3.2 shows, they were the district's main revenue earner in the first decade of colonial rule.

Compared to hides and skins ghee did not feature prominently in trade during the first decade of colonial rule. In fact in 1908 ghee production sharply declined as a result of the epizootics (see table 3.2). During that hazardous period, the returns for the four quarters of 1909-10 showed a declining trend of Rs. 2862, Rs. 2662, Rs. 2520 and Rs. 1670.

Nevertheless, oral evidence indicates that most ghee which was bought from the district came from Kadem.⁵¹ During these years Rongo did not make a major contribution to the ghee trade. Ghee in Rongo was mainly produced for domestic consumption though some surplus was either bartered with local people or sold to the Indians at trading centres.⁵²

The expansion of trade also occurred at the regional level between Rongo and her neighbours notably the Gusii. Oral Informants asserts that this trade which dates back to the pre-colonial period was mainly conducted through barter rather than currency.⁵³ This contention is also supported by Maxon when he argues that:

If trade with other areas outside South Kavirondo did not amount to much, considerable trade was carried on with the Luo living to the West of Gusiiland. This continued to take place on the basis of goods rather than currency, (emphasis mine).⁵⁴

There was, thus, co-existence between the barter and currency systems. While Asians at the trading centres paid the producers in rupees, the internal trade involving Rongo and her neighbours was by and large still conducted through barter. The monetisation of the economy of Rongo was still in its formative stages.

In cattle trade there was symbiotic working relationship between the non-local traders and the inhabitants of Rongo division. The modus operandi of the non-indigeneous traders was to employ the

TABLE 3.2 .

TRADE RETURNS FOR SOUTH KAVIRONDO DISTRICT 1908-1911

ITEMS	1908-09	1909-10			1910-11
	KARUNGU	KARUNGU	HOMA BAY		KARUNGU
	RUPEES	RUPEES	RUPEES	TOTAL RUPEES	RUPEES
Bajree	-	-	-	-	49
Chiroko	3862	3696	573	4269	2055
Chowla (mixed grain)	-	-	-	-	-
Ghee	11686	9958	-	9958	15712
Groundnuts	383	239	1224	1463	325
Hides Ox	28494	54284	30132	84416	24265
Hides Goat	13793	14728	-	-	8900
Hides Sheep	276	1359	16127	17486	680
Maize	-	-	435	435	
Mtama	1558	24	812	836	
Simsim	4515	13680	51340	65020	11156
Tobacco	-	-	-		
Wheat	-				
Wimbi	1035	60	-	60	12
	65602	98446	106941	205381	65267

SOURCE: KNA, PRB/116, "History of South Kavirondo District,"
Kisii Political Record Book,
 KSI/28, Reel 6.

residents to purchase cattle in the countryside or across the border in Tanzania.⁵⁵ One good reason for this was that the local people knew the trade routes as well as cheap sources of cattle.

Although it is difficult to tell how many cattle came from Tanzania, on the basis of the available oral and documentary evidence it is reasonable to suppose that the numbers were substantial for two reasons. First, the cattle prices in Tanzania were two to six rupees lower than those in Rongo.⁵⁶ Accordingly the cattle traders must have followed the principle of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest. Secondly, the decision by the colonial authorities to establish police posts along the Kenya-Tanzania border was partly motivated by the need to curb large-scale cattle movements from Tanzania to Kenya.⁵⁷

The non-local traders were mainly interested in heifers.⁵⁸ The heifers were in great demand because European settlers required them for establishing dairy farming. The 'white' highlands, as indeed most parts of the Kenya Colony, were quite prone to tick-borne diseases. The exotic breeds could hardly survive in this type of environment. It was therefore a veterinary necessity that a start be made with local breeds.

The cattle owners in the division were not so willing to dispense with their heifers. The District Commissioner of South

Kavirondo, Mr. Northcote, noted this unwillingness on the part of the local cattle owners. He wrote:

During the last fortnight a large number of Somali and other traders with considerable sums arrived here (South Kavirondo district). The principal trouble is that they will only purchase female stock which the native is not anxious to dispose of.⁵⁹

The rationale for this was that the cattle owners were still unwilling to part with their heifers for fear of depleting their herds.⁶⁰ This suggests that despite the development of crop production cattle was still valued as not only the principal means of livelihood but also the symbol of wealth and social status.

However, heifers were by no means the only type of stock which was in high demand. Oxen too were required for meat and for ploughing. Oral evidence from Rongo shows that oxen were also purchased in large numbers.⁶¹ The purchases from the division were, as those from other parts of the district, mainly destined to the expanding Nairobi meat market and to the white settlers in the Rift Valley.⁶² That for the first two decades, but mostly in the pre-war period, the settlers relied mainly on African livestock has been given a lucid treatment by Overton when he argued:

Before 1914 this industry (livestock) grew upon the precarious foundations of internal settler demand for grade stock and ambitions for future exports. African production precluded the entry of settler raised meat

on to Nairobi market and meat exports were non-existent. Instead, Settler ranchers concentrated upon the accumulation of herds and flocks using imported sires and indigeneous cows or ewes (emphasis mine).⁶³

. It needs to be noted though, that the outbreak of the First World War had significant impact on the demand for cattle. During the war large numbers of cattle were purchased to meet the war requirements.⁶⁴ To facilitate the cattle requisitions during the war a scheme was introduced to auction 'native' stock on a weekly basis at Kisii.⁶⁵ By 1917 a cattle auction market had been established at Kisii.⁶⁶

The proceeds from the sales of cattle and cattle products were used to satisfy certain needs. Apart from tax obligations some of the earnings were used to purchase colonial merchandise at the trading centres.⁶⁷ Among some of the most popular items were clothing. By 1913 the District Commissioner of South Kavirondo, Mr. D. Crampton, reported that, "the natives are increasing in prosperity. Their demand for clothing and luxuries is greatly on the increase causing of late a very large influx of imported goods."⁶⁸ The people of Rongo were acquiring tastes for the imported items. In a sense a situation of dependency on the colonial merchandise was developing. Market relations were becoming an important economic function in the colonial economy of Rongo.

3:7 MEASURES OF DISEASE CONTROL

During the early stages of colonial rule the cattle economy of Rongo continued to be bedevilled by the prevalence of cattle diseases. Consequently, new methods were devised and at the same time old methods were intensified to check the spread of disease. One of the old methods whose use gained momentum during this period was quarantine. It was not a very effective method since the veterinary scouts were not enough to police the entire length and breadth of Rongo division.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the colonial government confined itself to reporting disease outbreaks in the district and provincial quarterly and annual reports. Such reporting understandably aroused a protest from the local District Commissioner, Mr. Northcote who was pessimistic, and rightly so, about the colonial policies pertaining to veterinary control and checks in the formative years of colonial rule. He wrote:

I would mention that filling in detailed forms in quadruplicate in order to pass cattle into the neighbouring districts entails an enormous amount of clerical work, and I really cannot see how the spread of any disease there may be is likely to be prevented thereby (emphasis mine).⁷⁰

A new method of immunising cattle through the use of manufactured serum was attempted during this period. In 1911 a pilot project was launched to manufacture serum for inoculation purposes.⁷¹ To attain this desired objective the veterinary department obtained some calves from the division "for the manufacture of rinderpest serum."⁷² However, this scheme to

immunise cattle had not materialised by 1918 since there is no evidence that such rinderpest serum was in use in Rongo division or the district in general.⁷³

In the absence of adequate colonial disease control measures the cattle owners in Rongo continued to use the traditional methods in checking the spread of the disease. At any rate, despite the outbreak of Gastro Enteritis in 1908 and lack of technical assistance from the colonial government, the traditional methods proved successful. Records indicate that by 1913 cattle population had almost recovered to the pre-rinderpest levels and that there were many individuals in Rongo who owned more than one hundred head of cattle.⁷⁴

3:8 THE EMERGING TRENDS

By 1918 new trends were beginning to emerge in the colonial economy of Rongo. One of these trends was the change in the system of land use. Whereas before 1900 the people of Rongo had unrestricted movement and access to grazing lands the colonial government imposed considerable limitations on the freedom of cattle movement and grazing. Besides, some of the land which had previously been devoted to cattle grazing was now allocated to crop production. These measures began to pose the danger of overgrazing and artificial overstocking.

Another important trend was that cattle husbandry began to compete for labour with crop production as well as wage employment.

The household division of labour had to be adjusted in accordance to this new development.

However, the most important emerging trend was the commercialisation of cattle and related products. The increasing orientation of cattle products to the market became more marked in the case of hides and skins. Hides and skins were now largely produced for the market. Furthermore, ghee which had been a valuable food of the cattle owners in Rongo was slowly entering the market in large quantities in comparison to the pre-colonial period. The demand for ghee started to reduce the domestic consumption of fresh milk and compelled people to consume more vegetable food.

Rongo was fast being drawn into the wider colonial economy. Although cash had not fully penetrated the Rongo society, there were signs of increasing monetisation of the Rongo economy. The establishment of trading centres and the increase in the sale of cattle and related products were bringing in more cash in the form of rupees. In any case taxes had to be paid in rupees. The pre-colonial barter method, though still dominant, was co-existing with the new cash economy under the colonial economy of Rongo.

The economy of Rongo was becoming more and more diversified. A wide range of crops were now grown and more land was brought under cultivation. The commercial transactions in Rongo were now on a much wider scale and goods in markets and at the trading centres were quite varied and included imported bedding

and clothing materials. The residents of Rongo became dependent on the market for such goods. Trade in cattle and cattle products was no longer confined to the pre-colonial trading networks. In a sense Rongo division was by and large brought within the wider framework of the colonial economy and market functions had begun to assume a more prominent role in the local economy.

To sum up, the period 1903-1918 was a crucial one for the future transformation of cattle economy in Rongo. During this period several forces of change were beginning to impinge on the economy of Rongo. The imposition of colonial rule, the development of infrastructure, establishment of marketing and distribution centres, the introduction of tax and the outflow of labour were bound to erode the traditional economic foundations and to mould the course of development and the productivity of the division in the post-war years. Indeed, by 1918 the cattle economy though still dominant in the general economy of the division was already undergoing rapid transition from subsistence to commercial oriented production.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. See Richard D. Wolff, Britain and Kenya 1870-1930: The economics of colonialism. Op.cit; E.A. Brett, Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa. Op.cit, and J.F. Munro, Africa and the International Economy, 1800 1-1960 (London, Dent, 1976). Also see V.I. Lenin, Imperialism The highest Stage of Capitalism: a popular outline (London Martin Lawrence, 1934).
2. KNA, SK, QR ending Sept. 1908, p. 4.
3. KNA, SK, QR ending March 1910, p. 293.
4. KNA, SK, QR ending March 1912, p. 3.
5. Ibid. p. 20.
6. KNA, PRB/117, Histories and Customs of Kisii, Reel 6.
7. Claude Ake, A Political Economy of Africa. Op.cit. pp. 32-40.
8. For example see R. Van Zwanenberg with Anne King: An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda, op.cit. pp. 146-158, A.G. Hopkins, An economic History of West Africa. Op.cit. pp. 51-75. See also R. Gray and D. Birmingham, (eds), Pre-colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900. (London, Oxford University Press, 1970).
9. KNA, PRB/118, Reel 6.
10. Oral Interview with Lazaro Aparo Odero, at Kitere, 29/9/87 and with Philemon Omiya, at Kawino, 18/10/87.

11. KNA, AR 1908-09, p. 6.
12. KNA, KSI/28, History of SK district, Reel 6.
13. KNA, PRB/116, Reel.
14. KNA, SK, QR ending Sept. 1909, p. 4.
15. KNA, SK, QR ending Sept. 1908, p. 4.
16. KNA, SK, QR ending Sept. 1909, p. 4.
17. Oral Interview with Bonfas Orwa, at Kolondo, 27/9/87 and with Oyata Orwa, at Kanyathue, 3/9/87.
18. KNA, SK, QR ending June 1909, p. 6.
19. Ibid.
20. Oral Interview with Gabriel Owuor Okungu, at Ongo, 27/11/87, Ochola Ogembo, at Tonye, 28/11/87 and with Ignasio Ojwang, at Kodero, 2/11/87.
21. KNA, PRB/117, KSI/27 Reel 6.
22. See footnote 20 above.
23. See footnote 21 above.
24. Oral Interview with Agnes Otuona, at Misori, 7/12/87 and Tobias Omondi, at Misori, 8/12/87.
25. C.C. Wrigley, "Kenya: The patterns of economic Life 1902-45," in Vincent Harlow, et al, (eds), History of Africa Volume II (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965). pp. 230-231.

26. Ibid. Also see Tabitha Kanogo, Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau, 1905-1963. (Nairobi, Heinemann, 1987) pp. 230-231.
27. KNA, KSI/28, History of South Kavirondo District, Reel 6.
28. Ibid.
29. KNA, DC/KSI/5/5, Memoranda for provincial and Commissioners, 1910, p. 4.
30. Oral Interview with Duado Omiti, at Koluoch 2/9/87 and with Philemon Oyar Omiya, at Kawino, 18/10/87.
31. KNA, PC/NZA/2/3, Ainsworth's Miscellaneous Record Book, 1908-15.
32. T. Ayot, "A History of the Luo of South Nyanza, 1590-1930" (M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1981). p. 362.
33. KNA, PC/NZA/2/3, Ainsworth's Miscellaneous Record Book, 1908-15.
34. Ibid.
35. Michael Thomson, "Economic Development in Kenya's Nyanza Province before World War I," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Philadelphia (1972) p. 18.
36. J. Lonsdale and B. Berman, "Coping with contradictions: the development of the colonial state in Kenya, 1895-1914," in JAH, Vol. 20 No. 4 (1979), p. 488.

37. KNA, KSI/28, History of South Kavirondo district, Reel 6.
38. Ibid.
39. See B.A. Ogot, "British Administration in the Central Nyanza District of Kenya, 1900-1960," in JAH, Vol. 4. No. 2. (1963), pp. 252-269.
40. KNA, KSI/28, Op.cit.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Oral Interview with Duado Omiti, at Koluoch, 2/9/87, and with Joshua Ngani Legadho, at Kichuri, 27/9/87.
44. Ibid.
45. KNA, SK, QR ending June 1909, p. 6.
46. Oral Interview with Zedekiah Odenyo, at Kanyandhanja, 1/9/87.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Oral Interview with Duado Omiti, at Koluoch, 2/9/87.

50. KNA, NZA Province AR, 1910-11. .
51. Oral Interview with Pitalis Guna, at Katieno, 23/9/87,
and with Samson Ndere, at Nyarago, 8/10/87. .
52. Ibid. .
53. Ibid. .
54. Robert Maxon, "British Rule in Gusiiland, 1907-1967"
(PH.D. Thesis, Syracuse University, 1971), p. 109. .
55. KNA, SK Annual Report, 1910-11, p. 159. .
56. Ibid. .
57. KNA, SK Annual Report, 1909-10. p. 159. .
58. Ibid. .
59. KNA, SK QR ending Sept. 1098, p. 6. .
60. For example see Anders Hjort, "Herds, Trade and Grain:
Pastoralism in a regional perspective," in John G. Galaty,
et al, (ed.) The future of Pastoral Peoples Op.cit. pp. 138-139. .
61. Oral Interview with Obon'go Maraga, at Nyachuria, 16/12/87
and Joshua Ngani Legadho, at Kichuri, 27/9/87. .
62. KNA, NZA Province Annual Report, 1912-13. Also see Gavin
Kitching, Class and Economic Change. Op.cit., pp. 212-218. .

