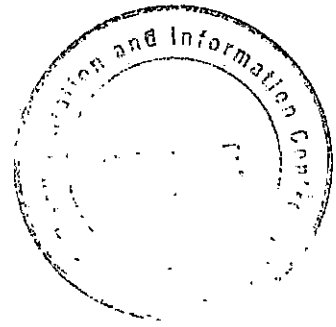
Dissertation By

PETER WAFULA WEKESA

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY.

Politics and nationalism in colonial Kenya: the case of the babukusu of Bungoma district, C.1894-1963

JUNE 2000



POLITICS AND NATIONALISM IN COLONIAL KENYA: THE CASE OF THE BABUKUSU OF BUNGOMA DISTRICT, C. 1894- 1963

BY

PETER WAFULA WEKESA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY.

JUNE 2000.

Declaration

This thesis is my original work and to the best of my knowledge has not been submitted for a degree in any other university.

Peter Wafula Wekesa

This thesis has been submitted with our approval as University Supervisors

Prof. Eric Masinde Aseka

Dr. Mildred A. J. Ndeda

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Silvester Wafula Wekesa and Loice Nabukwangwa Wafula, my wife Hedwig Joy Ombunda and our son Ian Simiyu Wafula.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The research and interpretative efforts that resulted in this thesis received great assistance from various people and institutions. Although I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude to all of them for lack of adequate words, space and time, let me take this opportunity to mention a few of them.

First, I would like to express my sincere and special gratitude to Kenyatta University and the Department of History for awarding me a scholarship and allowing me to pursue studies for the degree of Master of Arts. It is within the Department of History that my intellectual abilities were nurtured and developed. In the same vein, I wish to extend my appreciation to the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) for advancing to me a research grant that went a long way in helping me complete the research.

Second, my special appreciation goes to my supervisors, Prof. Eric Masinde Aseka and Dr. Mildred A. J. Ndeda for their invaluable advice and guidance at all the stages of the thesis. Their commitment and tireless sacrifice to read, edit, comment, and provide very stimulating and thought provoking suggestions made the conclusion of the thesis feasible.

Third, I am deeply indebted to my lecturers in the Department of History, Kenyatta University whose invaluable suggestions and insights into this work continued to be a source of encouragement all through the tenure of the research. They not only provided a scholarly environment that I required but also inspired me both materially and morally. Special mention here should be made of Prof. G. Jal, Dr. H. Kiriama, S. M.

Omwoyo, E. A. Gimode, L. Ngari, D.O. Okello, L. Lemoosa, W. Ndiiri, E. Kisiang'ani, J. Imbisi, F. Kiruthu, W. Musalia, Dr. P. Kakai Wanyonyi and Godwin Rapando Murunga. The latter two deserve additional merit for not only availing to me the relevant literature that broadened my approach to the topic, but also for providing a good forum for academic discussions. They constantly supported me in various ways when the work threatened to stall.

Further thanks are expressed to the staff of several libraries that were supportive and helpful during the research. The librarians at the Moi library at Kenyatta University, the Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library at University of Nairobi, the Macmillan library and the Kenya National Archives deserve special gratitude. Their friendliness and readiness to avail the relevant literature made the work of the thesis a reality.

My thanks are also due to all the informants who yielded valuable data in the field. Their constant interest in the work, their warm welcome and openness during the interviews produced useful results for the thesis. Special mention here should be made of Uncle Protus Watima and L. Wangwe for introducing me to various informants in Chwele and Malakisi areas respectively.

I am also deeply indebted to members of my family for the support, encouragement and warm hospitality, which they provided to me. To my parents, Silvester Wafula Wekesa and Loice Nabukwangwa Wafula of Lumboka village, I do not know how to thank them well enough. They have always supported my academic pursuits up to this level. It is their sacrifice and foresight that has always opened academic opportunities for me. To my Uncles, Cleophas and Richard Wekesa, sister Phillis

Wabuke, brother Chrispinus Wafula, Cousin Godfrey Sifuna Wanyonyi and auntie Caro Wamalwa thank you for your moral and financial support. You always ensured that I was comfortable.

To my treasured wife Hedwig Ombunda, my thanks are inexpressible. Her patience, understanding and encouragement made this work come to a fruitful completion. To our son Ian Simiyu Wafula I thank him for allowing me to use the books and pens that he always wanted to 'use'. I know how much I deprived him of time and resources in the pursuit of this noble goal.

I would also like to register my appreciation to my colleagues and friends. Together we endured the struggle and shared a wide range of academic ideas. My only classmate Maximus Koimbori, Martin Nabiswa Wasike, Zachary A. Kwena, Musa Olaka Wakhungu and Micheal Wainaina Mwaura continued to be a source of encouragement to me.

Finally, my sincere appreciation goes to Metrine Makanda and Mary Khaemba for the tedious work of neatly typing all the chapters of the thesis. I feel proud of their effort to bring the work to its final form. Any errors in the work, however, whether of omission or commission are entirely my own.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER SEVEN

LIST OF ABBREVIATONS

ADC	African District council
AEMO	African Elected Members Organization
A.I.M	Africa Inland Mission
B.A	Bachelor of Arts
B.U	Bukusu Union
CMS	Church Missionary Society
D.C.	District Commissioner
D.O.	District Officer
D.Y.M.	Dini Ya Musambwa
E.A.A.	East African Association
E.A.E.P.	East African Educational Publishers
E.A.L.B.	East African Literature Bureau
E.A.P.H.	East African Publishing House
F.A.M.	Friends African Mission
H.A.K	Historical Association of Kenya
K.A.D.U	Kenya African Democratic Union
K.A.N.U	Kenya African National Union
K.A.R	Kings African Rifles
K.A.U.	Kenya African Union
K.C.A.	Kikuyu Central Association
K.E.S.	Kitosh Educational Society
K.I.M.	Kenya Independence Movement
K.L.B	Kenya Literature Bureau
K.N.A	Kenya National Archives
K.N.P	Kenya National Party
K.T.W.A.	Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association
K.U	Kenyatta University
LEGCO	Legislative Council
L.N.C	Local Native Council
M.H.M.	Mill Hill Missionaries
N.K.T.W.A	North Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association
N.K.C.A.	North Kavirondo Central Association
N.C.U	Native Catholic Union
N.N	North Nyanza
N.Z.A.	Nyanza
O.I	Oral Interview
O.U.P	Oxford University Press
P.C	Provincial commissioner
U.N	United Nations
U.O.N.	University of Nairobi.
Y.K.A.	Young Kikuyu Association
Y.K.A.	Young Kavirondo Association

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on politics and nationalism in Kenya with special reference to Babukusu of Bungoma District in the period between 1894 and 1963. It examines the place of Babukusu in Kenya's politics of decolonisation by demonstrating their contribution to the emergence and development of nationalism. Using an integrated approach, the study examines the growth of political consciousness among the Babukusu in the light of the changes in their material conditions posed by the colonial political economy.

It has been deduced herein that since the inception of colonialism, Babukusu like other Kenyans elsewhere, offered a concerted political challenge to its existence. This challenge, as we have shown, can only be adequately explained by taking into account the fundamental social, economic and political changes, which were introduced during the colonial period. It was out of their sense of self-realization that a political consciousness grew, which in essence was a reaction to the unfavourable structures of the colonial political economy. This political consciousness created a new necessity, namely, decolonisation that finally led to the liquidation of colonialism in 1963.

For a clear insight into the theme of politics and nationalism, aspects of the Bukusu pre-colonial history that are important for understanding their participation in Kenya's nationalist politics during the colonial period are discussed. It has been demonstrated that the people's social, political and economic structures on the eve of the colonial rule laid an important basis for understanding the phenomenon of colonial politics and the nationalist struggle.

In discussing the method and nature of the establishment of the colonial administration among the Babukusu, their initial reactions between 1894 and 1918 to the setting up of colonialism are noted. It is observed that the initial wars of resistance impacted heavily on the development of the Bukusu nationalism within this period. The wars together with the social, economic and political changes introduced by the colonialists impacted greatly on the people's traditional values and institutions. The Bukusu response, therefore, towards this potent new political force is highlighted.

During the inter-war period, Babukusu continued to participate in Kenya's nationalist politics. Here, the central role the unfair colonial policies continued to play in increasing the people's political activity is emphasized. Other factors like their experiences in the First World War, the economic hardships arising from it and the world depression are highlighted as equally important in unleashing all sorts of hardships within the period. As such, both official and non-official avenues adopted by Babukusu in challenging the colonial state and the latter's response to such initiatives are demonstrated.

Unlike the inter-war period, it is indicated that during and after the Second World War the Bukusu nationalist politics intensified both in strength and purpose. The period became a critical one not only in the Bukusu history but the whole of Kenya in general. It was within this period that the seeds of African nationalism that were sown before and during the inter-war years matured with rapid speed into the decolonisation drama and eventually independence. It is demonstrated that just like the First World War, the Second World War became an important precipitate in fuelling nationalist unrest among

the Bukusu. The war and post-war time circumstances specifically created the conditions favourable in shaping local, national and international politics. It was with the convergence of the foregoing actors that the reality of independence became feasible in Kenya in 1963.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

In the history of Africa, three epochs stand out as very repressive and dehumanising. These are slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism (Aseka, 1995:1). While the history of slavery and colonialism left indelible marks on Africa, neo-colonialism has been more hidden in manifestation than the former two. It has been more devastating in its intertwined onslaught on the economics and politics of African countries with Kenya being no exception (Murunga, 1998:2). The fact that neo-colonialism exists in Kenya today implies that colonialism never actually died. On the other hand, therefore, the decolonisation of Africa is not yet complete and this problem merges history with the present. The study of politics and nationalism in Kenya, therefore, becomes one of the most comprehensive and contemporary intellectual concerns.

The establishment of the colonial rule in Kenya brought about the restructuring of the African peoples' economic, social and political life. These changes introduced by the colonial state provided the general setting for the development of the African politics of nationalism. It became clear that the process of European conquest for domination and occupation could not be reversed but could certainly be resisted (Ranger, 1990:25). The so-called primary or active resistance by many African peoples to the intrusion of the British power at the end of the nineteenth century was the earliest expression of nationalism in Kenya. The term nationalism in the thesis is used within the colonial background to refer to resistance or opposition to colonial administration. The first attempts by African societies to preserve their integrity and independence, and the nature of European penetration had significant consequences for the later development of African nationalism in Kenya.

The early African response to the intruders largely depended on the traditional social and political structures and the established power positions of the various peoples relative to each other (Rotberg and Nottingham, 1966:8). Moreover, in spite of the frontal attack by Western ideas and values, it is clear that there was so much continuity in the traditional institutions during the colonial period. The African politics that developed later was not therefore only shaped by European initiatives and policy or by African co-operation and passivity but also by African resistance. In this sense, there was certainly an important connection between resistance and later political developments (Ranger, 1968:437). These resistances were connected to the later nationalist politics by virtue of having been movements of mass commitment, by means of a continuity of atmosphere and symbol which ran through other mass movements in the intermediary period, and finally by reason of the explicit inspiration with which the nationalist movements drew from the memory of the heroic past (Ranger, 1990:25).

Studies in politics and nationalism tend to stress the extent to which a nationalist movement is a revolutionary exotic in its reaction to the colonial rule and its dependence on European ideas and organizational models. Analyses of popular spontaneity must, on the other hand, be concerned with the historical continuities of the specifically African contribution. There is need to probe both the sources of continuities, the structures of precolonial societies, resistance to the imposition of an alien rule, the problems of the inter-world war period of the colonial administration and its incipient initiatives.

Although no Kenyan ethnic community was living in isolation, each had its own peculiar colonial experience which affected the cause and course of nationalist politics. Cognisant of this, our study provides a frame of reference for evaluating the role of Africans at a local level in the

nationalist movements. This is in the belief that scholarly pre-occupation with 'elite' has only partially illuminated the main springs of nationalism. The study focuses on Babukusu of Bungoma District from about 1894 to 1963.

1.1 Area of the Study

The study is based on the Babukusu, one of the sub groups of the Abaluyia. The latter belong to the interlacustrine Bantu of East Africa. The majority of the Babukusu inhabit a greater part of Bungoma District in Western Province of Kenya (see maps). There are pockets of the Babukusu living in the neighbouring districts of Trans-Nzoia, Kakamega, Busia, Teso, Mount Elgon and Malava/Lugari among others. Apart from the Babukusu, there are other smaller sub-ethnic groups in the district. These include the Tachoni, the Kabras, the Kalenjin (mainly Saboat), the Batura and the Iteso.

Before 1963, the present Western Province and Nyanza Province formed one province. For the greater part of the colonial period until 1956 most of what is now Western Province formed one district with its headquarters at Kakamega. Between 1956 and 1963 Bungoma district and the northern locations of what is now Busia district were known as Elgon Nyanza district with its headquarters in Bungoma (De Wolf, 1971:1). Before 1959, there were only four locations in Bungoma district - Malakisi (North and South Malakisi), Kimilili (Kimilili, Bokoli and Ndivisi), Elgon and South Bukusu (East and West Bukusu). Before 1952, South Bukusu was known as South Kitosh, and before 1927 Malakisi, Kimilili and Elgon were jointly referred to as North Kitosh and were under one Chief (Ibid).

Today the district is divided into seven administrative divisions, namely, Kanduyi, Webuye, Sirisia, Kimilili, Tongaren, Central and Bumula. The district is further subdivided into 39 locations with 93 sub-locations (Dev. Plan, 1997:5). It covers an area of 2063 kms^2, which is about 25 per cent of the total area of the province.

The altitude of the district rises from 1,200 metres above sea level in the west to over 2,000 metres above sea level in the north in an area that is generally low lying. The rest of the area consists of a gently sloping surface falling from 2,100 metres elevation in the north to 1,200 metres elevation in the south - west. The surface consists of wide, nearly flat land separated by shallow river valleys. Mount Elgon known locally as 'Lukulu lwa Masaba' is the most conspicuous feature visible from the district. Located in the north-eastern end of the district and standing at about 4,420 metres high, Mount Elgon can be viewed from every corner of the district. Other more resistant inselbergs and ranges stand above the general ground level forming the Kabuchai hill, the Luucho hill, the Chetambe hill, the Sang'alo hill, the Mwibale hill, the Syoya and several other small hills, especially around Sirisia.

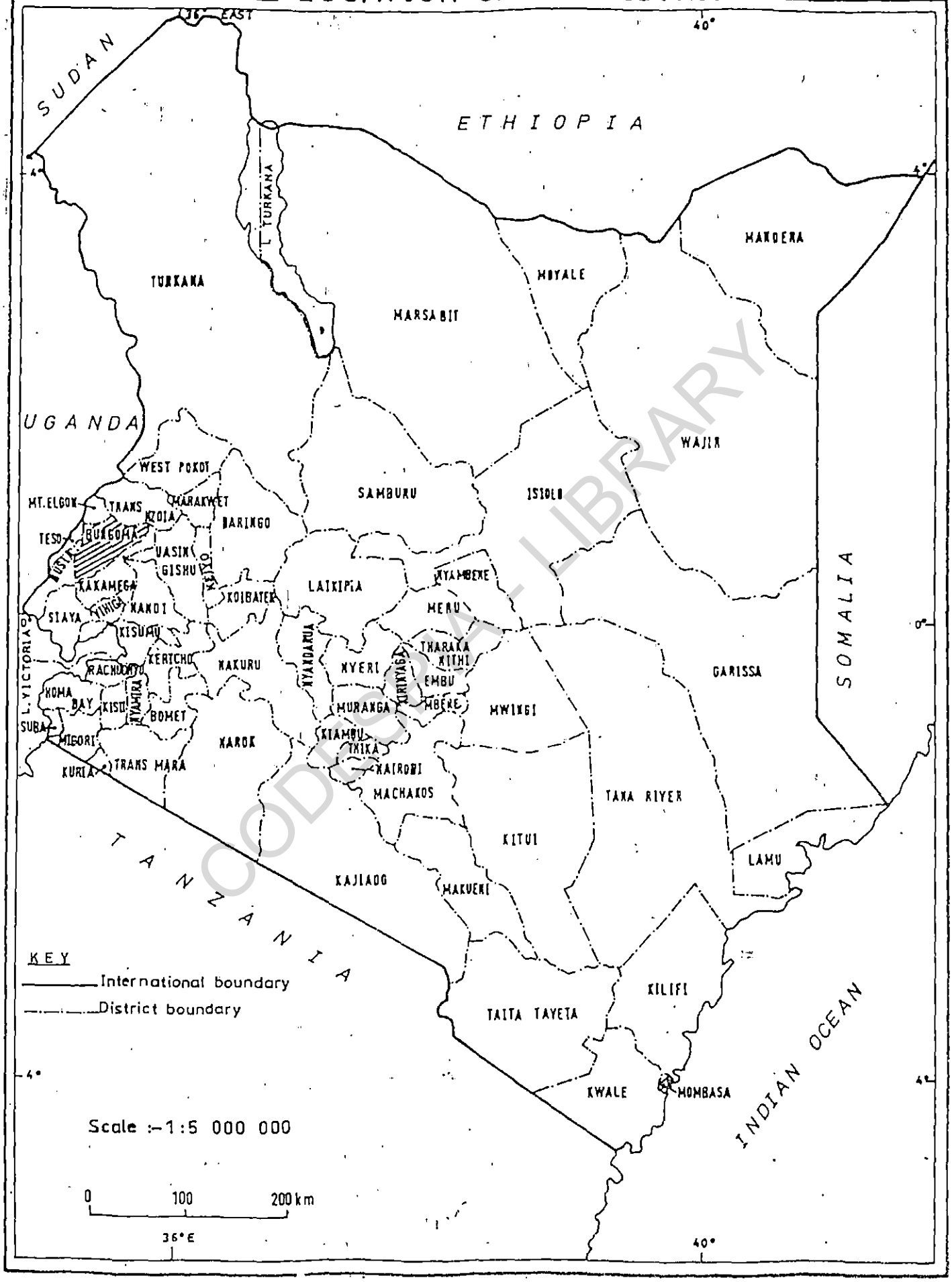
The geology, topography and climate of Bukusuland have combined to determine the soil structure and pattern. The soils in the district show considerable variations in fertility and drainage properties. Soils of moderate to high fertility are largely confined to the northern part of the district. These soils are well drained, deep and vary from dark red nitosols and ferrasols to dark brown acrisols (Ominde, 1963:77). In the eastern and southern part of the district, the soils are well drained and moderately deep to very deep. The soils here are reddish brown to yellowish brown. Some parts of the south and south-west have complex and poorly drained soils (Dev. Plan, 1997:17). The good soils coupled with gently sloping terrain in most parts of the area make the

district one of the most arable in the country. These same factors enable the Babukusu to grow a variety of food crops generally everywhere in the district.

The agricultural potential of the area does not wholly depend on the composition of the soil, but also on the amount of rainfall. Indeed, environment and climate form the linkage between the soil structure and human activities. The district experiences two rainy seasons- the long and short rains. The long rains normally start in March and continue into July while short rains start in August and continue into October. The mean annual rainfall in the district varies from 1250 mm to 1800 mm. Most of the rain falls during the long rains and is usually heaviest in April and May. It is also during the long rains that most farming activities, such as planting and top dressing take place. The adequate rainfall in the district and on the Mount Elgon has resulted in a well distributed drainage system of rivers and streams. The most important of these are the Kamukuywa, Kuywa, Nzoia, Kibisi, Lwakhakha (Malaba), Chwele, Malakisi and the Sio. Most parts of Bungoma District are therefore ideal for both farming and animal husbandry. The mean annual temperatures in the district vary between 21° to 25° Centigrade due to different levels of altitude.

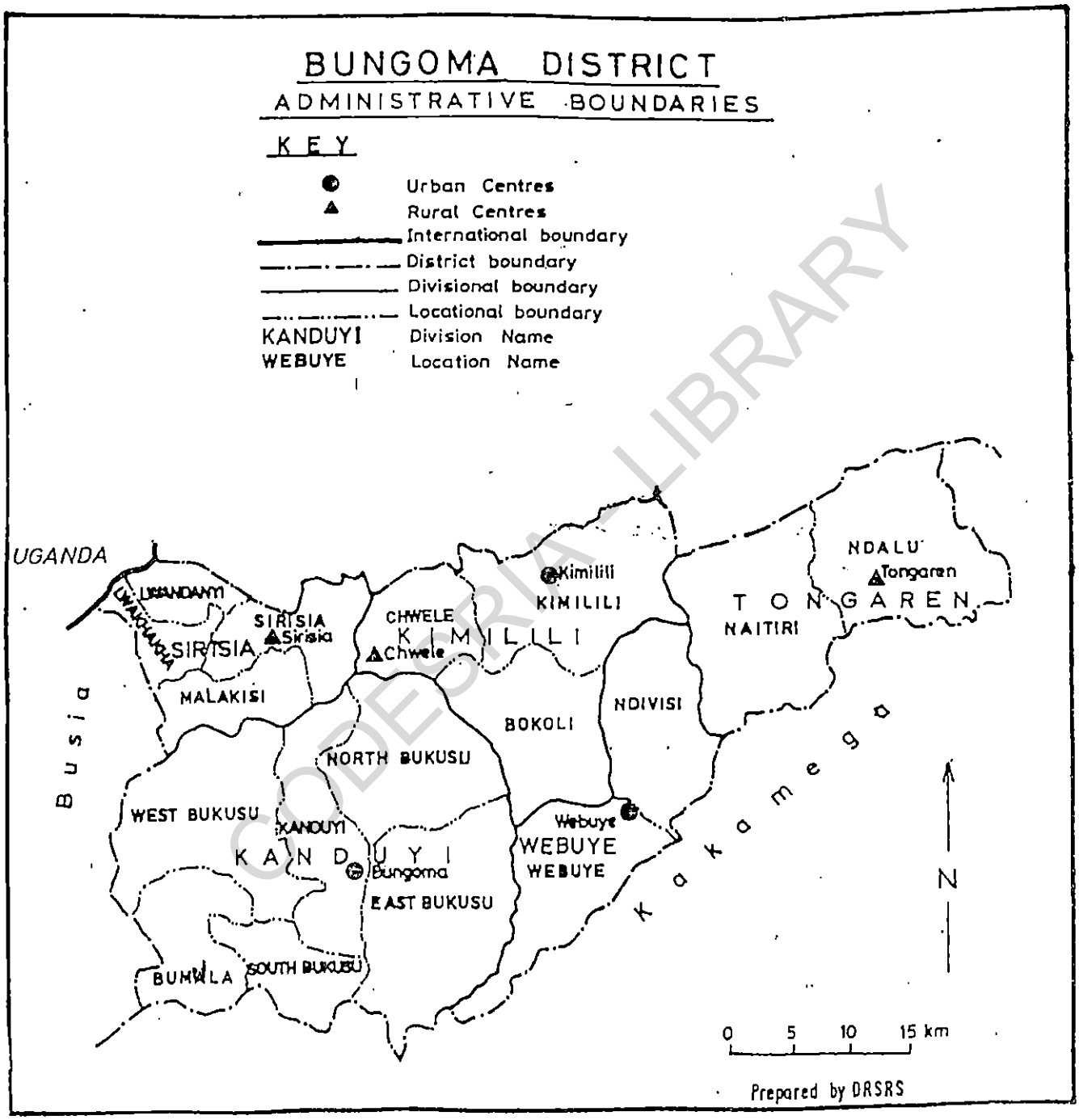
The total population for Bungoma district in 1989 was about 571,445 with an intercensal growth rate of 1.9 per cent. In 1997 the population was estimated to rise to 720,650 and 763,689 in the year 2001 (Dev. Plan, 1997:9).

LOCATION OF THE DISTRICT



SOURCE: BUNGOMA DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1997-2000 P.3

Map No. 2



SOURCE: BUNGOMA DISTRICT DEVELOPEMENT PLAN 1997-2000 P.8

1.2 Literature Review

There are relatively many works that discuss in a substantial measure the theme of African nationalism both continentally and in Kenya. Among such literature include the works of Ranger (1968) and Lonsdale (1968) which are of immediate relevance here. In his work, T.O. Ranger discusses the connection between primary resistance and modern mass nationalism in East and Central Africa. He alludes to the fact that in spite of the existence of such a connection, there have been few studies that demonstrate the continuity. He further notes that the environment in which later African politics developed was shaped among other things by the tradition of African resistance. According to him, although the resistance was defeated it contained something positive for the future. Lonsdale, on the other hand, traces origins of nationalism in East Africa. He argues that ordinary Africans played a major role in the emergence and development of national movements, yet most scholarly preoccupations have been mainly focused on the political elite and European ideas and organizational models. To him, such a preoccupation not only distorts known historical facts but also denies the African role in the emergence of nationalism. These works are invaluable to the study. The assumptions made by these scholars in general contexts have been tested at a local level in this study.

Hodgkin (1957), Sithole (1968), Mazrui and Tidy (1984) offer a generalized approach to the study of politics and nationalism in Africa during the period of decolonisation. Their conclusions are invaluable to any study on politics and nationalism in Africa. However, their concern with continent-wide studies overshadows pertinent details that are discernible at the local level.

In Kenya, the theme of nationalism has attracted a number of scholars from within and outside the country. Some studies and works on the theme of nationalism have been devoted to a few Kenyan communities at the expense of others. This is true of the works of Rotberg and Nottingham (1966), and Kaggia (1975), which discuss the theme of nationalism among the Kikuyu and other central Kenya communities. The former examines the Mau Mau Movement which it treats as a full fledged `militant nationalism employing direct action in seeking a new political and social order.' The authors link early resistance to colonialism to the later protests about losses of land, forced labour, the *kipande* system among many more which are in turn linked to the early political groupings, such as the East African Association, the Young Kikuyu Association and Kikuyu Central Association (hereafter KCA). These issues are beneficial to the present study, but other than over-emphasizing on the Kikuyu nationalism little attempt is made to link it to a wider Kenyan nationalism. Kaggia's work on the other hand expresses the view that other Kenyans outside the Kikuyu Society were submissive to the British rule, and readily accepted their supremacy. This general observation by Kaggia is not true of the Babukusu and other Kenyan communities that took up arms alongside the Kikuyu to fight British colonialism. Moreover, Kaggia does not illustrate whether the non-militancy of some communities should be construed to mean submissiveness and approval of the colonial administration.

Kaggia's views seem similar to those of Muriuki (1971). In Muriuki's essay on the background to politics and nationalism in Central Kenya, he examines the history of the Mount Kenya Peoples – the Kikuyu, Embu, Mbeere, Kamba, Meru and the Tharaka. He argues that during the colonial period, Central Kenya was reputed to be a `hotbed of militant political activity.' He therefore examines the factors that gave rise to such a political situation. While Muriuki and

Kaggia concentrate on Central Kenyan communities, Ochieng'(1971) and Salim studied politics and nationalism in Nyanza and the Coast respectively. As B.E. Kipkorir(1971) notes, this obsession with studies of some regions at the expense of others need to be corrected.

Bogonko (1980) examines the role of the African in occasioning change in Kenya between 1945 and 1960. He affirms that it was African unity in pressing for reform that forced the British administration to grant majority rule to Africans in 1960 and independence in 1963. Bogonko also gives detailed insights as to the historical facts surrounding secessionist movements in Kenya at the dawn of independence. This work, in spite of its general orientation, and its concentration on political activities in Central Province, Nairobi and London, is relevant to this present study.

Crowley (1967) focuses on the nationalist movement in Kenya and its relations with the British Colonial Policy. He identifies factors other than the colonial policy that were involved in shaping the independence movement. These include the colonial situation, the impact of the precolonial society, the growth of communication and the popular press, the rise of new cities and the introduction of representative institutions and the franchise. Any success of the nationalist struggle, to him, depended highly on the co-operation of the Africans and the colonial state. Yet there is a deep-rooted assumption in this work that colonialism did in fact benefit Kenyans. Apart from the work basically ignoring African initiatives in political development, it also wrongly alludes to the fact that it was not until after 1952 that nationalists in Kenya began to think on any scale of self government as a legitimate goal, and to seek the kinds of change that could lead in that direction.

Momanyi (1996) focuses on politics and nationalism among the Abagusii from 1939 to 1963. He identifies the prime movers of Gusii nationalism as their participation in the World War

II, the institutionalisation of forced labour, the rise of western educated elite, the general wind of change across the continent in favour of independence and the natural desire for freedom. Although the work is focused on the Abagusii and does not examine the changes in the Gusiiland in the pre-colonial and the period prior to the Second World War it is invaluable to this study.

There are also numerous relevant studies on the Buluyia and the Babukusu in particular. Among these are the works of Osogo (1966) and Were (1967). These provide a basis of studying Western Kenyan societies by tracing the origins, movement and settlement of the Luyia in their present homeland. While the former discusses local rivalries and clan affiliations, the later gives an analysis of the Luyia pre-colonial socio-economic and political experiences. These works are invaluable to the study.

Mutoro (1976) examines the Abaluyia reactions to colonial rule between 1880 to 1930. He analyses both resistance and collaboration to colonialism as they were manifested in Western Kenyan communities. This work is important to the present study because it sheds light on the cause and course of anti-colonial feelings in Buluyia. However, it does not survey the developments in Buluyia in the period after 1930, and especially after the Second World War and the years leading to Kenya's independence.

Bode (1978) studies leadership and politics among the Abaluyia during the colonia period. He explores the relations among three subgroups of the Abaluyia - the Isukha, Idakho and the Logoli during colonialism. These, he contends, were especially exposed to forces of change among other Luyia subgroups. Whereas this work is important to our study, particularly in it examination of the extent colonialism changed the structure and norms of authority, and the issues

and matrices of conflict among the mentioned three Luyia subgroups, its exclusion of the case of the Babukusu necessitates a study of this nature.

Aseka (1989) analyses the Buluyia political and economic systems in the pre-colonial and colonial periods, using the historical and dialectical materialist approach. He examines the issues of land alienation, labour expropriation, taxation, commodity production, trade and exchange among others in Buluyia, and how they led to the rise of the nationalist question. Although this work does not focus specifically on the Babukusu, it provides valuable reflections on them, which this study borrows.

There are studies, which have focused specifically on the Babukusu. Wagner (1949) did the first serious anthropological research on the Babukusu. He makes important observations on both pre-colonial and colonial social, economic and political structures of the Babukusu. However, he tends to lump up together all the information, which he collected among the various Luyia subgroups and makes generalisations, which are not always applicable to each of them. These shortcomings notwithstanding, the work proves a primary source in reconstructing the past Bukusu political history.

Were (1966 and 1972), Wipper (1971 and 1977), Shimanyula (1978) devote their investigations on the origin, development and significance of the Dini Ya Musambwa Movement in the Bukusu history. Were portrays the movement as having had many facets - political, religious and even having manifested attributes of a labour bargaining agency. Wipper (1971) on the other hand portrays it and the Mumbo cult as rural protests. In her other work Wipper (1977) argues that Elijah Masinde, the sect's founder was an anachronism and his protest movement belonged to the past. Shimanyula (1978) on his part undertakes a biographical study of Elijah Masinde. All

these works are invaluable to the study since the movement expressed the people's anti-colonial feelings in Bukusuland. However, these works do not address the issue of land alienation and how it led to the rise of the movement. Furthermore there is no attempt undertaken to explore the movement's alliance with the Bukusu Union and other political organs in seeking to end colonialism.

De Wolf (1971) undertakes a study of religious innovation and social change among the Bukusu. He discusses aspects of social change, such as labour migration, urbanization and political adaptation under colonial rule which are beneficial to the present study. However, he does not examine the Bukusu's pre-colonial history and how its structure and form of organization shaped the later changes and how the Bukusu adjusted themselves to the same changes. This study seeks to address this lacuna.

Scully (1972), Makila (1982), Nangulu (1986) examine in different ways the resistance of the Bukusu to the imposition of colonial rule with a particular focus on the 1895 Lumboka-Chetambe War between the British and the Babukusu. In these works the causes, course and the results of the war are assessed. However, apart from restricting their concern to the 1895 war, little effort is made to trace the impact or continuity of the 1895 experience to the later political history of the Babukusu. The rise of post 1895 nationalist struggle is virtually left out. This present study examines how this war revolutionised and, therefore, marked a turning point in the Bukusu lives and their response to the later challenges of colonialism.