63. John Overton, "War and Economic Development: Settlers in Kenya, 1914-18," in JAH Vol. 27, No. 1. (1986), p. 97. .
64. Oral Interview with Achola Ogawo, at Gamba, 30/11/87 and with Eliakim Nyatuga at Obama, 12/8/87. Also see KNA, NZA Province Annual Report, 1912-13. .
65. KNA, PC/NZA2/2, Nyanza Province Inspection Book, 1912-18. .
66. Ibid. .
67. Ibid. .
68. KNA, NZA Province AR, 1912-13. .
69. Oral Interview with Stanslaus On'gon'ga Ofuo, at Kabuoro, 4/9/87, and with Eliakim Nyatuga, Obama, 12/8/87. .
70. KNA, SK, QR ending Sept. 1908. p. 6. .
71. KNA, PC/NZA2/2, Nyanza Province Inspection Book, 1912-18. .
72. Ibid. .
73. KNA, SK, QR ending Sept. 1908. p. 6. .
74. Oral Interview with Obon'go Maraga, at Nyachuria, 16/12/87 and with Duado Omiti at Koluoch, 2/9/87. .

CHAPTER FOUR

THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF CATTLE ECONOMY 1919-1939

4:1 INTRODUCTION

The inter-war years were a critical period for cattle husbandry in Rongo for two reasons. First, colonial policies especially those relating to cattle movements and quarantines, trade, labour and taxation were beginning to be felt. More importantly, the economy of Rongo division was affected by the sporadic famines, recurrent cattle diseases and above all, the Great Depression of 1929-35. This chapter examines the impact of these economic calamities and shows how colonial policies affected the cattle economy. It discusses the ways in which the people of Rongo responded to these challenges and problems. The central argument of this chapter is that cattle economy became more market-oriented than before, and that the organisation of cattle trade became increasingly complex. Accordingly, this chapter pays special attention to the organisation and impact of trade in cattle and related products. It shows how forces of economic change both within and outside the division shaped cattle production patterns.

4:2 THE INTER-WAR POLICIES PERTAINING TO CATTLE

QUARANTINES

In an attempt to control and check the spread of cattle diseases the colonial government often resorted to quarantines. The quarantine measures entailed the restricted movement of cattle

to and from Rongo division and sometimes South Nyanza district in general.¹ To enforce the quarantine regulations the veterinary scouts were deployed to monitor the movement of stock when quarantines were in force.² Administration officials were also under strict instructions not to allow any movement of cattle outside their areas of jurisdiction during such periods.³

Quarantine regulations were not enforceable for some reasons. First, the number of veterinary scouts were few and could hardly police all the routes effectively.⁴ Second, there was very little attempt to popularise the regulations to the local cattle owners and traders.⁵ As a result the regulations proved unpopular with the local people. The third reason was the inconsistency and contradictory nature of the quarantine regulations. For example, the colonial administration sometimes allowed the movement of cattle, for slaughter and bridewealth not only within the locations but also between the neighbouring districts.⁶ The colonial officials in South Nyanza were sceptical about the enforcement of these regulations. For example, Mr. C.M. Dobbs, in seeking clarification from the Chief Veterinary Officer, expressed pessimism about the success of the regulations. He noted:

It is admitted by you that cattle meant to be traded within the reserves by natives for slaughter purposes and the payment of dowries cannot be prevented and this I entirely agree.

In view of this fact I don't see how one can discourage movement of stock.⁷

This shows that quarantine regulations were inconsistent and contradictory. In fact, certain exemptions rendered quarantines meaningless.

Furthermore, the effectiveness of the quarantine regulations was frustrated by the colonial administration officials themselves. While the colonial administration was prohibiting movement of cattle to neighbouring locations and districts, it was encouraging and advising settlers to purchase 'native' cattle. In one such advice it was confided, "as you know the Luo habitually sell some small heifers and the price is low at present. Nowadays if offered a tempting price they might sell large heifers."⁸ It is worth noting that such purchases were held not at the official markets but at the chief's barazas during the tax collection period.⁹ This arrangement enabled the settlers to dictate the cattle prices. Accordingly, the people of Rongo became convinced that quarantines were not only detrimental to their economic interests but also that the colonial officials appeared to use these regulations for the benefit of the settlers.

As a result the cattle traders in Rongo tried to exploit the loopholes in quarantine regulations by involving in cattle transactions. Oral evidence indicates that such transactions were quite common particularly among the Kuria, Isiria-Maasai and the Sakwa section of Rongo division.¹⁰ This is also supported

by archival records. These records show that the Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza, Mr. C.M. Dobbs, rebuked the veterinary officer for failing to enforce quarantine regulations. He wrote:

I am given to understand that there is a considerable amount of surreptitious cattle trading going on as between the natives of Utende (Kuria), Sakwa and the Maasai there is supposed to be a rigid quarantine so far as Maasai cattle are concerned.¹¹

In order to prevent the circumvention of the quarantine regulations, the colonial administration introduced more stringent measures. For example, exchange or purchase of cattle between individuals of different locations was proscribed. Cattle had to be sold or bought only in the official markets. The new regulations decreed that:

No native in the Luo-Abasuba locations of South Kavirondo shall within the aforesaid locations purchase cattle for cash or barter from a native of another tribe or location other than his own elsewhere than at a market authorised.¹²

By adopting these strigent measures the colonial administration hoped to achieve three main objectives. The first was to ensure that all cattle transactions took place at official markets. It became illegal to buy and sell cattle outside these markets. This was meant to curb the spread of diseases. Secondly, the colonial administration hoped to restructure the existing village-based barter trading patterns and by so doing to tighten the colonial grip on the local economy. The official markets were henceforth

to serve as nodal points for the restructuring and coordination of cattle transactions. Apart from enforcing quarantines the new marketing regulations were supposed to raise revenue for the local colonial authorities through the sale of permits to cattle traders.

The quarantine measures had negative implications for the cattle trade and the economy of Rongo in general. It slowed the tempo of the trade particularly in the 1920's when quarantines became quite common. The regulations antagonised the local cattle owners and traders in Rongo who suspected the intentions of the colonial authorities. They saw the quarantine measures as a deliberate attempt to undermine the local economy. Accordingly, many traders bitterly complained about this disruption of trade. For example, Mohammed Hassan, Chairman of the Somali Cattle Traders Association, was amongst the leading critics of quarantine regulations not only in Rongo but in the entire district. He noted:

It is greatly to be regretted that no facility whatsoever has been given to the cattle breeders and traders of this province where native interests is much more predominant particularly in cattle trading. I may venture to say that Government actions in many respects have the result of thwarting and killing of this trade.¹³

Given such suspicions, misunderstandings and contradictions quarantine measures were bound to fail. So long as the cattle owners and traders in Rongo refused to co-operate with the colonial officials quarantine regulations could not be enforced.

But since the local traders could not challenge the colonial regime, they had no option except to fit within the new framework and cope as best as they could with the strict surveillance by veterinary scouts and administration officials. One effective way of neutralising the quarantine system was the establishment of off-view and off-road cattle markets which were outside the reach of veterinary scouts.¹⁴ These markets became so popular that by 1939 each locality in Rongo had such off-view market.¹⁵

VACCINATION AND BRANDING

During the inter-war years the colonial authorities launched a vaccination campaign. The campaign entailed immunisation of cattle from the prevalent diseases in the division notably East Coast Fever, rinderpest and foot and mouth disease. From the outset the campaign faced problems of implementation. The most important of these was lack of personnel. The veterinary staff were few and given the poor communication facilities they were not able to serve the entire division effectively.¹⁶ In some cases the veterinary staff arrived too late to save many herds of cattle from the outbreak of disease. The belated use of vaccine only worsened the condition of those animals which had already succumbed to disease.¹⁷

The vaccination campaign was also opposed by the local people. The campaign was not adequately explained. Arbitrary and high-handed measures without consultation with the local people aroused suspicion and hostility from the local cattle owners.

Cattle branding was another important colonial livestock policy. It was usually carried out during the vaccination campaigns.¹⁸ Cattle branding served three main purposes. First, it identified the cattle that had been vaccinated. It also helped in the identification of cattle of any given district. Cattle branding was also meant to minimise cattle thefts and also to prevent illegal cattle movements from one district to another.¹⁹ Branded cattle could be easily monitored and checked when quarantines were in force. In so doing the authorities hoped to minimise the spread of disease from one district to another.

Unfortunately cattle branding did not attain its avowed objective of minimising the spread of diseases and cattle thefts because it was not popular amongst the cattle owners. The people of Rongo did not understand the purpose of branding and were apprehensive about the intentions of the colonial authorities. As a consequence the illegal cattle movements continued unabated.

4:3 THE SHIFT IN GOVERNMENT POLICY

In the inter-war period the cattle economy of Rongo was affected in three ways which culminated in the shift of the colonial government's policy towards African agriculture. The first of these was the continued outflow of labour from Rongo to meet the needs of the expanding settler economy in colonial Kenya. The second factor was the growing demand for cattle products which not only stimulated production but also forced people to devise a new marketing system of cattle products. Of

greater significance was the global economic depression of 1929-35 which constituted a watershed in the cattle economy of Rongo.

In his study of the socio-economic change in Kasipul-Kabondo, Ndege has shown that in the 1920's the settlers enjoyed a prosperous economy (see table 4.1).²⁰ However, this prosperity was detrimental to the cattle economy of Rongo because of the massive outflow of labour. It has already been indicated that forced labour had been legalised under the 1912 Native Authority Ordinance which empowered the District Commissioners and Chiefs to recruit labour. This system of labour recruitment was continued in the 1920's. As Dilley had pointed out:

By the end of the War in 1919, both the colonial state and European settlers were impressed by the effectiveness and success of the coercive methods used in War-time mobilisation. Settlers urged the continued application of the methods and the colonial state acceded to this request. The Northey Circulars of 1919 and 1920, and the 1920 Amendment to the Native Authority Ordinance re-instated the War-System of labour.²¹

According to table 4.2 below, between 1922 and 1923 over thirteen thousand people were recruited from the entire district. In 1927, eight thousand five hundred people were contracted from the district, and this was the highest figure for the decade. Although precise data from Rongo is lacking oral evidence indicates that Rongo was one of the most important labour recruitment areas for the settler agricultural economy in the highlands.²²

TABLE 4.1 .

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS BETWEEN 1918 AND 1955 IN KENYA

YEARS	ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
1918 - 1920	Rise in prices for commodities
1920 - 1922	Fall in prices
1922 - 1929	Period of recover, rise in prices
1929 - 1936	The Great Depression, fall in prices
1936 - 1939	Period of recovery, rise in prices
1940 - 1955	Continued rise in prices

SOURCE: Peter O. Ndege, "Socio-Economic Change in Kasipul Kabondo, 1800-1960" (M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1987). p. 209. .

As a result of this rise in the demand for labour, the cattle owners devised ways of ensuring that cattle husbandry was not adversely affected. While in the first two decades of colonial rule cattle grazing was based on the co-operative effort of households within the homestead, it now came to be based on the co-operative effort of two or more homesteads.²³

However, large herd owners such as Makedi Obala in Sakwa and Ongo Anyango in Kamagambo who owned well over two hundred herd of cattle maintained their own herdsmen.²⁴ Grazing was still basically in the open fields and was not restricted to an individual's plot.²⁵ Those households which did not possess large herds now combined the duties of cleaning the Kraals and watering the small stock with that of milking the cows.²⁶

TABLE 4.2 .

LABOUR CONTRACTED FROM THE SOUTH KAVIRONDO DISTRICT 1922-1935

YEAR	NUMBER CONTRACTED
1922	7743
1923	5766
1924	2452
1925	1406
1926	4013
1927	8500
1928	6710
1929	7910
1930	6399
1931	1236
1932	NIL
1933	62
1934	920
1935	1099

SOURCE: KNA, DC/KSI/3/5/31, POLITICAL RECORD BOOK, 1930-1940.

While the colonial state was actively involved in the massive recruitment of labour for the settler agricultural economy it never paid sufficient attention to the improvement and marketing of African cattle products. For example, in the period prior to 1929 the entire South Nyanza district was served by three shade-drying bandas situated at Oyugis, Sare and Rangwe.²⁷ Only Sare was located in the division. This meant that some traders in hides and skins had to move considerable distances in order to gain access to shade-drying facilities. In terms of personnel the whole district had only one veterinary officer, Mr. M. Bishop, and one stock inspector, Mr. W.L. Lewis.²⁸ Their visits to Rongo were infrequent and mainly confined to the local dairies and Sare trading centre where the only banda in the division was located.²⁹ Most of the countryside of Rongo where the hides and skins came from rarely benefited from the technical services offered by these officers.³⁰ This state of economic neglect was primarily due to the preference given to settler production.³¹ In comparison to the period prior to the First World War the African livestock was no longer important to the colonial economy.³²

However, from 1929, there was a shift in the government policy towards the African production sector. The colonial state began to encourage African peasant production. Extension services were intensified in the division and South Nyanza district in general. In order to increase the number of extension services' personnel some Africans were taken for training in the methods of

hides and skins preparation in 1931.³³ On their return they were deployed in the district to take charge of the shade drying bandas.³⁴ They travelled to surrounding areas and taught people how hides and skins should be prepared. By 1935 there were several shade drying bandas in the division at Nyarach, Rongo, Ri siri, Kitere and Sare among many others.³⁵ The construction of these bandas was sponsored and financed by the Luo-Abasuba Local Native Council on the instructions of the senior provincial commissioner of Nyanza, Mr. C.M. Dobbs who had directed that all trading centres and markets should have at least a shade drying banda.³⁶

The government also became concerned with the activities of the middlemen who were accused of underpaying African producers.³⁷ In order to arrest the situation and provide incentives to African producers the colonial administration directed that all dealers in hides and skins should have weighing scales.³⁸ It was further directed that hides must be weighed and graded, and that the seller should be paid in accordance to the quality of his hides.³⁹

In the ghee industry the colonial government used the Luo-Abasuba Local Native Council to promote local entrepreneurship.⁴⁰ The Council bought the ghee separator equipments at wholesale prices and sold them to approved persons who were required to pay an initial deposit of thirty per cent and the balance to be paid in instalments.⁴¹ Apart from the deposit for the equipment such people were required to raise an additional sum of at least thirty

shillings as working capital.⁴²

This state-sponsored programme of encouraging African entrepreneurship was by and large successful. By 1938 ghee production and processing was almost exclusively in the hands of Africans. This understandably aroused hostility from the Asians. They began to agitate against the power of the Local Native Councils in commercial transactions.⁴³ They protested against Local Native Council's interference in trade and demanded that the government must spell out the powers of the local Native Council's in commercial activities in these words:

The native cream separator owners agitated and insisted on the removal of the non-native separator owners. From this arises the important point of the need of a clear definition of the powers and functions of the Native Council's as regards trading and other rights of Indians who have established themselves in good faith in the reserves. It is necessary to have a clear idea as to the extent to which these councils interfere in the legitimate trade activities.⁴⁴

Despite these protestations the government did not reverse its decisions. Instead the ghee separator owners and milk producers were given incentives by increasing the ghee producer prices.⁴⁵ These measures helped to stimulate milk and ghee production.⁴⁶

The shift in government policy from indifference to active encouragement was mainly brought about by global economic depression of 1929-35. The depression crippled settler-production which hitherto had been the cornerstone of the colonial economy.

Many settlers became bankrupt and some were forced to abandon farming.⁴⁷ Accordingly, the demand for African labour declined.

As Sharon Stitcher has argued in the context of Kenya as a whole:

Whereas in the 1920's the problem for settlers had been to extract enough labour from the peasant economy to realise profits from the high export prices, in 1929 the problem was swiftly reversed: how to wind down the settler enterprise, disemploy labour and tighten belts for a period of adversity.⁴⁸

This collapse of settler farming forced the government to encourage African production. This was necessary if the peasants were to bear the burden of sustaining the colonial economy and to meet "the fixed obligations of tax payments which now became a much heavier burden in real terms."⁴⁹ The government's economic response further shows that it was aware of the economic potential of African peasant producers but was prepared to encourage African production only when it suited their purposes. Thus, the colonial government was only interested in African production for the sustenance of the colonial economy but not for a viable and strong peasant - household economy.

Besides the depression, the economy of Rongo was also affected by the famines of Nyangweso in 1932-33 and Otuoma in 1934.⁵⁰ The famines were an aftermath of the locust invasion which devastated the vegetation, crops and pastures not only in Rongo but in the entire district in the period 1930-33.⁵¹ These famines were so serious that the Luo-Abasuba Local Native Council

had to intervene with famine relief to the tune of £4,084 for the whole of South Nyanza.⁵²

The depression and famines combined to reduce the prices of cattle not only in Rongo and South Nyanza but in the whole colony. As Kitching has observed in the context of Kenya as a whole:

Though the money prices of food crops fell continuously from late 1929 to 1934 the prices of cattle fell even more drastically during the same period. This was due to a series of droughts and locust infestations from 1928 to 1934 which affected pastoral areas particularly badly.⁵³

Kitching's argument about Kenya are to a large extent borne out by the level of prices in Rongo in the 1930's. The average prices for Rongo were thirty, forty, and thirty shillings for a heifer, a cow and a bullock respectively (see table 4.3).⁵⁴

To minimise the effects of both the depression and famine the government was obliged to reduce taxes from sixteen shillings to twelve shillings in 1930.⁵⁵ However, this reduction was too little to save the people from the deepening economic hardships. In any case taxes were already too high for the majority of the population. Given the depressed cattle prices in the 1930's it became increasingly difficult for cattle owners to meet their tax obligations as well as their domestic needs.

The problems brought about by famine as well as depression were compounded by the outbreak of cattle diseases in the 1920's and 1930's. In 1922 and 1928 there were outbreaks of pleuro

TABLE 4.3 .

PRICES OF CATTLE IN SOUTH NYANZA DISTRICT DURING LOCUST TIME
IN 1931

	HEIFER SH.	COW SH.	BULLOCK SH.
OYUGIS	40	30	24
MUMBO	60	70	20
KENDU	40	25	12
KARUNGU	50	28	20
KADEM	25	40	35
SUNA	40	60	20
BUTENDE	30	50	24
SAKWA	30	40	30
KAMAGAMBO	30	40	30
KANYAMKAGO	30	40	40

SOURCE: KNA, PC/NZA/2/1/3, TOURS AND DIARIES SOUTH KAVIRONDO
DISTRICT, 1931-34.

pneumonia.⁵⁶ In addition there were sporadic outbreaks of Foot and Mouth, East Coast Fever and Anthrax diseases in Rongo division.⁵⁷ Some of these diseases were spread from wild life to cattle.⁵⁸ Indeed, the colonial administration and veterinary staff in South Kavirondo correctly attributed the occurrences of Anthrax and Foot and Mouth diseases among others to the closer

proximity of livestock to wild life.⁵⁹

In order to control the spread of diseases from wild life to cattle the colonial government instructed the chiefs to mobilise the local people to dig trenches and keep off the wild life from the settled and grazing areas.⁶⁰ Consequently, during the 1930's trench digging became one of the major preoccupations of the people of Rongo.⁶¹ This scheme together with the intensification of vaccination campaigns helped to curb the incidence of cattle diseases.

4:4 ORGANISATION OF TRADE

The inter-war period saw expansion of trade in cattle and related products. Before the First World War the main participants in the cattle trade had been the Somali, Arabs and Indians. While the Somali specialised in trade of cattle on the hoof, the Arabs concentrated on hides and skins, and the Indians on ghee. The most important development in the inter-war period was increased local participation in cattle trade and related products without specialising in any of the above mentioned categories.

The increased participation of the local traders was due to two main factors. First, the government's encouragement of local entrepreneurship enabled some Africans to venture into the trade of cattle and related products. There were also some Africans who went to the First World War and on their return used their

war savings to enter into partnership with the non-local traders. Indeed, increased local participation in cattle trade and related products was one of the major economic landmarks in Rongo during the inter-war period.

The trade in cattle was organised mainly at three levels. First and foremost was the local trade which was essentially a carry-over from the pre-colonial period. The only change was the increased use of money in cattle transactions though bartering was still dominant.

At the second level were traders who bought cattle from the local cattle owners in villages and took them to the local markets where they sold them to the large-scale cattle traders at a profit. As opposed to the local trade where plain bartering was an accepted part and parcel of the transactions, at the local markets transactions were conducted purely in currency.

The third level of cattle transactions comprised those who purchased cattle from various local markets and 'walked' those cattle to further markets. These traders operated on a much wider scale. They bought from homes and rural markets and sold them to the large cattle traders from big towns like Kisumu.

There were two types of cattle markets. There were the major markets which attracted large scale traders and involved purchase of large numbers of cattle. These markets included Suna, Sare,

Sori, Rangwe, Oyugis and Sondu (See map 4.1). These markets were held in rotation.⁶²

The second type were those markets which served specific localities and were situated either within those localities or along a common border (see map 4.1). In Rongo these markets were quite numerous. They included Maroo, Nyabera alias Mamboleo, Nyamahia and Oyani. These markets met on different days of the same week.⁶³ Some of these markets were not only used by the local people of Rongo but also by the neighbouring communities and, in a sense, were a continuation of the pre-colonial trade patterns and links. These markets acted as feeders to the main cattle markets.

By 1939 distinct cattle routes had emerged not only in Rongo but in the entire district (see map 4.1). The busiest cattle traffic route ran from the present day Trans-Mara district of Tanzania passing through Kadem, another area which boasted of very high cattle population, and to Suna market where there was a big cattle market. Cattle from Sibakoria in Kurialand were also brought here. From Suna the traffic found its way to Sare another cattle market. Here local traders brought cattle which they had acquired from Masailand through local exchange. From Sare cattle were 'walked' to Riasiri, a large cattle market situated at the border of Rongo and Mugirango. From Riosiri the routes diverged. Some cattle were taken to Rangwe and Kisii.

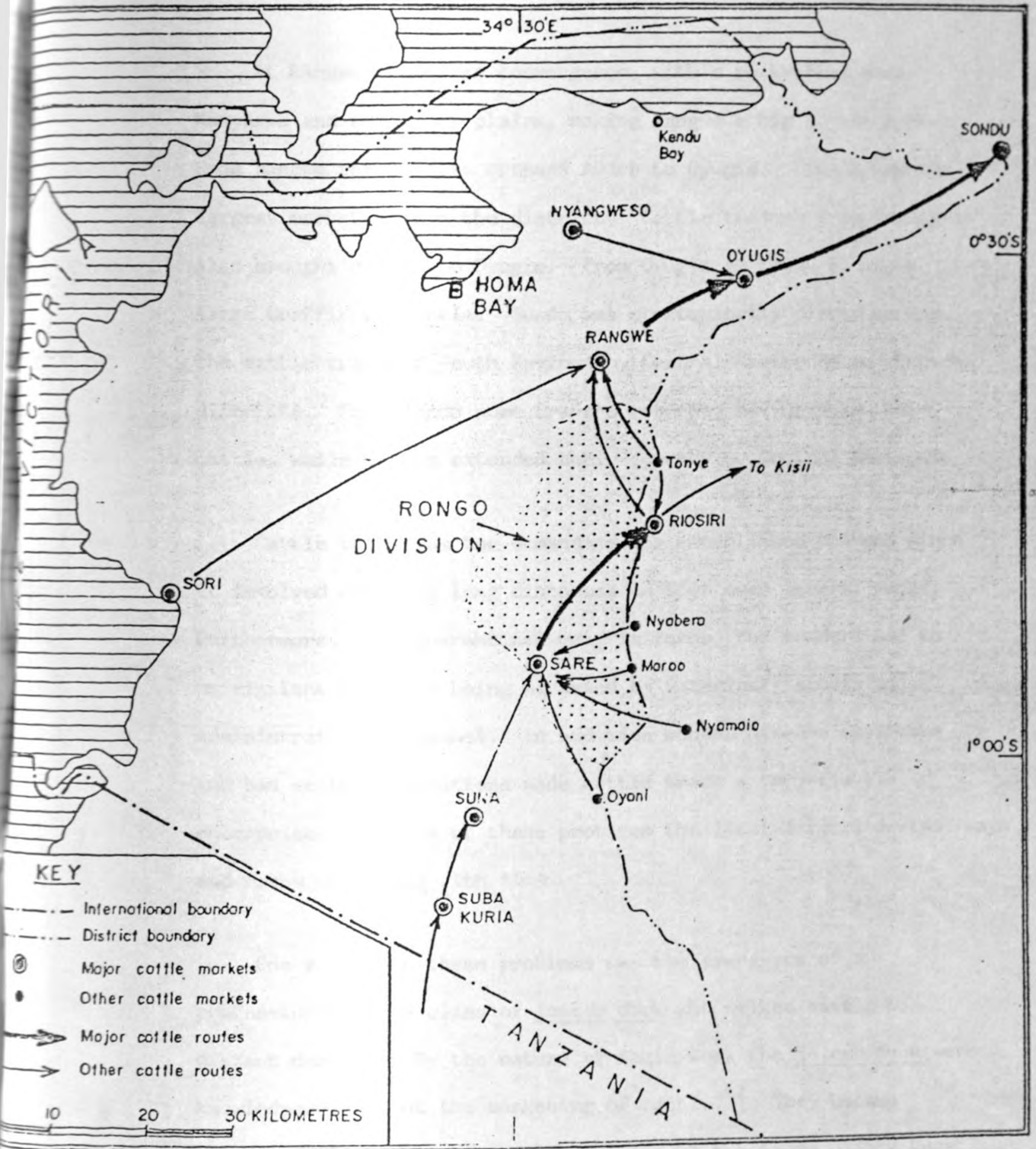


FIG. 1: CATTLE MARKETS AND ROUTES IN SOUTH NYANZA DISTRICT.

SOURCE: Based on Oral Interviews conducted in Rongo Division

At Rangwe there was convergence, with a route from Sori, Kanyamwa and the lower plains, making Rangwe a big cattle market. From Rangwe the traders crossed Awach to Oyugis. Oyugis was the largest market within the district. Cattle traders from Nyangweso also brought cattle to Oyugis. From Oyugis to Sondu it was a large traffic of cattle. Sondu was strategically placed to tap the cattle trade of South Kavirondo, Central Kavirondo and Kericho districts. From Sondu some traders returned having sold their cattle, while others extended their journey to Central Kavirondo.

Cattle trade was too demanding for established traders since it involved covering long distances on foot over several weeks. Furthermore, when quarantines were in force, the traders had to be vigilant to avoid being harassed by veterinary scouts and administration personnel. In addition sudden disease outbreaks and bad weather conditions made cattle trade a very risky enterprise. Because of these problems the local traders devised ways and means of coping with them.

One answer to these problems was the emergence of a professional guild class of josemb dhok who walked cattle to distant markets. By the nature of their work the 'josemb dhok were knowledgeable about the marketing of cattle.⁶⁴ They became the propelling force behind the success of the trade. They knew how to evade veterinary scouts during quarantines. Furthermore, they were not only conversant with the cattle prices in different markets but were also familiar with the local physical environment and knew the shortest and safest routes to the markets.⁶⁵ In a

sense, and as Atieno-Odiambo and William Cohen have also argued in a different context, in the cattle trade:

Fortunes were quickly made, yet they were also sometimes quickly lost through risks such as holding cattle during an outbreak of disease, or losses due to rustling. The cattle traders knew and the josemb dhok understood that success in the trade rested in part in disposing of their 'merchandise' as soon as possible. This was ... an incentive to the josemb dhok to speed up their practice and to accumulate new information about markets and routes which would allow an acceleration of transport.⁶⁶

Notwithstanding the benefits reaped from cattle trade, the business was a risky enterprise since traders had to take the necessary precautions against any outbreak of disease or rustling.

Since walking cattle to distant markets took weeks, arrangements were made for accommodation during such business trips. In their business, traders often cultivated local friendships sometimes through marriage links among the people, along the way, for food and accommodation to and from cattle markets. These local friendships were also utilised in gathering and disseminating relevant information pertaining to cattle transactions.

The non-local traders, as already indicated, had monopolised the marketing of glee, and hides and skins. The Asians to a large extent still dictate the prices of the products from Rongo division. For example, the local traders produced glee but sold it to the Asian middlemen.⁶⁷

The trade in hides and skins was no exception. While there were four major firms based in Kisumu which were involved in the purchase of hides and skins namely, the Old East African Trading Company, African Mercantile Company, The Equatorial Agency and Bordon and Boffi Company, all the hides and skins in Rongo division were purchased by an Asian, Mr. Gershon Nanji who was based at Marindi.⁶⁸ As Eliakim Nyatuga, a major local trader in hides and skins at the time recalled, "there was no other purchaser and all hides and skins were being purchased by him (Gershon Nanji). The price paid rested entirely on him since we did not have direct access to the firms based in Kisumu."⁶⁹ Thus, the local traders had no option but to sell their hides and skins to the Asian middlemen who had the monopoly in the purchase of those cattle products in Rongo.

Licences also caused a lot of anxiety among those who wanted to establish butcheries at the trading centres. Under the provisions of the Native Produce and Marketing Ordinance of 1935 butchers were required to build slaughter houses with proper hygienic conditions and to use weighing scales. Furthermore, colonial licensing policy and practices tended to favour Asian butcheries. Indeed, and as Ndege has noted elsewhere, "in implementing the Ordinances and Rules with regard to issuing licences provincial agricultural officers and District Commissioners worked on principles and conditions which favoured European and Indian traders."⁷⁰ However, some local traders often devised ways and means of circumventing colonial

discriminatory practices in the issuing of licences.

In the butchery business, for example, the local traders in Rongo opened up butcheries outside the trading centres in order to avoid the stringent legal requirements.⁷¹ In fact this accounts for the emergence of the butcheries which were located outside the villages and trading centres.

Despite the problems in the butchery business, the meat market also experienced tremendous expansion in the inter-war period. The organisation of the meat market followed a similar pattern to that of cattle since they operated at three levels each with some distinct features. At the first level was the local trade of meat in the villages already discussed in chapter two. The only change was the co-existence of barter and currency systems in the transactions.

At the second level were butcheries which were situated at certain recognised points in the locality outside the villages. The meat was purchased mainly by currency though a limited amount was exchanged for grain. In most cases the butchers got their supplies of cattle from the local villages.

Finally all trading centres in Rongo, particularly from 1930, had butcheries.⁷² In these butcheries the price of meat was strictly controlled. The butchers had to be licenced. The butchers got their cattle supplies mainly from the markets. The slaughter was quite regularised and was done mainly during market days.

Although there were local, regional and long-distance trade involving cattle and related products in the division, it is interesting to note that all the levels of trade were not dichotomised. There was linkage and interdependence at all the levels. In one aspect local trade was the foundation upon which all success in trade were built. The importance of local trade in the expansion of trade in general between 1919 and 1939 is best illustrated by the careers of the following cases of individuals.

One of those who built flourishing cattle businesses from humble beginnings was Andrea Anindo who was born in 1897 and started his business career in the second decade of this century.⁷³ His career is a good example of success through hard work, perseverance and business acumen. He began his business life as a petty trader. He bought eggs from the local people and sold them to the Asians at Homa trading centre. He used the money he made from the sale of eggs to buy goats and sheep. He eventually bartered some of the goats and sheep for cattle with the people of Kabuoch and Kanyamwa. As his cattle herd increased he moved from his original home at Rapedhi in 1922 and migrated to the present South Sakwa location in search of more and better grazing lands. As a result he became one of the successful cattle owners in the location.