Wandibba (1972) discusses the importance of the Bukusu forts in the peoples' history. He argues that forts were built as defensive mechanisms against the enemies of the Babukusu. However, Wandibba does not relate the historical significance of these forts within the context of

the Bukusu way of life nor does he clearly bring out the new defensive mechanisms adopted by the Babukusu after the abandonment of the forts in the post 1895 Lumboka-Chetambe War. In his other work Wandibba (1996) undertakes a biographical study of Masinde Muliro. He examines the life and times of Masinde, a Bukusu peasant boy who rose to become one of Kenya's foremost nationalists. This work is relevant to our study, although the focus here is not restricted to one personality.

Makila (1978) documents the history of the Babukusu of Western Kenya. He traces the origins, movement and settlement of the people in question in the present Bungoma district. This work has contributed immensely to our study, although apart from mentioning a few important people in the Bukusu history on the eve of colonialism, the colonial period is virtually left out in his study. Little effort is made by the author to examine the rise of nationalism in Bukusuland. Moreover his stress on clan peculiarities makes the whole work appear more of a study of the Bukusu clans than a text on the history of the Babukusu.

Nasimiyu (1980) analyses the tradition of resistance among the Babukusu and assesses how this early resistance shaped their later resistance against the British intruders. This work provides some valuable insights in the analysis of the origin of nationalism in Bukusuland. However, the author provides scanty information on the nationalist politics in Bungoma a theme that the present study addresses. In her other work Nasimiyu (1984) deals with the participation of women in agricultural production in Bungoma, during the colonial period using the underdevelopment and dependency theory. The author notes that the economic roles of the Bukusu women greatly changed with the advent of colonialism, which also mediated their dependency on men. Her work is invaluable to this study for it sheds light on the colonial

transformations of the Bukusu Society. But other than restricting the focus here on women, we examine how transformations impacted on all the people in Bukusuland and, therefore, led to the development of the nationalist struggle.

Wafula (1981) examines the colonial land policy in the North Kavirondo African Reserve. He posits that the colonial land policy was mainly a metropolitan transplant designed to serve the settler needs. Thus, the North Kavirondo reserve was created in order to ensure adequate labour supply to settler farms. That the Kenya land commission legitimized expropriation of Africans from their basic needs. His concern with the question of land is specifically important since land as a source of livelihood was at the centre of the pre-colonial and colonial conflicts in Bukusuland. The colonial policies, like land alienation, were constantly behind the emergence of nationalist politics in Bungoma. Pertinent sections of this study have been found useful to our work.

Wesonga (1985) outlines the political and *military* organization of the Babukusu. This work does not, however, indicate how the political and military institutions offered a fertile ground for the germination of the nationalist seed in Bukusuland.

There are several studies on the other Luyia subgroups that have been useful. These include, among others, the work of Sakwa M'sake (1971) and Dealing (1974) on the political history of the Wanga, Shilaro (1991) on the impact of Christianity and western education on the Kabras culture during colonial rule. They discuss at length both the pre-colonial and colonial socio-economic and political institutions of the particular subgroups, which were useful to the study of the history of the Buluyia generally and the Babukusu specifically.

The foregoing literature review indicates the various gaps in the production of historical knowledge that needs to be bridged. There are those works that focus on politics and nationalism,

but have a general orientation and therefore do not adequately explore and contribute to a fuller understanding of colonialism in Kenya by examining the experiences discernible at a local level. There are other works, which despite focusing on local level politics, are lopsided and concentrated on a few ethnic communities, for example in Central and Nyanza almost at an exclusion of others hence the need for a study of this nature. Studies based on the Babukusu do not target our area of interest - politics and nationalism during the era of decolonisation. For those that mention the issue, the subject is quite fragmentary and inexhaustively handled. All these limitations calls for a special effort in form of a micro-based study on politics and nationalism in Bukusuland.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

This study evaluates the role of the Babukusu in Kenya's politics of decolonisation from about 1894 to 1963 by examining their contribution to the emergence and development of nationalism. Using an integrated approach, the study critically analyses and demonstrates the influence of the patterns of the precolonial society, resistance to the imposition of colonial rule, the problems of inter-war period of settled administration and incipient development, and the spontaneous contribution to revolutionary change after the Second World War to the Bukusu nationalist politics.

The study addresses the following pertinent questions - what role did the pre-colonial political patterns play in the emergence and development of nationalist politics in Bukusuland? What impact did the wars of resistance have on nationalist politics in Bukusuland upto 1918? What was the nature of the anti-colonial politics among the Babukusu in the inter-war period? Did

the Babukusu continue to actively participate in the post Second World War Kenyan politics of decolonisation?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study sets out to achieve the following objectives:

1. To investigate the role played by the Bukusu precolonial political patterns on the emergence and development of the nationalist politics.
2. To assess the impact of wars of resistance on the Bukusu nationalism upto 1918.
3. To examine the nature of the Bukusu anti-colonial politics in the inter-war period.
4. To analyse the participation of the Babukusu in Kenya's nationalist politics during and after the Second World War.

1.5 Research Premises

The study is premised on the assumptions that:-

1. The environment in which the nationalist politics developed in Bukusuland was also shaped by African initiatives.
2. The evolution of ethnic politics among the Babukusu before 1918 was a result of the people's experience in the wars of resistance.
3. Unfavourable colonial policies led the Babukusu into continued participation in the anti-colonial politics in the inter-war period.
4. The growing political consciousness among the Babukusu led them into active participation in Kenya's politics of decolonisation during and after the Second World War.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

European expansion and colonialism in Africa was marked with the beginning of European intellectual imperialism whereby modes of thought, concepts and paradigms were coloured in racist terms with the express aim of giving western society the centre stage. This intrusive discourse had within it the crucial project of justifying the effects of the binary logic of superior and inferior, civilized and barbaric, traditional and modern, static and dynamic and many others.

It is within this fold that the modernization theory blossomed holding the view that prior to the arrival of Europeans in Africa, there was no development in the continent. Socio-economic and political developments, were either absent, undeveloped or under-utilized. But, on the arrival of Europeans all these undeveloped, underutilized or backward sectors were given an impetus for growth and utility. In this intellectual paradigm, the very process of modernization was understood to be identical with a process of westernization and that all cultures, to some extent even the very notion of `culture', came to be understood from the point of view of how they conformed or differed from the modernity of the West.

However, this theory which is a subject of many researches has been criticized on both theoretical and empirical grounds. The theory's indices of measuring `development' and its categorization of Africa as `static', undeveloped, underutilized and many more have been proved wrong (see for example Onimonde 1985; Cohen 1981). Many studies have shown that social, economic and political spheres had long developed before the arrival of colonialism in the continent. At the same time, the theory overlooks the fact that the western expansion and global

hegemony disrupted and transformed the old relationships thereby subsuming them under new ones. Likewise, western universalistic knowledge and rationalistic ethics disrupted the previous processes of knowledge and ethical production originating outside its framework. The latter became local, regional, traditional - marginal relics of a bygone world (Robotham, 1997:358). In essence, therefore, the theory is an apologetic justification for the establishment of the exploitative capitalist system in Africa (Zeleza, 1982).

The dissatisfaction with modernization theory led historians and other scholars to offer an alternative explanation for processes of historical change in Africa. The dependency theory which was derived from the Marxist reflections on the Latin American experience was adopted. It focused on the way in which underdeveloped political economies were incorporated into the evolving system of world capitalism. This process of incorporation led to the evolution of a cyclical process of internal underdevelopment and external dependency.

The theory placed an emphasis on economic based patterns, such as modes of production, social formations and class conflict; it saw colonialism as essentially exploitative and sought to explain the continuing predicament of underdevelopment in terms of the international capitalist environment. The theory traced the unequal relations between the third world and the expanding capitalist economy and argued that from the outset, the latter benefited at the expense of the former. The surplus of the peripheral countries was extracted for use in the metropolitan countries; the latter manufactured the raw materials which they exported at prices determined on the international market and exported manufactured goods at prices determined by themselves. Consequently, the third world countries have become dependent on the developed countries for capital, technology, and manufactured goods. Dependency is therefore a dialectical relationship in

which development in the metropolitan countries reproduces poverty or underdevelopment in the Third World countries and that development and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin.

As regards politics, the theory postulates that the relationships between foreign interests and the local bourgeoisie had a strong influence on domestic class formation and presumably upon domestic politics as well. By stressing the importance of setting the politics of new states in their socio-economic contexts, the theory was better able than the modernization theory to capture the dynamics of the political process. Thus, the theory could be used to study the politics of decolonisation in Africa in general and Kenya in particular.

However, the theory should be used with caution for it is idealistic in nature in the sense that it gives prominence to the role of external forces, especially colonialism and the international terms of trade in changing and weakening Africa's indigenous socio-economic and political institutions. In this way it overlooks any local forces that could contribute to the same. As regards the decolonisation of Africa there is a deep-seated arrogance in the theory that external forces were solely behind the cause and course of nationalism in Africa. Approaches which adopt this theory tend to simplify the process of decolonisation in Kenya by treating the attainment of the independence in the sixties as if it was a foregone conclusion by 1945. Thus Kenya's nationalist history is subsumed into either the African political militancy or imperial planning (Aseka, 1989:35). Despite this weakness, the theory can be useful in studying the African political process. It offers a compelling explanation of the continuing predicament of underdevelopment.

In our study, we propose an alternative theoretical framework that is syncretic. We reject the dependency theory in our analysis of decolonisation because it does not provide a scientifically

adequate and politically appropriate analysis of imperialism, capitalist development and underdevelopment (Beckman, 1987:11). However, we reformulate some of its tenable propositions. The concepts of unequal exchange, uneven development and peripherialization are useful in explaining the Bukusu experience under colonialism. An alternative approach, though syncretic requires to examine a social phenomenon in several historical periods and in several regions, taking account of its peculiarities over time and space (De Silvia, 1982:6). Taking Marxism as our point of departure, we will initiate a dialogue between dependency perspectives, Marxist approaches of class analysis and emerging paradigms of postcoloniality to adequately capture the intricacies of nationalist politics in Bukusuland and Kenya in general.

Such an endeavour to test an alternative approach that is syncretic also caters for the propositions of the latest post-structural perspectives in the long line of paradigms manufactured in the Western academy, and which relate to our study of nationalism. The post-colonial theory, unlike the dependency theory which drew its inspiration from the Latin American experience, has an Asian intellectual parentage. The Palestinian Edward Said's seminal text, Orientalism published in 1978 has been the first to be appropriated as the Magna Carta of postcolonial theory. His argument that orientalist discourse facilitated the intellectual production and imperial management of knowledge marked as the orient by Europe has led to efforts to replicate this in other regions, including Africa. It has encouraged, on one hand, the critical analysis of Western texts as cultural characters of imperialism, and on the other, of texts from the colonial and post colonial worlds as manifestations of resistance.

In Africa, this replication of the post colonial discourse has been clear in social movements or sub-altern studies and the moral economy projects. While the sub-altern notion is a

philosophical decoy in the name of history as critique, the moral economy concept reduces peasant consciousness to trade union consciousness (Aseka, 1997:21). Peasant resistance is reduced to attempts by conservative peasants to employ violence in defence of their peasant value paternalism. Moral economy is seen as a kind of consumer protection or enforcement by riots of peasants in a quest to maintain a paternalistic model. It entails a claim to subsistence. The assumption that peasants are economically backward because they choose to be so on the grounds of conservative cultural reasons makes the operation of the moral economy or peasant resistance to be mediated in popular culture (Staniland, 1985). Peasant movements are merely treated as 'tribal' or local and with no national appeal.

To Popkin (1979) the moral economy project errors in its depiction of the pre-colonial peasant societies and in its analysis of their responses to capitalism. It misconceives the nature of peasant revolutions. The view that peasants are distinguished by a preoccupation to safeguard subsistence makes them extremely wary of innovation and risk taking.

In the post colonial theory, therefore, there is a misreading of anti-colonial nationalism. Nationalism in Africa cannot be dismissed simply as derivative discourses of European nationalism, for Africans have their own history and discursive integrity and it is only through them that imperialism can be destabilized (Zeleza, 1997:16). The post polonial theory while disavowing the binaries of western historicism, nonetheless postulates the totalizing binary of colonial and post colonial, and re-orients and subordinates the world's diverse histories and cultures to the grandmarch of a monolithic, undifferentiated colonialism of European time. Inequalities of power and privilege within and among nations, regions, classes and genders are ignored. This theory, therefore, does not sufficiently problematise and analyse the concept of state

formations and their class compositions as complex historical processes. This is in line with the prevailing celebrations of globalization, right wing triumphalism and rise of identity politics (Zeleza, 1995:18, Slater, 1995:376).

The theory is relevant to our understanding of Africa, but it carries with it western visions, notions, expectations and intents, and must be sufficiently problematized if it must serve as an analytical framework for Africa. Its emerging variant of criminalizing the African postcolonial state as neo-patrimonialist, prebendalist or Bonapartist actually delegitimises the state. The corruptibility of the African State is conceived in terms of the failure by Africans to institute Western norms of governance and as the logical consequence of peripheral capitalism.

In our integrative approach, we take the state as a process whose apparatus, class composition, ideology and material base are historically formed and structured. Taking the basic tenets of Marxism as a point of departure, we note the Marxist notion of class struggle as the mover of historical change. How are other revisionist Marxisms responding to this notion today? Does it still make sense to argue that the most fundamental human activitity in society revolves around production and distribution of goods and services necessary for the people's survival and reproduction? Is the nature of society determined by forces of production and the level of production? Are classes, therefore, in conflict because they constantly have different and often opposing interests in the changing process of production and appropriation of the social product? Relations between classes in classical Marxism are characterized by domination and exploitation (Cohen, 1981).

The growth of political consciousness among the Babukusu is assessed in the light of the changes in their material conditions posed by the colonial political economy. The use of ideology

by the ruling classes is also analysed. We inquire into changes in the various conceptions of ideology. In the Bukusu traditional society, there existed different ideologies. With the coming of colonialism, the colonial ruling class imposed its own political ideology. It was this ideology that was used as a socially reproducing or repressive device to help reproduce the productive relations in society. To what extent did dominant classes perpetuate their hegemony through its use? This study demonstrates that the Babukusu were no exception in fostering a political response to the problems posed by the colonial political economy. Their political consciousness was an inevitable consequence of the colonial disruption of their old order. It was this consciousness that later led to the intensification of the process of decolonization in Kenya.

1.7 Justification and Significance of the Study

This is a study of politics and nationalism. It is a subject that has been extensively dealt with by both historians and political scientists. This has been done through a general orientation, either by examining protests against the European rule at a national and continental level, or through focusing on particular areas and communities almost at the exclusion of others. While these studies are important, there is more need to explore the relationships among Africans during this time at the local level. For most Africans it was the locality and local issues which dominated their concerns throughout the years of alien rule. This study narrows down the unit of focus to the Babukusu to hopefully provide a more detailed account of the community's participation in the struggle for the independence of Kenya.

The study examines the patterns of the precolonial past which have tended to be ignored by elitist studies that stress the extent to which a nationalist movement was a revolutionary exotic

in its reaction to colonial rule, and its dependence on European ideas and organizational models. In so doing, the study contributes to a fuller understanding of nationalist historiography in Kenya by examining the experience of one locality - Bukusuland. This is done with a wider embracing analysis of the events at the national level. The study is therefore necessitated by the fact that the Babukusu have not adequately been brought into the picture of state formation. They have been portrayed as if they played no role at all towards Kenya's road to independence. Moreover since it is the first study that applies an integrated approach to the nationalist movement in the area, it provides a new context for the study of colonial politics in other areas of Kenya.

1.8 Research Methodology

This study relied on two complementary sources - primary and secondary sources of data. Secondary evidence used included written sources, like books, journals, magazines, articles, unpublished theses, seminar papers and periodicals, which have relevant information to the study. These were derived from libraries, like the Kenyatta University's Moi Library, University of Nairobi's Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library, Institute of Development Studies and Institute of African Studies Libraries, the Macmillan Library of the City Council and Kenya National Library Services Library. The written material from these libraries constituted important secondary data for the research. We scrutinized and sieved these data to minimize any subjectivity.

Primary written documents were gathered mainly from the archives. These included the Kenya National archives, Provincial archives and archives belonging to individuals, groups, churches and other institutions. First were documents from the Kenya National archives. These documents included Political Record books, Provincial and District Annual Reports, Native affairs

reports, Political Association reports, Colonial Government Publications, Confidential reports, diaries and microfilms. These are first hand records from participants and observers that have been passed down to posterity. While in the field, we also consulted private archives. These included, among others, church, school or town council archives and archives belonging to business organisations. Provincial and District records in Bungoma were consulted. It is also here that the information at the Bungoma Cultural Centre came in handy.

But, such information collected from the archives was not entirely reliable, as most of it is prejudiced, biased and therefore subjective in nature. It also largely reflects the 'official' view that is not necessarily correct. It became, therefore, necessary to corroborate it with other data especially those obtained through secondary and oral sources.

The use of oral data as primary source involved carrying out interviews in Bungoma District. Before conducting the interviews, a purposive random sampling procedure was employed in drawing up a temporary list of prospective informants. The list was compiled on the basis of information yielding from both library and archival research. But this list eventually was altered by insertion of other informants mentioned by the interviewees or withdrawal of names of the deceased. There were four categories of informants - leaders of the various political and social organizations, participants in these organizations other than leaders, leaders from outside the region and the educated intelligentsia of the area. The criteria for the choice of informants were (a) mention by documentary sources (b) mention by other oral informants (c) elderly people who are normally acknowledged and respected by the rest of the community on the basis of being able to recall certain issues of the people's history. These informants were sought through the help of local chiefs and village elders who are closely in contact with them. A question guideline (see

Appendix 1) facilitated the conduct of interviews. The formulated questions were, however, not treated rigidly, but as flexible guides to the material required. They were flexible depending on the knowledgeability of and the patience of response from the informants.

Given that the field research is based on a wide geographical area, it became necessary to carefully select and employ some research guides or assistants to assist in the process of research operations. The information obtained from such oral research was corroborated with other data for validity and reliability. It is from this data that we formed the basis of analysing and interpreting the role of the Babukusu in Kenya's nationalist political struggle for independence.

In the actual process of analysing and interpreting of data, we used the logical historical method. It is the application of this method that leads us to knowledge that is uniquely historical. The logical historical method entails the analysis and explanation of harnessed data both historically and logically (Onimonde, 1985:38). It involves a critical investigation of events, developments and experiences of the past, the careful weighing of evidence of the validity of sources of information on the past and the interpretation of the weighed evidence (Peter, 1996:57). It is this method that confers scientific or professional status to the discipline (Aseka, 1995:8). The historical method is necessitated by the fact that the historical inquiry into social phenomenon needs more than a mere knowledge of facts and events in their chronological order. Facts must be applied to establish the historical specificity of social phenomenon in terms of its constituent elements and of the relations between these elements which determine the structure of the phenomenon and give it coherence (Aseka, 1989:66). The research rigorously applied this method in an attempt to produce a truly historical piece of work.

1.9 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study undertakes an inquiry into the politics of nationalism in Bukusuland. Though 1894 is indicated as the earliest starting point in the study, it remains however flexible. We probed the changes in the precolonial society that could have continued to impact on the later politics in the area. This involved, where necessary, an examination of the period before 1894. The significance of 1894, however, is that it serves as a time when Western Kenya was brought under the British administration. This was the year when Sir Colville, the first commissioner of the newly established government of the Uganda Protectorate, established an administrative post at Mumias with Sir Frederick Valet Spire in charge. The Year 1894, hence is an appropriate period for it marks the beginning of the British colonial rule in Bukusuland. 1963, on the other hand, serves as a convenient date to end our investigation and analysis. But like the earlier date, this year was not rigidly adhered to. Where necessary our investigation went into the present period. The year itself, however, marks the formal end of colonialism and the attainment of independence in Kenya.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0. THE BUKUSU SOCIETY: ITS POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURING COMMUNITIES ON THE EVE OF COLONIAL RULE

2.1. Introduction

Some Western scholars have stated that the best way of approaching the study of politics and nationalism is by searching the origins of nationalism in Europe (see Hayes 1961; Snyder 1964; Kamenka 1973; Kohn 1965; Smith 1971 and 1979). However, the diffusionist view of nationalism implied in this argument is not necessarily true, especially when examining the African case in general and the Kenyan case in particular. Nationalism as a political force in Africa was fashioned by its own special conditions which had neither European roots nor was it a reflection of it (Ochieng, 1977). African nationalism was a product of the living forces of history that have continued to give shape, form and direction to each particular society. These forces of history underlay each community's readiness to defend people's rights, claims and aspirations in opposition to foreign authority and also stimulated national integrity (Kohn, 1965: 10; Ochieng, 1977).

In this chapter, therefore, aspects of the Bukusu pre-colonial social and political history that are important for understanding their participation in Kenya's nationalist politics during the colonial period are discussed. The people's social and political structures on the eve of the British intrusion towards the end of the nineteenth century are examined. This is done in the

belief that the phenomenon of colonial politics and nationalist struggle cannot be fully understood and viewed in its proper perspective without paying due regard to the role of such institutions.

The evolution and development of the Bukusu pre-colonial society within the people's early history of origin, migration and settlement into their present homelands of Bungoma district is examined. While underscoring the centrality of their environment, we demonstrate how their traditional institutions and ideas were sufficiently strong to meet the challenges of the time. The chapter discusses the nature of traditional Bukusu political organisation and how it served to fulfil social, economic and political functions within the Bukusu pre-colonial society and, therefore, ensured the continuity, prosperity and perpetuation of the people. The Bukusu relations with neighbouring communities and the nature of their interaction in the pre-colonial period and how this impacted on their politics in the colonial period is also examined. The chapter, therefore, serves as a backdrop against which, in later chapters, we assess the impact of European colonialism on the rise of nationalism. This involves an examination of the extent to which their movements of mass commitment by means of continuity of atmosphere and symbolism or by the explicit inspiration drew from this pre-colonial history.

2.2. Migration, Settlement and Early History of the Babukusu

It is obvious that the location and environment in which the Babukusu existed influenced their pre-colonial political institutions. Therefore, an endeavour in studying such

institutions should involve a brief history[1] on the above two aspects. Such a history will of necessity involve an examination of the people's migration and settlement in their present homeland in Bungoma district and how, therefore, their institutions have been evolving in time and space. It is this evolution that finally gave the community a homogenous entity or made it a sub-nation.

The history of the Babukusu still generates a lot of debate because there seems to be no generally accepted version about the origin, migration and subsequent settlement of the people in the present day Bungoma district. Although the actual details regarding migration routes and the duration taken in terms of the sequence in time may be conjectural, there can be little doubt about the general direction of the Babukusu at particular times. According to Were (1967a) the cradleland of the Babukusu is in a place called "Misri". Oral evidence also revealed that the original home of the Babukusu was in "Misri", which is associated with Egypt (Khachonga, O. I, 1999). The Bukusu reference to "Misri" as their original homeland raises the question of the historical importance of myths. "Misri" legends proliferate among a number of Kenyan peoples for example the Kalenjin, especially the Kipsigis and the Marakwet (Kipkorir 1970/71: 10-11), the Gusii (Ochieng,'1974:11), Kabras and almost all the proto-Luyia clans claim to have migrated from a land identified as "Misri".

Critics of the Misri legends have suggested that the reference to "Misri", taken to mean Egypt, is a distortion of African history by biblically influenced informants. In spite of this, as

[1] For a detailed study of the migration and settlement of the Babukusu See, Were (1967a and b), Makila (1978) and Simiyu (1982).

Kipkorir (1970/71) argues, the Misri legends cannot be dismissed as merely a modern-day invention[2]. It is important to recall that prior to the Hyksos, the Ptolemies and Arab invasions, the population of Egypt was black. To date Southern Egypt is still occupied by black people who stretch into north-eastern and north-western Sudan. There is need for a more critical look at this Misri phenomenon.

Whether the original homeland of the Babukusu has any connection with the present day Egypt is a question that cannot easily be answered, but what comes out clearly from these accounts is that the country must have been arid and semi-arid. It was due to these harsh ecological conditions that made the area susceptible to famines that occasioned the Babukusu and their cousins, the Bamasaba and the Bagishu to migrate to Embayi and Silikwa (Were 1967b, Makila 1978). The environment of these latter places was conducive to intensified mixed farming. The soils were fertile and ideal for agriculture while the grasslands also provided good quality pasture for cattle and other domestic animals. These factors made the Babukusu to settle here for sometime. It is while here that they came into contact with some of the Kalenjin groups, like the Tukeen (Tugen) and probably the Keiyo and the Marakwet. Some of the Bukusu clans got assimilated into the Kalenjin community, altering their Bukusu clan names to adapt themselves to their newly acquired cultural universe (Khachonga, Nabangi, O.I, 1999). Yet some of the Bukusu clans claim to have come from Sirikwa which is believed to be the present day Uasin Gishu plateau (Were 1967 a:56, Wandibba, 1985:20). It

[2] Historical evidence shows that there existed connections between Egypt and the Southern parts of Africa across the Sahara desert see for example, Osei 1964: 5,7, Cheikh Anta Diop, 1981: 27-51

is believed that the entire Uasin Gishu plateau was dominated by the Maasai prior to the arrival of the Kalenjin speaking peoples. One of the Maasai clans was the Sirikwa. But, following the expansion of the Kalenjin power the Sirikwa were dispersed. Some were absorbed by the Babukusu, Abakabras and the Kipsigis, while others migrated to Tanzania. Today there is a Sirikwa clan among the Maasai in Tanzania. Some remnants of the Sirikwa still live among the Kalenjin. Linguistic evidence has shown that the proto-Kalenjin peoples initially occupied a belt of country running south-eastward from the Mount Elgon to the Rift Valley (Ehret cited in Wandibba, 1985:25).

But the Babukusu relations with their neighbours at Embayi and Sirikwa were not always cordial. More often than not, some covetous neighbours would raid the Babukusu of their cattle, a treasure which they highly cherished (Nabangi, Keya, O.I. 1999). Because of this reason the Babukusu started the technology of building forts for purposes of defence from surprise enemy attacks. These were walled enclosures surrounded by a moat. Forts in this particular context are significant in the history of the Babukusu in that they indicate that the Babukusu, even in the pre-colonial times, were capable of defending their political, economic and social freedoms (See Nasimiyu, 1979/80; Namunane, O.I, 1999). These forts also became powerful elements in the unification of the otherwise segmentary clans. Faced with several external threats, the Babukusu felt the need for leaders who would advise them on all matters of warfare (Waliaula, Wangwe, O.I., 1999). Such leaders of the various forts, therefore, became central consulting agencies for each fort on matters of common interest to the whole community. The Bakasa (Omukasa in singular) as they were called ensured that unity

prevailed and, therefore, prepared the ground for further progress in the social and economic arena. They directed their clans into building of forts, which had become an issue of the entire societal concern. Since it was a large project, organisation of labour was necessary and this was procured through voluntary means although the design and craftsmanship was provided by specialists. The unity demonstrated by the joint ventures of building forts extended to other common concerns that were necessary for the realisation of other social and political needs of the Babukusu. This included the making of tools, implements and weapons, like hoes, spears, arrows and various types of ornamental artefacts. Those, which could not be made locally, were procured through exchange and this enabled the community to exploit their environment effectively.

According to Nasimiyu (1979/80), the Babukusu migrated from Sirikwa because of constant attacks from the Kalenjin. They moved to Namarare before migrating again to Bukaya and Embayi in Eastern Uganda. The exact description of the place named Embayi still generates a lot of debate. According to Simiyu (1982), there are two places with the similar name. The first Embayi is situated to the Northwest of Kapenguria. On the sketch map by Makila it lies roughly to the north of Sengeli (Makila 1978:132). The second Embayi is identified by the same author as a specific place which is situated in Buhugu location of the Eastern district of Uganda. The area is to the south-east of Ntaro and Yembe, up towards the Mt. Elgon. Basing his arguments on both written and oral sources, the author tentatively concludes that the Babukusu lived and settled in Embayi at about the 14th and 15th centuries.

From here, they moved to Namarare, near the present day Mbale in Uganda, where they lived between about 16th and 17th centuries.

Without questioning which particular version is true, one can draw two tenable conclusions. That at both Embayi and Sirikwa the Babukusu were able to evolve as a society, with a clear social economy. It was in the course of settling at these places that a developmental process that led to the crystallisation of their institutions, and economic formation among the Babukusu rapidly took place. The second conclusion is that at least from Embayi and Sirikwa the ancestors of the Babukusu moved into the present eastern parts of Uganda.

The issue of the Bukusu occupation of Eastern Uganda is supported by many authors[3]. Were (1967a: 59) for example persuasively argues that except for the Maragoli who are close to the Kisii, the Kuria and Suba who originated from the Southern end of Lake Victoria, all the Abaluyia sub-ethnic groups and clans came from the interlacustrine area of Uganda from where they travelled eastwards along the Northern shores of Lake Victoria to their present areas. The Babukusu section, he goes on, took a more northerly route from the dispersal area in Western Uganda and were forced Southwards into their present abodes by the Iteso. Also supporting the Bukusu settlement in eastern Uganda is Ogot who argues that all the seventeen sub-groups of the Abaluyia moved into their present

[3] See for example Were (1967), Ogot (1967), Ochieng' (1972), Makila (1978), Simiyu (1982), Wandibba (1985), Nangulu (1986) to mention just a few

country from Eastern Uganda (Ogot, 1967:137-140). He does not, however, specify whether this 'eastern Uganda' was their cradleland, or simply a place through which they passed on their way to their present areas. From the foregoing discussion, it seems that Eastern Uganda was merely a corridor through which the Babukusu passed as they migrated to their present locations (cf. Mutoro, 1975/76).

From Sirikwa and Embayi the Babukusu settled at Namarare in Eastern Uganda. The process of ethnic consolidation was still taking place. Here, a full expansion of the Babukusu both demographically and economically took place (Namulala, Namunane, O.I., 1999). They occupied vast areas of the Bukusu, Butilu, Bukobelo, and Bubulo foothills. It is also here in these places that the name Babukusu was adopted from the former Babambayi (Simiyu, 1982:10). The acquisition of the name Bukusu is said to have been due to a nickname which was given to Babambayi entrepreneurs, who from Bukusu hills went as far as the shores of Lake Victoria (Enyanja Ya Walule) to exchange their iron products for other items produced in those places. They were referred to as "Babandu be bukusi" which in literal translation means ''the price people'' (Ibid.). They seem to have adopted the nickname lightly, but nevertheless stuck to it up to today.

Although the environment in Eastern Uganda ensured the prosperity of the Babukusu, other factors militated against their continued stay. Their population had grown fast and expanded greatly, and overcrowding became an evident phenomenon. This put more stress on the available resources, including land. As a consequence, some clans began migrating in search of more open and fertile grasslands on which to graze their herds of cattle and also do

some subsistence farming (Namulala, Khachonga, O.I., 1999). These, perhaps, were the first Bukusu immigrants into Western Kenya.

While the apparent overpopulation and scarcity of grasslands were possible reasons for some clans to migrate from Eastern Uganda, other factors also played a part. While still living here, in Eastern Uganda, the Bukusu leader, Maina Wa Nalukale is said to have pronounced a curse upon the Babukusu because one of his sons had offended him (Namulala, Manguliechi, O.I., 1999). The Babukusu who believed in the effectiveness of this curse are said to have embarked on a long process of migration which eventually landed them into their present geographical areas. After the curse, the offended Patriarch Maina disappeared into the Mount Elgon[4]. He took with him a barren woman, a symbol of infertility and a stool, a symbol of authority or power. As a result of this curse, the Babukusu had to fend for their own future, hence the need to protect what was theirs (Nasimiyu 1979/80:7; Namulala, O.I., 1999).

Whereas this curse could be one of the reasons for the Babukusu migrating from Eastern Uganda in the 17th century, it also confirms the one on overcrowding. It is probable that due to rapid increase in population, social vices including disrespect of leaders became prevalent hence resulting in the curse. However, it is said that not all the Bukusu clans migrated because of this curse (Namulala,O.I., 1999). Some under their elders (Bakasa) remained behind.

[4] For a full account of this incident see Makila 1978 p. 184-190.

Another reason that is advanced for the Bukusu migration from Eastern Uganda was the persistent attacks from the Karamojong, Uasin Gishu Maasai, and later the Iteso (Bamia). The physical features in the area worked against them in their attempt to build walls to protect cattle in their homes (Were, 1967a, 65-84). Due to this, the Iteso in particular constantly raided their cattle and property (Were 1967a:135, Makila, 1978:.185; Namulala, O.I., 1999). The early Bukusu confrontation with 'Bamia' landed them in their present geographical area of Western Kenya. Some clans or groups moved towards the south to the Lake Victoria area, probably, following the trading patterns mentioned in this discussion. This movement landed them among neighbouring territories, which were populated with communities that were thought to be less hostile, including Ebunyala, Ebumarachi and Ebusamia. The other branch is said to have crossed the river Lwakhakha directly into present Bungoma district (Waliaula, Namulala, O.I.,1999).

Although the issue of external threats and, especially, that of the Iteso was real and could have been a probable cause for the migration of the Babukusu from Eastern Uganda, only the Bukusu clans that were in close proximity with the Iteso bore the brunt of the raids and therefore took the option of migration (Khachonga, Namunane, O.I.,1999). Moreover, as Were (1967a) notes, there was no time when the war between the Babukusu and the Iteso lasted long. It was a matter of periodic raids so that immediately the Iteso invaders retreated, the Babukusu fugitives in Marachi and Bunyala returned to their villages. This probably points to the fact that the Iteso raids, damaging as they were, could not have been solely responsible for the migration of all the Bukusu clans from Eastern Uganda.

Nevertheless, it is safe to conclude that an interplay of factors were behind the migration of the Babukusu from Eastern Uganda to their present abodes in Western Kenya. But, what needs to be emphasised here is that at the core of this migration was the survival of the community. Unity and prosperity were their central concerns. Indeed, at one time it became so critical and desperate that it took the courage, patriotism, military expertise of a Bukusu man called Mukite wa Nameme to summon back the fugitives of the Babukusu (Were, 1967: 135; Keya, O.I.,1999). He beat the war drum calling on all Babukusu exiles to come back and save their country from ruin (Namulala, O.I., 1999). He also embarked on a military re-organisation by introducing new military techniques. After the reorganisation of the community, the Babukusu were imbibed by a renewed spirit of nationalism by which they sought to regain and protect their property, social, political, economic and cultural freedom. They confronted the Iteso enemies who had pursued them to parts of Western Kenya (see Nasimiyu, 1979/80:10). The Iteso are said to have been defeated and henceforth learnt to respect the territorial integrity of the Babukusu through a formal agreement (Namunane, O.I., 1999).

The significance of Mukite wa Nameme in the unification of the Babukusu is crucial in understanding their later history and, particularly, the need to protect their territory and property from external threats. It seems that the environment facilitated the operationalization of these libertarian quests. The area was not only suitable for economic prosperity, but also for the erection of gigantic forts for the same protective purposes. They used local clay murram to

construct mud walls about eight to ten feet high and two feet thick surrounded by a ditch of about 12 feet wide and 10 feet deep (Wandibba, 1972, 22). These environmental factors became very crucial in influencing their response to foreigners, including the British.

According to Simiyu (1982) by the seventeenth century the ancestors of the Babukusu were already settled in their present day homeland of Bungoma district. The area which they occupy today is said to have been unoccupied by the time their ancestors arrived (Namulala, Nabangi, O.I., 1999). However, some sources reveal that they found the Kalenjin speakers, some of whom they assimilated, while others voluntarily moved out(Manguliechi, Keya, O.I., 1999).

Notably, the present location of Bungoma district is where the Bukusu institutions, economy and ethnic consolidation took place. It is here that their nationalist spirit evolved and matured, culminating in their clash with the colonial forces towards the end of the nineteenth century. In the next section, we look at the political and social organisation of the Bukusu society.

2.3 The Political and Social Organisation of the Bukusu Society

From the foregoing discussion on the origin, migration and settlement of the Babukusu there emerge leading questions which should assist us in understanding the nature of their political organisation. Gunter Wagner (1949) discusses the political organisation of the "Bantu of North Kavirondo" and argues that before one can meaningfully discuss a people's political organisation, one must first determine whether their entire society can be looked at as

constituting a single political unit or whether their society constitutes a multiplicity of political units. By a political unit he means:

> "That which constitutes a group of people which submits persistently and in an organised manner to leadership for the purposes of maintaining itself as a unit" (Wagner,1949:200)

The Babukusu did not constitute one political unit. Their political organisation was based on exogamous clans or clan groupings, which often constituted a large clan or sub clans or families who occupied a distinct territory. There are well over one hundred clans that form the Bukusu community and are further subdivided into various sub-clans (Makila, 1978:66). These clans are related to one another either directly or indirectly by way of patrilineal or matrilineal discent if not by association. The clan was the central social arena where individual roles, groups, status acquisition, corporate action, religious and political authority were carried out (Sakwa-M'sake, 1971:8).

It appears that at no time did the whole of the Bukusu society politically fall under one leadership. In other words, there was no ethnic authority, which overruled clan authorities, either in their dealings with foreign ethnicities or in the management of their internal affairs. The clan seems to have been the most effective political unit among the Babukusu.

Normally, each clan occupied a fortified village or *Lukoba*, where individuals lived with their livestock. The forts were constructed to protect the Babukusu from surprise enemy attacks (Wandibba, 1972). The position the ancestors held in the Bukusu society prompted

Wafula (1997) to state that the leadership in Bukusu traditional society tended to be authoritarian and conservative. Leaders exercised coercive power. Symbolically, the fulfilment of the desires of the ancestors and their will was manifested through perpetuation of the legacy that they had left behind to posterity in form of ethnic laws, customs and traditions (Makila, 1978).

The Babukusu practised rituals, such as rainmaking, divination and many more. Around these rituals, there emerged sacrificial priests who also exercised considerable authority. Although they enjoyed a high social status, and by virtue of their roles acquired great wealth, these attributes did not translate into actual political power. Their authority was limited to particular domains and did not extend to matters outside their competence (Bode, 1978: 38; Namulala, O.I, 1999).

So far, it appears like the Bukusu society whose political authority rested on a clan driven organization was acephalous in nature, given that this political authority was not as formalised, differentiated and centralised. There was however, a high degree of social and political cohesion within the clan. In the forts, an elaborate system of values that guided their military and political operation in response to the conditions of their contemporary world was developed. Some of the values espoused by them seem to have been framed with great vision, for they were still valid during the colonial period (Makila, 1982:31). Members of the clan were through informal training and education familiarised with what was expected of them in society. Rules of conduct and procedure were codified in the form of taboos and beliefs, of which correct observance was regarded as the hallmark of true personality.

Myths and clan exogamy strengthened clan identity. Similarly, religious matters such as prosperity and social well being of individuals was closely connected to the favourable disposition by the spirits of their agnastic ancestors. These ancestral spirits wielded immense power over the living and expressions of their will had to be obeyed or appeased, whether it be in military and political matters. To break ties with the ancestors was tantamount to threatening the living community with destruction. While it is true that authority was diffused through the social structure, it is also true that even a single clan had its social and political heads. In essence these were loosely organised states as they had territorially defined areas, had recognised leaders and established means of dealing with everyday challenges within their demographic collectivities (Were, 1972:192).

It would also be naive to look at the entire Bukusu society in terms of a conglomeration of independent feuding and warring clans, which conducted their relations with their neighbours and persistently promoted their separate and distinct units. On the contrary, the Babukusu constituted one society, which was characterised by a number of common features. The Babukusu spoke the same language, shared a common and continuous territory, and had common customs and traditions. They also had common and institutionalised forms of co-operation and interdependencies, in marriage for example between the clans of the sub-ethnic and ethnic groups. From time to time military alliances also developed out of convenience among two or more clans for defence against a common enemy. However, such

efforts were informal in nature and usually temporal and did not demand loyalty from the individual to an entity beyond his or her clan (Aseka, 1989:89; Keya, O.I, 1999).

Each of the Bukusu clan appeared to have had its own political structure and a leader Omukasa (elder). Below him were a number of lesser leaders usually heads of various sub-clans and family lineages. These were people whose opinion was most respected whenever matters of concern to the community arose. Their source of power was not usually derived from the prerogatives of office, but from the degree to which they were recognised by the people or represented groups. There was no formal appointment or installation of these elders. The general pre-requisite for obtaining leadership was age. An old man was assumed to possess certain qualities associated with his age, for example wisdom, gentleness and freedom from greed and jealousy. The authority in old age was also strengthened by a belief in life after death. People believed that old men were closer to the dead and, therefore, all people should treat them with respect and obedience (Khachonga, Namunane, O.I, 1999).

Old age in the Bukusu society seemed to have been respected in every relation. The opinion of seniors always carried more weight than that of the juniors. Age was gauged by the circumcision age grade that one belonged to. It was through circumcision that one was initiated into adulthood. Circumcision, in fact, appeared to be the basis of exercising authority and of participating in public affairs (Wandibba, 1972; Wekesa, O.I, 1999).

An uncircumcised person could not address people and was equated to a woman. It was, therefore, after initiation that one in the Bukusu pre-colonial society became a warrior and was entrusted with the responsibilities of defending the community. The organisation of all

circumcised men in corporate groups of coevals acted as a cementing force for the people in every group, regardless of whether they lived within the same territorial boundary affairs (Wandibba, 1972) or not. There was a cordial relationship between people who lived in different areas or different forts (Chingoba) for that matter.

Women in the Bukusu society were looked down upon and played no role in societal leadership. The extent to which they were allowed to operate was restricted to roles as witnesses and not as judges (Nasimiyu, 1984, Namulala, O.I, 1999).

Another quality for acquiring a leadership position in the clan was economic wealth. Having a large number of cattle, sheep and goats was an indication of wealth. Apart from animals, a wealthy man was expected to have many granaries filled with farm produce throughout the year. It was common for people to boast of their wealth at beer parties. Cattle was especially valued because of its varied functions. Cattle was used on ritual occasions, such as circumcision, marriage feasts and bride price payments. People with few cattle were despised and could not expect to present a favourable image in public (Wagner, 1971; Keya, O.I, 1999). Such people could not therefore assume any leadership position.

A man with a lot of cattle would marry as many wives as he would have wished. This was in itself a sign of social elevation. No parent would expect her daughter to get married to someone who did not have any cattle. Cattle also provided meat, milk and blood for food while skins were utilised in bedding and clothing.

Wealth, therefore, when wisely used could earn one prestige and influence within the clan. It was common for a wealthy man to brew beer and host parties for other people.

Through such occasions people sing to praise him and his homestead would become a favourite gathering place for all clansmen, especially the elders (Ibid.). He would also occasionally offer basketful of grain, sheep, goats or even cattle to needy members of the clan, for example when one wanted to make a sacrifice and could not raise the required animal. The person who receives such a support was expected to have certain reciprocal obligations towards his creditor. He must praise him whenever he had an opportunity to do so and render him small services, such as repair of houses, weeding gardens, herding cattle when he cannot repay the loan (Makila 1982:44; Namulala, Khachonga, O.I, 1999).

A further quality that made for clan leadership was the reputation one gained as a warrior. This was normally measured in terms of the number of people he had killed in the battlefields. Also important was the number of animals brought home after raids.

There was also a possibility that outstanding prestige and status in the Bukusu society was inherited. In all but exceptional cases, an important clan elder came from a powerful and prestigious lineage. Quite often, sons of previous outstanding men benefited most (Were, 1972:192; Manguliechi, O.I, 1999).

Once a suitable elder through age, experience and possession of requisite qualifications attained the rank of Omukasa (Bakasa in plural), he wielded power as a political representative of the powerful ancestral spirits. His position was recognised through the symbolism of various insignia, such as kumukasa (copper bracelet); lichabe (ivory armlet); sicholong'o (rhino horn club); ekhorere (cowrie shell hat) and the coveted ekutusi cloak. The honoured position

carried prestige and influence. The highest prestige was bestowed on the wearer of *ekutusi, ekhorere* and *epokoto* emblems (Makila, 1982:44; Wangwe, O.I, 1999).

The *Bakasa* exercised authority at various levels within the hierarchy of leadership and combined both the functions of a judge, priest, as well as that of a political leader. They ensured that peace prevailed in their areas of jurisdiction. They did this by settling disputes between the various members of the clan. Apart from looking after the welfare of their subjects, *Bakasa* sometimes discharged duties as sacrificial priests.

The *Omukasa* was assisted in his duties by "*Babami be kamachabe*", that is, elders of the ivory armlet. There were many gates or entrances in the fort and each *"omwami we lichabe"* was in charge of at least a gate and was responsible to *omukasa.* This arrangement seems to contrast the observation made by Nasimiyu (1979/80). To her, there was no such name as *omukasa* in the Bukusu political arrangement but instead there was *"omwami we pokoto".* That *omukasa* is a term of colonial formation and had no place in the pre-colonial Bukusu society given that *'Kumukasa'* meaning copper was not mined anywhere in Bukusu society. We beg to differ with her observation in that *epokoto* as already noted was merely one of the emblems bestowed upon *omukasa.* Moreover, the existence of omukasa in pre-colonial times or at least before the Europeans came into present Bukusuland was attested to (Khachonga, Nabangi, Namulala, O.I, 1999).

Colonial names like *'Lugongo', 'Mlango'* which referred to political leaders in Bukusuland hardly survived the test of time (Namulala, Nabangi, O.I, 1999). It is also not

proper to disqualify *omukasa* on the basis of the absence of copper mines in Bukusuland. Copper as an item of value could have been obtained through trade for instance given that the same *omukasa* wore *ekhorere* or cowrie shell hats, yet the cowrie shells were also not found in Bukusuland.

'Omwami we lichabe' took charge of the various activities that took place within his jurisdiction and ensured that peace prevailed. Sometimes, a particular *"omwami we lichabe"* excelled in his administrative skills so much so that he was sought by other leaders outside his jurisdiction in settling disputes. A leader with such a reputation was popularly referred to as "*omwami omukayi*" or "*owesimbo"* (arbitrator or that who carried a counselling stick).

"Omwami we lichabe" had below him honourable elders and specialists who were knowledgeable in administrative routines. These were generally homestead heads that composed a council that settled disputes, which were minor in nature. Serious cases, particularly those which threatened general peace, like cattle thefts, murder, land or boundary disputes, rape and any incestuous behaviour were dealt with at a clan level under a clan "*omukasa*" (Makila,1978; Namulala, O.I, 1999).

The council of elders under *"omwami we lichabe"* normally handled cases of conflicts or rule violations which involved members of more than one homestead. Cases that involved one homestead were settled by the head of that homestead who had great powers over his wives, sons and daughters. His orders regarding a whole range of activities within his homestead were to be obeyed. The father had immense powers against recalcitrant sons or daughters and even wives. But his authority was not limitless, for he was also accountable to

ancestral spirits and to his immediate lineage relatives for his conduct and actions within the homestead (Wafula, O.I., 1999).

Apart from *omukasa, omwami we lichabe* and the council of the elders, there was within the Bukusu society a titular head of a clan referred to as *"omwami we ekholo"* who was empowered to stop war with enemy communities or declare peace on behalf of the ethnic group. He enjoyed the prerogative of sanctioning and organising migrational movements of his people(Makila, 1982:47; Keya, O.I, 1999).

The foregoing political organisation made the Bukusu society an internally self-governing unit. The clan under *omukasa* formed the smallest political unit under which social, political and economic organisation revolved. All efforts towards political administration were geared towards moulding a large, cohesive and prosperous society. *Omukasa* combined both the functions of a judge, priest as well as that of a political leader. It was his duty to ensure that peace and prosperity prevailed in the area of his jurisdiction. He did this by settling disputes between the various members of the clan (Khachonga, Namulala, O.I, 1999). The judicial system was informal. *Omukasa* communicated with the public through; *"ekokwa"* or discussion gathering at which daily events were reviewed, *"etolondo"* or conference or meeting at which issues were discussed and resolved, *"kumuse"* or a divisional and community council at which opinions are given and a ruling was passed on matters concerning the community (Makila 1982:49; Nyongesa, O.I, 1999).

Once a person felt offended, he reported the matter to *"omwami we lichabe"* within his area. No fee was charged. The *"omwami we lichabe"* had a duty to summon the defendant so

as to settle the dispute. If the case was serious, the *"omwami we lichabe"* would consult the council of elders for some guidance. He may also invite his counterparts in the area to come and assist in the arbitration. He was more of a conciliatory agent than a judge in his role.

The *Bakasa* dealt with matters of a very wide scope. They solved cases that threatened communal unity and stability, for example, murder. They decided where the farmlands of their people were to be located. They had a duty to ensure that rains came and at the right times. This was done by offering gifts to the rainmakers. They were also responsible for the provision of food to the needy during times of famine. They were not paid regular remuneration for their duties, nor were they expected to demand payment. They were only honoured with presents, especially by clients who sought assistance of their high office. Nevertheless certain fixed presents were traditionally prescribed for them, for example fowls. They also had the privileges of taking part in every beer feast even if they had not been expressly invited.

The *"Bakasa"* however had certain limitations in the discharge of their duties. They had no right to interfere with family and personal affairs of members within their jurisdiction. Unless they were called upon to exercise their powers as clan heads, they were always private individuals who constantly concerned themselves with their dogmatic affairs (Namunane, Khachonga, Namulala, O.I, 1999).

The *Bakasa* among the Babukusu ruled until they retired or died. When there was such a vacancy, elders looked for people with leadership qualities to succeed them. There was as indicated, no formal installation of any leader. Neither was there any system of voting as was to become characteristic in the later times of colonial rule.

From the foregoing, it is clear that in their pre-colonial political organisation, the Babukusu had evolved an efficient political system with various control mechanisms. The clan leader did not exercise dictatorial powers over his kinsmen as social and political tensions within the clan were relieved through succession (Lonsdale, 1977:843; Berg-Schlosser, 1984:56). The appointment of chiefs during colonial rule was done against the majority's wishes. This became a factor that posed a lot of problems to the British administration later and led to the African peoples agitation for independence. The chiefs derived his powers and status from the British crown and its colonial state structures in Kenya. Their positions were basically alien to the Bukusu political and social systems.

Militarily, the pre-colonial African societies are said to have been characterised by intensive warfare[5]. It is therefore important to look at the pre-colonial military organisation among the Babukusu and how this impacted on their relationship with their neighbours and later the British imperialists.

The Babukusu in the pre-colonial times did not have a single military organisation under one command (Manguliechi, O.I, 1999). Each clan conducted its wars and raids separately except on rare occasions when the interests of the entire community were threatened that unity was sought. Basically, their military organisation was based on the pattern of settlement and the nature of political organisation. There were those clans that settled in areas

[5] See Ochieng' (1974) for an extensive discussion on this theme.

that were close to their enemies. These clans were engaged in constant military campaigns against enemies. Other clans settled in areas that were far away from their enemies and had no military campaigns. Such a marked difference in settlement patterns necessitated the existence of a military unit for each fort (Wangwe, O.I, 1999).

Each fort had a war leader called *"naitirian"* which to Nasimiyu (1979/80:9) was a word borrowed from the Kalenjin vocabulary by the Babukusu as a result of interaction between these communities. The *"naitirian"* had to receive permission from the political leader of the fort before they could launch an attack on the enemies. Every able bodied young man who had undergone circumcision was expected to fight whether in an offensive or defensive war. Such young men acquired the art of war informally. Before such a war was called, a political leader had a duty to consult *"omung'oosi"* (dream prophet) who had to concede to the aims of the war before any raids were mounted. The political leader had also to see a medicine man to get protective charms for the warriors or his people in general. Ritualistic powers therefore played an important role in conducting the war effort.

Everybody in the clan or the entire community, as the case may be, was, however, to be on the look out for any danger. Before the actual war began, there was the deployment of spies called *"bayooti"* who were men of great intelligence, and whose duty was to report on enemy positions and movement. They, in most cases, knew the enemies languages and lived among them in disguise, while collecting valuable information (Wesonga, 1982:4; Makila, 1982:36). There were also no army leaders, and when a war broke out the various regiments were led by men who had demonstrated a grasp of various techniques. Such leaders were

called "*basesi*". The bravest and most skilful of these were "*balulu*" or the bitter ones. Conventional weapons used by the Bukusu warriors included spears, swords, wooden clubs and shields. Clans such as the Basonge, the Bauma and the Batecho had skilful iron workers who produced most of the spears and swords, together with other domestic implements (Wesonga, 1982:5). Most of the wars between the Babukusu and her neighbours were mainly over cattle and land (Nabangi, Namulala, O.I, 1999).

Whenever the objectives of the war had been met, the leaders sought peace with their adversaries. Then truces or firm treaties were concluded between the parties concerned. These formal peace treaties were known in Bukusuland as "eating a dog" (*khulia embwa).* In this ceremony the two parties to the conflict took oaths renouncing warlike activities between themselves (Wesonga, 1982:12, Situma, O.I, 1999).

Bukusuland provided the geographical and historical context within which the foregoing military tradition evolved. The Babukusu were variously involved in conflicts and wars. Some of these wars, particularly, with the Iteso were directly linked to the struggle for their own survival as a community. Consequently, the Babukusu developed a military tradition which enabled them to withstand hostility of the neighbours and ward off their attacks.

In such precarious situations, therefore, great military innovation and adaptation took place. Significant developments in the military organisation among the Babukusu were achieved under Mukite wa Nameme (see Were, 1967a:135; Makila, 1978:184; Nasimiyu,

1979/80: 11). This took place after successive threats and defeat from the Iteso in Eastern Uganda[6].

As indicated earlier in the study, some political leaders in the Bukusu society ascended the role similar to Mukite's from reputations they gained as warriors. Their new role made them acquire great political clout and respect within the community. They were expected to lead and direct the community to achieve social, economic and political objectives.

This adaptive and innovative system of military organisation had decisive ramifications in times of acute conflict on the social relation within the society and with its neighbours. As these developments continued to take place, especially from the mid 1800, the Babukusu began to face new enemies, this time, they were the Arab-Swahilis and the Europeans.

The advent of foreigners, and especially, the British at the end of the nineteenth century witnessed a considerable transformation of the above Bukusu political arrangement. The colonial administrators created a new set of institutions, which were to serve in maintaining their authority in the political sphere. The new institutions or administrative structures were aimed at maintaining law and order, collection of taxes and service the economy (Aseka, 1989:18). The arbitrary creation of boundaries and the appointment of colonial functionaries whose political roles were opposed to traditionally known and respected elders created sources of conflict between the Babukusu and the British. These colonial functionaries operationalised

[6] See the section on Babukusu - Teso relations for more information on this.

rules, laws and regulations promulgated by the colonial power. This in turn weakened many of the traditional functions of the various social groups, especially the clan. The people's response to these changes had far reaching consequences on their political history and to the relations between them and the colonial power.

2.4 The Bukusu Relations with Neighbouring Communities

Since their settlement in the present day Bungoma district, the Babukusu have lived in close proximity with both the Luyia and non-Luyia communities in and outside Kenya. Our discussion here highlights on the Babukusu relations with those communities that contributed to the emergence and development of their nationalistic spirit.

We have already argued that the Bukusu political organisation was based on sovereign clans which were conscious of having sprung originally from a common ancestor and which were inter-connected by bonds of inter-marriage as well as by common practices and beliefs in such a way that they considered themselves as a unit in contrast to surrounding groups with which they did not maintain such bonds. The interactions between the Babukusu and their neighbours helped to give the Babukusu a distinct character as a people and is, therefore, necessary for an understanding of the development of nationalism among them.

One such Bukusu interaction was with the Bamasaba and the Bagishu. These two sub-ethnic groups live to the West and Northwest of the Babukusu in the present Eastern province of Uganda. In spite of their separation by the colonial artificial boundary, the Babukusu have had and shared a corporate past for several centuries with these two communities. Besides,

similarities in language, semblances among the three communities can be found in such cultural aspects as codes of conduct, marriage customs, circumcision traditions and even folklore (Makila 1978:45, Walumbe, O.I, 1999).

The political relations between these communities both in the pre-colonial and colonial times were largely determined by their linguistic, ethical and genealogical relationship. In times of war or calamity, they were good allies (Watima, Walumbe, O.I, 1999). The Bukusu oral accounts relate only family quarrels between the three communities, but never at any time mention of an all-out ethnic confrontation. In the event of a family quarrel, the dispute was quickly settled by elders from both communities before it degenerated into an open confrontation. However, in the event of an open confrontation the quarrels were settled not by the use of sharp weapons but merely by the use of sticks and clubs (Wekesa, O.I, 1999).

Several Bukusu clans are duplicated among Bagishu and Bamasaba who are referred to as "our cousins" among the Babukusu. Intermarriages among the communities are highly approved in traditional circles. It is this close relationship between them that prompted Makila (1978:46) to argue that if the Babukusu are Baluyia by virtue of their geographical circumstance, they are first and foremost members of a duplex community incorporating the Bamasaba by virtue of a historical circumstance.

The Babukusu relations with her Eastern Uganda 'cousins' is important in the understanding of nationalism in colonial Kenya in general and Bukusuland in particular. The agitation by the Babukusu to be incorporated in Uganda together with her 'cousins' because of the harsh colonial taxation policies can be understood in this light. Similarly, the activities of

Dini Ya Musambwa under Elijah Masinde in the 1940's and those of the Bukusu Union and their rapid spread in Eastern Uganda should be understood in the light of the close relations between the three communities.

The Babukusu also developed relations with the Batachoni and the Bakabras who are found to the east and South East of the Babukusu respectively, and the Bawanga and the Batura who lie to the South and South West respectively. In the colonial period, poor communication networks tended to cut off the Babukusu from other Abaluyia of present Kakamega District, but this did not mean lack of interaction. Moreover, the Babukusu maintained a close contact with other Abaluyia groups from present day Busia district, including the Banyala, Bamarachi, Bakhayo and the Basamia.

Relations between the Babukusu, the Batachoni and the Bakabras were friendly. Apart from engaging in barter trading activities, especially during times of scarcity, they also contracted marriages. Indeed, Were (1967b:86) argues that the three communities often allied to ward off Nandi raids. The three communities have had a close relationship both in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. It is this same unity that enabled the Babukusu and the Batachoni to join hands and fight the British colonial forces in the famous Lumboka-Chetambe war of 1895 (Manguliechi, Khachonga, O.I, 1999).

Apart from their social, economic and political relations the three communities also share certain cultural practices (Shilaro, 1991:45). They attach great significance to circumcision although the Bakabras and the Batachoni also practised clitoridectomy. Another cultural feature, common to the three communities, is the sacred tree which serves as the

religious shrine, omutoto (Ficus anibeba) (Ibid.). It is also agreed that the three communities also had similarities in the way they offered their sacrifices and conducted marriage rituals (Manguliechi, Keya, O.I, 1999).

This cultural interaction between the three communities was not only significant in the pre-colonial period, but also during colonial domination. It underlay their common cultural resistance against colonial rule and its policies, which determinedly restructured their common cultural history by introducing foreign ideas and values.

Relations between the Babukusu, the Bakhayo, the Bamarachi, the Banyala and the Basamia neighbours in the present day Busia district were mainly limited to trading, although occasionally they contracted marriages (Namulala, O.I, 1999). The Babukusu bartered grain for mats or *kimikeka* and *kamachambi*, which the communities are said to have obtained from their Luo neighbours from the Lake Victoria region. However, some individual Bukusu traders obtained these items directly from the Luo and did not, therefore, rely on these middlemen. The Basamia are particularly known to have brought to the Babukusu a certain type of hoe with a long metal plate which became very popular among the latter community. It is even said that at one time bride price was paid in terms of these Samia hoes or *Chimbako Chisamia* (Keya, O.I, 1999).

These communities also allied together in the pre-colonial times to ward off the Luo and the Iteso raids. It is because of such raids and, especially, of the Teso on the Babukusu that the Bamarachi are today still referred to as "our uncles". (Were 1967b: 135; Makila 1978: 184; Wangwe, O.I, 1999). However, the Banyala because of their poor treatment of the

Babukusu are still highly despised. The Bakhayo men were highly despised for not practising circumcision which the Babukusu claim is an influence from their Luo neighbours (Wangwe, Namulala, O.I, 1999).

Relations between the Babukusu, the Bawanga and the Batura were limited to trading activities. With the former, the Babukusu exchanged cattle and grains for Arab merchandise, such as bangles and beads. This trade characterised the second half of the nineteenth century and the opening decades of the twentieth century (KNA, DC/NN/3/2/2). The Bawanga are, however, despised for having taken an upper hand in the trade and having cheated the Babukusu out of their cattle (Khachonga, O.I, 1999). Such suspicious relations characterised their form of interaction throughout the colonial period where the Bawanga were referred to by a demeaning name, the "Biwanga". With the Batura, the Babukusu exchanged grains and cattle products for mats, which the former acquired from their neighbours. Both the Batura and the Bawanga were looked down upon for being susceptible to famine (Keya, O.I, 1999).

The three communities are also said to have fought over land in the nineteenth century along their common borders (Were, 1967b: 89; Makila 1978:211; Nasimiyu 1979/80:6; Wesonga, 1982:9; Keya, O.I, 1999). It is this constant fight over land that made the Bawanga to ally with foreigners, including the British in the hope of gaining an upper hand in the conflict. Leaders from both communities concluded treaties in an effort to stem out these rivalries, while at the same time marriage arrangements were contracted to ensure peaceful co-existence. In the colonial period, the issue of land alienation and Wanga domination over Bukusuland, especially in Kimilili and Malakisi areas, formed the basis of the Bukusu nationalism. The same

hatred and suspicion over land made the Batura distrust their inclusion in one location under a Bukusu chief during colonial rule, and resulted in their constant agitation for a location and a chief of their own.

Relations between the Babukusu and other present Kakamega Luyia sub-groups, including the Banyala, the Batsotso, the Bakisa, the Batiriki, the Babesukha, the Babedakho, the Baragoli were largely minimal although some substantial amount of trade and intermarriage took place. The Banyala are particularly known to have interacted with the Babukusu in exchanging services of men with great arts and skills, for example, medicimen and rainmakers (Namulala, Manguliechi, O.I, 1999).

However, the relations between the Babukusu and the Bamia, as the Iteso were called, were characterised by hostility. The hostility resulted from quarrels over land, cattle raids and the Iteso's overwhelming desire to demonstrate their military prowess by inflicting defeats on their neighbours (Were 1967a: 54). The Iteso, between 1840 and 1950, while arriving from Uganda, are said to have attacked and dislodged the Babukusu from areas around Tororo, Malaba, Amukura, Mwalie and Malakisi (Wesonga, 1982:11). These defeats by the Iteso made the Babukusu to militarily re-organize themselves under Mukite Wa Nameme who called back the Babukusu that had fled their land and taken refuge elsewhere (Were, 1967a:134; Makila 1978:184; Nasimiyu 1979/80:10; Walumbe, O.I, 1999). After their military re-organization, and the introduction of new fighting techniques, the Babukusu humiliated the Iteso and recaptured their land, and the Iteso henceforth learnt to respect the former's territorial claims (Situma, O.I, 1999).

The Babukusu-Iteso relations in the pre-colonial times signified the preparedness at which the former community was determined to protect their property and their social, political, economic and cultural freedom in the face of foreign domination. This determined later their response to the British intrusion and domination. It also served as a warning to the other Bukusu enemies that they had to seek a different approach in dealing with the Babukusu. It is from this background that we can explain the readiness with which the Wanga welcomed first the Arab-Swahilis with guns, and later the British. The Bukusu-Iteso relations during the colonial period can also be understood by looking at this enmity in their past history.

In these panoply of relations, the Babukusu also developed relations with the Kalenjin-speaking peoples, especially, those who lived near the slopes of the Mount Elgon, for example, the Kony (el konyi), the Bongoimek (Bangóma) and the Bok (Balako). These communities have interacted with the Babukusu for a long time. Were (1967a:47) argues that their impact on the history of the Abaluyia was determined by geographical and demographic reasons.