But Anindo was too energetic and ambitious to limit himself to cattle herding only. He used his experience in egg selling to establish a flourishing cattle business. He purchased heifers

from the villages which he exchanged with bulls from the Isiria Masai who lived not very far from his home. He sold the bulls to the Banyore for cash and made large profit. Anindo also made and maintained commercial links with the Kuria who, sometimes, gave him cattle on loan. He then sold the cattle at higher prices and gave his creditors (Kuria) an agreed fixed amount. Anindo's elder son, John Owuor, recalls that their home was a commercial metropolis where several people met for negotiations, agreement and transactions related to cattle.⁷⁴

Anindo also expanded his cattle business by travelling to distant markets. He travelled to markets in Tanzania, particularly at Tarime, during cattle auctions. Anindo became a major cattle trader and employed several 'cattle walkers'. Many other people also operated under his licence. He initiated his elder son into the trade business.

Anindo did not confine himself to cattle trade only. In 1934 he purchased a ghee separator, and in partnership with Ismail Owiro purchased a maize produce store at Sare centre in 1938.⁷⁵ When the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation was formed in 1945 Anindo joined it. He became an active member of the Corporation and rose up the ranks to become its chairman in 1952, a post he held for four years.⁷⁶ When Anindo passed away in 1975 he left behind a chain of businesses which he had started with money accumulated from cattle and related products.

The second interesting example worth describing is that of Ngani Legadho who was born in Kichuri village of North Kamwango in 1911.⁷⁷ His parents were poor and at about the age of fifteen he took the job of herdsmanship. He was a herdsman for slightly over five years. His employer was impressed with his work and gave him two cows. Soon afterwards Ngani left his job and became a cattle trader. In his words he joined the trade because:

I wanted money to purchase more cattle so that I could marry and have a herd of my own instead of herding for other people. Trading in cattle those days was a good business and although prices were low some people earned some reasonable income. In this place (Kamagambo) Ochola, Nyamwango and Aduda were already in the trade.⁷⁸

Ngani sold the two cows in the cattle market at Rangwe to raise his initial capital. He bought more cattle from the villages. He traded under the guidance of Nyamwango who was then an established trader. As he accumulated more capital Legadho bought more cattle some of which he kept at his home to have a solid base as a cattle owner.

As opposed to Anindo, Ngani's business career was only a partial success. He did not diversify his investments and concentrated mainly on cattle trade. As age took on him, Ngani was forced to leave cattle trade and he can now count only on his small herd.

Another important cattle trader whose business career is worth describing is Ochola Loda.⁷⁹ He was born in 1906 in Kamagambo. His father's cattle were stolen when he was still young. His father turned to agriculture but he was not successful. He found it increasingly difficult to sustain the family. As a result, young Ochola has to find for himself. From the late 1920's Ochola turned to herdsmanship and looked after cattle for several large cattle owners in the locality. At his leisure time he used to go to Nyamwango, the skilled trader, who told him how trade was conducted and the fortunes reaped from the trade. Ochola was so influenced that he started accompanying Nyamwango to various markets as a cattle 'walker'. After his apprenticeship, Ochola exchanged his father's grain for a bull. He then sold the bull and raised enough money to start a cattle business of his own. Ochola became a very successful cattle trader and managed to educate some of his children. He also bought an oxen-plough and increased his agricultural output.

However, fortunes were not only confined to trade in cattle. Some individuals in Rongo built flourishing business from trade in cattle products. An important example worth describing at some length is Eliakim Nyatuga.⁸⁰ Born in 1912, when his father had lost most of his cattle in the Gastro Enteritis of 1908, Nyatuga spent his early childhood looking after the few cattle that survived the eipizootic. As he came of age, his father insisted that he had to go to school. Consequently, Nyatuga became one of those select few who benefited from the elementary

education introduced by the missionaries. In 1931 he was one of the Africans who were taken for training in the methods of preparing hides and skins.⁸¹ When he completed his training at the beginning of 1932 Nyatuga was posted to Sare and placed in charge of the shade drying banda located at the centre.

As an active and energetic young man Nyatuga made commercial inroads and established links with the Isiria Masai and the inhabitants of South Sakwa, South Kanyamkago and East Suna from where he got hides and skins. In time Nyatuga became a household name in most parts of Rongo for his tireless efforts in educating the people in the division of the need to prepare hides and skins of high quality. Nyatuga's job prepared him for a more challenging career in the hides and skins business.

The decision that saw Nyatuga through to a successful business career was made in 1934. In that year the government through the Local Native Council decided to privatise the shade hide drying banda at Sare.⁸² Nyatuga used savings from his salary to purchase the banda. Having the advantage of training and experience in the hides and skins industry, Nyatuga organized his economic activities around the shade drying banda at Sare. He used the money earned from trade to purchase plots at Sare trading centre. By 1939 he had built a hotel on one of these plots. He also used some of the money from his hides business to educate his sons. His sons chose various careers after formal schooling. Interestingly enough some of them were initiated into

the hides and skins business. Although Nyatuga is now retired his hides and skins business continues to flourish under the management of his sons.

These four case studies show that although the origin of working capital varied from individual to individual local trade was the foundation upon which most careers in cattle trade and related products were built. Through sheer hard work these individuals accumulated capital and eventually established large-scale businesses in cattle and cattle products. The case studies also show that pre-colonial commercial links between Rongo and her neighbours were very important to the emerging entrepreneurs. These traditional links were used to get cattle and related products at lower prices and sometimes on favourable credit terms. Thus, the pre-colonial cattle transactions and links were not severed but were restructured and used as a springboard to launch flourishing businesses and successful careers in trade.

THE IMPACT OF TRADE

Trade in cattle and related products brought some fortunes in Rongo. These included the emergence of new men and social differentiation, economic diversification, introduction of new technologies and urbanisation in the division.

The participation of the local traders in cattle trade and other commercial activities such as in ghee and, hides and skins

was instrumental in the development of local entrepreneurship in Rongo. These local entrepreneurs in Rongo accumulated capital which they invested in various sectors within the Rongo economy. The most prominent members of this group include Andrea Anindo, Ismail Owiro, Benjamin Arende, Elkana Ouso, Eliakim Nyatuga and Nicholas Ochanda. Olal Kosodo owned a butchery at Riosiri (Kosir), while Nicholas Ochanda and Benjamin Arende pioneered into the butchery business at Rongo.⁸³

These entrepreneurs successfully managed to capture the lower reaches of commercial transactions in the division. The Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza, Mr. Fazan, echoed similar sentiments when he noted, "I think the Arab buyers will lose trade not so much by the marketing proposals, but due to the advance of the African in the lower reaches of trade".⁸⁴ By the mid-1930's this group of local entrepreneurs was surging forward with an aim of laying an economic assault on the Asians at their bases in the trading centres. However, this economic development was not supported by the government in fear of political repercussions from the Asian community. These traders resorted to other ways of competition with the Asians at the trading centres.

The local traders set up their own markets just short distances from the Asian dominated trading centres. At Awendo the Africans started such a market close to the main trading centre of Sare.⁸⁵ This aroused a protest from the Asian traders at Sare who "were complaining that itinerant traders were setting

up stands in front of their shops."⁸⁶ To be fair to the Asian traders, this activity of the African traders was, of course, contrary to the Local Native Council regulations which barred such establishments within a radius of less than three miles from the gazetted trading centre.⁸⁷ However, due to the lack of appropriate economic openings for the local traders such establishments could hardly be avoided.

That cattle transactions had multiplier effect on most sectors of the economy in the division is well illustrated by the introduction of new technologies. Most important was the oxen-plough. The plough was significant in that it brought more areas under cultivation for crop production. Several cattle owners and traders in Rongo managed to purchase ploughs. Apart from ploughs, they bought chains and yokes.⁸⁸ In the African context, the whole technology was so expensive that only the people who had acquired and accumulated enough capital could afford it. These new men in the Rongo economy and society included Ogongo Okoth, Jacob Omingo, Ismail Owiro, Linus Ranyimbo, Celestinus Mwangi and Andrea Anindo.⁸⁹ The use of ploughs enabled farmers to bring more land under cultivation which meant reduced land for cattle grazing.

Some cattle traders, particularly in Kamagambo used the savings from trade in ventures that had nothing to do with cattle activity. They purchased power mills and obtained licences to operate them at specific mill sites close to rivers. By 1934,

Bonfas Okach had established a power mill at Misadhi river in Kamagambo while Galkano Omullo and Enas Ong'wen has erected their power mills at Riana river, though at different places, in Kamagambo.⁹⁰

The trade in cattle and cattle products also led to the emergence of incipient urbanization in Rongo. Trading centres which consisted of shops, hotels and butcheries marked the beginning of urbanization. Cattle markets too stimulated the growth of urban centres. In time the trading centres attached to cattle markets experienced expansion through the establishment of permanent shops, hotels, butcheries and temporary shelters of porridge kiosks to service the large population that met during market days. Most of these establishments were set up by cattle traders and traders in cattle products through the accrued profits from the trade. Some cattle markets grew into big trading centres and eclipsed their neighbouring trading centres which had no cattle markets. Riosiri, for example, eclipsed Rongo.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the discussion presented in this chapter. The people of Rongo had been drawn into the colonial economy. They had no choice but to participate in that economy through diverse ways such as paying tax, selling their labour, engaging in trade or in the cultivation of cash crops. However, their participation was subject to certain statutory requirements such as licence and permits through which the colonial state controlled the entry and participation in various transactions by the local traders. The chapter has shown that in

cases where the local traders faced obstacles they often devised ways and means of economical survival.

The various levels of trade outlined in the chapter do offer meaningful insights into the extent to which the traditional forms of marketing were incorporated into the colonial economy. Some commercial aspects of trade in cattle and related products had not yet felt the full impact of the dynamics of the colonial economy.

The analysis of the development of local traders who accumulated capital from cattle trade and related activities which they invested in various businesses has dispelled the myth of indiscriminate impoverishment of the peasants under the colonial capitalist economy. In fact, the picture that emerges from the commercialization of cattle economy is that a 'new' enterprising group was beginning to shift resources from cattle to more lucrative sectors of the economy of Rongo. Some of their investments were quite parallel to the hitherto cherished activity of cattle keeping. This shift of resources from cattle to the new ventures was in essence institutionalising and consolidating competing ventures to cattle economy in Rongo.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. Oral Interview with John Owuor, at Mariwa, 4/12/87 and with Patroba Akech, at N'gon'ga, 13/10/87.
2. KNA, PC/NZA/3/49/6, On Cattle Trade, 1927, see correspondence from PC NZA to Chief Veterinary Officer dated 23/9/27.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Oral Interview with Patroba Akech, at N'gon'ga, 13/10/87; Duado Omiti, at Koluoch, 2/9/87 and with Ngoki Oloo, at Ombasa, 28/8/87.
6. See footnote 2 above.
7. KNA, PC/NZA/3/49/4, on Movements of cattle, 1925-28, see letter from PC. NZA to Veterinary Officer, Lumbwa dated 16/2/27.
8. KNA, PC/NZA/2/8/6, on Livestock Trade, 1931-50, see letter from DC. SK to PC. NZA dated 23/6/31.
9. Oral Interview with Silas Pete, at Apondo, 3/9/87; Ngoki Oloo, at Ombasa, 28/8/87 and with Ngore Okore at Nyarago, 23/10/87.
10. Oral Interview with Samson Ndere, at Nyarago, 8/10/87; Okal Odunga, at Kanyamamba, 2/10/87.
11. See letter from PC. NZA to Veterinary Officer, Lumbwa dated 16/2/27 in KNA, PC/NZA/3/49/4, on Movements of Cattle, 1925-28.

12. See correspondence dated 23/3/32 in KNA, PC/NZA/2/8/6, on Livestock Trade, 1931-50.
13. KNA, PC/NZA/3/49/6, op.cit.
14. Oral Interview with Eliakim Nyatuga, at Obama, 12/8/87, Joshua Ngani Legadho, at Kichuri, 27/9/87; Obunga Achika, at Koluoch, 1/9/87 and with Randere Okuna, at Kamsumba, 11/10/87.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. See KNA, PC/NZA/3/11/49, on Veterinary, 1927-28. There are several correspondence dealing with Cattle Branding.
19. Ibid.
20. See Peter O. Ndege, "Socio-Economic Change in Kasipul-Kabondo, 1800-1960" (M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1987).
21. Quoted in Peter O. Ndege, op.cit, p. 189.
22. Oral Interview with Okelo Wera, at Katagaya, 30/9/87; Eliakim Omollo, at Kangeso, 21/9/87 and Okwaro Obingo, at Nyakuru, 2/9/87.
23. Ibid.

24. Oral Interview with Duado Omiti, at Koluoch, 2/9/87 and with William An'gila, at Nyamarere, 20/9/87.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. KNA, PC/NZA/2/8/1, on Hides and Skins; 1925-28. Bandas are sheds where hides and skins are dried.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. For example see Nichola Swainson, The development of Corporate Capitalism in Kenya, 1918-1977 (London, Heinemann, 1980), pp. 6-7.
32. Also see John Overton, "War and Economic Development: Settlers in Kenya, 1914-18", op.cit.
33. Oral Interview with Eliakim Nyatuga, at Obama, 12/8/87.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. KNA, PC/NZA/2/8/6, on Livestock Trade, 1931-50.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.
40. See J.M. Mutterman, "The politics of Marketing in South Nyanza, Kenya, 1919-1945", in SANGO No. 3 (1983), pp. 27-45.
41. KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/64, on Dairy and Dairy products, 1936-50.
42. Ibid.
43. For a detailed treatment of the political aspects of the Local Native Councils, see M. Omusule, "Political and Constitutional Aspects of the Origins and Development of Local Government in Kenya, 1895-1963" (Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1975).
44. Extract from the The Kenya Daily Mail of Friday, 13/8/87 in KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/64, Op.cit.
45. The producer price of ghee was increased from Sh. 14/50 to Sh. 20/50 in December 1936, See circular Ref. No. DAIRY/1/463/36 dated 11/12/1936, in KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/64, op.cit.
46. For example between 1935 and 1938 the total value earnings from ghee in the entire district more than doubled. In 1935 the income earned was £14,264. In 1938 the income earned was £31,645. In fact the success of local traders in the management of ghee industry was exemplary and some districts tried to borrow a leaf from them. See letter from DC, Laikipia-Samburu to PC NZA dated 30/11/36 in KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/64, op.cit.
47. See R. Van Zwanenberg with A. King; An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda, 1800-1970 (Nairobi, EALB, 1975), pp. 208-209.

48. Sharon Stichter, Migrant Labour in Kenya: Capitalism and African Response, 1895-1975, (Harlow, Longman, 1982), p. 94.
49. C.C. Wriggley, "Kenya: The patterns of Economic life, 1902-45", op.cit. p. 256.
50. Oral Interview with Duado Omiti, at Koluoch, 2/9/87; Samson Ndere, at Nyarago, 8/10/87; and with Silas Pete, at Apondo, 3/9/87. Also see, Government of Kenya, Kenya Census Enumerators Guide Book, (1979), p. 73.
51. Ibid.
52. KNA, PC/NZA/3/5/31, Kisii Political Record Book, 1930-40.
53. Gavin Kitching, Class and Economic Change in Kenya; The making of an African Petite Bourgeoisie, 1905-1970, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1980), p. 159.
54. Most of the informants, who were cattle traders and owners, assert that the prices at the village and the local markets were much lower than the given prices since a bull could be purchased for as low as fifteen shillings.
55. KNA, DC/KSI/3/5/31; op.cit.
56. See KNA, PC/NZA/3/49/6, op.cit.; and PC/NZA/3/49/5/4, on Veterinary South Kavirondo, 1925-28.
57. Ibid.
58. For example, see C. Odegi, "Kenya's arid and Semi-arid lands: Appraisal for utilization into the Coming Decade", Paper presented at The Kenyan Economic Association Workshop, Nairobi (21-25/9/1987).