It was revealed that whilst still living in Sirikwa, the Babukusu enjoyed long periods of harmony with their Kalenjin neighbours (Wangwe, O.I, 1999). However, due to their immense cattle wealth and prosperous agriculture, they were sometimes not only admired but also envied by their Kalenjin neighbours. This led to constant raids on the Bukusu cattle and crops - a cause of their migration from Sirikwa (Namulala, O.I, 1999). But, one achievement of this contact at Sirikwa was that Babukusu military techniques were modified as they adopted the use of the Kalenjin weaponry like spears and shields. They also started the technology of

building forts for the purposes of defence against surprise Kalenjin attacks (Makila, 1978:42; Nasimiyu, 1979/80:7). These developments indicate that the Babukusu were conscious of their freedoms and wanted to protect their independence from foreigners. This realisation was most significant during colonial rule.

It should be noted that during times of peaceful co-existence the two communities engaged in barter trade. There were inter-marriages as well - a practice, which continued after the Babukusu had settled in the present day Bungoma district. Some of the Bukusu clans in fact claim to have originated from the Kalenjins (Manguliechi, Walumbe, O.I, 1999). The existence of the close contact between the two communities is also supported by relics of cultural practices, like circumcision and the cyclic age-sets, which are common amongst the Kalenjin. This occasional harmony and sometimes open conflict characterised the Bukusu Kalenjin relations during the colonial period.

2.5 Summary

In the preceding chapter, we have examined aspects of the Bukusu pre-colonial history as a basis for our analysis into their participation in Kenya's nationalist struggle. Although an emphasis was laid on the central role played by traditional political institutions, we also observed the relationship this had with other social, economic and cultural spheres and how such relations in turn fostered the functioning, prosperity and perpetuation of the identity of the people.

While reflecting on the Babukusu reaction to their universe and surroundings, we demonstrated how in their early history of origin, migration and settlement, they effectively rose to become a cohesive society towards the end of the nineteenth century. This, they did, as we noted earlier through the traditional institutions which regulated all forms of interaction in the society and therefore ensured prosperity. These institutions had proved satisfactory to the Babukusu in their areas of origin and during the various migrations. They were in time, however, blended to conform to new developments arising from both internal and external sources. These included threats from neighbouring communities, and demographic and economic prosperity from within. Their effective control, management and manipulation of the new developments to their advantage saw them emerge as a large and cohesive sub-nation on the eve of the British intrusion.

In terms of theory, we note that there are some tenable propositions from Marxism, which can help in analysing the pre-colonial history of the Babukusu. Although much of the Marxist influence has been evident in the study of colonialism, the data adduced from the above analysis of the social, economic and political character of the Bukusu pre-colonial society can benefit a lot from the Marxist reflections. The analysis of the social character of the society provides a picture of a growing social differentiation emanating from the penetration of various forms of capital. Merchant capital began its penetration of the Bukusu pre-colonial social formation prior to the establishment of the colonial state. At this stage in the Bukusu history, there were no sharp class differences despite the dynamic impact of the Arab-Swahili merchant capital in occasioning some social differentiation. Resistance to the Wanga, the Iteso and other

threats within this period cannot be reduced to a mere class phenomenon, as the concept of class struggle would portray it. The identification of the mode of production or the social formation in terms of the manner in which persons in positions of authority appropriate labour and the products of labour makes the Marxist methodology relevant despite the need, to minimise the role of class conflict. Its use opens avenues for examining ideology as a system of thought that reinforces and reproduces a particular mode or the entire social formation in the manner portrayed in the chapter.

That the traditional institutions among the Babukusu ensured continuity and prosperity of the community has also been demonstrated. Their political institutions whose ideology was based on clan gerontocracy, religious beliefs and practices ensured the progress of the community in all spheres of life within their environment. Their political structure was self-governing and through mechanisms of conflict resolution, both peacefully and militarily ensured their survival as a community. Inequalities of power and privilege among different classes were diffused within the well-laid down political structure.

The role of neighbours and the Bukusu innovativeness and adaptation were observed. Their response to the neighbours was not characterised by resistance and employment of violence in defence of their value paternalism as postcolonial theorists would argue, the theorists merely reduces peasant consciousness to trade union consciousness. Rather, the Bukusu response was based on the particular nature of interaction and on the need for their survival as a community. The post-colonial theory, therefore, which revolves around the educated elite as the articulators of identity in a feat of resistance by colonial subjects does not

adequately offer an appropriate analysis of the Bukusu pre-colonial history. Indeed, the theory does not recognize the existence of resistance in the pre-colonial societies.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 ASPECTS OF THE BUKUSU ECONOMY, RELIGION AND EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines aspects of the Bukusu economy, religion and education. It emphasises the central role the environment played in determining the economic base, religious activities and education among the Babukusu. On the Bukusu economy, the chapter shows how the environment determined the people's mode of production and productive forces, and how the Bukusu innovativeness and adaptation helped them to overcome the challenges of the environment. It further examines the factor of Arab-Swahili merchant capital and its impact on the development of Bukusu nationalism. The people's indigenous religion and education are highlighted and shown as essential institutions that ensured the maintenance and reproduction of the entire social order and hence cementing the cohesion and viability of the society.

3.2 The Economy of the Babukusu

The Bukusu economic base in the pre-colonial times, and their whole range of economic activities were influenced by the environment in which they lived. The favourable physical environment in which they lived enabled them to develop a highly productive system in both farming and animal husbandry. This system was geared towards subsistence and the activities involved were harmonised by a structural relation that existed between the political and economic systems.

Land formed the focus of social relations. As a major means of production, land in the pre-colonial Bukusu society was communally owned. It was generally observed that land belonged to the whole community in that the community controlled its allocation and disposal (Keya, O.I., 1999). Individual members of the community may have had exclusive rights over portions allocated to them, but such rights were restricted to the rights of access and the use of that land (KNA, DC/NN/10/1,1940). The communal land tenure system recognised the fact that certain sections of the individual allocations were open for use by the entire community, for instance grazing fields (*chikewa*), the uncleared forest and those parts yet cultivated. The other members of the family and clan could freely graze their cattle in an individual's field. This was effective in the pre-colonial period, because the people who occupied one fort grazed their animals together for purposes of security. Members of the family or clan therefore utilised common grazing fields, salt licks (*Kumusole* and *bilongo*) and streams of water for animals.

Since land constituted an integral part of the political, economic and social life of the society, its organisation was vital. At the level of the clan, a clan elder 'omukasa' determined the clan's access to the land. Each fort had its own portion of land and all inhabitants of one fort farmed in one area chosen for them by the head of the fort. However, once land was under cultivation, the clan leader had no control over it whatsoever. On certain occasions, the leader could only summon clansmen to clear uncultivated land to meet the threat of famine. He could also with similar approval forbid clansmen from cultivating a certain piece of land on the fringes of a common clan land (Bode, 1978:48; Keya, O.I., 1999). Each man had a plot to cultivate in the communal land and he got his share according

to the number of wives he had. The Bukusu rights of inheritance and ownership of land made it impossible for a woman to inherit property or land (Nasimiyu, 1982:6). Kinship relations controlled the access of groups and individuals to the conditions of production and sources of production. Meek (1946) makes the following observations, which are relevant in understanding the land tenure system in pre-colonial Bukusuland:

> Summing up the main characteristics of indigenous system of land-holding, it may be said generally that these are devised to meet the needs of a subsistence system of agriculture and depend on a sufficiency of land to allow a rotation which includes a long period of fallow. Land is held on (a) kinship and/or (b) a local group basis. Individuals have definite rights, but these are qualified by 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 chief is the custodian of land, but not its owner. The normal unit of land ownership is the extended family or kindred. Land once granted to the family remains the property of that family and the chief has no right to any say in its disposal (Meek, 1946:26-27).

The early European travellers in the region observed that South of the Mount Elgon, the Bukusu were already a true agricultural "tribe" and that they are great cattle keepers (Hobley, cited in Nasimiyu, 1982). The main crops that were grown included eleusine (bulo), sorghum (kamaemba), green grams (chibalayo), simsim (chikhanu), bananas, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, tobacco and vegetables which included *chisaka*, pumpkins, '*murere*' and '*kimiro*' (Nasimiyu, 1982, :9-10).

There was little incentive to produce surplus. However, there existed some appreciable amount of trade. This trade was conducted either on large scale or on a small more localised scale. The Bukusu individual traders became well known and some were

able to transform their prowess into political and military power-wielding (Wekesa, O.I., 1999). The system of exchange was based on barter trade (Ogutu, 1979:26). Traditional market areas were not established institutions, but were irregular arrangements.

Although each individual family was self-sufficient in producing most of its needs, specialisation in production and division of labour in the pre-colonial Bukusu society militated against exchanges at the local and regional levels. At the clan level, there were some clans, which were specialised in iron working for instance. They made swords, spears, arrows and other implements from locally smelted iron. The presence of iron ore in Bukusuland is corroborated by Fredrick Jackson who travelled through the Bukusu territory from Mumias to Mt. Elgon in 1889. He says;

> In Kitosh (Bukusuland) there is a fair amount of iron ore of a quality the natives much prefer to the ordinary trade wire, it is more malleable and easier to work, and outside every occupied village we passed there was one or more smelting furnaces (cited in Wesonga, 1982:5).

Apart from smithing, which some of the Bukusu clans restricted to themselves by heredity and also guarded jealously, other products of labour included pottery, basketry, wood carving, and leather work. While referring to the whole of Buluyia Burt (1981:199) notes that in the 19th century, wood-carving was a full-fledged occupation for the producers and so was basketry.

The central role cattle occupied in the Bukusu economy need not be over-emphasised. They were used in the payment of bride wealth and in other feasts. The Babukusu also kept goats and sheep. Livestock was an indication of wealth and, therefore,

an important part of the traditional political economy. Subsistence exchange activities also included pastoral products. This in essence characterised the traditional Bukusu economy.

This Bukusu economy before the advent of colonial rule was geared towards subsistence and was self-sufficing to the needs of the people. But, with the coming of the British, the Babukusu were integrated into the colonial system of domination, extraction and control. The process of incorporation was to be characterised by loss, imposition and adaptation on the part of the Babukusu people. In the event of this, collision and confrontation between the colonising forces and the indigenous forces became a noticeable feature of relations. The penetration of commodity relations in a more or less systematic fashion was to destroy the traditional economy as the colonial state organised the conditions of exploiting the Bukusu labour and land. The former subsistence economy was thus transformed into a mixed-subsistence exchange economy. This on the whole necessitated the breaking of the reproductive cycle of the systems of the traditional economy and had a direct impact on the political relations between the Babukusu and the British in the colonial period.

3.3 The Babukusu Relations with the Arab-Swahili Traders

A political and economic history of East Africa will be incomplete without a study of the activities of Arab-Swahili traders and their impact on the communities of this region (Wolff, 1974:46). Beginning with the region of Seyyid Said in Zanzibar in 1806, the Arab and Swahili traders organised extensive slave raiding and ivory gathering towns into the interior of East Africa. By this time, the Babukusu had established a wealthy and

militaristic society, extending between Tororo in Uganda and Trans Nzioa district in Kenya (Makila, 1982:190; Namulala, O.I., 1999). Of significance to them at this time was to defend the lives, property, liberty and independence of this large society from any external threats. The prosperity of the community through peaceful co-existence, trade and exchange was also paramount. These factors greatly determined their response to the coming of Arab-Swahili traders who traversed their territory.

The first Arab-Swahili traders arrived in Buluyia in the 1850's (Gimode, 1993:115). The traders found the Wanga chief Shiundu, and later his son Mumia and his people very hospitable and as a result established their headquarters amongst these Wanga friends (Mutoro, 1976:5, Keya, O.I. 1999). The hospitality of the Wanga was, however, hinged on their security from external threats, especially, their Babukusu neighbours. It was in the interest of the Wanga that the visitors were welcomed and be "used", especially, given their weaponry advantage in the form of guns (Murunga, 1998:71). The prevailing relations between the Babukusu and the Bawanga, therefore, helped cement the relations between the Bawanga and the Arab-Swahili traders. In exchange for shelter, ivory and slaves, the Arab-Swahili traders had guns and extra-manpower to repulse the Wanga enemies (Ibid.).

While security was central to the Bawanga welcome of the Arab-Swahilis, the latter's interest in trade was much more paramount, and they hoped that the newly found hospitality would enhance their realisation of the trade objective. Apart from guns, ivory and slaves, rhino horns, copper wire, clothes, beads were also important items of trade and exchange (KNA DC/EN 3/2/4-1930). However, not all these items could be found amongst the Abawanga and, especially, so for ivory whose demand was on an increase at

the coast. It was sold at a much higher profit at the coast to the Indian and the new incoming European mercantile traders. The need for these traders to traverse the Bukusu territory to gain access to large sources of ivory in the Mount Elgon area, therefore, underlay the Arab-Swahili's initial objective (Wafula, Nabangi, O.I., 1999).

The Arab-Swahili concept of trade was, however, different from the traditional African peoples idea of trade. In terms of acquiring slaves for instance, the physical exercise of power using force defined their means of acquiring them. This is what the gun represented (Murunga 1998:75). Mumias otherwise locally referred to as Elureko became the launching pad for the activities of these Arab-Swahili traders. They exploited local jealousies and differences; intrigued with the local rulers and their communities; stirred up disorder and violence with a view to capturing the victims; pretended to be friendly and accepted hospitality only to become treacherous to their meaning hosts and through these guileful and other more loathsome means, captured the villagers and their property and proceeded coastwards (Were, 1967a:144). These activities of capturing slaves from Bukusuland greatly increased enmity between the Babukusu and the Bawanga, with the former accusing the latter of colluding with their brutal enemies. The Babukusu who never thought of selling their kinsmen as slaves were aggrieved with these raiding activities. Being exposed to virtual annihilation as a community, they became less amenable to strangers, especially those who happened to come from the Mumias direction. Their attitude towards the British who came into Bukusuland later from the Mumias direction can be understood in this context.

To counter these incessant activities from the Arab-Swahili traders coming from the Mumias direction, the Bukusu clans living on the borders with the Bawanga maintained their occupation of forts. Their policy of remaining in the forts and barricading the gateways was both wise and necessary for in such difficult days it behoved every citizen to be on the alert. However, with time, this method proved ineffective (Nabangi, O.I., 1999). Notorious traders, in the likes of Sudi of Pangani and Abdulla bin Hamid of Mombasa persistently organised slave raids from their station at Mumias. To curb this, the Babukusu began launching successful raids against slave caravans until the obvious conflict of interests reached a flash point in about 1878 (Makila, 1982:192). Around that date, Babukusu are said to have decimated a party of about 50 slavers and snatched their guns. In retaliation, the Arab and Swahili traders stationed at Mumias together with their Wanga allies sent out an expeditionary force of 1,500 soldiers to invade Bukusuland. In a surprise attack, they surrounded the Bukusu villages destroying houses and granaries, killing thousands of men and women, ripping open women who were pregnant, throwing helpless infants into huge bonfires, and capturing young boys and girls into slavery (Makila Ibid., Namulala, O.I.1999/KNA DC/EN/3/2/4).

The overall impact of these consistent slave-raiding activities on the Babukusu was disastrous. They disrupted the economic structure and activities of the people. The removal and displacement of people often denied the community the labour power and security necessary for the agricultural output essential to their survival (See Rodney, 1989). There was also the weakening of their defensive potential. It is argued that their later defeat by the British in the Lumboka-Chetambe war of 1895 would, perhaps, have been delayed or

even reversed had it not been for the severe impact of the Arab-Swahili slave traders (Namulala O..I., 1999).

The most significant element of this Arab-Swahili contact with the Babukusu was, however, the latter's exposure to fire arms and their realisation that fire arms would offer them an advantage in the effort to defend their security, independence and prosperity. This realisation was behind the occasional raid on caravans by the Babukusu. They did this with an objective of obtaining guns. However, this was by no means the only method for obtaining the guns. Wily captives and deserters used to smuggle guns to the Babukusu in exchange for food and cattle (Makila, 1982:195). The overall impact of this was an increase in the number of guns in the hands of the Babukusu, an element that became crucial in their initial contact with the British.

Some of the Bukusu clans were most affected by the Arab-Swahili raids than others. There were those clans whose elders (Bakasa) exercised close relations with Mumia and were, therefore, spared from the atrocities of the slave traders (Khachonga, O.I., 1999). In such incidences the Bawanga determined where and when to raid the Bukusu territories for slaves by the Arab-Swahili traders. One such Bukusu clan that was spared was the Bakhone living around Kabula near the border between the Bawanga and the Babukusu. Their elder Namachanja Khisa, and later his son Sudi Namachanja, maintained close links with the Bawanga and their Arab-Swahili friends. It is argued that Namachanja Khisa married two Wanga wives, one of whom was the daughter of Sakwa uncle of Nabongo Mumia and ruler of Wanga Mukulu to seal this relationship (Wafula, 1996:44). This marriage made Namachanja to establish a son-in-law relationship with

Mumia and the Bawanga in general. This friendly contact became very significant in the sphere of trade, especially, among the Bakhone and the Bawanga. It was also important for the later choice of Namachanja Khisa's son Sudi by the British as the chief of the Babukusu (Makila, 1978:206-215, Namulala, O.I., 1999).

Notably, one greatest achievement of these friendly clans was that they enhanced peaceful penetration of Arab-Swahili caravan through Bukusuland and, therefore, enabled the Arab-Swahili traders to accomplish their trade ambitions. These caravan routes were significant later with the coming of the Europeans who ventured into the interior. They also ensured the diffusion into Bukusuland of Islamic and Swahili values, especially among the friendly clans. But, the importance of trade must be emphasised, especially, after the sudden abolition of slave trade in the 1880's and 1890's. Trade goods, such as clothes, beads, cloves, necklaces and iron ornaments became readily available to the Babukusu. Commenting on the importance of these items, especially necklaces among the Bukusu girls, Robert M la Follete reported that;

> girls were delighted to be able to get necklaces and wire for neck rings, the ardonments that they could wear when dancing at weddings, for a girl who did not come wearing these things would not dance well with warriors (KNA, DC/EN/3/2/4-1930).

From the economic point of view therefore, the penetration of new trade goods was a function of the interests of merchant capital. Traditional Bukusu subsistence oriented trade which had remained closely associated with subsistence agricultural production and pastoral commodities began giving way to the newer economic activities. These changes

had a dramatic impact on the Bukusu politics, especially, in their later response to the British during colonial rule.

But, whereas the Arab-Swahili trading activities impacted greatly on the social, economic and political life of the Babukusu, as has been pointed out, two significant features of this contact need to be emphasised, given their direct bearing on the Bukusu politics both in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. These are, their creation of enmity between the various Bukusu clans and the acquisition of guns by the Babukusu.

It was revealed that the alliance between some of the Bukusu clans with the Bawanga and the Arab-Swahili traders was not calmly received by others (Nabangi, Nabutola, O.I., 1999). Some clan elders among the Babukusu and even ordinary people who had fallen victims to the acts of the Arab-Swahili's openly accused their fellow Bukusu clan elders of colluding with the enemies. Namachanja of the Bakhone clan became quite unpopular among many Bukusu clans (Wafula, 1996:46). The latter genuinely felt that there was no business for Namachanja to ally with Mumia who had welcomed their enemies. They also accused him of colluding with Mumia to cheat and rob the Babukusu of their cattle (Makila, 1978:210), Nabutola, O.I., 1999).

Due to the belief that Namachanja was involved in the heinous acts over his fellow Bukusu, clans like the Balwonja, the Bayundo, the Baengele, the Batecho, the Bamuyonga and Balunda developed great enemity with Namachanja himself and his Bakhone clan in general (Wafula 1996:46). This enemity becomes important when examining the response of different clans to the colonialists. It further explains why Namachanja later worked even

more closely with Mumia, especially, after the coming of the British so that they could contain this opposition. This also applies to his son, Sudi who later took over from him.

The issue of acquiring guns by the Babukusu is equally important. Nabongo Mumia who was wary of the guns getting to his Bukusu enemies restricted their sale to them so that he could monopolise their sale and use (Murunga, 1998:80). This is why the Babukusu, as pointed out earlier, sought to gain access to these guns through illegal means including for example ambushing caravans or through deserters. Independent Arab-Swahili traders who traversed the Bukusu territory to gain access to ivory in the Mount Elgon area also willingly sold the guns to the Babukusu (Namulala, O.I., 1999). In such cases, the Babukusu who already knew the advantage of this new technology exchanged their precious cattle and foodstuff for the guns. Their need for guns from the Arab-Swahili traders became so critical that one elder, Mukholi Nenga who had no cattle to exchange for guns is said to have "sold" his daughter to buy a gun (KNA/DC/EN/3/2/4).

The propitious nature of Bukusuland to the Arab-Swahili traders, reached a point where the latter began to rely less on their Bawanga hosts. In turn, the Bawanga reliance on the Arab-Swahili merchants for security was becoming unreliable because they were frequently out of Mumias. This is the reason why Mumia welcomed new forces - the British at Mumias (Murunga, 1998:93). However, when the British imperialists established their administrative base at Mumias in the 1890's, the Babukusu had acquired a lot of guns through their dealings with the Arab-Swahili traders who criss-crossed their country. They were ready to use the same guns to protect their property, liberty and independence from

external enemies, including the Bawanga and the British as it happened during the Lumboka-Chetambe war of 1895 as will be shown later.

Although official records seem to suggest that the Babukusu had about 50 to 60 rifles by the time the war broke out at Lumboka, it is most probable that the number of guns in their hands was close to about 1,000 (Makila, 1982:195, Keya, O.I., 1999). It is interesting to note that although guns were no longer accessible to the Babukusu following the Battle of Lumboka in 1895, the administration was able to collect over 600 rifles from the Babukusu in June 1908 (Ibid.).

Instructively, the relations between the Babukusu and the Arab-Swahili traders had far reaching social, economic and political impacts on the lives of the Babukusu and in their dealings with neighbouring communities, especially the Bawanga. What, however, needs to be emphasised in these relations was the Bukusu acquisition of guns and the enmity between the various Bukusu clans which had great ramifications on the community's political history in the colonial period.

3.4 Religious activities among the Babukusu

The word religion here will be defined as the acceptance of obligations towards powers higher than man. It is used to describe man's relations with the divine or supernatural powers as well as the various organised systems of belief and worship in which these relations have been expressed (Were, 1974:183; Mwanzi, 1977:114).

Among the Babukusu, religious norms, sanctions and obligations permeated the social, political and economic spheres and were intricately tied together. In the traditional

Bukusu society, it was generally believed that good relationship with the supernatural being guaranteed the whole community happiness and the security needed for prosperity. In politics, for instance, religiously derived rules and beliefs legitimised rule by elders and brought about consent of the other members of the society. Religion in this case seems to have effectively promoted cohesion not only in the political sphere but also in all other aspects of interrelations in the society.

The Babukusu believed in one god *Wele Khakaba,* meaning god the provider who is believed to be the creator of the universe, the earth and the forces operative in it. The attributes of '*Wele Khakaba'* were goodness, purity, impartiality, love and generosity. He was believed to be responsible for rains, crops and plants, fertility in animals, soils, human beings and general wealth. The Babukusu prayed to him every morning by spitting towards the rising sun and in the evening by spitting towards the setting sun and uttering pleas for whatever they wanted (Nasimiyu, 1997, Waliaula, O.I., 1999).

Whereas '*Wele Khakaba'* was supreme, the Babukusu also believed in two other gods, *'Wele Murumwa'* and *'Wele Mukhobe'*. *'Wele Murumwa'* or god the messenger was believed to be *'Wele Khakaba's'* messenger in the Bukusu traditional society. *'Wele Khakaba'* send Wele Murumwa to prophets, rulers and peace-makers. In the dispensation of their various duties therefore, it was believed that these elders used the wisdom, intelligence and guidance provided by *'Wele Murumwa'* who was sent to deliver these qualities. He spoke to them through dreams and at times through visions. It should be noted here, therefore, that religion played a central role in sanctioning the social categories in the Bukusu society and justified them as being 'natural and sacred'. The difference

between the rulers and the ruled was taken to be the work of god who spoke to the rulers and bestowed them with the power to rule justly, wisely and intelligently. In this way religion played a stabilising role in the Bukusu society by not only enhancing unity between the elders and people, but also in reducing possible social conflicts that might arise between them.

The other god '*Wele Mukhobe*' is believed to have been responsible for war and peace (Waliaula, Wangwe, O.I., 1999). Warriors used to pray to '*Wele Mukhobe*' before going to war. He was also responsible for peace in that He advised rulers through dreams and visions, which came through departed ancestors. When a peace treaty was sealed, He was invoked so that he could guarantee peace to last. Peace was therefore a central concern in Bukusu religious practice for it enhanced the prosperity of the community (Simiyu, 1997).

Apart from peace the Bukusu traditional religion seemed to have recognised the divine trinity which was headed by '*Wele Khakaba*' as the Supreme Being and below him were messenger gods '*Wele Murumwa*' and '*Wele Mukhobe*'. According to Makila (1982:173) this divine hierarchy had certain anthropomorphic features, because a person would pray to god and talk to him as if he was talking to a fellow human being. This was very significant in their day to day lives.

Another important element of the Bukusu traditional religion was the role played by ancestral spirits. They were primarily regarded as influential and authoritative agents. They constituted the media through which the living approached '*Wele*' (god) (Were, 1973:190). The Babukusu belief in life after death gave rise to the idea that though a man might die

physically, he would all the same continue to protect and care for his family, relatives and friends. The ancestors were invoked to keep evil forces away and their anger was held accountable for misfortunes. This seems to agree with the observation made by Burt (1980:23) on the role of ancestors. He notes that the ancestors operate possibly in a protective capacity but by withdrawing their favours they may, however, allow evil to befall their descendants.

The ancestors could intervene, either on their own account or on behalf of '*Wele*'. They interfered in the affairs of the living but not without a cause (Waliaula, O.I., 1999). This contrasts the views of Shackleton who alleges that spirits caused misfortune and were not a potential source of assistance (KNA, DC/NN/3/2/. 2-1931). The ancestors in the Bukusu traditional society put across their demands through dreams or would cause an illness or a misfortune as an indication that they wanted a certain sin righted. If no heed was taken, these illnesses or misfortunes were believed to result in death. An *'omung'oosi'* (seer, diviner) interpreted the wishes of the ancestors to ordinary people and once their wishes were known they were always carried out. By so doing the people established closer relations with benevolent spirits by regular sacrifices, imploring protection and help (Wagner, 1970:277).

Ancestral spirits among the Babukusu were considered to be right no matter how unreasonable their behaviour might seem (Wafula, 1997:30). To break ties with ancestors was, therefore, tantamount to threatening the living community with destruction. The prosperity and well being of individuals, families and the entire community was linked to the favourable treatment of ancestors (Waliaula, Keya, O.I., 1999).

Apart from unity, prosperity and well being of the Bukusu community, which was enhanced by the belief in the power of the ancestral spirits, the latter also had a direct bearing on the Bukusu politics. The peoples' belief in life after death reinforced the domination of elders over other members through regulations, which gave them a monopoly over ritual power. The elders in the traditional Bukusu society monopolised functional roles as diviners, ritual specialists and were generally worshipped by virtue of their supposed closeness to the spirits of the dead. This was enhanced by their possession of the power of the curse, which was believed to be great (Bode, 1978:4). Religious beliefs revolving around ornamentation, some crafts, warfare and death which the elders controlled fostered unity and continuity in the Bukusu traditional society. Other specialised activities were also controlled through a system of rules and regulations which were believed to have been religiously sanctioned. As Burt (1980:37) notes, these rules determined eligibility of apprenticeship, the distribution of practitioners and socially acceptable ritual and personal behaviour.

While the ancestral spirits were the living supernatural link between '*Wele*' and man, and therefore kept influencing the affairs of man, such entities as the sun, the moon, mountains and many more were regarded as mysterious physical agencies through which God manifested Himself in a variety of ways. These things were not adored at all but were seen as supreme expressions of the omnipresence, omniscience and omnipotence of God. Therefore, the dynamism in the Bukusu religious system and beliefs is apparent.

Another major element of the Bukusu belief was a strictly observed body of taboos. Indeed, the Bukusu traditional oral, political, legal and social values were principally

guarded by a whole range of taboos which held the society together. A violation of any of these taboos was generally believed to cause harm to the offender. However, the taboos could be evaded by certain ritual observances (Makila, 1978:89, Keya, O.I., 1999). Taboos had a religious and political significance of maintaining societal standards. They stimulated or prescribed common socially approved behaviour. These were important ingredients in the fostering, and sustaining the unity of the community. The sense of doing right or wrong was sensitively developed and at the same time intricately intertwined with the people's moral, political, legal and social values.

In a nutshell, therefore, the centrality of the Bukusu traditional religious thoughts and beliefs lay in their role, that was geared towards maintaining cohesion and viability in the society. This was however, not to remain so with the intrusion of the colonial imperialist ideology. This was because colonialism deepened social differentiation among the Babukusu. The result was the emergence of social categories whose interests, activities and struggles were highly polarised. This epitomised an extra ordinary complex social structure and field of social struggle (Johnson, 1982:246). This in turn impacted greatly on the colonial politics in Bukusuland.

3.5 The Bukusu Indigenous Education

Education being a whole process by which one generation transmits its culture to the succeeding generation or better still a process by which people are prepared to live effectively and efficiently in their environment was developed long before the coming of Arabs and Europeans in Africa (Sifuna, 1990:3). The colonizers did not, therefore,

introduce education in Africa, but instead introduced a new set of formal institutions, which partly supplemented and partly replaced those which were there before (Rodney, 1989:263). The colonial system also stimulated values and practices, which amounted to new informal and formal education.

African indigenous education varied from one African society to another and can therefore, only be understood within the context of the particular society for which it was designed to serve. According to Ocitti (1973:1) education and society are interdependent. It is society, which gets and sets the goals which education follows. The social, political and economic systems of any one society were passed down to the younger generations through an indigenous system of education pertinent to that society.

The indigenous education system among the Babukusu can mainly be understood within a wider context of the Luyia indigenous education. However, although it had some characteristic features resembling those of other Luyia sub-ethnic groups and to some extent those of other Kenyan communities in general, its goals can largely be adequately grasped when examining the Bukusu community in particular.

Among the Babukusu, indigenous education was a socio-economic and cultural institution whose central idea was to conserve the groups' cultural heritage, adapt the young to their environment, teach them how to exploit their environment and emphasise that the future of the society depended on the perpetuation of ethnic institutions, laws, language and values handed down to them from their ancestors (Otiende, 1990:145). The educational system was thus, moral, progressive, gradual and practical and concerned itself with transmitting by word of mouth and example the values, knowledge and skills of the

community about actual life and its experiences from one generation to another. It embraced character building and the development of physical aptitudes, the acquisition of those moral qualities which were regarded to be an integral part of adulthood and the acquisition of knowledge and techniques needed by members of the community if they had to take an active role in social life in its various forms (Sifuna, 1985:17).

The youth's future and that of the entire community were central in the Bukusu indigenous system of education which was a life-long process through which one progressed by predetermined stages from birth to death (cf. Bogonko, 1992:1). At each stage, the individual ultimately arrived at full membership in his group, emerging as a socialised person with knowledge of what was required of him and emotionally fit for the life that awaited him (Bogonko, 1992, Waliaula, Khachonga, O.I., 1999).

From birth to about six years, children in the Bukusu traditional society were taught within the family by the mother. This was because at this age, they depended on their mothers for the fulfilment of their needs. The families were patrilineal and therefore, from this tender age, children spent most of their time at their father's home. As they grew older and began to be aware of their sexual differences, the boys began to receive their guidance from their fathers. The mother, on the other hand, trained the girls. The father would direct boys to attend to errands that were traditionally allocated to male children, including herding calves, sheep and goats, while a girl helped her mother in fetching water, firewood, cleaning the house and collecting green vegetables (Makila 1982:115, Namunane, O.I., 1999). In the course of this learning, the children came to understand their environment and how to use it fruitfully as well as to avert its dangers.

Names of trees, plants, grasses, animals, snakes and insects were learnt and the uses and dangers of each exposed to them. As the learners internalised this, they also learnt about myths and ritual prohibitions which were connected with different categories of flora and fauna.