59. KNA, PC/NZA/2/1/3, on Tours and Diaries, South Kavirondo district, 1931-34.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid. In fact the trenches still exist to this day particularly in the former Area A now part of Alego and Kogelo sub-locations.
62. Oral Interview with Stanslaus On'gon'ga Ofuo, at Kabuoro, 4/9/87; John Owuor, at Mariwa, 4/12/87; Ngani Legadho, at Kichuri, 27/9/87 and Ochola Loda, at Kabola, 25/9/87.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. It is probably for this reason that most of the successful cattle traders started their careers as cattle walkers.
66. E. Atieno-Odhiambo and D. William Cohen, "Strategies of Survival in the Rural Economy: Studies from Western Kenya", op.cit. pp. 21-22.
67. KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/64, op.cit.
68. KNA, PC/NZA/2/8/6, op.cit.
69. Oral Interview with Eliakim Nyatuga, at Obama, 12/8/87.
70. Peter O. Ndege, op.cit. p. 233.
71. See KNA, PC/NZA/2/17/8, on Organisation of Markets and produce, 1931-51.

72. Ibid. .
73. This information about Andrea Anindo, deceased, was received mainly from his business associates and members of his family. Most resourceful was his eldest son, John Owuor, his wife, Sarah Anindo and business colleague Eliakim Nyatuga. Archival sources also proved helpful.
74. Oral Interview with John Owuor, at Mariwa, 4/12/87.
75. Ibid. .
76. See E. Atieno-Odhiambo, "A History of the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation", in B.A. Ogot, (ed.), Hadith 5, Economic and Social History of East Africa. op.cit. p. 260.
77. Oral Interview with Ngani Legadho, at Kichuri, 27/9/87. .
78. Ibid. .
79. Oral Interview with Ochola Loda, at Kabola, 25/9/87. .
80. Oral Interview with Eliakim Nyatuga, at Obama, 12/8/87. .
81. Ibid. .
82. KNA, PC/NZA/2/1/8, on Local Native Council, South Kavirondo, Luo-Abasuba-Minutes and Agenda, 1931-35.
83. Oral Interview with Stanslaus On'gon'ga Ofuo, at Kabuoro, 4/9/87. .
84. KNA, PC/NZA/2/17/31, op.cit. .
85. J.M. Butterman, op.cit. p. 36.

86. Ibid.
87. KNA, PC/NZA/2/17/8, on Organisation of Markets and Produce, 1931-51.
88. Oral Interview with Karilus Onam, at Malunga, 6/10/87; Ganda Onditi, at Obama, 17/8/87 and John Owuor at Mariwa, 4/12/87.
89. Ibid.
90. KNA, PC/NZA/2/1/8, op.cit.

CHAPTER FIVE

TOWARDS A DIVERSIFIED ECONOMY OF RONGO, 1940-1960

5:1 INTRODUCTION

The period 1940-1960 was decisive in the history of the cattle economy of Rongo. At the beginning of this period thousands of men from the division were conscripted into the colonial army. Besides, there was increased demand for cattle to meet the war food requirements. Furthermore, competition between local traders and those from outside the division reached its climax. These developments were vital in the overall performance of the cattle economy in Rongo. This chapter analyses the impact of Second World War on cattle economy. It also explores the nature of the commercial rivalry between the local traders and those from outside the division. The main argument of the chapter is that between 1940 to 1960 the Rongo economy became more diversified than ever before and this subsequently resulted in the relative decline of the cattle economy.

5:2 THE IMPACT OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The outbreak of the Second World War had far reaching repercussions on the cattle economy of Rongo. Chiefs became useful instruments for the mobilisation of human and material resources to meet the increasing demands of the War.¹ One of the important resources whose demand increased tremendously was cattle. The colonial government required large quantities of meat for the soldiers. This meant that cattle had to be obtained from all parts of Kenya. Oral evidence indicates that every cattle-owning homestead

in Rongo dispensed with some cattle for war requirements. For example, Achola Ogawo of Gamba dispensed with two cattle while Syprianus Okello of Kolando village dispensed with one.² Duado Omiti gavi a vivid picture of a requisition incident in his homestead. He observed:

It was one early morning in 1940 when the Askaris came to my home accompanied by the assistant chief. I knew they had come for cattle. However, before I could show them the bull or cow to take, the assistant chief had shown them two fat bulls, and the askaris were chasing the bulls. It was terrible. I pleaded with them to leave the bulls and take others instead but they refused.³

In a sense cattle owners lost some of their best animals during such requisitions.⁴

The increase in demand of cattle and the subsequent launching of the requisitions by the colonial state seriously affected cattle prices not only in Rongo but also in other parts of the district.⁵ The cattle owners were forced by the prevailing circumstances to sell their cattle in order to avoid them being taken by force.⁶ This resulted in supply outstripping the demand in the local markets because the colonial state tried to meet most of the war requirements through the requisitions.⁷ The archival records show that the prices of cattle were alarmingly low so much so that it became a major issue at a meeting of the Buch Johala Association in 1942.⁸ That the local administration acknowledged the fact and confessed their impotence in solving the

issue at that point in time is a clear manifestation that the cattle prices were very low.⁹

The demand for cattle products also increased tremendously during the war. Most important among the cattle products was ghee. In 1944 a twenty kilogramme tin of ghee was costing fifty four shillings in the official markets in Rongo.¹⁰ In the markets, which were not officially recognised the same quality and quantity of ghee was sold for sixty two shillings and fifty cents.¹¹ However, prices elsewhere were relatively higher. In Tanzania a twenty kilogramme tin of ghee costed seventy shillings.¹² The ghee producers decided to sell in the dearest market. Accordingly, some of the ghee was smuggled to neighbouring Tanzania. This brought about acute ghee shortage in the whole of South Nyanza district so much so that the government was compelled to set up a commission to investigate causes of this shortage.¹³

The commission reported that the shortage was mainly caused by smuggling.¹⁴ It recommended that the colonial administration officials should not only curb smuggling but that the ghee prices should also be increased to make them competitive with those in Tanzania.¹⁵ Acting on the advice of the commission, the government increased the price of ghee from fifty four shillings to sixty five shillings and thirty cents.¹⁶ This increase had an immediate impact on ghee supply in the local official markets. The quantity of ghee in the official markets considerably increased.¹⁷

Apart from the cattle requisitions the Rongo cattle economy was affected by the conscription of men for military service during the Second World War. As in the cases of cattle requisitions, conscriptions were left almost entirely to the chiefs.¹⁸ This became one of their major undertakings during the War. Nearly every homestead released an individual for the military service.¹⁹ The following excerpt from a report on the War recruitment in South Kavirondo district shows the general trend in Rongo in 1940. At the beginning of the year the report states:

In the last War the Jalu contribution in men was considerable. Their present one has exceeded expectations. For their East African military labour service they have contributed 1,200 recruits.²⁰

By September 1940 the report indicates:

Locally (South Kavirondo) the administration is now faced with recruiting at the rate of 400 per month for an indefinite period and there is probability of calling for more cattle as well as men in the near future to provide food for the corps.²¹

However, this recruitment drive was not only in immense scale but was also far from being peaceful.²² In fact, high-handed methods were used so much so that many people in Rongo were forced to flee from their areas into Tanganyika.²³ Even those who remained behind lived in fear and in hiding.²⁴

These disruptive effects of war forced people to adjust the household division of labour. Women assumed tasks which were hitherto performed by young men who had either gone to war or fled

from their homes to evade conscription.²⁵ This caused strain on the available labour. The women and elderly men could hardly cope with tasks of food production and management. The households became quite vulnerable to famines.

In fact, besides the direct effects of the war such as the requisition of cattle and conscription of men, Rongo was also affected by the famine of Ladhri in 1943.²⁶ The famine was caused by two main factors. First, the division experienced a long spell of drought that ruined their crop.²⁷ More importantly, the conscription of men contributed to reduction in food production due to scarcity of labour in the agricultural sector.²⁸ As Agnes Ofuona observed:

The period 1942-43 was quite difficult for us. Many young people in this village had gone to the war. Mbaka son of On'gare went to Tanganyika to avoid being conscripted. Only Tobias was in Kisii school. I had to help Joram (husband) in many tasks, such as in looking after cattle and milking, when he was sick. Remember I had also to look after children. Drought came but even then what we had in the gardens was not enough. Two people could not do much.²⁹

Ofuona's observation shows that the conscription of men from Rongo destabilised the production process and partly contributed to the outbreak of the famine of Ladhri.

In order to minimise the effect of the famine, the government intervened with a temporary short term relief and distributed maize seeds to the residents of Rongo.³⁰ Furthermore, the agricultural producer prices were increased.³¹ Encouraged by these developments

most cattle owners shifted to agricultural production.

It should be noted though that the Second World War had some positive effects on the Rongo cattle economy. Those who survived the war returned with their savings which they used to trade in cattle or establish cattle herds. Meanwhile some ex-soldiers started to pursue other careers in the colonial establishments. These trends are well illustrated by the careers of Ojola Gwili, Anyona Othuona and Sumba Ochieng.

Ojola Gwili returned with his savings from the Second World War and purchased cattle and an ex-plough. He organised his economic activities around his farm in Mahena and became a mixed farmer.³² In contrast, Anyona Othuona used his savings to purchase cattle from the local villages which he then sold at the local markets such as Awendo, Riosiri, Nyamahia and Maroo. In time he joined a team of established cattle traders and from 1948 he became a trader in his own right. He also established a solid base as a cattle owner and became involved in crop production.³³ Meanwhile, Sumba Ochieng purchased cattle and an ox-plough which he left under the care of his father, Ochieng Oyembe, while he pursued a career in the police force.³⁴

These careers show that the cattle economy was somewhat stimulated through the investment of the ex-soldiers' savings. They also show that cattle was still considered an important form of investment in Rongo. However, the increased interest in

crop production signalled a threat to the maintenance of large herds in the division. Finally, Rongo was becoming more economically stratified in terms of investment priorities particularly after the Second World War.

Accordingly, by 1945 there were various economic groups in the division which included mixed farmers, traders, workers in colonial establishments outside the district who had cattle in their rural homes in Rongo and the entrepreneurs who used accumulations from trade in cattle and related products to invest in various sectors of the Rongo economy. Out of all these economic groups the local traders who used accumulations from trade in cattle and cattle products became involved in economic conflicts with the traders from outside the division, particularly the Asian middlemen, in the 1940's.

5:3 CONFLICT OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN RONGO

The 1930's were characterised by the emergence of an entrepreneur class in Rongo. This class had diversified their investments and successfully came to grips with the colonial capitalist economy.³⁵ Consequently there developed very stiff competition between them and the Asian middlemen.

The Asians owned the wholesale shops at the trading centres in Rongo and stocked among their merchandise separator tools.³⁶ They sold these separator tools to the owners of ghee separators at relatively high prices and this cut deep into the profits of the

local traders.³⁷ The owners of ghee separators assert that they were forced to pay low rates to the milk producers in a bid to maintain their profit margin. Under the colonial capitalist economy of Rongo the market chain of command was such that any price imbalance at any stage of the marketing process, was bound to affect the producer. This is what by and large characterised the marketing of cattle and related products in Rongo and shows how Rongo had become integrated into the colonial economy.

The Rongo producers sometimes bypassed African middlemen and sold directly to the Asians at the trading centres who reportedly paid them better prices.³⁸ The African middlemen argued that the Asians paid the producers comparatively better prices to push them off the business.³⁹ It is because of this activity of the Asian middlemen and the growing symbiosis between them and the African producers that precipitated the African middlemen to demand monopoly in the purchase of all produce from the local producers.

The conflicting economic interests between the local and the Asian traders resulted in a rivalry that dominated the economic scene of Rongo in the decade ending 1950. The activities of the Asian middlemen fuelled the economic wrath of the local traders - who sought assistance from the state through a lobby Association, The Buch Johala Association.⁴⁰

An analysis of the leadership, membership, objectives and demands of the Association indicate that it mainly catered for the interests of the local cattle owners, cattle traders, ghee traders and butchers. From 1940, the Association was headed by Nyamunga a cattle owner and trader in his own right.⁴¹ The Association had among its most active members Andrea Anindo, Ismail Owiro, Ngani Legadho, Eliakim Nyatuga and Elkana Ouso whose commercial activities have been documented in the previous chapter.

The Association requested the government to allow the local cattle traders to sell directly to the Meat Control Board at the markets in the district. They also requested for purchase of separator tools at reasonable prices. The Association also sought to bypass middlemen by selling cattle products directly to Kisumu. The Association also wanted to engage in transport business and requested to be allowed to buy a passenger's lorry and be given monopoly on the roads from Kisii to Karungu and Homa Bay to Awendo or to Migori.⁴²

The demand for monopoly in the purchase of crop produce and transport services do offer insights into the developing trends in the general economy of Rongo. Some cattle traders were now showing more interest in the purchase of crop produce than in cattle trade. Furthermore they show the real economic concern at diversification with special attention to more profitable sectors as transport. In a sense these two demands suggest a shift of emphasis from cattle and related activities to relatively more economically rewarding enterprises.

Central in the demands of the Association was the elimination of Asian middlemen. The government only increased the price of ghee and rejected all the other demands arguing that it could not allow monopolies.⁴³ The Association was dissatisfied with the action of the government. Consequently, it encouraged its individual members to engage in transport business and other profitable sectors of the economy. Accordingly, some of them took up the challenge and lived to economic expectations.

Ismail Owiro purchased a passenger's lorry, in 1945, which ferried people between Awendo and Kendu Bay.⁴⁴ It was the only passenger's lorry on that route. Johana Nyamani previously a cattle owner and trader was now purchasing plots. He also started growing sugar cane as a cash crop.⁴⁵ Andrea Anindo was now more involved in purchasing crop produce. He also joined Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation which was involved in various economic activities excluding cattle trade.⁴⁶ These investment trends and changing priorities typified most careers in Rongo and show that cattle was no longer the leading sector of the Rongo economy.

5:4 POST-WAR II DEVELOPMENTS IN CATTLE PRODUCTION AND MANAGEMENT

In the post-war period the colonial government had two options in its determination to ensure the proper breeding and management of the herds in Rongo. It was either to introduce grade cattle or improve the local breeds through artificial insemination service.⁴⁷ The first option was rejected by the

colonial government. Two major reasons were advanced for the reluctance of the government in introducing grade cattle in Rongo and South Nyanza district in general.

First, it was argued that the entire South Nyanza district was overstocked and that the introduction of more cattle would only aggravate the overstocking in the district.⁴⁸ It was even suggested that the district needed to sell at least one hundred thousand head of cattle in order to maintain the required equilibrium of land-livestock holding ratio.⁴⁹ In order to ensure that the excess cattle were disposed of, destocking campaign was intensified in the 1950's. The government opened several cattle auction centres in the district. In Rongo one more auction centre was set up at Ranen.⁵⁰ In 1958, over one thousand head of cattle were auctioned at Rongo.⁵¹ This represented only a small proportion of cattle that were sold. Most cattle from Kamagambo location were auctioned at Rangwe.⁵²

In fairness to the colonial government, the destocking campaign was necessary if herds in Rongo were to be kept under proper husbandry methods. The demographic changes over the years, in the division, and the increased crop acreages were causing strain on grazing land. The population of Rongo had almost trebled between 1910 and 1958. While in 1910 the population of Rongo was about 15,400, by 1958 the population had risen to about 42,000.⁵³

Indeed, the situation in some parts of Rongo notably Area A in South Sakwa was quite serious. This area comprised about 1,700 hectares. By 1950 the area had a cattle population of about 2404. The human population was about 1457.⁵⁴ The average number of cattle per household was about twelve. Even if the entire Area A was left to grazing alone each beast would have only 0.7 hectares which is below 1.5 hectares recommended for one beast per annum in an area such as Rongo with an average rainfall of over 750 mm per year.⁵⁵ Although such comprehensive data for the whole division is lacking, oral evidence indicates that the situation in South Sakwa broadly reflected the general picture in the other parts of Rongo.⁵⁶

The colonial state partly contributed to this increased pressure on land. The imposition of colonial rule and the delimitation of the locational and district boundaries curtailed the process of population movement which traditionally had been one of the ways of responding to the problem of land scarcity. Furthermore, the pre-colonial usufructural rights which guaranteed settlement, grazing and cultivation under the communal trust of land ownership was undermined. One manifestation of land scarcity was the increased number of land disputes during the 1950's.⁵⁷ Various people were demanding the introduction of individual land tenure in order to promote modern farming. One of those who demanded the introduction of individual land tenure was Patroba Akech. He had the following to say:

I asked for land demarcation because there were many land disputes in this village. As an agricultural instructor I wanted to establish modern farming but this was not possible because we owned land communally. I had to consult my brothers before putting any part of the land to use. They also had their own interests. Because we had come of age and the land was not enough, individual land tenure was the only solution to the constant land disputes in the village.⁵⁸

Consequently, the cattle owners in Rongo devised means and ways of coping with these pressures on land. One of these ways was herd dispersion. It involved setting up various homesteads, in different areas, each with its own herd. This herd dispersion became quite common among some large cattle owners. Makedi Obala who was a wealthy cattle owner had two homes about two kilometres apart in South Sakwa and a third one in Masailand.⁵⁹ Another way was the curtailment in the mobility of cattle. Cattle were restricted to specific areas during grazing.⁶⁰ This resulted in overgrazing of certain areas.⁶¹ Meanwhile some of the cattle owners who lived in South Sakwa bordering Masailand attained grazing rights from the Isiria Masai.⁶² However, they were to give the Masai goats and sheep as a token of appreciation for the rights they were granted.⁶³

Another reason advanced by the government for not introducing grade cattle in African areas, Rongo included, was that serious cattle diseases were still a major problem and husbandry methods were not good. In fact, the Swynnerton Plan of 1954 made it clear that grade cattle would not be brought into the African reserves until diseases such as East Coast Fever had been brought

under control.⁴⁶ However, East Coast Fever was still prevalent in the whole of South Nyanza district by 1960.⁶⁵

Having ruled out the introduction of grade cattle the colonial government embarked on the improvement of the local Zebu breed. By 1957 the government had mooted a plan of establishing a 'bull camp' to improve the stock in Rongo division.⁶⁶ Accordingly, a 'bull camp' was established at Kuja in Rongo division in 1959.⁶⁷ The locational councils financed the project, the cattle owners provided voluntary labour and the colonial government gave Sahiwal bulls.⁶⁸ Despite the establishment of the camp, both oral and archival evidence indicate that by the end of 1960 very few cattle owners had benefited from the scheme. In the whole of Waundha sub-location only two cattle owners had benefited from the scheme while in Alego sub-location only one cattle owner.⁶⁹ This may be attributed to two main factors. First, the vastness of the division. One camp could not effectively serve the entire division. Second, and more importantly, there was very little attempt to explain to the local cattle owners the importance of the camp in improving the quality of the stock.

The cattle husbandry practices in Rongo in the period after the Second World War became quite demanding. In the period prior to the Second World War emigration of persons to colonial establishments outside the district had been among the factors affecting the availability of labour for cattle chores in rural Rongo. After the Second World War several thousands of children from Rongo were going to school.⁷⁰ Most of these pupils were in the age bracket of seven to eighteen.⁷¹ Although these

children still performed certain tasks during weekends and in the evenings, their parents and in some cases grandparents were forced to look after cattle during school days.⁷² Indeed, and as Minge-Kalman has argued in another context, "as children allocate more of their time to education and less to the farm, the parents make up for the foregone labour and offset the additional education costs by allocating more of their own time to family labour."⁷³

The large cattle owners also adjusted accordingly. While hitherto they engaged people who undertook duties of herding in return for accomodation, food and other facilities, this period saw widespread development of paid labour. Most herdsmen earned between twelve and twenty shillings per month in addition to food and accomodation.⁷⁴

While cattle production and management was bedevilled by a number of problems ranging from shortages in labour and inadequate pasture to lack of breeding facilities, crop production was gaining momentum in the economy of Rongo. The division was increasingly becoming a prominent agricultural zone as is shown in the annual reports from 1944 to 1960.⁷⁵ The famine of Ladhri and the better agricultural producer prices after the Second World War were instrumental in the shift of emphasis from cattle to agricultural production.

The cattle owners in Rongo realised that crop production was not only an important safeguard against famine but was also capable of generating just as much revenue as cattle and its products. Furthermore, as opposed to cattle management, crop production did not tie down labour for the entire calendar year. As a result of these considerations cattle owners started to lay more emphasis on agricultural production.

By 1957 maize had already overtaken cattle, ghee and hides and skins as the principal export not only in Rongo but also in the entire South Nyanza district. Indeed, as Table 5.1 clearly shows, between 1957 and 1960 the value of agricultural exports far outweighed those of animal exports. During the four year period animal product exports were valued at £1,085,346 compared to £1,662,441 for agricultural product exports. In 1960 alone the total agricultural exports were valued at £381,165 as compared to only £260,210 for animal exports (See Table 5.1).⁷⁶ Although specific quantitative data of Rongo in this aspect is lacking, both archival and oral sources indicate that it was the leading division in the production and marketing of agricultural produce. For example, in nearly all the annual reports of the decade ending 1960, Rongo is described not only as the leading agricultural division in the district but also the one that received the highest income from the sale of maize.⁷⁷ This assertion is also supported by oral sources. Most informants assert that they produced maize, sesame and finger-millet which they usually sold.⁷⁸ On these grounds it is arguable that Rongo's contribution to the total district agricultural exports was quite substantial.

TABLE 5.1

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL AND ANIMAL EXPORTS FROM SOUTH NYANZA

DISTRICT 1957 - 1960

YEARS	1957	1958	1959	1960
AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS	£	£	£	£
Maize	244,960	264,912	281,189	268,143
Groundnuts	92,177	91,613	45,887	70,308
Sesame	29,440	21,976	28,013	32,175
Finger Millet	45,483	70,651	53,569	10,068
Sorghum	180	894	312	471
TOTAL AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS	412,240	450,046	408,970	381,165
ANIMAL EXPORTS	£	£	£	£
Hides and Skins	101,800	85,304	136,984	88,398
Ghee	76,000	62,834	62,214	71,812
Slaughter Stock (approx)	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
TOTAL ANIMAL EXPORTS	277,800	248,138	299,198	260,210

SOURCE: Extracted from Annual Report of South Nyanza District 1960, in KNA, DC/KSI/1/22, Annual Report for SK, 1960.

The foregoing discussion constitutes a useful springboard for identifying the ramifications of the above developments in the colonial economy of Rongo and the ensuing frontiers of change. First, throughout the colonial rule, the state had censured the cattle keepers more than the agriculturalists. As a consequence, it is least surprising that the colonial state's attempts at encouraging crop production through distribution of seeds, and official propaganda to the people of Rongo to broaden their economic base, had by 1960 begun to yield some positive results. This, however, was at the expense of cattle which prior to the dawn of colonialism had been the mainstay of the Rongo economy. The shift of emphasis from cattle to the economic activities eroded the hitherto economic dominance of cattle in the economy of Rongo.

Second, the Rongo economy had been the subject of various developments. The outflow of labour from Rongo to other colonial establishments outside the division and development of formal schooling contributed to the erosion of the traditional foundations of cattle production and management. Contemporaneous with the developments was the gradual but consistent monetisation of the Rongo economy and the acquisition of new tastes. Thus as the colonial period wore on and Rongo's economy became integrated into the colonial capitalist economy the reliance on colonial merchandise also gained momentum. For example the use of hides and skins in clothing and bedding had by 1960 been

completely replaced by the new varieties of cotton clothing and blankets. Furthermore the importance of cattle as a store of value and medium of exchange had been overtaken by the use of money.⁷⁹ This meant that cattle no longer had the pride of place in Rongo's economy.

Third, during the inter-war years and in the post-war period cattle owners and traders in cattle and cattle products diversified their investments. They used accumulations from the trade to venture into other enterprising economic ventures such as transport and purchase of produce. This development contributed to the relegation of cattle to the periphery of Rongo's economy.

Finally the changes instituted by the colonial state following the adoption of the Swynnerton Plan of 1954 was undermined by a number of factors ranging from lack of finance and the land tenure system, which was still communal, to the prevalence of cattle diseases in the division and high population density. As a consequence the maintenance of large herds became both an expensive and a hazardous exercise.

Thus by 1960 cattle accumulation was no longer the sole or even the most important yardstick of one's economic status. At any rate the economic enterprises were quite varied in Rongo such that the accumulation of cattle per se no longer commanded the socio-economic esteem it once enjoyed. This is mainly because cattle economy had been transformed from a subsistence based

enterprise to a commercial venture moulded to meet the wider demands of the market. The ramification is that one did not need to own cattle to benefit from its products. Taken in totality, by 1960, among most of the economic enterprises in Rongo cattle made a comparatively small contribution to the wealth of the households.⁸⁰

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. See KNA, DC/KSI/3/5/31, Political Record Book, Kisii, 1930-40.
2. Oral Interview with Achola Ogawo, at Gamba, 30/8/87 and with Syprianus Okelo, at Kolando, 25/11/87.
3. Oral Interview with Duado Omiti, at Koluoch, 2/9/87.
4. Also see KNA, DC/KSI/3/5/31. op.cit.
5. Oral Interview with Makori Laja, at Kichuri, 27/9/87, Gogi Ochieng, at Ligunga, 2/10/87 and with Duado Omiti, at Koluoch, 2/9/87.
6. Ibid. Also see, "African Investments" dated 24/11/40 in KNA,, PC/NZA/2/12/64, on Dairy and Dairy Products, 1936-50.
7. Contained in Minutes of Meeting of Buch Johala at Bura Ndhiwa dated 24/1/42, in KNA, PC/NZA/2/17/12, on Native Trade, 1942-47.
8. Ibid.
9. See, "African Investments" dated 24/11/40 in KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/64, Op.cit.
10. KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/117, on Dairy and Dairy Produce, 1944-50.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. See, "Report on Recent Reduction in Ghee in Nyanza Province", in KNA/PC/NZA/2/12/117, Op.cit.

15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Oral Interview with Karilus Onam, at Malunga, 6/10/87 and with Samson Ndere, at Nyarago, 8/10/87.
18. KNA, DC/KSI/3/5/31, Op.cit.
19. For example in the Miyam lineage every homestead released an individual for the military service, Oral Interview with Karilus Onam, at Malunga and with Samson Ndere, at Nyarago on 6/10/87 and 8/10/87 respectively.
20. KNA, DC/KSI/3/5/31, Op.cit.
21. Ibid.
22. Oral Interview with Osinda Ngiya, at Kichuri, 4/10/87, Francis Mboro, at Koti, 3/9/87, Barrack Manyala, at Kowuor, 29/8/87 and with Agnes Ofuona, at Misori, 7/12/87.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. For the increase in the burden of Women under colonialism also see Ruth Nasimiyu, "Women in the Colonial economy of Bungoma: Role of Women in Agriculture, 1902-1960", in JEARD, Volume 15, (1985), pp. 56-73.
26. See footnote 22 above.
27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.
29. Oral Interview with Agnes Ofuona, at Misori, 7/12/87.
30. For example in February 1940 nineteen bags of maize seeds were issued in Rongo division. See KNA, AGR/KSM/1/84, On Agriculture Department quarterly Reports, South Kavirondo, 1939-45.
31. Ibid.
32. Oral Interview with Ojola Gwili, at Mahena, 16/12/87.
33. Oral Interview with Anyona Othuona, at Kuja, 11/11/87.
34. Oral Interview with Sila Ochieng, at Sare, 23/10/87 and with Karilus Onam, at Malunga, 6/10/87.
35. See correspondence from Cooperative Department to Ag. PC. NZA dated 14/11/40 in KNA, PC/NZA/2/12/64, Op.cit.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Oral Interview with Eliakim Nyatuga, at Obama, 12/8/87.
39. Ibid.
40. KNA, PC/NZA/2/17/12, Op.cit.
41. Ibid.

42. These demands were presented to the government officials at various meetings between 1942 and 1944. See Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Oral Interview with Ganda Onditi, at Obama, 17/8/87.
45. Oral Interview with Samson Oluya, at Mariwa, 14/12/87.
46. E.S. Atieno Odhiambo, "A History of the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation," in B.A. Ogot, (e.d.), Hadith 5: Economic and Social History of East Africa, Op.cit, p. 244.
47. See KNA, AGR/KSM/1/84, on Agriculture Department Quarterly Reports, South Kavirondo, 1939-45.
48. Ibid. Overstocking had been a matter of concern to the colonial state since the 1930's. For example, see David Anderson, "Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography and Drought: The colonial state and soil conservation in East Africa during the 1930's," in AA, Volume 83, No. 322 (1984) pp. 321-344.
49. Ibid.
50. KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/104, Annual Report South Nyanza District, 1958.
51. Ibid.
52. Oral Interview with Yongo Omua, at Kamwango, 5/10/87, Okongo Kore, at Kakuku, 21/10/87 and with Andego Anyango, at Karende, 23/11/87.

53. For 1910 population estimate see KNA, PRB/116, "History of South Kavirondo District," KSI/28, Reel 6. The 1958 estimate is extracted from appendix V in KNA, PC/NZA/4/4/104, Op.cit.
54. See Pinney Report findings on Area A, in KNA, DC/HB/4/2, on Maasai Boundaries, 1955-61.
55. Ministry of Finance and Planning Kenya, Kenya Range and Ecological Monitoring Unit, Technical Report No. 116 (April, 1985), pp. 11-12.
56. Oral Interview with Achola Ogawo, at Gamba, 30/11/87; Eliakim Omolo, at Kotieno, 21/9/87 and with Okwaro Obongo, at Nyakuru, 2/9/87.
57. See KNA, DC/HB/4/2, on Maasai Boundaries, 1955-61.
58. Oral Interview with Patroba Akech, at Ng'ong'a, 13/10/87.
59. Oral Interview with Ojola Gwili, at Mahena, 16/12/87. Also see KNA, DC/HB/4/2, Op.cit.
60. Oral Interview with Nicholas Abongo Nyengo, at Kanyimach, 12/11/87, Gabriel Owuor Okungu, at Ongo, 27/11/87 and with Plister Ngore, at Nyarago, 5/12/87.
61. Ibid. Also see David Anderson, "Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography and Drought: The colonial state and social conservation in East Africa during the 1930's," in AA, Volume 83, No. 322 (1984) pp. 321-344.

62. Oral Interview with Mary Aluoch, at Mahena, 5/12/87, and with Ngore Okore, at Nyarago, 23/10/87. Also see KNA, DC/HB/4/2, Op.cit. The arrangement was bitterly opposed by the local colonial administration who insisted that Area A residents and their cattle should be restricted to their own land.
63. Ibid.
64. R.J.M. Swynnerton, A Plan to intensify the Development of African Agriculture in Kenya (Nairobi, Government Printer, 1954), p. 27.
65. KNA, DC/KSI/1/22, Annual Report for South Nyanza District, 1960.
66. KNA, PC/NZA/3/2/10, on Agricultural Development, 1957-58.
67. KNA, DC/KSI/1/21, Annual Report for South Nyanza District, 1959.
68. Ibid.
69. In Waundha sub-location it was only Eliazar Odipo and Patroba Akech, both agricultural instructors at the time, who benefited from the scheme. In Alego it was only Okothe Adinda, then an assistant chief, who benefited from the scheme. Oral Interview with Patroba Akech, at Ng'ong'a, 13/10/87, and with Ojola Gwili, at Mahena, 16/12/87. Also see KNA, DC/KSI/1/22, Op.cit.
70. By 1958 Rongo division had thirty primary schools. Each Sub-location had at least a school. These schools had a total enrolment of about five thousand pupils. See KNA, PC/NZA/4/5/7, on Education, 1958-60.