Apart from being acquainted to their environment, the children were socially made to understand that they belonged to the whole community. Consequently, they were initiated to conform to the manners and laws of the group and shown how their services were necessary for its defence, propagation and perpetuation (Bogonko, 1992:1, Namunane, O.I., 1999). Disobedience, conceit, laziness and disrespect were frowned upon and even punished while obedience, generosity, usefulness, courage and endurance were depicted as virtuous and rewarded. These teachings were necessary for the moral development of the child. Clearly spelt out groups of avoidance and prohibitions of particular families, clans and the whole community were also brought to the notice of the child. All these became written in the mind and heart of the children and became part of their thinking and feelings. Again they formed part of the discipline (Ibid.).

Children from families or clans that undertook specialized or hereditary occupations, for example, in leadership, iron working and pottery making had the opportunity to observe what normally happened. A boy who is earmarked for a leadership position would, for example, assist his father in carrying his stool to the elders' meeting places where he would observe and with time learn what goes on there (Khachonga, Namunane, O.I., 1999). However, as we have demonstrated hitherto, other

youths who naturally displayed good character as early as this also rose to leadership positions. They were groomed to maintain their good character in future.

Older boys and girls also played a role in teaching the young ones. The young boys would, for example, accompany their older brothers and relatives to grazing fields where they experienced what goes on there. They were also shown how it is done through instruction and guidance. The young girls, on the other hand, would accompany their older sisters and relatives when going to fetch water or collect firewood and while there, were shown how different tasks are done. Through play children imitated on their own what seniors of their sexes did (Sifuna, 1985:4-5). This formed an important component of the Bukusu indigenous education.

Boys made model huts and cattle pens and staged mock battles. Girls on their part made dolls and cooked imaginary meals. In time, boys internalised the fact that looking after livestock, defence of their nation and clearing forests in preparation of cultivation were their responsibilities. Girls also came to realise that collecting firewood, fetching water and cooking were their main areas of economic operations.

In the evenings the children received additional training from grandparents in whose huts they retired. The girls were taught by their grandmothers through riddles, poems, songs and lullabies about the past history of the community as well as morality (Khachonga, O.I., 1999). The boys on the other hand, sat around evening bonfires with their grandfathers. It was here that they were introduced to the history of their family, clan and ethnic group, especially their heroes who were recalled in songs and stories (Sifuna, 1985:3). The relationship between the children and the grandparents was so

cordial that they referred to each other as brothers and sisters (Nabangi, Khachonga, O.I., 1999). This cordial relationship was necessary to the children for they freely interacted and participated in asking more questions on aspects that required clarification.

Their thoughts were further evoked through riddles, sayings and folktales, which directly required their responses. Their memory and arithmetic capabilities were also tested by grand parents. A boy in the Bukusu traditional society, for instance, would be asked to recall the number of cattle his father had, including their colours or the total number of houses in their fort. A girl, she would be asked, for example, to recall the number of cooking pots in her mother's house (Nabangi, O.I., 1999). All this formed part of the oral literature of the Babukusu and since it reflected on every aspect of life and culture the children were better equipped.

At the age of about 18 years the boy was usually circumcised. Among the Babukusu one was considered as a fully socialised and grown up after undergoing circumcision and the rituals accompanying it. Although girls were not circumcised, some chose to cicatrize their faces and abdomen as a matter of fashion. Tatooing with keloids was fashionable in those days (Makila, 1982:115). The future life of the boy was however more considered at this stage and this was evidenced by the importance given to circumcision, which was absolutely mandatory.

Circumcision marked the end of childhood and introduced the youth to adulthood morality, responsibilities and also exposed him to a more serious form of traditional education. Such symbolic maturity was preceded, accompanied and followed by a lot of tuition in all areas of life, including sex education. They were taught the general rules of

behaviour and etiquette and warned against sexual deviancy (Sifuna, 1985:15, Nabangi, O.I., 1999). Courage and endurance for instance, which were to characterise the adult lives of males, were stressed throughout the span of those rites. The boys were to stand the knife and were scalded and exposed to varied forms of tests to gauge their courage and endurance. During the feast of coming out or *Khukhweyalula* the boys were, for instance told to demonstrate their prowess as potential future warriors and defenders of community interests. The newly circumcised was given a spear, shield, sword and club and ordered to demonstrate his combat skills by elders, who included his father (Nabangi, Khachonga, O.I., 1999). Apart from this the initiates also received formal teaching from the elders. Through them, they received special instructions on how to be responsible members of the community. The youths were taught such virtues as honesty, industry and communal unity. It was through such fora that the elders legitimised their positions and instilled fear in the youth over contravening clan and community norms.

Boys who were circumcised at the same time among the Babukusu were grouped under age-sets or *bibingilo.* Age-sets were grouped in pairs, and a person belonged to a particular age-set throughout his life. Members of an age-set or *Bakoki,* generally enjoyed relations of comradeship which were accompanied with behavioural rules, rights and reciprocal privileges (Makila, 1982:123). It was through these age sets that formal education was imparted through succeeding stages from status to status throughout life.

Formal teaching after initiation also involved training the youths in certain trades by including them in productive work or by apprenticeship. Youths from the Bukusu clans that practised iron working or *babasi* and other hereditary occupations, for example,

medicinemen and rainmakers were instructed directly to become experts by being given the techniques and secrets of their calling. These were necessary for their future roles in the community. Those who were to become political leaders were instructed on how to be good leaders and particularly in relation to the dispensation of justice. They were also encouraged to regularly attend elders' meetings where they observed how certain decisions that affect a clan or a community were arrived at (Nabangi, Waliaula, O.I., 1999). Moreover, youths who had undergone initiation were also encouraged to attend funeral gathering held in honour of deceased distinguished persons and listen to spontaneous utterances of *"Baseni Be-Kimise"* or Public Comforters whose public function was to communicate to the audience certain important facts of life in the Bukusu society that have been handed down from generation to generation through a medium of oral tradition (Makila, 1978:115). All these formed the basis of indigenous system of education among the Babukusu.

In a nutshell, it is important to note from the foregoing that the most crucial aspect of indigenous education among the Babukusu was its relevance to them which was in sharp contrast with what western education introduced with the coming of the colonialists. Like religion, education was a fundamental instrument for socialising children into the Bukusu society. Its close link with Bukusu social life, both in material and spiritual sense, its collective nature, its many sidedness and its progressive development in conformity with the successive stages of physical, emotional and mental development of the child were among its central attributes.

There was no separation of the Bukusu informal education and the productive activity of the Bukusu community, hence participation in the economy was emphasized rather than education for its own sake. Its practical nature, the learning-by-doing aspect of it was its greatest value. Altogether, through mainly informal means the Bukusu indigenous education matched the realities of the society and produced well-rounded personalities to fit in that society. But, this was not to remain entirely so with the advent of colonialism and with the introduction of western education. This change had fundamental political implications on the relations between the Babukusu and the British colonialists throughout the colonial period.

3.6 Summary

In the foregoing chapter, we have demonstrated how the Bukusu environment played a central role in determining their mode of production and productive forces. The availability and scarcity of certain resource materials among the Babukusu and their social demand dictated the division of labour in their production and exchange arena. However, production was geared towards subsistence. This does not mean, as the postcolonial theorists would have us believe that they were backward because of conservative cultural reasons, and because of their pre-occupation to safeguard subsistence. Innovation, adaptation and risk taking were important components of this Bukusu pre-colonial economy. Moreover, their geographical and historical contexts necessitated the development of a subsistence economy. Their traditional institutions and ideas were sufficiently strong to meet the challenges of the time. The Bukusu religious ideas and indigenous education

particularly played a very fundamental role in welding together their social structure and, therefore, cemented the cohesion and viability of the society.

Morever, it has been observed how through the introduction of the Arab-Swahili merchant capital the Bukusu labour was withdrawn from use value production. This undermined the material production of the traditional economy with respect to agriculture, pastoralism, hunting and many more. At the same time, the monetization of some of the material elements of reproduction forced the rural producers into commodity production. This process was continued with the establishment of colonial administration in 1894, which further destroyed the conditions of the traditional peasant economy and created the social conditions of commodity production and proletarianization as we shall demonstrate in the next chapter. In this chapter, the underdevelopment processes generated by merchant-capital in the articulation of the colonial state with the Bukusu socio-economic institutions are examined further. It focuses on the early colonial period and the development of nationalism up to 1918.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 THE EARLY BUKUSU RESISTANCE TO BRITISH COLONIALISM TO C.1918

4.1 Introduction

The initial political reactions of the Babukusu to the British advent and occupation were characterized by active resistance (see Mutoro, 1976:1). Active resistance refers to a process whereby the people, due to an intense desire to defend their rights and freedoms, their social, political, religious and cultural values, steadily and systematically took up arms and heroically fought the intruders - the British and their African allies, preferring death to submission (ibid.) to the new enemy.

The early Bukusu resistance to the British had a great bearing on the later manifestations of nationalism in Bukusuland, Buluyia and in Kenya in general. It is certain that there existed a connection between the early resistance movements and the later anti-colonial tendencies (Ochieng, 1977: 84; Ranger, 1968:437). In this regard, it is important to analyze and evaluate the early Bukusu resistance in terms of its impact on the future relations between the colonizer and the colonized. This is because the early resistance acted as one of the most important stimulus to the historical development for the African people during the colonial period (Davidson, 1968).

In this chapter, therefore, we examine the method and nature of the establishment of colonialism between 1894 and 1918. Particular emphasis is laid on the impact of the wars of resistance on the development of the Bukusu nationalism during the period. The social, economic and political changes introduced by the colonialists among the

Babukusu and their impact on the people's traditional values and institutions and how, therefore, they responded towards this potent new political force are also examined in the chapter.

4.2 The European Penetration in Western Kenya and the Establishment of Colonial Rule

The nature of the Bukusu response to the early Europeans was influenced to a great extent by their relations with their neighbours, especially the Wanga and outsiders such as the Arab-Swahili traders before the arrival of the imperial forces. Their experience with the Wanga and the Arab-Swahili traders had exposed them to far-reaching social, economic and political consequences that determined their response to the early European intrusion. Two features of this contact, perhaps, had a direct bearing on the Bukusu politics. These are; the relationship that had developed among the various Bukusu clans on one hand, and between them, the Wanga and the Arab-Swahili traders on the other. The second feature was the Bukusu acquisition of firearms through their dealings with the Arab-Swahili traders and their realization of the power of the guns in preserving their security and freedom.

The early Europeans in Western Kenya were traders, travellers and missionaries who traversed the region for their different reasons. Their contacts date back to 1883 when the Scottish explorer and adventurer Joseph Thompson and his companion, J. Martin came to Mumias (Were, 1967a: 156, Dealing, 1974:300, Burt, 1980:30). From Mumias they passed through Bukusuland in a company of Arab-Swahili caravan traders already known in the area on their way to Uganda (Mungeam, 1966:2; Nabangi O.I,

1999). Similarly in 1885, Bishop Hannington passed through Bukusuland on his way to Buganda. He was to be killed in Busoga while on the way at the command of Kabaka Mwanga (Were, 1967a: 157; Dealing, 1974:300; Aseka, 1989:181). Unlike Thompson, the Bishop passed through Bukusuland from the Mumias direction in a company of Mumia's spearmen who had volunteered to escort him (Murunga, 1998:94; Namulala, O.I, 1999). Other Europeans who passed through the Bukusu country after stopping over in Mumias included Teleki and Hohnel in 1887. By this time a regular route to Uganda had gradually been established (Mungeam, 1966: 2).

The arrival of these early Europeans in Bukusuland seems to have caused an alarm among the local people. The latter's central concern was security, especially after their experience with the Wanga and the Arab-Swahili traders who from Mumias had devastated most parts of Bukusuland. For this reason, the Babukusu according to Mutoro, had become less amenable to strangers, especially if they happened to come from the Mumias direction (Mutoro, 1976:7). Apart from coming from the Mumias direction, their response to the Europeans was understandable, given that the latter were either accompanied by the same Arab-Swahili traders or the Wanga. Indeed as Thompson noted in 1883, when the Bukusu saw him, they ran away in terror thinking that he had arrived to capture them into slavery (Thompson, 1962:278)

Fear and suspicion characterised the Bukusu's initial response to the first Europeans. They did not seem to have recognized the differences between Europeans and the Arab-Swahili traders. (Khachonga, O.I, 1999). The entire group, together with

the Wanga were perceived to be on a suspect mission, most probably to settle their old scores.

But, if the need to avoid the repetition of the past experience determined their cold reception of the Europeans, their future destiny was also primary. The presence of the Whitemen appeared to be a fulfillment of some of the prophesies of the great eighteenth century Bukusu Prophet, Mutonyi wa Nabukelembe (Manguliechi, O.I, 1999). Mutonyi had made startling predictions about the future destiny of the Babukusu, including the coming of "red strangers", "the long snake" and the impending domination of the Babukusu by foreigners (Makila, 1978; Wafula, 1996:48; Namulala, O.I, 1999). Therefore, the presence of Europeans in a company of the perceived enemies of the Babukusu seems to have portended the commencement of the era of foreign domination. However, to halt this process, picking up arms and defending their territory was of paramount necessity (Khachonga, O.I, 1999).

Incidentally, while the need to avoid past experiences and to face the future confidently characterised the response of the Babukusu to the early Europeans, the same cannot be said about all of them. As demonstrated previously, some pockets of the Babukusu had established links with the Wanga and Arab-Swahili traders. This latter Bukusu group cordially welcomed the Europeans from whom they hoped to benefit from, the way they had done before from their Wanga and the Arab-Swahili friends. This group formed the hub from which colonialism spread in Bukusuland a fact of history that needs to be recognized. Hitherto, the existing literature has portrayed the Babukusu as having wholly resisted the British intrusion (Makila, 1982; Nangulu, 1986).

The response of the Babukusu to the arrival of the early Europeans may, therefore, be said to have been varied. However, the role of the Wanga and the Arab-Swahili traders in shaping this early response needs to be emphasized. Their role is unique because of their presence in Bukusuland with the early Europeans and also in their shaping of the latter's perception of the Babukusu. The Wanga and the Arab-Swahili traders successfully impressed on the early Europeans the image of an "unruly" and "troublesome" Babukusu. Indeed, in welcoming the Europeans Nabongo Mumia wanted them to provide him with security against his enemies, like the Babukusu (Dealing, 1974: 301)

The first impression the Europeans got from their host Mumia was, therefore, that the Babukusu were a hostile and troublesome community. The Arab-Swahili traders reinforced this view by emphasizing their violent experiences among the Babukusu (Khachonga, O.I, 1999). The early Europeans paid heed to the warnings from their hosts.

The Wanga were indeed said to be "the most important tribe in Kavirondo" and were viewed as "more powerful and civilized than any other" (KNA DC/EN/3/11/7-1930; Hobley 1929). Joseph Thompson for instance, who had embraced the view of the hostility of the Babukusu, was surprised when he traveled through their country and the Babukusu "did not raise their war cry to gather together in overwhelming force and annihilate us" (Were 1967a:145). This image of the Babukusu as a troublesome and warlike community was also embraced later by other Europeans, including administrators who came to Mumias. However, this image was merely a perversion of reality. On the contrary, the Babukusu like any other community, were only conscious of the threat now

being posed on their territorial integrity, which they jealously sought to guard from intruding foreigners.

Towards the end of 1889, the first imperialists arrived at Mumias, including Frederick Jackson who was accompanied by Ernest Gedge. The two were employees of the Imperial British East African Company (hereafter referred to as IBEA Co.) - a private company that sought to develop trade in East Africa. They were concerned with mapping out a serviceable route to Uganda, but also sought to obtain as much ivory as possible in order to defray expenses (Dealing, 1974:301). Europeans believed then that Kenya was not as important to their interests as Uganda (Ogot, 1963:249; Mungeam, 1966:7). As the source of the River Nile and in the context of the European scramble for Africa, it was believed that, whoever controlled Uganda would also gain supremacy over the Nile Valley and the lands bordering it (Hobley, 1970:69; Ochieng, 1985:81). Consequently, Mumias served merely as a calling station for the Europeans as they travelled between the coast and Uganda in the interior of the continent.

After arriving in Mumias, Jackson and Gedge, concluded a "treaty" with a local ruler making Western Kenya a "British Sphere of Influence" (Were, 1967a: 157). Mumia's welcome and treaty with Europeans was hinged on the possibility of the latter providing them with military assistance against their local enemies. In January 1890, a Germany adventurer Carl Peters, the founder of the Germany East African Company arrived in Mumias while Jackson and Gedge were temporarily away seeking for Ivory in the north of the Mount Elgon. He took advantage of their absence and made his own "treaty". This again put western Kenya under the Germany sphere (Dealing, 1974:302-

303). On return, however, Jackson forced the local ruler to repudiate the treaty. This put the British and German in direct confrontation in the scramble for East Africa as a region. With the presence of Germans, a considerable challenge to the British self-assurance was developed (Ochieng, 1985:85-86). The British government was, therefore, forced to increase and concretize their presence in the region before it was too late (Hobley, 1970:68). Other Europeans who came to Mumias after Carl Peters were Captain Smith in May 1891, Bishop Tucker in 1892 and Sir Gerald Portal in March 1892 (Dealing 1974:302-303).

The signing in 1890 of the Heligoland treaty enhanced British influence. According to the treaty, the Germans formally recognised Uganda and Kenya as part of the British ''Sphere of Influence". As a result of the treaty then, the Babukusu unknowingly came under the British Jurisdiction.

But the treaty notwithstanding, the British government did not assume immediate control of their ''sphere of influence'' from IBEA. Co. Yet the company was experiencing dire financial, transport and military problems (Mungeam, 1966: 9-10). In short the company lacked the ability to administer the territory (KNA PC/NZA 1 / 4-1908-1909). In 1894, it went bankrupt and withdrew (Nangulu 1986: 43) and the British government was forced to assume control of the region (Salim, 1973:72).

On 10th June 1894, Uganda whose Eastern Province included the present-day Western, Nyanza and parts of Rift Valley Provinces was declared a British Protectorate. In the same year, Sir H. Colville was appointed First Commissioner of the Uganda Protectorate. On his way to Kampala to take up his appointment, he camped at Mumias

and on departure left behind Frederick Spire his Valet to found an administrative station there (Lonsdale, 1964:98; Were, 1967a: 157). This was to become the hub of the Eastern Province of Uganda for the next eight years and the nucleus around which the British colonialism would revolve.

With the declaration of the British Protectorate over the present Western Province in 1894, Bukusuland automatically became part of the Eastern Province of Uganda. However, these changes were taking place without any knowledge of the Babukusu. Their main concern remained the need to be more vigilant on the activities of strangers who traversed their territory from the direction of Mumias (Nabangi, O.I, 1999). This was becoming even more critical with an increase in the number of strangers who traversed their territory, to either get to the sources of ivory in the Mount Elgon area or to Uganda on the main caravan route. In spite of the seemingly increasing number of strangers, few of the Babukusu, and especially, those who lived closer to the caravan route, interacted with the strangers (Khachonga, O.I, 1999). Indeed, this also explains in part why the British had rudimentary knowledge of the people who inhabited the vast region of the present Bungoma district (Mungeam, 1966:2). Their main source of information on the Babukusu still remained the Arab-Swahili traders and their Abawanga hosts (Nabangi, O.I, 1999).

The primary concern for the British in sending an early administrator in Mumias was to cater for the needs of the caravans passing through the region to Uganda, collecting food supplies, securing porters and above all ensuring their safety (Dealing, 1974: 310; Bode, 1978:54; Aseka, 1989:160). These were important duties for valet

Spire, given that those caravans were the only means to bring up supplies in the Luyia region. Bukusuland in particular was a vital link on the route. There was no intention of organizing an effective administration or even to assert effective control over the area and this was the reason why the new administrator was explicitly instructed "to interfere as little as possible in local affairs" (Lonsdale, 1964:64). However, to realize these initial British objectives their involvement in local affairs and especially those of the Babukusu seemed inevitable.

To begin with, the company administration was small and ineffective. Spire who had been posted to Mumias seemed to be inexperienced in administrative affairs (Dealing, 1974:308; Bode, 1977:57). At Mumias, Spire's ineffectiveness began to show early. He failed to induce the local people to participate in company affairs and it was merely for the friendship and interest of Mumia that the station was maintained (Bode, 1978: 55; Murunga, 1998:103). Understandably therefore, Mumia's security objective had to receive priority through the actions of the inexperienced British administrator, Valet Spire. Backed by a garrison of fifty Sudanese soldiers, sent by the commissioner from Kampala, the two allies, Mumia and Spire, felt sufficiently confident to stage an attack on the "troublesome Kitosh", Bukusu. This attack and the actions of the new administrator, Charles Hobley who arrived in Mumias in 1895 to replace Spire, culminated into the Lumboka-Chetambe War.

4.3 The Lumboka- Chetambe War and its aftermath

As indicated, the basic purpose of the British post at Mumias, then under Valet Spire was to ensure peaceful communication between the coast and Uganda. This was the function that ultimately involved them in hostilities with the Babukusu in whose territory the caravan route passed. Mumia and Spire who both ensured the maintenance of the administration in Mumias were primarily concerned about the Bukusu's possession of firearms, which threatened their different objectives. At this time, the Babukusu were the region's leaders in military technology, having the largest armory of guns (Lonsdale, 1977:867). Most of these guns had been purchased by Babukusu from the Arab-Swahili Caravan traders by exchanging them with their precious cattle, food and ivory.

With the advent of the British imperial administration, however, the acquisition of guns through the exchange means became difficult, if not impossible (Namulala, O.I, 1999). This was in spite of the increasing threat from Mumias on the security and freedom of the Babukusu. The only avenue to obtain more of these guns was through army deserters or run aways from caravans who carried off guns with them. However, the latter groups also sold the guns to the Babukusu (Kakai, 1997:2). These were relatively cheaper since the deserters further asked for refuge, which the Babukusu were willing to offer (Khachonga, O.I, 1999). The confrontation between the British and Babukusu occurred after the latter were accused of harbouring deserters and retaining firearms. They were also suspected of raiding caravans and attacking the British local allies (Lonsdale 1964:102; Dealing, 1974: 311; Nangulu, 1986:45-49;Keya, O.I,1999).

In 1894, one of Mumia's men who returned from visiting in the area of the Babukusu reported having seen six deserters there (Namulala, O.I, 1999; Dealing, 1974:311). The six were part of the caravan destined for the Ravine station (Mutoro, 1976:8). On getting the information, Spire sent back that informant together with other six people to persuade the Babukusu to give up the deserters and their guns. However, whereas it was easy for the Babukusu to repatriate army deserters to Mumias, it was understandably difficult for them to give back the guns which they had purchased (Kakai, 1997:4). Indeed, in December 1894 the deserters were delivered to Mumias, but not the guns which the latter had battered for food.

Although the issue of handing over purchased guns to Mumias freely was central in the Babukusu decline to Spire's demands, other developments need to be emphasized. For one, the Babukusu were still aware of the advantage of keeping the new technology, especially, after their atrocious encounter with the Arab-Swahili traders and the Wanga. They still believed that it was not in the interest of the British but of Mumia that the new demand for guns was being made (Nabangi, O.I, 1999). This latter belief was compounded by the fact that it was a Wanga man who led the party that went to demand for guns from the Babukusu. Therefore, the danger of letting the guns to the perceived enemy and freely was to be avoided at all costs. Indeed, this danger had acquired a different dimension with the role of a Bukusu, Namachanja the leader of the Bakhoone clan. Namachanja had a pre-colonial relations with Mumia the Nabongo which was contested by other Bukusu clan leaders. The latter continued to suspect him of dealing with the Arab-Swahili traders. Namachanja, therefore, continued to work more closely

with the Mumias administration. Additionally, Namachanja is said to have been envious of the fact that the Wanga were politically placed at an advantageous position by identifying themselves with British rule (Nabangi, Khachonga, O.I, 1999). Consequently, Namachanja worked more closely not only with Mumia as he had done before but also with the British. The issue at hand for the Babukusu at this time was, therefore, not only the danger of delivering valuable guns to Mumias, but also the implications of this in view of the alliance of the British, the Wanga and their kinsman Namachanja and his people.

The rejection of Spire's demand for guns, therefore, might have appeared as a small incident, but it sent signs of fear within the conscious Babukusu of the implications of such a move. Leaders in the likes of Wandabwa of Batukwiika clan and Wakoli emerged to vehemently challenge and expose the dangers of the alliance between Mumia, Namachanja and the British. It has to be noted also that Wakoli of the Bayemba clan who had worked in Mumias and understood the British and the Wanga intentions about the Bukusu before he deserted to Bukusuland with a gun (Nangulu, 1986; 46, Namulala, O.I, 1999). The two leaders who were conscious of the Bukusu ethnic identity and of the need to preserve it instead of being subjugated by the three allies became central in influencing the perceptions of other Babukusu people. They felt that unless they rose up in arms against the British and their allies a painful era of alien domination and oppression appeared imminent (Namulala, O.I, 1999).

Intent on obtaining the weapons, however, Valet Spire dispatched a contingent of about one hundred soldiers to invade a Bukusu fort at Kibachenje in the neighbourhood of Lumboka (Wangwe, Namunane, O.I, 1999). Lufwalula of Bayemba clan who was a grandfather of Wakoli headed the fort. Among the soldiers who invaded the Kibachenje Fort were thirty one armed Zanzibaris, seven armed Sudanese and Mumia's six spearmen and a headman (Lonsdale, 1964: 103; Were, 1967a:166; Dealing, 1974:311). In the battle that ensued, almost the Bukusu Warriors led by Wakoli wiped out the entire invading troops. Even the notorious trader, Hamisi was killed by Wakoli (Kakai, 1997:4; Manguliechi, O.I, 1999). Only two invaders escaped back to Mumias to report the fate of their colleagues. These were a Swahili man and Tindi Okwara from Bukhayo (Ibid.). This victory over colonial forces was anticipated among the Babukusu, given that leaders, including Wandabwa and Wakoli had put them on the alert. However, the humiliating defeat of the colonial forces shocked the Mumias administration (Nangulu, 1986:49).

Following the defeat in February 1895, Charles William Hobley, locally known as Opili among the Babukusu, arrived to replace Spire. He took over the first permanent administrative district in North Kavirondo (Ogot, 1966: 129; Aseka, 1989:160). The responsibilities of Hobley, like those of his predecessor, included ensuring the swift dispatch of official mail, the security of government stores and ivory, the collection of duty on both imports and exports and the provision of food for government caravans at accepted prices (Lonsdale, 1964:89; Aseka 1989:160). However, for the realization of these goals some measure of authority and organisation had to be exerted in order to deal

with activities, like those demonstrated by the Babukusu. Their territory was a vital communication line with Uganda since it was an important caravan route.

To achieve the foregoing objectives, Hobley began to develop and maintain friendly relations with local communities, and where possible by signing treaties (Were, 1967a:144; Mutoro, 1976:8). In this process the British strategy of looking for allies who would work with them in establishing the colonial administration was under way as seen in the case of Namachanja.

From his base in Mumias and with the aid of his allies, Hobley had a duty to "protect all those friendly communities from "sub-tribes" that had been for several years past a source of endless trouble not only to the surrounding natives who are friendly towards us, and have considered themselves under the protection of the White man ... but also to Europeans and traders, as they have been in the habit of constantly raiding the former, and harboring deserters from the latter" (Were, 1967a: 165; Mutoro, 1976:8). Naturally, the first onslaught was to be directed at the Babukusu.

Hobley had to wait for some time for the Kampala administration to send a sufficiently strong force to assert British authority over the Babukusu. Meanwhile, the Babukusu who had openly become aware of the intentions of the Mumias administration on their sovereignty intensified their vigilance and hunt for more arms. The latter objective was met through the ambush of caravan traders whom they now regarded as invaders (Manguliechi, O.I. 1999). These preparations on the part of the Babukusu seem to agree with the observation of Oliver and Fage that the inhabitants of the "sub-tribes" areas threatened by a possibility of punitive expeditions were also quick to act, for rather

than waiting peacefully until their turn to be brought under the British administration arrived in their view, they started forming alliances against the colonial government so that expeditions had to be sent against them long before the appointed time (Were, 1967a: 165-6).

In 1895, William Grant known locally as Chilande among the Babukusu, the District Commissioner (hereafter referred to as DC.) of Busoga, was dispatched to investigate the 1894 clash between the Babukusu and the British forces. Believing in the British militarism, he like Hobley, suggested that the Babukusu be "brought to task" and "Subdued". To him a punitive expedition was a necessary lesson to the community (Lonsdale, 1964:104). The British punitive philosophy adopted in this instance had been clearly stated by Sir Arthur Hardinge in different forums. In his letter, for example, to Clement Hill at the Foreign Office, Hardinge who was the top British official in the country, eloquently advocated the use of force to achieve peace. He wrote "these people (Africans) must learn submission by bullets", it was the only effective lesson before ''modern and humane methods of education'' could be resorted to. "In Africa" he went on "to have peace you must first teach obedience and the only tutor who impresses the lesson properly is the sword" (Mungeam, 1966:20; Ochieng, 1977:104; Aseka, 1989:164;). Clement Hill at the Foreign office endorsed Hardinge's opinion and wrote back to suggest that ''the policy is right, although we have to be patient in Africa". The use of force by Hobley and Grant in Bukusuland therefore received official sanction from London.

But, although the colonialists were convinced of the need to use force to ensure submission among the Babukusu, the former's experience during the 1894 conflict at the Kibachenje fort militated against their immediate action. For a while, force seemed inexpedient and negotiations were incepted between the British administration and the Bukusu elders, including Wandabwa Wa Musamali, Mukisu Wa Wekuke, Busolo Wa Maakaka and Munyole Wa Namasambu. The Babukusu also included in their discussions a Tachoni leader, Sifuma Wa Yiyaya (Makila, 1982:200; Khachonga, Wekesa, O.I., 1999). The latter inclusion of a Tachoni should not be surprising, given that the two communities as indicated earlier were often close and always co-operated in fighting off enemies, such as the Nandi, the Iteso and the Maasai during the pre-colonial period.

The negotiations between the Babukusu and the Mumias administration, however, failed for two reasons - one was the distrust the Babukusu had over the Bawanga who were used as emissaries on Hobley's dialogue missions. The Babukusu still believed that it was in the interest of the Bawanga and Mumia that those missions were being executed (Khachonga, Waliaula, O.I, 1999). Moreover, militant spokesmen in the likes of Wakoli Okhwa Mukisu and Wandabwa were still eager to demonstrate their prowess to the Mumias administration. They had lost their close associates in the battle of Kibachenje, including Sambasi Wa Kusimba of Balunda clan and Katienyi whom they wanted to avenge. Indeed, they wanted peace to be achieved on their own terms (Manguliechi, Namulala, O.I. 1999). In this respect young warriors who felt that all foreigners must be expelled from that region supported them (Makila, 1978:200).

The need for a second show of force on the Babukusu was, therefore, necessitated by the revenge motive occasioned by the British loss at Kibachenje in 1894,the futile effort by Hobley to make peace with the Babukusu and the latter's consistent threat to the Mumias administration. In addition, Hobley specifically aimed at punishing the Babukusu for refusing to surrender Wakoli for prosecution by the British for killing the notorious Hamisi (Makila, 1982: 200; Kakai, 1997: 5; Manguliechi, O.I., 1999).

In August 1895, Hobley mounted a strong army under the command of Major Grant to punish the " recalcitrant" Babukusu. Although the exact number of soldiers in Grant's army has been a subject of intense speculation and conflict among various sources, it is possible that the number was about 13,000 troops (Makila, 1982:200, Namulala, O.I, 1999). This figure was understandably large at that time and, perhaps, points to the severity of the threat the Babukusu had posed to the Mumias administration. But, if the number of soldiers was considerably enormous, so was the number of neighbouring communities that were willing to help the British to subdue the Babukusu. The large army comprised of sudanese Soldiers, the Waganda volunteers under Semei Kakunguru an important chief in Buganda, the Wanga Spearmen and the Uasin Gishu Maasai (Were, 1967a: 167; Wipper, 1977). Also included in this contigent were two white men Captain Sitwell and a medical surgeon, Dr. W.J. Ansorge (KNA/DC/EN/3/2/41-1930; Simiyu, 1991). Although the involvement of many communities, perhaps, demonstrates the intensity of the anti-Bukusu feeling, it also underscores the centrality of the fact that imperialism was in it an exercise in the art of collaboration. As Berman and Lonsdale (1978:7) note, as the British accumulated power,

they multiplied their allies and forced down the supply price of African assistance. The increase in the communities spread in the then East African Protectorate and their willingness to assist the British could therefore be a consequence of the latter's continued accumulation of power at their expense at the local level.