71. Oral Interview with William Ang'ila, at Nyamarere, 20/9/87, Duado Omiti, at Koluoch, 2/9/87 and with Agnes Ofuona, at Misori, 7/12/87.
72. Ibid.
73. Wanda Minge-Kalman, "Household Economy during the Peasant to Worker Transition in the Swiss," in Ethnology, Volume XVII, No. 2. (April, 1978) p. 185.
74. Oral Interview with Andego Anyango, at Karende, 23/11/87 and with Nyapara Oda, at Kanyawanga, 29/10/87.
75. For example see KNA, AGR/KSM/1/84, on Agriculture Department Quarterly Reports, South Kavirondo, 1939-45 KNA, PC/NZA/3/2/10, on Agricultural Development, 1957-58, and PC/NZA/2/12/94 on Agriculture Produce, 1942-51.
76. While in the formative years of colonial rule, particularly during the three year period from 1908-11, cattle product exports accounted for sixty four per cent of the total revenue for the district (See Table 3.2), during the three year period from 1958-60 cattle product exports accounted for only thirty nine per cent of the total revenue for the district (See Table 5.1).
77. See footnote 75 above.
78. Oral Interview with Samson Oluya, at Mariwa, 14/2/87, Nyapara Oda, at Kanyawanga, 29/10/87, Ojola Gwili, at Mahena, 16/12/87 and with Osinda N'giya, at Kichuri, 4/10/87.
79. Also see J. Guyer, "Household and Community in African Studies," in ASR, Volume 24, Nos. 2/3 (June/September, 1981) pp. 87-139.
80. KNA, DC/KSI/1/21, Op.cit.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown that cattle economy of Rongo underwent major changes during the colonial period. It has shown how on the eve of colonialism cattle economy in Rongo was viable and robust. It was the backbone of the economy of the division. It has been argued that cattle accumulation was an economic necessity and prerequisite for sustained production and growth in Rongo society. The study has highlighted the innovativeness of cattle owners in controlling the spread of endemic diseases and coping with the vagaries of weather. The availability of labour and its mobilisation during crises, proper herding methods, selective breeding and veterinary measures as inoculation and quarantines were important methods employed by the cattle owners in the pre-colonial period to sustain a healthy herd.

It has been demonstrated how the colonial economic impact on the traditional cattle economy was gradual and uneven. In the first two decades of colonial rule, the colonial administration limited the movement of cattle owners, opened trading centres, developed infrastructures, imposed taxes, introduced new crops and demanded labour for settlers and other public works. These measures institutionalized the outflow of labour, reduction of land for cattle husbandry, the commoditization of the cattle products and monetisation of the economy of Rongo in general.

Despite the various changes which took place during the colonial period, the cattle owners and traders in cattle and its

products were able to respond to the new problems and challenges through considerable innovation and adaptation. The work has identified a variety of responses to the problems and crises which affected cattle economy between 1900 and 1960. These responses included the emergence of hired paid labour among large cattle owners, the shift from cattle husbandry to crop production and retail trade, the participation in new economic ventures like ploughing and transport, and the adaptation of new animal husbandry techniques in their quest for higher productivity.

In the last decade of colonial rule, cattle was no longer the mainstay of Rongo economy. The Swynnerton plan gave no hope for the revival of this relatively dwindling economy in the division. The programme of action set in the plan never gave any serious consideration to the improvement of the livestock industry in Rongo. The cattle owners and traders in Rongo were quick to realise that there was unfavourable economic wind of change in the division. With decreasing land sizes, lack of adequate labour for cattle chores and insufficient innovation from the colonial government to cope with stress and crises in cattle production and management, cattle was slowly relegated to the periphery of Rongo's economy. And this is the state of cattle economy that the colonial government bequeathed to its successor in 1963.

This study set out to test three hypotheses with regard to the cattle economy in Rongo. In relation to the first hypothesis,

this study has drawn attention to the role of the colonial state in the cattle enterprise and argued that it was not an even economic arbitrator since its policies were sometimes discriminatory. It has been submitted that the statutory policies were determined by the economic conditions within and outside the Kenya Colony. This explains the mixed fortunes of Rongo cattle owners and traders at various times during the colonial period.

From the late 1930's the colonial state became worried of the dangers of overstocking. In the case of Rongo, the work has shown that overstocking was largely a colonial creation. The confinement of the cattle owners within specific localities, encouragement of crop production, introduction of the plough, and the development of wage sector and western education not only deprived cattle of its traditional grazing land, and by so doing created artificial overstocking, but also deprived cattle of much of the labour necessary for animal husbandry.

For the second hypothesis, the study has shown that the development of trade and monetisation of the economy transformed the purpose but not the methods of cattle production. The development of trade resulted in the influx of clothing materials and blankets which displaced hides and skins for clothing and bedding. The expansion of the market for cattle products like ghee, milk and meat was instrumental in the alienation of producers from the use of these products. This was even encouraged by the fact that the cattle owners and traders in cattle and related

products had been drawn into the colonial capitalist economy and had no option but participate in it through such activities as obligatory tax payment. The cattle owners were raising cattle and producing cattle products mainly for the market. This condition contributed to the erosion of the pre-colonial importance of Rongo herds as the main provider of people's basic food requirements and other material aspects of life.

However, during the colonial period there was very little modernisation of the cattle economy in terms of stock selection, breeding management, production techniques, fencing and pasture improvement. Consequently, cattle economy in Rongo remained at peasant level though it became more and more commercial oriented.

In relation to the third hypothesis the study has shown that the commercialization of cattle economy resulted in the emergence of local entrepreneurship in Rongo. Using local case studies, it has been shown that the impoverishment of the local cattle owners and traders was not a universal phenomenon. In an attempt to stifle returns to the cattle owners and traders, the colonial policies unintentionally ended in producing a new group of local entrepreneurs. The development of these entrepreneurs who used accumulations from their trading in cattle and cattle products as a springboard to launch successful business careers was one of the major economic developments in Rongo during the colonial period.

It has further been submitted that although aspects of the traditional cattle economy persisted under the colonial capitalist economy, they were not autonomous since they were subject to the dominant colonial capitalist economy. The work has also distinguished between integration and penetration in the colonial cattle economy of Rongo. Despite the fact that Rongo was integrated to the capitalist economy its cattle economy, particularly the production techniques, were not fully penetrated, restructured and modernised.

Finally, the findings of this study are important and may equally apply to other divisions which have complementary livestock and crop economies. More importantly, it is a challenge to historians to undertake such hitherto neglected studies so that they may illuminate the dynamics of the rural economies. The findings from such studies can help economic planners to devise appropriate and practical policies which can ensure balanced economies in which livestock and crop production are not only coherent but also complementary.

147

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

(A) ORAL INFORMANTS

<u>NAME OF INFORMANT</u>	<u>PLACE OF INTERVIEW</u>	<u>DATE OF INTERVIEW</u>
Eliakim Nyatuga	<u>Obama</u>	12/8/87
Sarah Anindo	<u>Komolorume</u>	13/8/87
Ganda Onditi	<u>Obama</u>	17/8/87
Paul Ayieko	<u>Kabuoro</u>	24/8/87
Charles Oduk	<u>Okumba</u>	25/8/87
Ngoko Oloo	<u>Ombasa</u>	28/8/87
Barrack Manyala	<u>Kawuor</u>	29/8/87
Achola Ogawo	<u>Gamba</u>	30/8/87
Marcus Ogur Oloo	<u>Ombasa</u>	31/8/87
Benson Apiyo Njogu	<u>Opoya</u>	31/8/87
Okombo Andingo	<u>Nyarombo</u>	1/9/87
Zedekiah Odenyo	<u>Koluoch</u>	1/9/87
Obunga Achoka	<u>Koluoch</u>	1/9/87
Duado Omiti	<u>Koluoch</u>	2/9/87
Okwaro Obingo	<u>Nyakuru</u>	2/9/87
Silas Opete	<u>Apondo</u>	3/9/87
Samuel Okoth	<u>Siruti</u>	3/9/87
Oyata Orwa	<u>Kanyathue</u>	3/9/87
Thadayo Anyango	<u>Uradi</u>	4/9/87
Zachariah Omore	<u>Kabuoro</u>	14/9/87
Stanslows On'gan'ga Ofuo	<u>Kabuoro</u>	14/9/87
William An'gila	<u>Nyamarere</u>	20/9/87
Celestinus Mwangi	<u>Kotieno</u>	21/9/87
Pitalis Oguna'	<u>Kotieno</u>	21/9/87
Eliakim Omollo	<u>Kangeso</u>	23/9/87
Omolo Oudo	<u>Nyansweta</u>	24/9/87
Ochola Loda	<u>Kabola</u>	25/9/87

<u>NAME OF INFORMANT</u>	<u>PLACE OF INTERVIEW</u>	<u>DATE OF INTERVIEW</u>
Guako Achila	<u>Ongo</u>	26/9/87
Joshua Ngani Legadho	<u>Kichuri</u>	27/9/87
Makori Laja	<u>Kichuri</u>	27/9/87
Bonfas Orwa	<u>Kolando</u>	27/9/87
Lazaro Apora Odero	<u>Kitere</u>	29/9/87
Obong'o Moraga	<u>Nyachuria</u>	30/9/87
Okelo Wera	<u>Katagaya</u>	30/9/87
Randere Okuna	<u>Kamsumba</u>	1/10/87
Okal Odunga	<u>Kanyamamba</u>	2/10/87
Gogi Ochieng'	<u>Ligunga</u>	2/10/87
Osinda Ngiya	<u>Kichuri</u>	4/10/87
Yongo Omua	<u>Kamwango</u>	5/10/87
Karilus Onam	<u>Malunga</u>	6/10/87
Samson Ndere	<u>Nyarago</u>	8/10/87
Oyugi Tombo	<u>Kanga</u>	10/10/87
Patroba Akech	<u>Ng'ong'a</u>	13/10/87
Philemon Omiya	<u>Kawino</u>	18/10/87
Sila Ochieng'	<u>Sare</u>	23/10/87
Ngore Okore	<u>Nyarago</u>	23/10/87
Okong'o Kore	<u>Kakuku</u>	21/10/87
Patroba Mola	<u>Kanga</u>	24/10/87
Nyabora Oda	<u>Kanyawanga</u>	29/10/87
Ignasio Ojwang	<u>Kodero</u>	2/11/87
Anyona Othuona	<u>Kuja</u>	11/11/87
Nicholas Abong'o Nyengo	<u>Kanyimach</u>	12/11/87
Johana Akal	<u>Otacho</u>	13/11/87
Zepheniah Nyamwango	<u>Kanyawango</u>	16/11/87
Andego Anyango	<u>Karende</u>	23/11/87
Owuor Orony	<u>Omware</u>	24/11/87
Syprianus Okelo	<u>Kolando</u>	25/11/87

<u>NAME OF INFORMANT</u>	<u>PLACE OF INTERVIEW</u>	<u>DATE OF INTERVIEW</u>
Gabriel Owuor Okungu	<u>Ongo</u>	27/11/87
Ochola Ogembo	<u>Tonye</u>	28/11/87
Lazarus Obera	<u>Koyuga</u>	30/11/87
John Owuor	<u>Mariwa</u>	4/12/87
Plister Ngore	<u>Nyarago</u>	5/12/87
Mary Aluoch	<u>Mahena</u>	5/12/87
Agnes Ofuona	<u>Misori</u>	7/12/87
Tobias Omondi	<u>Misori</u>	8/12/87
Samson Oluya	<u>Mariwa</u>	14/12/87
Ojola Gwili	<u>Mahena</u>	16/12/87
Obong'o Maraga	<u>Nyachuria</u>	16/12/87

(B) ARCHIVAL SOURCES

(i) ANNUAL REPORTS

Annual Reports for South Kavirondo District, 1908-1947.

Annual Reports for South Nyanza District, 1948-1960.

(ii) OTHER DEPOSITS

<u>FILE NUMBER</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>DATE(S)</u>
DC/KSI/5/5	<u>Memoranda for P.C.'s and D.C.'S</u>	1910
DC/KSI/3/1	<u>Characters of Chiefs</u>	1922-37
DC/KSI/3/5	<u>Political Record Book, Kisii</u>	1930-40
DC/KSI/7/1	<u>Agriculture Reports</u>	1943-46
DC/KSI/5/3	<u>South Nyanza Gazetter</u>	1943-45

<u>FILE NUMBER</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>DATE(S)</u>
DC/HB/4/2	<u>Maasai Boundaries</u>	1955-61
PC/NZA2/3	<u>Ainsworth's</u> <u>Miscellaneous Record Book</u>	1908-15
PC/NZA2/2	<u>Nyanza Province Inspection</u> <u>Book</u>	1912-18
PC/NZA/2/8/1	<u>Hides and Skins</u>	1925-28
PC/NZA/3/49/5/4	<u>Veterinary South Kavirondo</u>	1925-28
PC/NZA/3/49/4	<u>Movements of cattle</u>	1925-28
PC/NZA/3/49/8	<u>Cattle Quarantine Camps.</u>	1926-28
PC/NZA/3/49/6	<u>Cattle Trade</u>	1927
PC/NZA/3/49/10	<u>Stock Traders Ordinance</u>	1927-28
PC/NZA/3/49/3	<u>Stock Branding Ordinance</u>	1927-28
PC/NZA/3/20/7	<u>Labour Questions-South</u> <u>Kavirondo</u>	1924-28
PC/NZA/3/19/4	<u>K.A.R. General Matters</u>	1925-28
PC/NZA/3/33/8/10	<u>Local Native Council-</u> <u>S. Kavirondo (Luo)</u>	1925-26
PC/NZA/3/33/8/11	<u>Local Native Council -</u> <u>S. Kavirondo (Luo)</u>	1927
PC/NZA/3/33/8/12	<u>Local Native Council-</u> <u>S. Kavirondo (Luo)</u>	1927-28
PC/NZA/3/33/8/13	<u>Local Native Council -</u> <u>S. Kavirondo (Luo)</u>	1929
PC/NZA/3/33/8/14	<u>Local Native Council-</u> <u>S. Kavirondo (Luo)</u>	1930
PC/NZA/2/1/8	<u>Local Native Council-</u> <u>S. Kavirondo Luo-Abasuba</u> <u>Minutes and Agenda</u>	1931-35
PC/NZA/2/1/6	<u>Local Native Council-</u> <u>Native Authority</u> <u>Ordinance - S. Kavirondo -</u> <u>Luo-Abasuba Estimates</u>	1931-35

<u>FILE NUMBER</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>DATE(S)</u>
PC/NZA/2/1/22	<u>Local Native Councils</u>	1931-35
PC.NZA/2/1/3	<u>Tours and Diaries -</u> <u>S. Kavirondo District</u>	1931-34
PC/NZA/2/8/6	<u>Livestock Trade</u>	1931-50
PC/NZA/2/12/64	<u>Dairy and Dairy Products</u>	1936-50
PC/NZA/2/3/20	<u>Pioneers</u>	1939-41
PC/NZA/2/3/21	<u>Pioneers</u>	1939-42
PC/NZA/3/6/120	<u>Outschools (Caterchuminates</u> <u>and Village Schools)</u>	1931-45
AGR/KSM/1/84	<u>Agriculture Department</u> <u>quarterly Reports South</u> <u>Kavirondo</u>	1939-45
PC/NZA/2/17/9	<u>Organization of Markets and</u> <u>Produce</u>	1941-50
PC/NZA/2/17/8	<u>Butcheries and Slaughter</u> <u>houses</u>	1941-50
PC/NZA/2/17/12	<u>Native Trade</u>	1942-47
PC/NZA/2/12/94	<u>Agriculture Produce</u>	1942-51
PC/NZA/2/12/96	<u>Crop Production</u>	1944-50
PC/NZA/2/17/31	<u>Hides and Skins Industry</u>	1946-51
PC/NZA/3/6/68	<u>African Education</u>	1944-45
PC/NZA/3/6/154	<u>Advisory Council on African</u> <u>Education</u>	1944-47
PC/NZA/3/2/10	<u>Agriculture Development</u>	1957-58
PC/NZA/4/5/7	<u>Education</u>	1938-60
PC/NZA/2/12/117	<u>Dairy and Dairy Produce</u>	1944-50

SECONDARY SOURCES

PUBLISHED ARTICLES

- Alverson, H; "Arable Agriculture in Botswana: Some contributions of the Traditional Social formation," in RA Vol. 4-5, (Spring-Fall, 1979), pp. 33-47.
- Anderson, D; "Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography and Drought: The Colonial State and Soil conservation in East Africa during the 1930's" in AA Vol. 83, No. 322 (1984), pp. 321-344.
- Anyang' - Nyong'o, P; "What "The Friends of the Peasants' are and How they pose the question of the peasantry," in RAPE, No. 20 (1980), pp. 17-26.
-
- "The development of a Middle Peasantry in Nyanza," in RAPE, No. 20 (1980), pp. 108-124.
- Atieno-Odhiambo, E.S.: "The Rise and Decline of the Kenya peasant 1882-1922" in EAJ, (May 1972) pp. 11-15.
-
- "A History of the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation," in Ogot, B.A. (ed), Hadith 5: Economic and Social History of East Africa (Nairobi, EALB, 1975), pp. 221-260.
- Banaji, J; "Modes of Production in a Materialist Conception of History," in CC Vol. 3, (1977), pp. 1-44.
-
- "Backwood Capitalism, Primitive accumulation and Modes of Production," in JCA Vol. 3, No. 4 (1973), pp. 393-411.

- Berman, B.; . . "The concept of articulation and the political Economy of Colonialism," in CJAS, Vol. 18. No. 2. (1984), pp. 407-415. .
- Berman, B. and Lonsdale, J; "Coping with contradictions: The development of the colonial state in Kenya, 1895-1914," in JAH, Vol. 20, No. 4. (1979), pp. 487-505. .
-
- "Crises of accumulation, coercion, and the colonial state: The Development of the labour control system in Kenya, 1919-1929," in CJAS, Vol. 14 (1980), pp. 37-54. .
- Bernstein, H; . "Notes on Capital and Peasantry," in RAPE, No. 10 (1978), pp. 60-73. .
-
- "African Peasantries: A theoretical Framework," in JPS, Vol. 6. No. 4 (1979), pp. 421-444. .
- Bradby, B; . "The Destruction of Natural Economy," in Economy and Society, Vol. iv, No. 2 (1975), pp. 127-161. .
- Brycesson, D.F.; "Changes in peasant food production and food supply in relation to the Historical Development of commodity production in pre-colonial and colonial Tanganyika," in JPS, Vol. 7. No. 3. (1980), pp. 281-311. .
- Butterman, J; "The Politics of Marketing in South Nanyasa District Kenya, 1919-1945," in SANGO No. 3 (1983), pp. 27-45. .

- Chipungu, S.N.; "Locusts, Peasants, Settlers and the State in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), 1929 to 1940," in TAJH Vol. 15, (1980), pp. 54-80.
- Cooper, F; "Africa and the World Economy," in ASR, Vol. 24, No. 2/3 (1981), pp. 1-86.
- Cummings, R; "Development of Akamba Local Trade History," in KHR Vol. 4, No. 1 (1976), pp. 85-110.
- Dahl, G; "Production in Pastoral Societies," in Galaty, J.G. et al (eds) The future of pastoral societies, (Ottawa, IDRC, 1981), pp. 200-209.
- Dupre, G. and Rey, P; "Reflections on the Relevance of a Theory of the History of Exchange," in Seddon, D. (ed), Relations of Production (London, Frank Cass and Co. 1978) pp. 171-208.
- Fielder, R.J; "The role of cattle in the Ila Economy: a conflict of views on the uses of cattle by the Ila of Namwala," in African Social Research No. 15, (June 1972), pp. 327-361.
- Guyer, J; "Household and Community in Africa Studies," in ASR Vol. 24, Nos 2/3 June/September 1981), pp. 87-139.
- Hama, A; "Consumption and Marketing of Pastoral Products among the Kal Tamacheq in the Niger bend, Mali," in Galaty, J.G., et al (eds), The future of pastoral peoples (Ottawa, IDRC, 1981) pp. 244-251.
- Herskovitz, M.J; "The cattle complex in East Africa," in American Anthropologist Vol. 28, (1926), pp. 230-272.

- Hjort, A; "Herds, Trade and Grain: Pastoralism in a regional perspective," in Galaty, J.G. et al (eds), The future of Pastoral peoples (Ottawa, IDRC, 1981) pp. 135-143. .
- Hay, M; "Economic Change in late nineteenth century Kowe, Western Kenya," in Ogot, B.A. (ed), Hadith 5: Economic and Social History of East Africa (Nairobi, E.A.L.B. 1975), pp. 92-109. .
- Lonsdale, J; "The European scramble and conquest in Africa history," in Oliver, R. and Sanderson G.N. (eds), The Cambridge History of Africa 6: From 1870 to 1905 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 680-766. .
- Mafeje, A; "The fallacy of Dual Economies Revisited," in Leys, R. (ed). Dualism and Rural Development in East Africa (Denmark, Institute for Development Research, 1973). pp. 25-52. .
- Marcussen, H; "The Theory of Modernisation and Notion of Dualism," in Leys, R. (ed), Dualism and Rural Development in East Africa (Denmark, Institute for Development Research, 1973), pp. 19-20. .
- Meillassoux, C; "From reproduction to production," in Economy and Society Vol. 1, No. 1. (1972), pp. 93-105.
- Minge-Kalman, W; "Household Economy during the peasant to Worker Transition in the Swiss Alps," in Ethnology Vol. xvii, No. 2. (April 1978), pp. 183-196.
- Nasimiyu, R; "Women in the Colonial Economy of Bungoma: Role of Women in Agriculture, 1902-1960," in JEARD, Volume 15, (1985), pp. 56-73.

- Ocholla-Ayayo, A.B.C; "Marriage and cattle exchange among the Nilotic Luo," in Paideuma, Vol. 25, (1979), pp. 173-193. .
- Ogot, B.A; "British Administration in the central Nyanza District of Kenya, 1900-1960," in JAH Vol. 4 No. 2, (1963), pp. 249-263. .
- Overton, J; "War and Economic Development: Settlers in Kenya, 1914-18," in JAH Vol. 27, No. 1, (1986), pp. 79-103. .
- Rowlands, M.J; "Local and Long-distance Trade and incipient state formation on the Bamenda plateau in the late nineteenth century," in Paideuma, Vol. 25 (1979), pp. 1-19. .
- Smith, G; "Socio-Economic differentiation and Relations of production among petty producers in central Peru, 1880-1970," in JPS, Vol. 6, No. 3, (1979), pp. 286-311. .
- Tignor, R.L; "Colonial Chiefs in Chiefless societies," in JMAS, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1971), pp. 339-359. .
- Tosh, J; "Colonial Chiefs in a Stateless Society: A case Study from Northern Uganda," in JAH Vol. 14, No. 3 (1973), pp. 473-490. .
- Wriggley, C.C; "Kenya: The patterns of Economic life; 1902-45" in Harlow, v. et al (eds)., History of Africa, Vol. II, (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 209-265.

UNPUBLISHED ARTICLES

Atieno-Odhiambo, E.S. and Cohen, D.W.; "Strategies of survival in the Rural Economy: Studies from Western Kenya," paper presented at the Kenya Economic Association, (October 24, 1986).

Lonsdale, J; "Unhappy Valley: Clan, Class and State in Colonial Kenya," Seminar paper, Department of History, University of Nairobi, (August 10, 1988).

Maxon, R.M; "The Kenya currency crisis, 1919-21 and the Imperial Dilemma," Seminar paper, Department of History, University of Nairobi, (July 28, 1987).

Ministry of Finance and Planning, Kenya Range and Ecological Monitoring Unit, Technical Report, No. 116, (April, 1985).

Mugaju, J.B; "The problem of quantification in Oral Traditions," Seminar paper No. 7, Department of History, University of Nairobi, (April 22, 1987).

Odegi, C; "Kenya's arid and Semi-arid Lands: Appraisal for utilization into the coming Decade," Paper presented at The Kenyan Economic Association Workshop Nairobi, (21-25/9/1987).

Shipton, P; "The Public Creation of Private property, The uses of Misunderstanding in the Kenyan Land Tenure Reform," Paper prepared for the workshop on Land Issues in Africa at Harvard University, (March 15, 1986).

Thomson, M; "Economic Development in Kenya's Nyanza Province before World War I," Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the African Studies Association, Philadelphia, (1972).

PUBLISHED BOOKS

Ake, C; A Political Economy of Africa, (Harlow, Longman 1981).

Allan, W.; The African Husbandman (London, Oliver and Boyd, 1965).

Alpers, E.A.; Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa (Berkeley, Colifornia University Press, 1975).

Amin, S; Accumulation on a World Scale: A critique of the Theory of underdevelopment (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1974).

Imperialism and Unequal Development (Sussex, The Harvest Press, 1977).

Arrighi, G. and Saul, J.S., Essays on the Political Economy of Africa (Nairobi, EAPH, 1974).

Birmingham, D. and Gray, R. (eds), Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900 (London, Oxford University Press, 1970).

Bohannon, P; Tiv Economy (Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1968).

- Brett, E.A.; Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa: The Politics of Economic Change, 1919-1939 (London, Heinemann, 1973).
- Bundy, C; The rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry (London, Heinemann, 1979).
- Clayton, A. and Savage, D.C.; Government and Labour in Kenya, 1895-1963 (London, Frank Cass, 1974).
- Dilley, M.R.; British Policy in Kenya Colony (New York, Nelson, 1937).
- Frank, A.G.; Latin America: Underdevelopment or revolution (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1969).
- Fearn, H; An African Economy: A Study of the Economic Development of Nyanza Province, 1903-53, (London, Oxford University Press, 1956).
- Galaty, J.G.; et al (eds), The future of Pastoral Peoples (Ottawa, IDRC, 1981).
- Good, C.M.; Rural Markets and Trade in East Africa (Chicago, The Department of Geography, 1970).
- Gutkind, P.C.W. and Wallerstein, I; (eds), The Political Economy of contemporary Africa (Beverly Hills, Sage Publications, 1976).
- Harlow, V. et al (eds), History of Africa Volume Two (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965).

- Hill, P; The migrant cocoa farmers of Southern Ghana: A Study in rural capitalism (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1963).
-
- Studies in rural capitalism in West Africa (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970).
- Hopkins, A.G.; An Economic History of West Africa (London Longman, 1980).
- Low, D.A. and Smith, A. History of East Africa, Vol. III (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976).
- Mamdani, M; Politics and Class Formation in Uganda (London Heinemann, 1976).
- Mangat, J.S.; A History of the Asians in East Africa, 1886 - 1945 (Oxford, Clarendon Press 1969).
- Marris, P. and Somerset; African Business: A Study of Entrepreneurship and Development in Kenya (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971).
- Meek, C.K.; Land Law and Custom in the Colonies (London, Oxford University Press, 1946).
- Monod, T; Pastoralism in Tropical Africa (London, Oxford University Press, 1975).
- Mungeam, G.H.; British Rule in Kenya, 1895-1912 (Oxford, Clarendon, Press, 1966).
- Munro, J.F.; Africa and the International Economy 1800-1960 (London, Dewt. 1976).

- . Nabudere, D.W.; Essays on the Theory and Practice of Imperialism (Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House, 1979).
- Ochieng, W.R.; An Outline History of Nyanza Upto 1914 (Kampala, EALB, 1974).
- _____ A Pre-Colonial History of Gusii of Western Kenya 1500 - 1914 (Nairobi, EALB, 1974).
- Ocholla-Ayayo, A.B.C.; Traditional Ideology and Ethics among the Southern Luo (Uppsala, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1976).
- Ogot, B.A. (ed), Hadith 5: Economic and Social History of East Africa (Nairobi, EALB, 1975).
- _____ Hadith 6: Economic and Social Change in East Africa (Nairobi, EALB, 1976).
- _____ Hadith 7: Ecology and History in East Africa (Nairobi, Kenya Literature Bureau, 1979).
- Parsons, N. and Palmer, R. (eds), Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa (London, Heinemann, 1977).
- Rathbone, R. and Marks, S. (eds), Industrialisation and Social in South Africa: African Class formation, Culture and Consciousness 1870-1930 (Harlow, Longmans, 1982).
- Rigby, P; Persistent Pastoralists: Nomadic Societies in Transition (London, zeb Press, 1985).

- Rodney, W; How Europe underdeveloped Africa (Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House, 1972).
- Schneider, H.K.; Economics in African Society: The Wahi Wanyaturu (Chicago, Aldine, 1970).
-
- Livestock and Equality in East Africa: The Economic Basic Structure of Society (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1979).
- Seidman, A.; Comparative Development Strategies in East Africa (Nairobi, EAPH, 1972).
- Shannin, T. (ed); Peasants and Peasant Societies (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1971).
- Sorrenson, M.P.K.; The Origins of European Settlement in Kenya (Nairobi, EAPH, 1968).
- Stitcher, S; Migrant Labour in Kenya: Capitalism and African Response, 1895 - 1975 (Harlow, Longman, 1982).
- Swainson, N.; The development of Corporate Capitalism in Kenya, 1918-1977 (London, Heinemann, 1980).
- Van Zwanenberg, R; Agricultural History of Kenya (Nairobi, EAPH, 1972).
-
- Colonialism Capitalism and Labour in Kenya, 1919-1939 (Nairobi, EALB, 1975).

- Van Zwanenberg, R. with King, A., An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda, 1800-1970 (Nairobi, EALB, 1975).
- Whission, M.G.; Change and Challenge: A Study of Social Change among the Kenya Luo (Nairobi, National Christian Council of Kenya, 1964).
- Wolff, R; Britain and Kenya, 1870-1930; The Economics of Colonialism (Nairobi Trans Africa Publishers Ltd., 1974).

DISSERTATIONS

- Ayot, T., "A History of the Luo of South Nyanza, 1590-1930" (M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1981).
- Birundu, S., "Gusii Trade in the Nineteenth Century," (B.A. Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1973).
- Brooks, C.A., "The Conquest of the Abagusii, 1900-1914" (M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1970).
- Butterman, J.M., "Luo Social Formations in Change: Karachuonyo and Kanyamkago" (Ph.D. Thesis, Syracuse University, 1979).
- Hay, M.J., "Economic Change in Luoland: Kowe, 1890-1945" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1972).
- Kanogo, T.M.J., "The historical process of Kikuyu Movement into the Nakuru District of the Kenya White Highlands" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1980).

- Maxon, R., . "British Rule in Gusiiland, 1907-1963," .
(Ph.D.. Thesis, Syracuse University, 1971).
- Nasimiyu, R., . "The participation of women in the political
Economy of Kenya: A case study of Bukusu
women in Bungoma District, 1902-1960" (M.A.
Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1984).
- Ndege, P.O., "Socio-Economic Change in Kasipul-Kabondo,
1800-1960" (M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi
1987).
- Omusule, M., . "Political and Constitutional Aspects of the
origins and Development of Local Government
in Kenya, 1895-1963" (Ph.D.. Thesis, Syracuse
University, 1975).
- Schneider, H.K., "The Pokot (suk) of Kenya with special reference
to the role of livestock in their subsistence
Economy" (Ph.D.. Thesis, North Western University,
1953).
- Wanjohi, N.G., "Socio-Economic inequalities in Kenya: The case
of Rift Valley Province" (M.A. Thesis, University
of Nairobi, 1976).