Grant's army had a variety of weapons, including the hotchkiss, a maxim gun, a variety of rifles, swords, spears, bows and arrows (Makila, 1982:200). The deployment of these superior weapons was seemingly based on the knowledge that the Babukusu also possessed some substantive amount of arms and especially guns as had been demonstrated during the 1894 Kibachenje encounter. The British, therefore, required much stronger arms to counter the Bukusu strength (Wangwe, Waliaula, O.I, 1999).

Hobley's troops confronted the Babukusu at Kibachenje and Lumboka. The former area had two forts. One, which was at the center of the 1994 clash, was headed by Lufwalula Omuyemba, the father of Wakoli. The other fort, called Lwa Amitoto, was headed by Mukhekhe Omulwonja (Manguliechi O.I. 1999). The Kibachenge forts were relatively weaker and less protected than those at Lumboka. In the latter area were also two forts, one headed by Wamurwa son of Tenge of the Balunda clan and the second one, called Musibale, was headed by Mumanga of the Balwonja clan (Makila 1982:199; Namulala, O.I 1999). These forts, and particularly the one headed by Wamurwa were much stronger and had a deeper moat, which prevented easy entry by enemy forces. Thus, once the Babukusu of Kibachenje learnt of the strong contingent of Hobley's troops, they and their children took cover in the latter fort. It was in Lumboka, therefore, that Hobley's rage was mainly directed.

In the fighting, that took them days, the Babukusu offered a determined resistance to the British attack. Aware of the threat this war had on their independence and rights, they were on several occasions able to repulse the British forces who constantly sought reinforcements from Mumias (Nangulu, 1986:51, Namulala O.I, 1999). Leaders who included Wamurwa, Wakoli, Walukela and Lumunyasi Wa Wakhuchuru inspired the warriors to put up a spirited fight. The women similarly urged the warriors on by singing inspiring and tentalising war songs (Makila, 1982: 201; Kakai, 1997:5; Namulala, Manguliechi, O.I 1999). However, the resistance of the Babukusu was weakened by the lack in supply of weapons. Their armory consisted of spears, swords, arrows, clubs and inferior guns. They had no constant supply of bullets, while on their part the British proved to enjoy the advantage of superior arms and constant supplies and reinforcements from Mumias. Hobley's troops mercilessly demolished Kibachenje and Lumboka Forts, destroyed houses, granaries and food crops (Makila, 1982: 204, Wekesa, O.I, 1999). Furthermore, they butchered children and women. Yet no cattle were captured (Kakai, 1997, 6). Cattle which were considered the main source of livelihood and strength among the Babukusu and which, therefore, needed to be captured by Hobley's forces if the people's fighting power was to be finally controlled had been led away by some warriors to safer places (Khachonga, O.I, 1999).

In the face of the merciless onslaught, the Babukusu dispersed into different places. The increasing reinforcements from Mumias and severity of the fighting had costed them many lives and destruction of property, including their defensive mechanisms, the forts. Among the dead on the Bukusu side included Wamurwa,

Lumunyasi and Waneloba (Manguliechi, O.I, 1999). Besides, they also inflicted heavy losses on Hobley's men. As Hobley contends "the fact that we had about ninety killed and wounded was a measure of the severity of the context" (Hobley, 1929:83).

From Lumboka some of the Babukusu went to Malakisi, others crossed the River Nzoia to Bunyala while another section moved to Sirisia and Misikhu. It is argued that at Misikhu the refugees were not well received by the local residents (K.N.A., DC/EN/3/2/4-1930, Kakai, 1997:6). However, a large section followed the great trek or Muahanda, crossing several rivers that claimed many of them and their property and eventually came to the present day Webuye and occupied Chetambe Fort (Mutoro, 1976:8).

In the context of colonial disruption, the defeat of the Babukusu at Lumboka and Kibachenje and their subsequent dispersal to different destinations had far-reaching repercussions on the people. Their institutions, economy and process of ethnic consolidation were greatly disrupted. They also lost power of self-determination which is the ultimate determinant in human society, being basic to the relations within any group, and between groups (Rodney, 1972; 245). The Babukusu's ability to defend their interests as a group was therefore disrupted. Indeed, colonialism blocked the further evolution of national solidarity (ibid: 250).

Be that as it may, the movement of the Babukusu to different places was aimed at compensating for the losses just as they had done in the pre-colonial times. The larger group of the Babukusu that fled to Chetambe fort was the main object of pursuit by the colonial forces. This was because the group drove away the largest number of cattle and

had in their ranks a considerable number of warriors who were determined to challenge Hobley's forces further (Makila, 1982; 207: Namunane, O.I, 1999). Their choice of Chetambe Fort as their next destination was not surprising, given the warm relations that existed between them and the Tachoni. It was natural that the Babukusu would seek assistance just as they had done before from these neighbours. Moreover, a Tachoni leader Sifuma Wa Yiyaya who was constantly in touch with Babukusu at Lumboka and Kibachenje had assured them of such assistance (Khachonga O.I, 1999). The mutual relation though primary was not enough. Like the Bukusu Forts at Lumboka, the one at Chetambe was apart from its strategic location on the plateau overlooking the present day Webuye town, had a solid architecture. These factors persuaded the Babukusu to seek refuge in case of another attack by the British forces.

Chetambe Fort was located about fifty kilometres East of Lumboka and it took the warriors three days to cover the distance while being hotly pursued by Hobley's troops who were out to score a definite and decisive victory (Khachonga, Namulala O.I, 1999).

At Chetambe the Babukusu were warmly received by their Abatachoni hosts who showed interest in assisting them in fighting off the British forces (Kakai, 1997: 7; Khachonga, O.I 1999). This observation contrasts that of Makila who noted that the Abatachoni inhabiting the Chetambe fort never even waited for the Babukusu to enter their Fort before fleeing to safety in anticipation of danger (Makila, 1978). The latter view that portrays the Abatachoni as either cowards or sworn enemies of the Babukusu fails to recognise the mutual relations that existed between the two communities and it is, therefore, not accurate assement of the situation. On the contrary, it was their warm

welcome that made the Babukusu warriors feel secure and even be more prepared to make a last stand and fight with all their might in the name of their ancestral spirits (Makila, 1982; Nangulu 1986; Simiyu, 1991; Kakai, 1997).

At Chetambe, the colonial forces did not attack the Babukusu immediately on arrival. Hobley sent a delegation of four Bawanga into the fort with instructions to offer peace with the Babukusu if they met certain terms (Makila, 1982; Namulala, Manguliechi, O.I, 1999). Among these terms were that the Babukusu collect ivory tusks and deliver them to the colonial army commander under an escort of the leaders of the Babukusu (ibid.). Understandably the nature of these demands made it difficult for them to be accepted by the Babukusu. For one, the latter's experience with the colonial forces had been made sour after their encounter at Lumboka. Then the Babukusu appear to have become suspicious of these new demands coming up hardly before they had settled at Chetambe. The suspicions did not arise only from the nature and conduct of the Abawanga emissaries who were avowed enemies of the Babukusu. They arose also from the perceived consequences of their action should they comply with the British demands. Morever, it was felt that the Babukusu leaders would be killed by the British to counter the rebelliousness of their kinsmen (Manguliechi, O.I, 1999).

Indeed, the Babukusu rejected the peace demand by Hobley. They and the Abatachoni responded by chasing away Hobley's emissaries. This action which indicated the first joint venture between the Babukusu and the Abatachoni warriors at Chetambe, however, provoked the colonial forces who were now prepared to completely

bring the Bukusu "menace" to an end. But, before this objective could be put in action there was the greatest test on the unity between the Abatachoni and the Babukusu.

The test was to determine whether both communities would stand together in peace or war in view of the impending danger. This was a central concern that touched on their survival as communities. Tachoni elders, including Sifuma and Chetambe are said to have summoned the Babukusu elders and warriors to deliberate on whether to evacuate the fort or to battle the enemy (Makila 1982: 208; Kakai, 1997;8; Waliaula, O.I, 1999). The elders' decision was reached after they had received alarming news that the enemy was moving much more closer to their position. The latter reason contrasts the observation made by Makila and some oral sources. To them, the elders' decision to mobilise the Babukusu for war was reached after a lady kinsman of the Abatachoni, a fugitive from Lumboka told the elders about the enemy's destructive power in view of the experience of Lumboka (Makila, 1982; Namulala, O.I, 1999). The said woman warned her Abatachoni relatives that the same fate could face the inhabitants of Chetambe unless necessary precautionary measures were put in place (ibid). This latter view appears to be incorrect, given that the Abatachoni were constantly close to their Babukusu neighbours. They could not, therefore, have waited until the Babukusu fugitives settled amongst them in order to learn what had happened to them at Lumboka. Moreover, the Babukusu settlement amongst the Abatachoni at Chetambe was hinged on the latter's willingness to assist the former to counter the enemy's onslaught. It is, therefore, unlikely that the Abatachoni were ill informed about the experience of the Babukusu at Lumboka.

Nonetheless, to help the two sections reach a decision, the elders employed a traditional approach. They invited a Bukusu war prophet from the Basekese clan to predict the outcome of war in order for the two communities to either choose war or peace. The diviner staffed a black sheep with medicinal herbs and instructed that messengers deliver it together with an ivory tusk to Hobley's troops. The point was that if the enemy accepted the sheep, then there would be peace, but if the sheep died on the way or the enemy declined to receive it, then there would be trouble (Makila, 1982; Kakai ,1997; Manguliechi, O.I, 1999;). The messengers returned to the fort reporting that the sheep had died before reaching Hobley's camp. This was quickly perceived to portend a premonition.

The outcome of the diviner's mission saw the Babukusu and the Abatachoni part ways and hence break up their unity. At the elders' level, there was lack of agreement on the next step to be taken (Keya, O.I, 1999). While Chetambe exhorted the fort dwellers to evacuate, the Babukusu on the other hand resolved that if the enemy persisted in pursuing them around in their God-given country, they would fight to the last man (Makila, 1982: 208). The latter decision by the Babukusu was made, not oblivious of the impending danger in view of the diviner's message, but because they felt they had been pushed to a point on which they preferred death to living (Manguliechi, O.I, 1999). Indeed having gone through the traumatizing experience of Lumboka, in which so much in life and property was lost, their decision was understandable. Moreover, the speed at which the colonial forces were able to close in on them at Chetambe made them realise the futility of any other effort to look for a safer place (Namulala, O.I, 1999). This

notwithstanding, beyond Chetambe one entered a rather foreign land of unfriendly non-luyia speaking ethnic communities.

Chetambe's decision though sanctioned among the elders of the Abatachoni, did not affect the decision by most of the Babukusu and some of the Abatachoni who had made up their mind to fight the colonial forces. But, if the effect of Chetambe's decision was minimal, its mode of communication to the Batachoni people made it even less known to many. It is argued that Chetambe secretly told his Abatachoni to vacate the fort like the children of a guinea fowl (*Abana be Likhanga*) (Makila, 1982:209; Namulala, Khachonga, Nabangi, O.I, 1999). This concept of the children of a guinea fowl, contrasts that of Kakai who observed that the Tachoni elders informed both the Babukusu and the Batachoni to evacuate the way young ones of guinea fowls escape from danger (Kakai, 1997:8). The latter observation seems inaccurate, given the proverbial meaning attached to the children of the guinea fowl. The latter's timely and secret escape from danger is because of their vulnerability. As the escape is made, the guinea fowl is to remain behind to monitor the extent of the danger and if possible ward it off before communicating to the young ones already in safety (Wangwe, Nabangi, O.I, 1999). The implication here is clear, while the children, meaning the Batachoni escaped to safety the guinea fowl, meaning the Babukusu remained to battle the enemy. Moreover, the fact that Chetambe evacuated with most of the Abatachoni pre-empts the important role played by the guinea fowl in the proverbial context.

It appears that most of the Babukusu and some of the Batachoni who maintained their stance in battling the colonial forces did not support Chetambe's decision. Even the

Tachoni women urged their men to either fight along side with the Babukusu or risk having their women replace men on the battle front (Kakai, 1997: 8). Indeed when Hobley's troops finally attacked the Chetambe fort, they were repulsed several times by the Bukusu and the Tachoni warriors. As this happened, most of the Abatachoni and some of the Babukusu fled with their property to distant areas like Magemo, Lugusi, Lugari among other places (Simiyu, 1991:142; Kakai, 1997:9). But, although the warriors put up a heroic resistance to the invading soldiers as women sang war songs to instil courage and fearlessness in the warriors, it did not take long for them to be defeated. With superior weapons, especially the Belloc's Maxim gun being intensively employed, the British forces demolished the voluminous Chetambe fort. This allowed Hobley's men to enter the fort causing massive losses in terms life and property on the part of the Babukusu and the Tachoni warriors.

Thousands of men, women and children were killed while many others were captured as prisoners of war (Makila, 1982:212; Namulala, O.I, 1999). Huge herds of cattle were seized in hundreds, while captives were taken to Elureko or Mumias as a punishment against the Babukusu (Ansorge, 1899:72). Most of those who died in the battle were mainly Babukusu by virtue of their numerous numbers in the fort at the time of the war. However, some of the Batachoni also died, including Makalaya, Wekoto and Ndeweni (Makila, 1982: 212; Kakai, 1997:9; Manguliechi, O.I, 1999). The determined warriors also inflicted considerable losses on the colonial forces. As Hobley points out:

> "... the Kitosh (Bukusu) with great gallantry counterattacked, and our force experienced considerable loss, two Sudanese soldiers being killed, and about half of

> the rank and file either killed or wounded, and the survivors driven out of the village" (Hobley, 929:85).

The issue of whether the Abatachoni aided the Babukusu in fighting off the British forces or not has sparked off conflicting opinions among scholars (see Makila 1978 and 1982; Simiyu, 1982 and 1991; Kakai, 1997). However, it is important to note from the foregoing that both the Babukusu and Abatachoni warriors fought in the war. What seems clear is that the Abatachoni elders who instead of fighting chose evacuation from the Chetambe Fort did not sanction their kinsmen's participation in the later part of the war.

It seems like the defeat of the Babukusu during the Lumboka-Chetambe war was a remarkable score on the side of the British forces and their allies. Their goal of bringing the "hostile" and "troublesome" Babukusu under control appeared to have been achieved. Nevertheless, not all seemed to have been lost for the Babukusu who in fighting sought to preserve justice, liberty and independence in their territory and which they considered their birthrights. Their defeat and humiliation did not put an end to their quest for these rights. Indeed, their heroic struggle was a noble legacy bequeathed to the later generations who continued to attach great respect to the value of freedom, and who readily fought for it (Makila, 1982:221). Their nationalist spirit continued to spearhead their relations with the British colonialists in the 20th century.

With the defeat and submission of the Babukusu in the 1895 war, the British attention was turned to the Banyala of Ndombi in a bid to extend their rule in the area. Like the Babukusu, the Banyala also gave a very strong resistance, killing 60 Baganda

mercenaries but could also not defeat the power of the maxim gun (Mutoro, 1976:9). In 1895 they were decisively defeated and forced to make a peace treaty (Lonsdale, 1977:88). Soon after the defeat of the Abanyala, the Bakabras who on seeing the invincibility of the British forces' might first in Bukusuland, and then in Bunyala invited Hobley for peace talks "pledged good behaviour and the supply of food for the caravans at the local rates to help and protect the sick porters and generally to be friendly and well conducted" (Lonsdale, 1964:106; Were, 1967a: 144; Matson 1972; 126; Shilaro 1991:87).

In this way, the whole region was brought under the control of the British. They later then turned their activities to South Eastern Luyia societies including the Abatirichi, the Abalogoli, the Abanyole, the Abakisa, the Abatsotso, the Abamarama and the Abesukha between 1896 and 1898 (Lonsdale, 1964:113). The colonialists used their military advantage and the submission of the resisting communities to choose and support their African allies (Lonsdale, 1992:69). It is in this that Mumia and other allies, including Namachanja among the Babukusu pursued a policy of active support for the Europeans. It was a policy, which at least for Mumia produced bountiful returns. Apart from the defeat of his enemies, Mumia emerged as a central intermediary between the British and the surrounding peoples, including his former enemies and was able to put on the cloak of the British power (Dealing, 1974:313). Before this time, Mumia's influence was hardly felt by other sub-ethnic communities in the pre-colonial period (Aseka, 1989; Lonsdale, 1992). Following the defeat of the Babukusu, therefore, the British established an administrative system in which Mumia played a key role. This new administration,

together with the colonial policies imposed on the Babukusu, was aimed at controlling and transforming the Bukusu nationalism for the benefit of the British colonial administration in Mumias.

4.4 The Bukusu Nationalism After the Establishment of Colonial Administration

After the defeat of the Babukusu, the years between 1896 and 1918 witnessed the effective establishment of the British authority in their land and in Buluyia generally. With the establishment of colonial rule, the Babukusu became subject to a number of forces working towards change. Their incorporation into a new and very large political entity, which threw together many formerly independent African peoples and which also attracted European and Asian immigrants, created an entirely new political context which would have far reaching effects on them (Bode, 1978:6; Aseka, 1989:171). More specifically, there followed colonial policies, which sought to marginalise and control their nationalistic spirit and assimilate the people into the colonial system.

The transformation of the Bukusu nationalism began with their subjugation during the Lumboka-Chetambe war. The conquest was both traumatic and demoralising to the Babukusu and it demonstrated the retribution any revolt would provoke from the British government. Their military humiliation, which was characterised by plunder and unwarranted destruction of property had far reaching consequences on their nationalism throughout the colonial period. Commenting on the Bukusu material loss Dealing notes that during the first expedition, 450 cattle plus numerous sheep and goats were taken. The second expedition which decimated Chetambe returned with about 1,660 cattle,

1,476 sheep and goats and 315 prisoners most of whom were ransomed (Dealing, 1974:313-15).

This defeat of the Babukusu and the loss they experienced marked the first steps in the British appropriation of their political authority over them. Indeed, as Hobley aptly puts it rather generally, the conquest was the shortest and most effective means of bringing Africans under their control (Hobley, 1970:217-218). The conquest marked the first of the many systematic steps that the government took in an attempt to control the Babukusu, neutralize their nationalism and incorporate them into the larger colonial order. As Radcliffe – Brown observed in general context;

> Amongst the various different kinds of warfare that can be distinguished, what we may call as wars of conquest have been important in Africa, as they have been in Europe. When such a war is successful, it establishes one people as conquerors over another who are thus incorporated into a larger political society, sometimes in an inferior position as subject people (M. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940:XIX).

Conquest alone, however, did not necessarily mean that the conquered people had accepted their new, subservient status. Among the Babukusu the end of the Lumboka-Chetambe War was marked by a peace treaty at Mumias in which British policies were imposed on the now defenceless Babukusu. Here the usefulness of the policies to the British in suppressing the Babukusu was emphasised.

But, prior to the signing of the peace treaty, Hobley is said to have asked Nabongo Mumia to summon the Bukusu elders to a meeting with the administration in Mumias. Consequently, the Babukusu nominated Wandabwa, the son of Musamali, an Omutukwiika by clan, to be their chief commissary. He was accompanied by other

Bukusu elders, including Makhaso an Omumusomi by clan, Namachanja an Omukhoone by clan, Maelo son of Khaindi an Omulunda by clan, Namasaka son of Kiteki, Sifuma wa Yiyaya an Omungachi by clan and Namunyu an Omulunda by clan (Nangulu 1986: 61; Namulala, Namuli, O.I, 1999).

During the negotiation process, the Babukusu were exposed to the most humiliating peace terms. They were to surrender all weapons, especially guns, dress in the western style and pledge never to live in the forts again. They were further made to pay war reparations, supply labour for public works and to accept a colonial chief (Nangulu, 1986:62-63). The ceremony of ending hostilities was, *khulia embwa* (literally to eat a dog) (Namuli, O.I, 1999)

With the conclusion of the Mumias peace treaty, the British gained a hold over Bukusuland. It became clearly essential that spasmodic displays of military force be converted into the steady exercise of civil power that coercion of Africans be replaced by their consent (Berman and Lonsdale, 1978:6). This civil power and consent was not without a show of force by the British as the case of the Babukusu will demonstrate.

After the negotiation at Mumias, Hobley announced that the Babukusu should collect captives of the war detained in Mumias. Their release was to be secured through the Bukusu payment of cattle. Here again, the usefulness of captives in ensuring that the Babukusu were brought under direct British control was emphasized. Also important at this particular point in time was the need to appoint a suitable vassal among the Babukusu through whom the colonial administration would be made easier. This latter

task was to mark an important step towards creating an administrative network over the Babukusu.

The vassals, as in the case of many other African communities that came under British rule, were selected on the basis of their influence and power in the indigenous set up. But above all, as has been noted by many scholars, they were appointed because of their perceived loyalty to the new administration (Lonsdale, 1964:23). Sometimes, however, less authoritative individuals could be appointed (Lonsdale 1964:27; Ogot, 1980:26) and in this connection Ogot notes:

> In fact, the majority of Kenyan chiefs up to 1920 ... had no traditional bases and most of them were selected because they had been effective caravan leaders or labour recruiters or simply because they spoke Swahili (Ogot, 1980:261).

In the case of the Babukusu, the two issues of arranging for the release of the prisoners of war and the appointment of a vassal became tied up together. Mumia, being aware of the criteria and intricacies upon which a new leader was likely to be chosen is said to have tipped Namachanja, his brother in-law on the issue of appointment. He advised him to bring along gifts, in the form of cattle, goats and hoes as an expression of homage to the administration in Mumias, and also that he should claim all prisoners as his own people. The latter manoeuvre by Namachanja was bound to convince the white man that he (Namachanja) was a wise and popular leader (Makila, 1978:213; Namulala, Manguliechi, O.I, 1999).

On the day of collecting the detainees, the Bukusu elders, Wandabwa and Namachanja went to Mumias for the purpose. They all brought cattle to the British for

the release of the captives and then when the crucial time came for every elder to pick his people, the British began with Wandabwa. He is said to have claimed only a few that he knew, mostly his friends and relatives. As he made to leave many of the people left behind yelled, lamented bitterly and claimed that they knew Wandabwa very well (Makila, 1978:213; Namulala, O.I, 1999). When Namachanja's turn came, he claimed all the people and promised to find a home for all. It was then decided that Namachanja takes all the people. More importantly, however, was that the British recognized him as a very popular leader among the Babukusu. It was due to this act that Namachanja ascended the throne not only as a clan leader among his Bakhoone clan, but as a headman over the whole of the other Bukusu clans (Makila, 1978: 213; Kakai, 1997:10; Manguliechi, O.I, 1999).

With the appointment of Namachanja Khisa as a headman over the various clans in Bukusuland, he was expected to be no more than a quiescent administrative functionary who would ensure the loyalty of the Babukusu to the British and promote the entrenchment of the colonial administration. More important was also the enhancement of his relations with Mumia to whom, among other things, he owed his appointment (Namulala, Namuli, O.I, 1999).

The creation of the office of a headman, which would serve to maintain the British authority over the Babukusu, marked the beginning of a new set of institutions that superimposed on the traditional ones during the colonial period. These institutions or administrative structures were aimed at maintaining law and order, collection of taxes and service the economy (Aseka, 1989:18). The British also devised ways of setting up

political machinery capable of regulating conflicts within the African population and with regard to their relations with the expatriate imperial administration (Ibid).

The Babukusu, like other Luyia sub-ethnic groups, had no single, centralized authority in the pre-colonial times. Their political affairs revolved around the clan with *Bakasa* or elders, and councils' of elders playing a central role. The appointment of the headman as a single centre of authority, therefore, meant the superimposition of an alien office on the *Bakasa* and councils of elders. This upset the balance in the council of elders and the *Bakasa* and enabled the British administration to neutralize inter alia the indigenous management of political affairs. As Ogot writes more generally, the appointment of chiefs and headmen totally transformed the whole political and social structure of African societies (Ogot, 1980:262). This indeed negatively impacted on the Bukusu nationalism.

Namachanja was expected to operate within this colonial framework of control. By virtue of this new position, he had to take an accurate account of the new rules, laws and regulations promulgated by the colonial power. Every member of the Bukusu community, including Namachanja himself, had to act and behave in conformity with the requirements of the new framework of imperial rule rather than the pre-colonial one.

Similarly, some clan heads that had enjoyed a lot of autonomy in the pre-colonial times now faced the rigid colonial administrative system in which Namachanja served. The pre-colonial lineage or clan tensions, jealousies and rivalries were now exported, extended and heightened within the colonial headman's territory (Ochieng, 1975: 54). The clan leaders whose attitude towards Namachanja had been impaired by the latter's

association with the Wanga and the Arab-Swahili traders in the pre-colonial times continued to contest his overrule over them.

But, unlike in the pre-colonial times, Namachanja now derived his powers and status from the British suzerainty. He was directed to implement important policies of the colonial government and keep order in his area. Namachanja, therefore, became a single most important individual in the Bukusu region through whom the British system of indirect rule was institutionalised.

Through this indirect rule policy formulated by Lord Lugard, the British had "... the objective ... to group together small tribes, or sections of the tribe, so as to form a single administrative unit." In their quest to form single administrative units, they ensured that "... the process now to be followed is the development of native, social and political institutions on native lines wherever such institutions exist, even in germ." (Sakwa-M'Sake, 1971:22)

In the case of Western Kenya, Nabongo Mumia of the Wanga was appointed to rule over other Luyia sub-groups in the region, including the Babukusu. The choice of Mumia was due to his ready welcome and the continued help he accorded to the British, and also the fact that of all the neighbouring people only Mumia's Wanga had a comparatively highly developed political system (Sakwa-M-Sake, 1971:22). Indeed, G.F. Archer, the DC of Mumias from 1907 to 1908 and his successor, K.R. Dundas declared that Mumia's position "resembled that of the Kings of Buganda, his influence extended across the Uganda border to the people on the slopes of Elgon" (Osogo,

1975:25). The British, therefore, quickly endeared themselves to Mumia. He was not only amiable, but had in the past requested for an alliance with the British.

The Wanga kingdom was, therefore, taken as a model along which the British had to base the development of the "native" social and political institutions (Sakwa M. Sake, 1971:22). Mumia's authority had to extend from the Wanga to other regions of Western Kenya, including Bukusuland. The appointment of Namachanja as a headman among the Babukusu was, therefore, in line with the search of Mumia's friends and relatives to enhance his power. This marked the beginning of a phenomenon that Ruth Nasimiyu calls the Wanga imperialism (Nasimiyu, 1984). Namachanja's appointment was not unexpected given that he had in the past worked closely with Mumia, his relative in marriage. Mumia's manouver to have him appointed seems not to have been misdirected in view of the emerging contexts and challenges to the Wanga power.

The appointment of Mumia as a paramount chief in the whole of the Buluyia area resulted in the integration of all communities into one native authority system with the Wanga bearing the ultimate exercise of the regional power (Aseka, 1989: 184). The new authority was reflected in the police and judicial activity, taxation, decision making and the establishment of an administrative hierarchy revolving around Mumias between 1902 and 1914 (Dealing 1974; 327; Aseka, 1989:185).

Working within the British administrative hierarchy Namachanja Khisa and later his son, Sudi Namachanja were to ensure the integration of the Babukusu in the British administrative machinery. They had to implement important policies of the colonial government. The most immediate of these for Namachanja was to ensure the

resettlement of all the Babukusu prisoners of war who had previously been detained in Mumias and now entrusted on him. He was also to ensure that the Babukusu paid constantly the war reparations as stipulated by the authorities. Apart from these, he was to prevent warfare between the Babukusu and their neighbours, surrender their weapons and, like their counterparts elsewhere, institute law and order (Nangulu, 1986:62).

Namachanja did not observe all the directives because in a situation where other clan leaders among the Babukusu were beginning to adjust to the vagaries of the colonial situation - including their loss of power, the directives seemed hard to be accomplished. The leaders of these clans and their people continued to show their detaste and open defiance towards the directives from the British colonial administration (Namuli, O.I, 1999). Indeed, in 1901, 1903, 1906, 1907 and 1908, the British authority found it necessary to send further punitive expeditionary forces against the Babukusu. These expeditions followed the refusal by the Babukusu to pay war reparations and taxes, and supply labour to the British. They also had attacked a British official and showed an attitude of "open defiance to the Government" (Lonsdale, 1964: 134; 1977: 858-859).

These expeditionary forces among other policies were able to entrench Namachanja's power among the Babukusu. The defiance to colonial directives signified the people's continued search for freedom from any external interference. Their nationalistic spirit began to be regulated through the power of the headman. By ensuring that reparation payments in form of cattle were constantly taken to Mumias, the economic base of the Babukusu was quickly weakened, and this had a negative impact on their nationalism. The community was so devastated and could not quickly recover from the

losses of the war. Indeed, it is attested that those clans that could not find enough cattle to pay reparations constantly borrowed from neighbouring clans and communities in order to meet the requirement of the British administration and this was a direct way of depastoralizing the Babukusu (Namunane, Namulala, O.I, 1999).

The British policy of banning warfare and of seizing of weapons from the Babukusu, especially, guns equally impacted negatively on the Bukusu nationalism. It undermined their accessibility to the means of protecting their liberty and freedom. Their military tradition, which had in the pre-colonial times, played an important role in nurturing their nationalistic spirit, was practically eroded. The Babukusu also ceased to reside in forts or walled villages and adopted a new life-style of living in open villages where they would be monitored by the British administrators and their agents (Wagner, 1949:31; Nangulu, 1986:62-67). By 1910 this change was more or less complete and it was generally responsible for the disintegration of the Bukusu cohesion which had hitherto been maintained within the forts in the pre-colonial times. The slow and sure way the disintegration was taking place was reflected in the fact that it took almost fifteen years for the demolition of forts to be achieved (see Makila, 1982: 218).

It was through the institution of headman that policies, such as taxation and labour recruitment, which neutralised the Bukusu nationalism, were imposed (Ogot, 1963:253). Direct taxation, as a regular system of taxation was unknown before the European occupation (KNA, PC/NZA/1/6-1912). When taxes were first instituted, they were mainly in kind (Osogo, 1966:130, Dealing, 1974:384) and in form of labour. They stood at the equivalent of 3 rupees per year (Osogo, 1966:132).

The first tax to be collected in the Buluyia area was in 1900 (Aseka, 1989: 191). In Bukusuland the authorities used the Swahilis when the first attempt to collect hut tax was made in 1904-5 (De Wolf, 1977:135). Their use as collectors was because the administration lacked personnel of their own (Bode, 1978:68). They were however, harsh and unscrupulous and sometimes forced the local people to feed them in the course of tax collection (Dealing 1974,337, Bode 1978:69). In response, they often ran away whenever they heard that tax collectors were coming (Khachonga, O.I, 1999).

But, although the collection of taxes was done by the Arab-Swahilis, some headmen benefited by co-operating in the collection. This factor led to open resistance by the Babukusu towards Namachanja. However, certain headmen also sided with the wishes of the people. Headman Mahero of South Bukusu who defied the express orders of the government demonstrated the latter case in 1901. The British had ordered that all men owning huts should pay a two-rupee hut tax. Mahero refused to co-operate in the collection of this particular tax and also retained for himself all the cattle, sheep and goats he had collected earlier in the name of the government. He apparently saw no point in co-operating with a government which was only interested in collecting more and more taxes and sending punitive military expeditions to harass even peaceful people (Namulala, O.I, 1999). Besides, Mahero was normally on somewhat bad terms with Mumia and he felt, not without cause, that one day he would be the target of one of these savage punitive expeditions (Osogo, 1971:9). In his report the District Commissioner had this to say:

> "Chief Mahero of South Kitosh (Bukusu)refused to deliver sixty sheep and goats belonging to the government,

> entrusted to him, and threatened to kill the messengers; Mahero's cattle (were then) seized after some fighting and taken over to Mumias. Mahero came in two days later, but his cattle (were) confiscated by the government" (KNA, DC/NN/3/1).

Mahero's action was not the only way in which resistance to taxation among the Babukusu was manifested. Many people genuinely felt that the taxes were too high and that these were meant to punish them for having engaged in the previous war with the British forces (Nabangi, O.I, 1999). Moreover, there was a general lack of cash in rupees in the district and the "natives" objected to parting with their cattle (KNA, DC/NN/3 / 1-1908-1916). This was happening in the presence of dishonest and unscrupulous collectors, the Arab-Swahilis whose past record in Bukusuland, as indicated previously, had negative outcomes. As the official records indicate this dishonest action by the Arab-Swahilis led to the burning of two government huts in Kitoshi or Bukusuland resulting in consequent police demonstration (KNA, DC/NN3/1-1908-1916).

In 1905 and 1908 the resistance of the Babukusu against heavy taxation acquired a new form. The Bukusu began to migrate eastwards into Trans-Nzoia to avoid both the British – Wanga hegemony and the payment of tax (Osogo, 1966: 132; KNA, DC/NN/3/1-1908-1916). Many settled in distant regions as far as Cherang'any hills. Like in the pre-colonial period, therefore, the Bukusu sought to compensate their deprivation of freedom and liberty through migration into Trans-Nzoia. Here they had historical ties as indicated in the previous chapter on migrations.

In 1910 a combined poll and hut tax began to be levied. Despite the appointment of Africans as collectors, following the disastrous experience with the Arab-Swahili

collectors, evasion of taxes became increasingly common (Osogo, 1966:132). This notwithstanding, in 1912 a total of about RS 305,679 were collected in the form of hut tax (KNA, PC/NZA 1/ 7-1913).

The high taxation, combined with harsh labour policies had a great impact in shaping the Bukusu nationalism in the period before 1918. Labour recruitment in the Buluyia area in the form of porterage was already being felt through the pulverization of the Company's (IBEA) caravan trade requirement (Aseka, 1989: 233). From the earliest period of colonial rule, demands were put on the local people to provide food and porterage for government parties to help construct houses, offices, roads, bridges and the Kenya-Uganda railway (KNA DC/NN.1/ 4-1908-1909). Prior to the advent of the British, the Arab-Swahilis had persuaded certain people to go along with them to work as domestic servants and porters. However, such people were sold on reaching the coast (Dealing, 1974:277). This apparent Arab-Swahili deception and predation had provoked the hostility of several Luyia sub-groups. With the establishment of colonialism, the perception of porterage by the local population was that of indifference (Aseka, 1989:235). The people were always reluctant to render their services to the government (Bode, 1978:63) as they simply did not see why they should work for strangers. In 1898, C.W Hobley had complained that:

> Wa-Kavirondo (sic) are more or less engrossed in their own pursuit of cultivation and the like and are yet strange to the idea of working for wages for an outside employer...But every effort is being made to gradually initiate them to the idea of regular work (Hobley, 1898:372).

Part of the effort made by the authorities to circumvent the problem of labour supply was to resort to the use of coercion. The government decreed that every village would provide at least a porter, otherwise property would be confiscated (Dealing, 1974:336; Bode, 1978:64). Local chiefs and headmen played a crucial role in ensuring that the forceful exaction of labour from Bukusuland was achieved. They were expected to recruit labour on behalf of the settlers and the government respectively. They were also supposed to provide communal labour for public works programmes (Zeleza, 1989:27-28). Together with professional labour recriuters who were given a free hand and therefore, used dubious and cruel methods to procure labour and as a result significant increase in the labour supply was noticeable. As Hobley recorded in the case of the materials his administration needed.

> The surrounding chiefs were each requested to use their influence upon their people to bring in materials, and they all responded with alacrity, and brought in large quantities without any demur whatever, whereas twelve months ago, they would have laughed at the proposal (Hobley, 1898:372).

But due to the introduction of hut tax, the local people were forced to seek wage labour in order to pay the tax. Lonsdale notes that once initial suspicion had been overcome, many people offered their services to the colonial administration, not only to earn their tax, but also, " to save up for cattle in order to furnish bride price and to buy clothes and bicycles (Lonsdale 1964:11). Direct taxation seems to have been the main determinant in pressuring Africans into wage labour. In 1890's and early 1900 forced labour was disguised as tribute labour in the colony. In 1908 forced labour for

government purposes was legalized on the premise that the state was the agent of the civilizing mission (Aseka, 1989:238). The labour demanded by the administration increased considerably with the outbreak of the First World War.

On the whole, taxation and labour recruitment among the Babukusu were met with resistance. These two policies mainly explain why the Bukusu began an outward movement to Trans Nzoia. It has already been shown that taxation methods were harsh and unscrupulous. Oral sources showed that whenever tax collectors appeared in the village, people would flee leaving behind their tax dues by the doors (Wangwe, Namulala, O.I, 1999). The tension and hatred between the Babukusu and the tax collectors grew so much that when tickets for taxes were introduced they were only attached to the huts. This was so severe in 1908 that the circumcision age group of that year was called "*Biketi*" (Khachonga, O.I, 1999). Similar anxiety occurred as a result of labour malpractices that were sometimes worse than slavery (Ogot, 1980:266). To ensure that dissertions were nabbed a system of identification was started to facilitate the recapture of disserters (Aseka, 1989:197). This at least ensured that labour requirements were met. Moreover due to an increase in the demand for labourers during the First World War porters were often guarded to prevent them from disserting (Aseka, 1989; Nabangi, O.I, 1999).

The Bukusu nationalism in the face of the above unfair colonial policies acquired new forms. Its driving force was the people's quest for freedom and liberty from those unjust colonial policies. Memories of the traumatising experience of the Lumboka-Chetambe war, however, made the Babukusu change their modes of resistance. The

introduction of taxation, for instance, meant that those who could not afford went out to seek wage labour in order to pay. The movement of labour from rural to urban areas also alienated labourers from their traditions as they developed a penchant for colonial values (Atieno-Odhiambo 1976:165-185). This was damaging for the Bukusu nationalism for far from denying the rural areas the necessary labour for production, it also destroyed the social cohesion that hitherto existed among the people.

The British continued to enact policies to enhance their administration in Nyanza as a whole. In 1902 the Eastern Province of Uganda was transferred to the East African Protectorate. Even so, the colonial administration in Nyanza remained inefficient. In 1907 John Ainsworth reported to Nyanza as a new Provincial Commissioner having worked among the Kikuyu and the Kamba, and "found the Kavirondo district in considerable disorder" (KNA P.C/NZA1/1-1907). The fault Ainsworth maintained lay partly in the fact that no one had examined the indigenous system of rule, but even more in the lack of any overall policy governing local administration in the colony (KNA PC/NZA 1/1-1907).

To improve and facilitate administration, therefore, North Nyanza was divided into sub-districts and administrative zones in 1908 (Dealing, 1974:328). There were eight administrative units and locations, including the northern Kitosh and Southern Kitosh among the Babukusu. Although they were created bearing in mind the population distribution of existing clan and Luyia sub-groups, they became locations comprising heterogenous clans that were hitherto self-governing (Aseka, 1989:188). This latter factor was to pose political problems to the administration. In several locations, the selection of

personnel for the post of chief and headmen did not follow local political realities. Mumia's relatives and friends were appointed as headmen of zones with the support of Geoffrey Archer who was the acting DC. In fact, the preponderance of Mumia's influence in the territorial demarcations had been demonstrated by the presence of Mumia and Murunga during the actual survey and demarcations by Archer (Osogo, 1966:77; Aseka, 1989:188).

The government seems to have planted seeds of later difficulties by appointing Wanga chiefs over non-Wanga people (Were, 1967:175-88). Among the Babukusu, for instance, chief Sudi, the son of Namachanja was left in charge of South Kitosh while North Kitosh came under Murunga, a half brother of Mumia. Murunga had twelve headmen under him, while Sudi had only three although the official hut counts had revealed equal numbers in both areas (De Wolf, 1977:137). This can be explained by the fact that various minority groups in North Kitosh, the Kalenjin and the Tachoni "tribesmen" were given their own headmen, whereas in South Kitosh the population was much more homogeneous. Moreover, in 1910 with the realignment of the boundary with Uganda, Murunga was also made chief over the new Teso location (KNA PC/NZA.3/7/2/1-1925-1930).

Shortly after the establishment of locations and the appointment of chiefs and headmen, one further element was added. This was the appointment of Mumia, the Wanga chief as a paramount chief over all the chiefs and headmen of the North Kavirondo. In November 1909, K.R Dundas declared that:

> the policy to be pursued is to make Mumia responsible for every sub-location in the district under the immediate

> supervision of the government. The sub-chiefs and the headmen of the various sub-locations will immediately be responsible to Mumia for the good order in their sub-locations.(cited in Osogo, 1966)

Far reaching measures were exercised through Mumia's sub-imperialism to improve the British colonial administration in the area under investigation. They limited people's movements and enabled the colonial administrators to emasculate the freedom with which the Bukusu nationalism had hitherto evolved.

The appointed leaders virtually turned into labour recruiters and were subjected to pressure and bribery to exact more labour from their areas. Their recruitment method became a major point of conflict between the chiefs and the Luyia homesteads (Aseka, 1989:188). It gave greater power to the administration to control the activities of the Babukusu. They also ensured efficient collection of taxes by minimizing evasions and dissertions. Evasions and dissertions had become a way in which the Babukusu responded to the unfair colonial policies. Finally, the administration wanted chiefs to maintain law and order through an institutionalised judicial procedure of official courts.

As early as 1896 Hobley had instituted a series of weekly *barazas* or general meetings of all the chiefs at Mumias (Dealing.1974: 345). He declared that all judicial matters in Nyanza would be arbitrated there. This continued to be the case and between 1902 and 1909 Mumia's brother, Mulama acted as the head of court matters in Mumias. While describing how the system worked it is put that:

> Each local council holds a meeting weekly when petty criminal cases and non-contentious civil cases are heard, the former reported to the station, while the latter are not registered. For more important business the district has

> been divided into four areas, the local councils in each are meeting once a month...An officer attends each of these *barazas* enters cases and conducts any business there is (KNA. DC/NN 1/3-1907-1908).

With the introduction of the colonial judicial system among the Babukusu, various traditionally accepted ways of arbitrating disputes, for example, warfare were no longer permissible. The government became the new and sole avenue of solving them. But the use of the colonial judicial system among the Babukusu was not without contestations. Murunga, for example, is said to have relied heavily on armed retainers who used their power arbitrarily (De Wolf, 1977:138). The use of armed retainers by Murunga was not without a justification. As a foreigner amongst the Babukusu, and due to the continued agitation against him , Murunga had to use arbitrary physical coercion because no mechanism existed to get the co-operation of the people on a regular basis. Indeed, as Ogot notes since the sub-division of the district in 1908 and the elevation of Mumia as the paramount chief, the situation in North Nyanza as a whole was to a large extent that of their struggle against the Wanga sub-imperialism (Ogot, 1971:96).

On the whole, although the armed retainers were disbanded and replaced by courts, consisting of the Bukusu *Mulango,* the people continued to detest the colonial judiciary system. They genuinely believed that it served colonial interests. Indeed, as the 1917-18 annual report confirms the majority of the cases tried in the courts were offences against the Native Authority Ordinance. These offences included disobeying lawful orders of the chief requiring able bodied men to perform road works or other government work in their locations, moving without permission from the jurisdiction of one headman

to another, disobedience of quarantine regulations, particularly in regard to small pox and assault (KNA, DC/NN.1/1-1917-1918)

The colonial judicial system played a central role in transforming the Bukusu nationalism. It did not seem to provide a fair mechanism of arbitrating their disputes compared to the traditional system. Acting as a central arbitrating place the courts enhanced the colonial government's grip and control of the Bukusu freedom and liberty. As Fortes and Pritchard note;

> direct force in the form of self help in defence of rights of individuals or groups is, no longer permitted, for there is now, for the first time a paramount authority exacting obedience in virtue of superior force which enables it to establish courts of justice to replace self help(M. Forters and Evans Pritchard 1940:15-16).

The apathy of the Babukusu towards this foreign judicial system was not therefore, unfounded. In fact as one source revealed, they did not go to court because they believed it was a foreign legitimate weapon used by the chief to rule over them (Namulala, O.I, 1999). This belief came to be further entrenched from 1912 with the passage of the Native Authority ordinance, which was the basis of the local system of authority for the remainder of the colonial period (Bode, 1978: 87). The ordinance empowered chiefs to charge in court anyone who had defied a chief's legitimate order. But since the ordinary Bukusu often did not have an idea of what were not, the provision gave chiefs an opportunity to exercise power arbitrarily over the people.

In 1909 the carrying in public of lethal weapons, such as spears in the whole of Nyanza was banned. The PC of Nyanza, John Ainsworth made it clear in a letter to B. Partington, the DC of Kericho when he wrote:

> I am of the opinion that the time has arrived when the natives (sic) should be informed that they must leave their arms at home (KNA. PC/NZA.3/31/3-1913).

Further orders prohibiting the carrying of weapons were promulgated in 1913. These were contained in a "Book of Instructions" sent to all chiefs and headmen of Nyanza which declared that:

> No persons shall carry or walk about with a spear, shield, buffalo hide, knob-kerry, excepting a stick. Nor to go to dance with ostrich feathers and shields (KNA P.C /NZA 1/1/8-1924).

In essence, these administrative policies and the various governmental efforts sought to control the Bukusu thereby influencing the nature of their growing nationalist response.

Moreover, the question of land had, perhaps, the most debilitating effect on the Bukusu nationalism. Following the conquest of the Babukusu in 1895 many of them were forced to go into exile in different places. In some areas the administration prevented the exiles from re-occupying the area they had fled from (KNA DC/NN.10/1/1-1926-1940; Nabangi, O.I, 1999).The obvious consequence of the Bukusu exile and land dispossession is that they lost their ownership, access and choice in the use of this fundamental resource of livelihood. Tenurial arrangements that they had subscribed to were shattered and their social cohesion undermined almost for good.

This problem was further exacerbated by the fact that most of the Babukusu began to drift towards the north into the Trans-nzoia area to evade taxation, labour recruitment, harsh administrative practices and generally a dislike to be ruled by a foreign chief. Moreover, some of the Babukusu went to seek for wage labour amongst the white farmers in the highlands. This outward movement from the district, therefore, impacted greatly on the Bukusu nationalism and on their traditional agricultural production.

Another element of this land question was the colonial decision in 1912 to establish a boundary to separate the Babukusu from the European settler farmers in the Trans-Nzoia areas. Three posts were placed along the Kuywa river, right in the centre of Bukusuland (Manguliechi, O.I, 1999). The Babukusu are however said to have demolished the posts. This demolition of the posts by the Babukusu demonstrated that vestiges of the Bukusu spirit for independence continued albeit in new forms.

The issue of protecting their land, which was a source of livelihood, as indicated in the previous chapter, had historically been respected. It was this concern that had led to the Bukusu's constant confrontations with her neighbours, including the Iteso, the Wanga and later the British in 1895. Indeed, with the subjugation of the Babukusu and the central role the Wanga and the British were now playing in initiating change among them, their worry was confirmed. It is said that the Wanga, like the British, continued to covet Bukusuland because of its fertility (Manguliechi, O.I, 1999). This covetiousness became perversive during the reign of Murunga in Bukusuland. Murunga encouraged the policy of land alienation among the Babukusu by encouraging many Wanga, Khayo and Iteso to settle and become farmers in Bukusuland (DeWolf,1977:142; Nasimiyu,1980:15;

Khachonga,O.I,1999). This happened mostly in the Kimilili area where the immigrants came to constitute a significant portion of the population. Indeed at one time out of the eight Mulango in the area four were Bukusu , two were Wanga, one a Iteso and one a Khayo (De wolf,1977:142). Faced with threats of losing their land through a policy that was initiated, encouraged and supported by Murunga, the Bukusu nationalist feelings began to be manifested in the anti-Murunga campaigns, especially in Kimilili and Malakisi regions as shall be demonstrated below.

The British administrative policies and institutional operations were not the only means that were used to transform and control the Bukusu nationalism. Other socio-cultural factors, such as the penetration of christianity and western education played a major part. Following the subjugation of the Babukusu by the British, missionaries started to expand their Christian faith in Bukusuland. The missionaries as it was their tradition were equipped with the Bible and Western education. Both Christianity and western education were key factors in shaping the Bukusu nationalism to 1918.

The missionaries' expansion in western Kenya and Bukusuland in particular was prompted by the need to minister to their Ganda converts employed as porters on the railway or in the port at Kisumu. Most of them were Christians with the rudiments of literacy (Lonsdale, 1964:193). Apart from this reason, missionaries were keen to expand as fast as possible because they feared that otherwise the country might fall host to Islamic faith (De wolf, 1971:4; Wangwe, O.I, 1999). This threat of Islam was real in the whole of the Buluyia area, given the early history of the Arab-Swahili activities in the

area. The Babukusu, were the community most affected (Osogo, 1966:131;Were, 1967:144).

In Bukusuland, the impact of the Islamic faith was not widespread, given the peoples' early negative perceptions towards the activities of the Arab-Swahili traders. However, a Bukusu elder Namachanja had welcomed and worked closely with both Mumia and the Arab-Swahili traders. This meant that their influence was significantly noticeable in the area. Indeed it has been indicated elsewhere that both Namachanja and later his son Sudi welcomed the Arab-Swahili traders in their homesteads (Wafula, 1996:118). Due to this welcome and the Arab-swahilis constant gifts in form of clothing, sandals and many others, some people adopted their faith including, Sudi's own half brother, Mukanda. For Sudi a young boy who later became an important colonial chief in South Bukusu, the Arab-Swahili influence on him was reflected in his ability to communicate fluently in Kiswahili.

Besides the Namachanja family, the period after the Lumboka-chetambe war also witnessed a significant spread of Islam in parts of Bukusuland. This was due to the Arab-Swahili interest in businesses in the area (Nangulu, 1986:66). From 1904 their activities became a source of concern to the Church Missionary Society following the improvement of communication by the railway. They were viewed as a serious threat to be promptly counteracted by opening up christian mission stations in the whole of western Kenya (Richards, 1956:9).

The need to counteract the spread of Islam in the whole of Buluyia was even made more urgent, given that this faith was accepted by most of the Wanga chiefs and

headmen who were used very extensively in the administration of the North Kavirondo district (De Wolf: 1977:162). Murunga who was posted in North Bukusu as a chief was himself a Muslim. Moreover, with Sudi tolerating the Islamic faith in South Bukusu, the new faith seemed to receive official respectability in the Bukusu country.

It is significant to note that apart from the chiefs other officials of the administration and the commercial partners of the coastal traders in the area, Islam touched only a tiny minority of the people. It did not receive wide spread acceptability by the general population. Most people continued to respect their traditional religion and regarded Islam as a religion of exploiters and slave traders (Nabangi, O.I, 1996). In this regard, therefore, the impetus for the penetration of Christianity in Bukusuland was not mainly motivated by the need to counteract Islam. It was, perhaps, largely a result of the need to spread western education as part of the imperial penetration.

Like Islam, the early response by the Baukusu to Christianity and Western education was generally characterised by apathy. To them, it was the same Europeans who had dealt a severe traumatising effect on them during the Lumboka-Chetambe War that were introducing Christianity and Western education. Moreover, the new changes were being introduced at a time when most of the people were facing great pressures from the impact of the colonial policies imposed on them for charges that were for the benefit of the colonial hold on their country.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the Babukusu had no single Christian mission station. But, mission influence was felt from the centers already established in other parts of Western Kenya. From 1908 following the subdivision of the

North Kavirondo district that led to the creation among the Bukusu country of North and South Kitosh locations, increased administrative attention in the area was witnessed. This went hand in glove with missionary activity. With a considerable rivalry between the Catholic and Protestant missionaries chief Sudi's South Kitosh fell under the former while chief Murunga's North Kitosh fell under the latter (De Wolf: 1971:4).

Working under the aegis of the administration, these missionaries sought through the help of chiefs to get adherents amongst the Babukusu. Conceived as a religion of their employers, chiefs had to ensure that all the people, including themselves accepted the religion. Admittedly, this was not to be achieved easily in the initial stages. Many people never realised the differences between the "Mzungu" or white man who was an administrator and the "Mzungu" missionary teacher (Nabangi, O, I, 1999). Even with the setting up of Christian teachings, therefore, a lot of suspicion still existed between the people and the purveyors of the new faith.

The first Christian teachings reached Kabula in South Kitosh location as early as 1912. The welcome by Chief Sudi of the missionaries was because he perceived them as part of the British administration who were his employers (Khachonga, O.I, 1999). These early catholic missionaries of the Mill Hill Fathers (MHF hereafter) included Nicholas Stam, Father Leo Puytellis and Father Vincent Farrel. Initially operating from Mumias, the fathers saw it necessary to extend their missionary work to Kabula in South kitosh. In North Kitoshi, the first missionaries to establish a station were the Friends African Mission (FAM). The latter group of missionaries who were expanding from Kaimosi established their station at Lugulu near the present day Webuye town. Chief

Murunga who ruled over North Kitosh told his headmen to send children to Lugulu after the establishment of a school. He assisted these missionaries to start out stations and schools in the area (Lohrentz, 1977:173).

Although with the help of the chiefs and headmen, the early missionaries in Bukusuland faced an uphill task in trying to win converts. This seems to agree with the observation made by the Nyanza PC that all the different denominations established in the province were finding the Africans "very difficult" and "unresponsive" to proselytisation (KNA, PC/NZA 1/3). The Babukusu were both indifferent to the message and suspicious of the strangers. Others even thought that these intruders, the missionaries, could bewitch them (Keya, Namulala, O.I, 1999). Accordingly, the welcome of missionaries by chiefs, like the early administrators before them, was viewed as a sign that an era of foreign exploitation was underway (Khachonga, O,I, 1999). Indeed, the Bukusu's fear began to be confirmed when the chiefs "appealed" to them for help in the construction of mission stations. In such cases able-bodied men were constantly engaged in portage and manual work on mission projects in the district.

Together with the labour on mission projects which on many occasions was forced, the Babukusu in the initial stages refused to comply with the chiefs' directives for young boys to be taken to mission schools. Many of the first people to attend the mission schools were sons of chiefs who were envisaged to take over the reins of power from their fathers. The chiefs themselves did not have the slightest idea of the new faith. However, the hope that chiefs would entrust their sons with missionaries was not easily realized. Richards observed that the chiefs were "heathen" without the faintest idea as to

what mission education meant. Yet they were being asked to entrust their children to an unknown foreigners and moreover, to pay for their education (Richards, 1956:15). This is true for the case of the Babukusu.

Chiefs in Bukusuland, although prepared to give land, materials and labour for building mission schools, were slow to yield to the missionary demands for their children. Sudi seems to have yielded to the missionary demand after realizing that the Wanga presence in Bukusuland as administrators and leaders was because of their ability to read and write (Khachonga, O.I, 1999). However, the sons came complaining of the strenous work at the mission school at Mumias, hence forcing the chief to withdraw them.

The earliest people to attend mission schools at Lugulu and Kabula in North and South Kitosh respectively, therefore, remained the children of converts and mission workers. On top of these, chiefs' retainers also forcibly captured children from poor families and surrendered them to the missionaries. In most cases, the parents of these children resisted strongly and sometimes staged a fight against the headmen and m*ulango's* (Nasimiyu 1980:16, Wangwe, O.I, 1999). This averse behaviour by the Babukusu demonstrated their resistance against a pollution of their culture and a disruption against their unity. Extreme forms of resistance manifested themselves in the burning down of schools constructed by missionaries in the area (De Wolf, 1977:166; Nasimiyu, 1980:16).

The richer members, on the other hand, often took pride in their cattle wealth and regarded sending children to mission schools as a waste of time. The children's labour

was required at home in tending the family herds (Keya, Khachonga, O.I, 1999). In other words, mission education was viewed as a destabilising factor in the Bukusu division of labour. Indeed, their fears were compounded by the complaints from children who were overworked at the missionary schools. They complained that they spend very little time in classes while they worked on mission estates (Khachonga, O.I, 1999). Like the conscription of labour therefore, the Babukusu viewed the missionary work as an extension of labour service to the colonial government. The immediate outcome of this was that the Babukusu became less prepared to allow their children to go to schools while those with children in mission schools started withdrawing them.

A major reason, however, that accounted for the Bukusu apathy towards Christianity and western education was their relevance in the Bukusu daily lives. The proliferation of both Christianity and western education indicated a cultural imperialism at its finest hour (Kay, 1973:63). As it has been demonstrated, both education and religion are important aspects of culture. The Bukusu indigenous education and religion, which permeated the social, political and economic activities of the people, were constantly attacked by the new Christian faith and education. Although specific evidence to illuminate the attempts to transform the Bukusu cultural norms is difficult to adduce at this early period, both archival and oral data revealed that there was a general assault on the Bukusu culture. The earliest targets were worship at traditional shrines, indigenous medicine, divination, dances, rainmaking, circumcision and burial rites (Temu, 1972:108; Khachonga, Namuli, O.I, 1999). Other practices which were attacked included witchcraft and polygamy (Wangwe, O.I, 1999). This attack on aspects of the Bukusu

culture created tension and unrest, and it was responsible later in the early 1940's, for the rise of Dini Ya Musambwa, an independent church among the Babukusu.

On the whole, christianity failed to supplant the Bukusu indigenous religion and education in this early period. In fact, attempts were made by the missionaries to reconcile the local beliefs and practices so as to win converts. This included the toleration of beer drinking and smoking among the Catholics in South Kitosh and on the position of women in society among the FAM in North Kitosh (De Wolf, 1974:4). On the rigid traditional Bukusu practices, especially those which touched on circumcision, the missionaries sought to transform them so that young men could be circumcised in hospitals under good hygienic conditions. However, by 1919 only five boys had been circumcised by Dr. A .A. Bond in Bukusuland (KNA, EAYMF 164/80). The rest continued to do it in the traditional way.

In spite of the early ambivalence towards mission education, some of the chiefs and local people began sending children to mission schools by 1914. During this time education was being imposed from the top by chiefs (KNA, PC/NZA 1 / 4-1908-1909). Initially, the Babukusu who went to mission stations expected immediate rewards. People who attended church services were given presents, including sugar, tea, plastic plates and food (KNA, EAYMF 164/80, Khachonga O.I, 1999). This method of rewarding church goers had also been used by the CMS in Butere where Chadwick, a missionary kept bottles of sweets with which he rewarded the church goers. He also served boiled potatoes and yams to boys who offered to work on his plot, and used such occasions to teach them (Richards, 1956:30). The rewards offered to the Babukusu were

particularly enticing, given that the country was struck by floods, famine and epidemics of influenza and small pox (De Wolf, 1977:162). However, when the rewards were not forthcoming and when the conditions in their country improved they withdrew (Khachonga, O.I, 1999).

Another factor that led to the search for mission education by the Babukusu was the colonial policies of taxation and labour conscription. These colonial policies compelled some of the Babukusu to seek refuge in the mission stations in order to evade the administrative excesses in operationalising colonial policies. This was more so during the outbreak of the World War I in 1914. The decision by the British to recruit Africans as soldiers to serve in this war forced quite a number of the Babukusu to take refuge in mission stations to avoid conscription (Temu, 1972:117; Nabangi, O.I, 1999). But while here, the missionaries mistakenly believed that the Babukusu had responded positively towards christianity. However, when they discovered the real reason for the "explosion" they rejected any more escapees (KNA, DC/NN/1/1-1917-1919; Kay, 1976:275).

On the whole then, the Babukusu response to christianity and western education can be said to have been linked to their struggle for justice, self realization and freedom from foreign domination. Although some adopted the new ideas in the initial stages, the majority showed and came up with various strategies through which they hoped christianity and western education would help them evade colonial pressures. However, this attitude towards christianity and western education was to change towards the end of the First World War.

By 1918, the number of the Bukusu children in mission stations at both Kibabii and Lugulu increased considerably (De Wolf, 1977:163). This upward trend could be explained by the increasing role of both the administration and the missionaries. Christianity had been Africanized and both Protestant and Catholic missionaries found it necessary to give considerable autonomy to teachers and catechists (De Wolf, 1971:4). Moreover, mission adherents in Bukusuland exhibited signs of "civilization" through better dressing and greater intelligence (Khachonga, Wekesa, O.I, 1999). Their mastery of the Kiswahili, arithmetic and writing became a source of attraction to other members of the Bukusu community.

The Bukusu were also not pleased with the allocation of acres of land to missionaries. This land initially belonged to them and they therefore continued to harbour feelings to the effect that the missionaries had robbed them of their land (Nabangi, O.I, 1999). Although they found it futile fighting for the land at the moment, some saw through education a panacea to the land question. They viewed the presence of foreigners on their land, including the Europeans, the Wanga and the Maragoli as having been due to their possession of better education. Moreover, the employment of aliens on stations made the local people feel that the missionaries favoured outsiders to work for them than themselves (Kay, 1973:123-127; Sifuna 1977).

The period after the World War 1 witnessed an increased pressure by some of the Babukusu on the colonial authority to provide them with more and better education. This education would, unlike the mission education, expected to forge the people's unity in their attempt to fight for justice, self-realization and freedom. Hitherto, mission

education had succeeded in dividing the Bukusu country into Protestant and Catholic spheres of influence. The crusade, therefore, for the Bukusu unity and better education was led by people in the likes of Pascal Nabwana and Anjelimo Welikhe who organized the advance of Catholicism into North Bukusu. These issues became the focus of the political associations that were to emerge in the 1920's whose activities extended to Buluyia and the Bukusu area in particular. They also fostered the Bukusu unity that led to the campaign against the Wanga sub-imperialism.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter, the method and the nature of the establishment of colonial rule among the Babukusu have been examined. It has been noted that the Babukusu resisted the pressures imposed upon them by the early British colonialists and their allies, a factor that culminated into the Lumboka-Chetambe War of 1895. This early resistance by the Babukusu impacted greatly on their later relations with the colonialists as demonstrated.

Notably, the imposition of colonial rule entailed the process of capitalist penetration into Bukusuland. In this sense, as evidence has adduced, colonialism affected the relations between indigenous modes of production and the capitalist mode of production and enhanced the Bukusu's integration into the western capitalist system. Colonial policy formulation and execution further prevented the development of a full-blown and economically potent bourgeoisie. Consequently, the processes of unequal exchange and uneven development were set in place and this resulted in the

peasantization, proletarianization and exploitation of the Bukusu masses by the new imperial system.

In retrospect, the foregoing developments had a great impact on politics in Bukusuland since they had a direct bearing on local class formations, which indeed, were antagonistic to those created by the colonial state. As the foregoing data reveal, this antagonism became more prevalent following the Bukusu defeat in 1895. Between 1896 and 1918, with the establishment of British authority in Bukusuland and indeed the whole of Buluyia, the administration became wary of the challenge offered by this antagonism reflected in the Bukusu nationalism. The Bukusu nationalism was perceived as a threat to the administration and its main characteristics had to be transformed in order to neutralise it.

We have pointed out that the colonial state with its apparatus, class composition, ideology and material base sought through force to transform the Bukusu nationalism. The Babukusu were, therefore, no exception in fostering a political response to the problems posed by the colonial political economy. Their resistance cannot therefore be reduced to mere attempts to employ violence in defence of their peasant value paternalism as is attested to by the post-colonial theory. Their political consciousness cannot be reduced to a mere claim to susbistence but generally to the challenges of capitalism with its exploitative and extractive demands. This engendered the changes in the material conditions, inequalities of power and privilege among different regions, classes and gender categories among the Babukusu. The growth of their consciousness was, therefore, an inevitable consequence of the colonial disruption of their old order.

This process was to continue even in the inter-war period as the next chapter will demonstrate.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 THE BUKUSU NATIONALIST POLITICS IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter it will be demonstrated that the inter-war years witnessed increased political activity in Buluyia generally and in Bukusuland in particular. The chapter shows how the increase in the political consciousness among the Babukusu could be explained by their continued protest against the place the colonial state had consigned them in the Kenyan political economy. New developments both at the local and national level helped foster their distaste of the colonial situation at this period. Their collective and individual experiences in the First World War, together with the economic hardships arising from it and the world depression, were crucial at this time. These factors helped to worsen their already deteriorating situation amid the harsh colonial policies especially, of land, labour and taxation.

This chapter also demonstrates the Babukusu's continued participation in the nationalist politics of the inter-war period in Kenya. The central role the unfair colonial policies continued to play in the escalation of their political activity is emphasised. Factors like the experiences in the First World War and the economic hardships arising from it are also examined. The world depression is conceived as equally important in unleashing all forms of hardships. As such, the chapter looks at both official and non-official avenues adopted by the Babukusu in challenging the colonial state and the latter's response to such initiatives.

5.2 The Colonial Policies and the economic realities in Bukusuland

The political history of the Babukusu in the inter-war period embraces the events that were taking place in the wider Kenyan arena. In Bukusuland, like other parts of Kenya, Africans were opposed to colonial land, labour and taxation policies. These policies received further formulations and amendments in the inter-war period amid the economic situation arising from the effects of the First World War and subsequently the world depression.

By 1918 the new developments and policy formulations within the colonial structure had confirmed the Bukusu fears about their future and place in the colonial political economy. The First World War had just ended and its effects were beginning to manifest themselves on the Bukusu economy.

As already demonstrated, many of the Bukusu able-bodied men were recruited mostly by coercion and outright force for military service and carrier corps. Others joined the war with a hope of evading the harsh colonial policies and wishing to engage in a wage earning career. Their absence together with the war time experiences proved significant during the post-war period.

In the war, the Bukusu men served as porters, supplying the British forces in the unfriendly terrain and climate of the German East Africa. Many did not survive the horrors of the East African campaign and countless others returned disabled (Maxon, 1989:72; Namulala, O.I., 1999,). The negative impact of this loss of manpower on the Bukusu agricultural production, particularly for the export market, was considerable in the inter-war period. There was a decline in cultivation while cattle's breeding was low

because of the previous heavy war military demands for slaughter. The obvious result of this was famine in the entire Bukusu region. This proved particularly disastrous to a community already devastated by the harsh colonial policies.

The end of the conflict moreover, coincided with the worst drought and disease epidemic to affect Kenya in the twentieth century. Rains failed over much of the colony in 1918 and 1919 resulting in famine in many African areas. On top of this, Kenya was ravaged by the world-wide influenza epidemic, which took many African lives in 1918-19 (Clayton and Savage, 1974, 88).

By 1918-19, therefore, the Babukusu, like other Kenyan communities, were restless. The future looked bleak not only because of the inevitable economic hardships arising from ecological factors, but more so because of the actions of the government. The latter was confirmed through the reformulation of colonial policies in favour of settlers as opposed to the Africans. Although this was done at a national level, it had serious ramifications on the Babukusu and other Kenyan communities.

During the war years, settlers who were already entrenched in the Kenyan political economy cleverly exploited the weakness of the British government to obtain several concessions aimed at consolidating their power against both Indians and Africans (Ogot, 1974, 265). In 1915 there was the passage of the crown lands ordinance, a measure that led to significant gains for the settlers. The ordinance provided extensive security of land tenure by extending leases of land from 99 to 999 years. It provided easy terms of lease and the means of ensuring the continued exclusivity of the white highlands

through the power of the governor's veto over land transactions between members of different races (Maxon, 1989:72).

The foregoing had an important impact not only on Africans, but also on Kenya's Asian community. Africans were much more affected because the ordinance defined all lands occupied by African people as crown lands. They thus became tenants at the will of the crown (Sorrenson, 1968, 189). Most significantly, the country now renamed Kenya, was formerly in 1920 annexed and declared a crown colony. It appeared that Kenya, might after all become another South Africa (Ogot, 1974, 266).

Another measure that favoured the settler's position was the approval for a measure providing for the registration of African men so as to secure settlers an improved and more reliable labour supply. As demonstrated in the previous chapter the Buluyia, generally and Bukusuland in particular provided an important labour reservoir for the colonial government needs and those of the settlers. The district figures for men registered for employment other than military in 1914 was 10,393 (KNA, DC/NN/1/2). By 1919 the figure had risen to about 13,946 and 29,213 in 1926 comprising about 50 percent of the able bodied adult males aged between 15-40 years (KNA, DC/NN/1/7). By 1928 there were over 31,000 Luyia registered labourers in employment. In 1944 this number had gone up to roughly 41,834. So far this was the highest "tribal" total of labourers in the entire colony (KNA DC/NN/1/26, Aseka 1989:299)

The steady increase in the labour supply from the North Nyanza district of which Bukusuland is part signified the intensity of the colonial pressures on the local population. Their readiness to cope with it, by engaging in wage labour, should not mask

the nature of its procurement. As earlier demonstrated, part of the labour was recruited voluntarily while a large fraction also left as conscripted labour for work on settler agriculture. The latter were more pronounced in Bukusuland because of the perception the people had towards the colonial administration since its inception. Moreover, it also dispensed with comparably few voluntary labourers. This was because of the region's distance from the administrative headquarters in Kakamega and the peasant commodity production in their areas that afforded them some cash to pay taxes and meet their consumptive needs (Ibid.).

Faced with the negative response of the Africans towards labour in Bukusuland, and other regions of Kenya generally, severe measures were taken by the government prompted by European settler needs, to obtain African labour from their homes. Even in 1918-19 when there were widespread famines and several outbreaks of smallpox and other killer diseases in Kenya, the government was less concerned with improving food production in rural areas than with recruiting labourers for European farmers (Ogot, 1974,266). Consequently, the Africans left their own forms of production and livelihood, and were forced to go out for poorly paid employment.

By 1920 several dehumanising labour policies had been passed and forced on the Africans. Indeed, the colonial officials including Ainsworth and Northey justified coercion of labour within the framework of the "civilising mission" where co-operation had to be taught to "unproductive idle natives"(Ogot, 1974, 267). Several ordinances were passed to achieve this colonial objective.

The Native Authority Ordinance of 1912 was amended in 1920 to give powers to the headmen and chiefs to recruit labour for public works. Under this amendment, any man could be recruited to work for a period of up to sixty days in any one year, unless he had been occupied in some other occupation - which meant wage labour and not work on his farm - for three out of the previous twelve months. Those who could not produce evidence of having been so employed were given the choice of either doing sixty days' work in a public department or finding a private employer - the aim being to try and meet the serious shortage of labour in settler farms (Ibid.).

The Native Registration Ordinance of 1915 was also amended in 1920. This introduced the obnoxious Kipande system. Though passed in 1915, its implementation was held up by the war and was begun in the late 1919. By 1920, therefore, African males over 16 years were subjected to a pass system that required them to carry an identity document, which doubled as a work record (Maxon, 1989:72). The purpose of the amendment was to apprehend deserters who ran away from an employer. Thus apart from curtailing personal African freedom, the Kipande system served to facilitate their working for the European settlers. It also clearly demonstrated their second-class status in Kenya (Clayton and savage, 1974, 132-3). Although Ainsworth had tried to curb the excesses of certain employers by introducing a labour inspectorate of about five people through an amendment to the Master and Servant Ordinance, the Kipande system remained one of the major grievances of the Africans until it was abolished after the second world war (Ogot, 1974: 268).

Another measure which was introduced at this time and intended to stimulate wage labour was the Resident Natives Ordinance. This was meant to regulate "the residence of Native families on the settler farms and on areas not included in the natives (sic) reserves". The purpose of the law was to encourage natives to emigrate from the reserves and become labour tenants on European farms. In short, therefore, the law introduced the squatter phenomenon.

In Bukusuland as previously demonstrated, the foregoing law legalized a process that had been going on since the establishment of colonial rule. Most of the Babukusu had been escaping from colonial oppression on their land where chiefs and other colonial functionaries were undoubtedly resorting to undesirable methods of keeping up the labour supply, increase taxation and alienate the Bukusu lands for the white settlers. Official reports show a continuous process of movement to the neighbouring settled districts of the then North Kavirondo region. Between 1934 and 1937 there were more than 2,000 Luyia squatters in Trans Nzoia alone (KNA, DC/NN/1/19). Of this number, the majority of them were some of the Babukusu from Bungoma district (Aseka, 1989, 300). Some of them are recorded to have settled there to avoid the hut tax and "tribal" obligations (KNA, DC/NN/1/4).

The creation of the squatter phenomenon though favourable in encouraging settlers' needs for labour in the early 1920's, later became a source of political agitation as we shall demonstrate. The squatter's struggle for economic survival in the Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu areas led to constant petitions and protest both to the settlers and the colonial government and acted as an important form of African agitation.

Apart from the European settled areas, the new labour laws resulted in a widespread discontent in the rural areas. It was this discontent in the rural areas, which produced the radical indigenous political movements of the 1920's. The masses were being oppressed politically and economically, and had to look for outlets to avoid further harassment from the colonial administration in the area.

The economic hardships in the inter-war period were further exacerbated by the colonial state's taxation requirements. Like in the previous years, taxation continued to be one of the primary fiscal measures utilised in this period to compel Africans into the labour market. Restating the essence of colonial policy between 1912 and 1919 the Governor, Sir Henry Belfeild said:

> We consider taxation as the only possible method of compelling the native to leave his reserve for the purpose of work... Only in this way can the cost of living be increased for the native (Clayton and Savage, 1974: 41).

African taxation had been increased during the war. Moreover, the end of the war found the colonial authorities faced with a financial crisis. Revenue fell far short of expenditure necessitating the raising of the hut and poll taxes, measures that were instituted in 1920-1 (Maxon, 1989: 74). Direct taxation by this time had been more than doubled, that is about Shs.6/= to Shs.16 per person (Ogot, 1974, 26; Kinyanjui, 1979:123). This increase in taxation at a time when Africans could not afford it became a major source of political agitation. Besides other policies, this increase forced them to bear the brunt of the colony's financial problems and to some extent subsidise the settlers.

This pattern continued throughout the 1920's despite the 1923 dictum on the paramountcy of African interests and the adoption of a dual policy as the basis for the social and economic development of the colony. The colonial government continued to show strong favouritism to the settlers. This impacted negatively on many Africans in terms of exacting higher taxes, cuts in wages, the registration system and forced labour, loss of land and the non-existence of political rights like those enjoyed by the settlers.

Additionally, there was towards the end of the 1920's the world depression, which together with the difficulties the colonial system placed on Kenyan Africans added to the severe economic hardships. The economic depression was caused by the collapse of the world market system. Its effect in the colonies in general was the sharp drop in the prices of primary commodities while colonial trade was reduced to a new minimum (Kanogo, 1989:112). Africans involved in the production of crops for sale were particularly hard hit by this fall of prices, which made production for external and internal markets unprofitable. With the collapse of trade, cuts in wages and declining opportunities for wage labour there were a lot of hardships on Africans who now faced triple economic disadvantages arising from the colonial government, settlers and now the economic depression.

Prior to the depression the government, as demonstrated, came out in full support of the settlers by, among other factors, legislating additional laws precipitating greater control of African labour. Due to this, their capital-intensive agriculture acquired a remarkable growth as opposed to African peasant agriculture. The latter was therefore also affected by the depression. However, in the period prior to the depression the

African peasant agriculture both in the reserves and settled areas had undergone a modest but solid transformation. As well as expanding the area under cultivation, the African farmers were gradually adopting new crops, new varieties of familiar crops and new techniques of cultivation. Above all, production for the market was on the increase (Kitching, 1980:25).

In Bukusuland in particular, the period prior to the depression saw a steady increase in the production of crops, like maize, bananas and sweet potatoes. Even the Babukusu who had previously laid a greater emphasis on livestock herding had gradually embraced agriculture (Wameme, Manguliechi, O.I., 1999). Although still engaged in livestock herding as a useful adjunct to agriculture and as a source of social prestige, the Babukusu had steadily undergone transformations and emerged basically as an agricultural community. One factor that had weighed heavily on them was the unreliability of herds to sustain them due to the dwindling numbers of livestock occasioned by famine, drought and more importantly war requirements and need to sell in order to pay taxes.

Over 100 tons of maize were being exported from the then North Kavirondo in 1923 from the region North of Nzoia River, which in actual fact is Bukusuland. They sold their crop at about Shs.1/50 for 60lbs of load while the Southern Luyia like the Tiriki, Maragoli and Banyore preferred selling at Kisumu at about Shs.2/= (KNA, NK/AR/1923/28, Aseka; 1989, 291).

The production of maize in Bukusuland and the Buluyia generally was considerably increased with the people's embrace of the ploughs that were introduced for

the first time by Horne (KNA, DC/NN/1/2 AR, 1918-19). By 1927 there were some 27 ploughs among the Babukusu. The total number of ploughs in North Kavirondo district was roughly 103. In 1938 the number increased to about 2,109 (KNA, PC/NZA/3/2/4). Indeed, as Nasimiyu notes users of ploughs in Bukusuland by 1936 had begun to intensify their use by forming ploughing companies. Between 1929 and 1936 Kimilili division had about 45 ploughing companies (Nasimiyu, 1984, 74). The history of these ploughing companies in the Bukusu struggle for economic independence and from settlers pressure will be demonstrated later in the study.

Because of an increase in the production of maize and other crops prior to the depression, grinding meals were established. In Malakisi for instance, VH and Company established a grinding mill capable of grinding about 90 bags of maize a day in 1938. Jivan Vital also put up a similar maize mill (KNA, Intelligence Reports NK 1938,8, Aseka, 1989, 291).

While this increased crop production was noticeable in the reserves, the same period, before the depression, also witnessed an increased crop production among the Bukusu squatters who had migrated to the Uasin Gishu and Trans Nzoia areas of the white highlands. Before 1918 it had become possible for squatters on European farms to cultivate large areas of land and keep a considerable number of cattle. Most of them had begun to enjoy a considerably much higher standard of living. In addition their social activity had not been restricted and they practised their traditional rituals and traded freely with those in the reserves or other middlemen (Aseka, 1989, 304). However, this economic progress among the Bukusu squatters was not without efforts to curtail their

rights and privileges through legislation - a factor that negatively affected them and in turn led to political activism (See Kanogo, 1981).

The negative impact of the world depression on this improved economic situation combined with the grievous colonial policies that were not relaxed, generated a feeling of discontent among the Babukusu and generally among other Kenyan communities. On the whole however, scholars have observed that although the peasant producers did not escape the ravages of the depression, they proved to be more resilient and bounced back with more vigour for the economic reconstruction (See for example Kanogo, 1989, Maxon, 1989). In this context therefore, it appeared like the colonial experience had hardened their outlook to face the depression with confidence. However, this is not to argue that the depression had least affects on the Africans, nor that it did not lead to widespread economic problems resulting into political agitation as shall be demonstrated. Moreover, the post depression era also witnessed widespread consolidation and diversification of agricultural peasant production and incipient African mobilization (Kanogo, 1989: 112). It marked the emergence of the African petty bourgeoisie who were primarily concerned with greater participation in the colonial economy. This group used both official and non-official channels to articulate people's grievances through a variety of political cum welfare associations. In the next section, we examine the Bukusu initiatives and political response to the problems arising from the discriminatory and exploitative colonial policies and the place they were consigned in the Kenyan political economy.

5.3 The Bukusu Initiatives and Political Activities in the Inter-War Period

In Bukusuland, like elsewhere in Kenya, the beginning of the inter-war period was marked by an increased realization by the masses of the importance of organized resistance to stem out the pressures being exerted by colonialism. Their political opposition was inspired by the incessant colonial injustices and exploitation arising from colonial policies on land, taxation and labour. Moreover, the Africans were driven by an apparent desire for greater local autonomy as a defence against the settlers who then dominated the central institutions of the colony (Lonsdale, 1970, 239).

Various factors came to play in encouraging and promoting new loyalties to larger groupings and fostering their unity. Apart from their economic situation now complicated by the ravages of the First World War, the depression and ecological factors, the Bukusu's awareness of the place they had been consigned to by the colonial state was fostered by other factors. These included their strive to a greater access to western education, including practical and technical skills as opposed to the mission education previously taught. The campaign for greater education as a way of countering their poor socio-economic situation had political outcomes for it cut across clan and "tribal" loyalties. The emerging educated Babukusu mooted new means of political redress. Especially in the 1920's when these educated groups made concerted efforts towards uniting the Babukusu and other Kenyan communities to effectively protest against the injustices of the colonial state. The formation of political and welfare organisation within this period, was aimed at redressing the community's grievances which were perhaps their greatest initiative. These associations embraced the earliest beginnings of inter-

regional politics and by 1939 had the semblance of national perspectives (Rosberg and Nottingham, 1966:168).

But in Bukusuland, like elsewhere in Buluyia, the educated elites were not alone in fostering an African political awakening. More often than not, they combined with official chiefs to achieve the same objective. As Aseka (1989, 280) has noted, it is ironical that the modern African political awakening of the 1920's was led by official chiefs and missionary teachers who had benefited most from colonialism. Another category that fostered this spirit at the beginning of the inter-war period were the Bukusu war veterans. The latter posed a tremendous stimulus to the political developments in Bukusuland in the post-war period. They were, perhaps, the most hard hit economically after the war. They, unlike their British counterparts, were not rewarded as they had been promised when they were serving in the war. More important was that as a result of the experiences of the war, they had become more aware of themselves as a distinct racial group; they had discovered the weaknesses and heterogeneity of the white men and even more crucial, they learnt the importance of organized resistance (Ogot, 1974, 264; Khachonga, O.I., 1999).

These groups of Africans posed an entirely new challenge to the politics of collaboration, which had already been devastated by the Bukusu exhaustion. One immediate outcome of this was manifested in the intensification of the Bukusu campaign against alien chiefs. This campaign, although having roots in the pre-war years, had little success by 1918. However, after the war the campaign against the alien chiefs began to succeed mainly because the opposition became more organized than before. As already

demonstrated the Babukusu had various reasons why they protested against the alien chiefs. Apart from seeing them as agents of the colonial government, they felt that the chiefs unfairly used their power to their own advantage while favouring their friends and relatives (Bode, 1975:92; Nabangi, O.I, 1999). Coming at a time when the Babukusu wanted an increased role in the colonial political economy, the accusations were bound to receive a mass backing from many people in Bukusuland and beyond.

In North Bukusu, there was an intensified campaign against chiefs Murunga wa Shiundu and Waluchio because of their dominance. This campaign among other factors effectively eroded their image of credibility before the colonial administration in the inter-war period. In March 1930 the Babukusu had succeeded in demanding the retirement of these Wanga chiefs from both Kimilili and Malakisi locations (KNA, DC/NN/1/11; NK, AR, 1930). The success of the campaign against foreign Wanga chiefs for local ones as reflected in the appointment of Namutala in Kimilili and Stephano Wekunda in Malakisi had significant outcomes. It demonstrated the triumph of the Bukusu desire to control their own affairs. In the context of the campaign, the foreign chief was a symbol of their lost independence, which they had, to some extent, recaptured by instituting local chiefs. Moreover, the loyalties involved in the campaign were at a wider level and not merely within a clan. Several clans under an alien chief developed a much stronger sense of belonging together. They saw themselves as members of a wider group under the same colonial situation. Indeed, this campaign was also taking place in other parts of Buluyia where the alien Wanga had been installed as chiefs.

Apart from the campaign against foreign chiefs in Bukusuland, there were also increasing demands for the election of chiefs from leading clans. This was the character of politics, especially in South Bukusu location where chief Sudi Namachanja was in dominance. The Babukusu from other clans continued to contest his rule over the entire Bukusu while he was a leader of one clan, the Bakhoone. Leading clans, like Balwonja began to agitate for recognition as a separate entity with an assistant chief of their own (KNA, DC/NN/1/12; N.K. AR 1931). Other non-Bukusu ethnic groups in the district, including the Sabaot , the Batura, the Iteso and later the Abatachoni also agitated for their independence. Recognising this agitation, the DC wrote to the PC in 1936 suggesting thus:

> "It appears to me that it is a matter of urgency to introduce a grade between the chief and the Mulango headmen. Certain large sections clamour for some recognition and resent having only mulango headmen over them. Of course, if we give way in larger cases, we would be pestered by insignificant little clans for similar recognition". (DNA, DC/NN 3/6/1)

Although the desire for recognition by larger clans in part reflected how the colonial administration changed the political order in the present Bungoma district, it also showed to a large extent an increased awareness of the people the place they had been relegated to by the colonial government, and the need to improve that situation. Although the campaign against Sudi was in favour of chiefs from leading clans, it masked the continued hatred harboured against Sudi for collaborating with the colonialists and exploiting his fellow Bukusu kinsmen. The latter concern involved claims for territorial integrity and independence. This explains why in most of the cases, the claim for

recognition went hand in hand with a claim for respect for boundaries between various clans and sub-ethnic groups. Indeed, the inter-war period witnessed numerous disputes over sub-ethnic boundaries, especially the Kimilili-Elgon boundary between the Babukusu and the Saboat, and the Wanga-South Bukusu boundary. Although the government sought solutions to these conflicts by putting in place certain administrative measures, for example, appointment of Lugongo's while taking the lesser mulango to the sub-ethnic clans, the agitation did not cease. "Letters, usually anonymous, breathing the spirit of liberty or death kept being received from time to time" (KNA, DC/NN/1/12 NK AR 1931).

The Bukusu agitation kept on intensifying over the years. One factor that can explain this was the increased prominence of the educated elite in the opposition campaigns derived from their new skills and status. Their education enabled them to communicate directly with others in the same situation and map out ways of countering the colonial pressures. The end of the First World War witnessed a good number of the Babukusu starting to demand for increased educational opportunities. This came about after the realisation by those who took part in the war that the powers of the white man lay more in his knowledge than anything else (Kay, 1973:118). Apart from this, interactions among the Africans themselves provided a lot of learning opportunities. For instance, the Babukusu who travelled to the coast, either as soldiers or carrier corps, came into contact with the advanced culture which became instrumental in changing their perceptions of life (See Lonsdale, 1964).

The post-war demand for education manifested itself in increased attendance of the missionary schools. The number of the schools also increased. In 1921, there were about 16 schools with an average attendance of roughly 1,800 pupils and there were 12 full members. In 1926 average attendance had gone up to about 2,400 and the number of full members had increased to 40. In 1927 the last year on which separate data for Kitosh (Bukusu) are available, another 133 members were added and the number of schools totalled to 50 (De Wolf, 1977:163).

By this time, the Babukusu, like other Abaluyia were showing signs of resentment of the purely religious and technical education, which the missionary schools, tended to concentrate on. Most of them began to agitate for secular education. Their discontent was expressed in demands for literacy subjects as well as high level technical subjects that could prepare them for salaried jobs. They felt that the technical and religious education, which was being offered to them, was of very little use (Khachonga, O.I., 1999). It was, according to Rodney, merely an education that mediated their subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of under development (Rodney, 1998, 264). They, like other Abaluyia groups, wanted an education which could adapt them to a fast changing environment by guaranteeing them employment both in the government sector as well as on the settler farms (Sifuna and Otiende, 1994:177). These latter goals would enable them to overcome the pressures that were being exerted on them by the British colonialists.

Indeed, the Babukusu demand for more secular education was not without a reason. The technical and religious education offered by missionaries in the early

educational institutions in Bukusuland at Kabula, Kibabii and Lugulu only served the government and settler needs (Keya, O.I., 1999). It produced clerks, artisans, administrators and many more that were also expected to be morally upright. To counter this apparently inferior education, the Babukusu, like other Abaluyia, also made concerted demands for educational institutions free from missionary control. As the PC of Nyanza noted in 1923:

> There is an insistant (sic) demand on the part of natives for the establishment of government schools in each district. Good as the work done by most of the missions has been in the matter of education, the quality of education given by them does not satisfy all the aspirations of the natives (KNA, PC/NZA/1/16, 1928)

Apart from calling into question the quality of the missionary education, the Babukusu demand for more secular education that was not discriminative. Missionary institutions, as they were, recruited only those who were willing to come under their Christian teachings. The Babukusu, like other Abaluyia groups, argued that although tax for provision of educational facilities was paid by all, missionary demand for a complete break with traditions limited educational opportunities for many Africans. In Bukusuland in particular polygamy, for instance, was an accepted norm, yet the missionaries and, especially, the protestants insisted on monogamy. This meant that children from polygamous homes were cut off from having access to the very educational facilities their parents had contributed towards (KNA: PC/NZA 3/33/8/9-1929; Khachonga, O.I., 1999)

The Babukusu, therefore, saw the establishment of secular institutions as the panacea of their social problems. In this demand, other Africans joined them in North

Nyanza. Presenting the North Nyanza Africans' case to the Director of Education in 1929, Chief Mwanza of Kabras noted that:

> Contributions by rate had been paid by everyone, irrespective of their religious tenets, and the government school would open to all. Support for the scheme did not postulate opposition to or abandonment of missions, who need not interpret it as hostility (Ibid.)

Although the government tried to divert these African demands by opening up agricultural and technical oriented institutes at Bukura in 1923 and later Sang'alo in Bukusuland in 1934, most of the education remained under the missionary control and still revolved around the provision of literacy, technical education and religious instruction (KNA, DC/NN/1/5 1924). However, the Babukusu continued to articulate their educational demands through the Kitosh Educational Society and the Bukusu Union. Moreover, the establishment of the Local Native Councils in 1924 provided opportunities for the Babukusu to advance their educational goals in the inter-war period as shall be demonstrated later in the chapter.

On the whole, the Babukusu in the inter-war period had seen and begun to appreciate the relevance of western education in their lives. Its relevance in arousing their political consciousness should however be emphasized. This education introduced a new social order among the Babukusu, other Luyia sub-ethnic groups and even among the non-Luyia groups of people. Indeed, wider possibilities emerged for social interaction between the Babukusu and other Kenyan communities. Here, the unifying factor was no longer membership in a clan or ethnic group but the common educational and to some extent religious experience.

The result of this unity was the undermining of both clan and ethnic affiliations. More importantly, however, was that the Bukusu educated men and women, like those of any other Kenyan community, were regarded with high esteem. They were considered to be the torch bearers in the community (Khachonga, O.I., 1999). Their education gave them prestige and were thus able to use their positions to influence the rest of the community with their ideas.

Those with western education not only attained the status of the elite class, but also entered a new political elite. They interpreted broader political issues for the uneducated masses, for example, by trying to inform them of what happened elsewhere in Kenya (Namulala, O.I., 1999). These were people who were well read according to the standards of the time, and who tried to explain to the masses the problems relating to issues, such as Kipande, forced labour, discrimination and all other forms of deprivation, exploitation and lack of proper political representation in the colonial state system. This was aimed at sensitizing and stirring up the people's nationalist aspirations. The only forum, however, that would provide for the dissemination of vital political messages was the formation of political and welfare organizations in Kenya, Buluyia and Bukusuland in particular.

5.4 The Formation of Political Organisations

One of the political consequences of the increased African political consciousness amid the problems they faced in the inter-war period was the formation of political and welfare organizations. The emergence of trans-ethnic organisations in Western Kenya

led by the Mission educated elites and chiefs in which Africans fostered new forms of political activity and protest was one major step towards the quest for freedom. Within these organizations both the Luyia and the Luo sought a continuing and recognised channel for expressing African views in official quarters and greater local participation in the practical affairs of administration and development (Lonsdale, 1970, 605).

But the initiative to unite and form trans-ethnic organizations was not without restrictions from the colonial government. The government as Bogonko argues feared that if it encouraged African political activities, it could work itself out of business (Bogonko, 1977: 398-399). Indeed, by 1917, the colonial government had formulated a policy whose sole purpose was to destroy the new form of nationalism by Africans. It had advocated for

> a definite policy of encouraging strong and isolated tribal nationalism as one of the most effectual barriers against Pan-African upheaval (Rosberg and Nottingham, 1966:54).

In this context, therefore, the policy of "divide and rule" which had been in place since the introduction of colonialism in Kenya was strictly observed and religiously carried out. This policy, more than anything else, explains why during the inter-war period the government strived to curtail attempts by the Babukusu and other Kenyan communities to establish country-wide anti-colonial organizations. The policy when supplemented with the colonial government's repressive measures helped redirect the trajectory of the growth of African political consciousness.

The first political association in Western Kenya was the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA) formed on 23rd December 1921. The association aimed at presenting

the hardships and grievances of the Luo and the Luyia populations of Nyanza to the colonial administration (KNA, DC/NN.1/5/12, 1922:1). YKA had links with the East African Association (EAA) whose roots were in the Young Kikuyu Association formed in 1919. The latter two organisations had condemned land alienation by white settlers and sought redress. However, due to its militant and uncompromising approach to political changes EAA was banned and its leader, Harry Thuku, was arrested. The suppression of the EAA demonstrated the government's continued concern and fear over organizations that had pan-ethnic aims and the threat they posed to the colonial system generally in Kenya.

At a meeting held at Lundha in Central Nyanza and with Jonathan Okwiri, a former carrier corp, as its Chairman, the missionary educated Luo and Luyia passed resolutions setting out a number of concerns. These included both national and local issues which generally reflected the people's unhappiness with the impact of the colonial state's economic measures, government policy, concern about the weakening of the chiefs' position and status and the desire for the missionary educated elites to play a greater role in local affairs (Lonsdale, 1970: 601). The YKA called for the establishment of a separate legislature for Nyanza with an elected African President, abolition of Kipande, reduction of taxation and excluding women from hut and poll taxes, abolition of forced labour and the dissolution of specific labour camps in Nyanza Province, the return of Kenya from colony to protectorate status, granting of individual title deeds for land, the construction of a government school in Nyanza and a general improvement of educational facilities, an increase in wages for the employed, including chiefs, and the

creation of paramount chiefs in the Central and South Nyanza (North Nyanza already had Mumia as paramount chief) (Lonsdale, 1964: 267 and 1970: 600-2; Aseka, 1989: 309-12).

Having organized and drafted their grievances, the association sought to place them before the colonial authorities. Amid rising tensions growing out of this dissatisfaction, the colonial state was forced to take steps to defuse the YKA appeal. The organization's threat was not only confined to the foregoing demands, but also in the party's firm stance. During subsequent meetings, the members had resolved that "even if the government imprison (sic) ten of our chiefs, we will not agree till we get what we want" (Aseka, 1989: 310). Moreover, the association's collection of money to be sent to secure the release of Harry Thuku, raised an increased concern on the government's determination to wipe out organizations that had nationalist tendencies.

Just like the EAA, the organization presented a potential threat to the continued settler dominance and to the colonial order itself (Maxon, 1989: 82). In the aftermath of the violent suppression of the EAA protest in Nairobi, the authorities were not prepared to risk such an outcome again in Western Kenya. Indeed, Governor Northey had to come personally at a meeting at Nyahera near Kisumu to meet with the YKA members. He promised to look into some of the demands of the organization, including the reduction in taxation, withdrawal of forced labour and labour camps (Lonsdale, 1970:604). Apart from these concessions, the governor did not yield to the organization's demands for the country's change of status from colony back to protectorate and on the issue of title deeds for land.

It was clear that the government's concessions were aimed at subverting the YKA's militancy. But, little success seemed to have been achieved in this direction. To its members, the concessions signified a success in their protest and they in turn sought for a continuous and greater participation in the colonial political set up. The only weapon for the government, therefore, laid in the changing of the character of the organization by enlisting the support of the CMS in Western Kenya. This was to successfully subvert the YKA (Maxon, 1989:82) through the activities of Archdeacon Owen.

Owen's role in YKA began with his change of its name to Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association (KTWA). With himself as the President of KTWA, Owen successfully made the new association abandon its former radical views and confrontational politics and devote much of its energies to welfare politics. It's style of protest was moderate, a show of Owen's overwhelming influence (Lonsdale, 1970: 236). Far from helping the Africans to solve their problems, therefore, Owen became successful in crippling their powerful associations and turned Africans into "law abiding peaceful citizens who were willing to pay taxes and co-operate with the government in all its efforts to bring about social advancement and general welfare of the community" (Mutoro, 1976:15).

It was no wonder, therefore, that the PC in 1923 acknowledged and appreciated Owen's role in subverting the KTWA's militancy. He noted that Owen had "done much to restrain political agitation, and the administration owes him a debt of gratitude" (KNA A.R. 1924). Thus, while the various groups of the Abaluyia, including the Babukusu

responded remarkably to the KTWA as their possible rescue from colonial injustices, the latter goal was not forthcoming at that time.

There were concerted efforts to break the trans-ethnic nationalism between the Luo and the Luyia. This was not only true to the relations between the Abaluyia and their Luo counter-parts, but also between Western Kenya and Central Kenya in general. In 1924, for instance, KTWA split into two with the emergence of a Luyia branch, the North Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association (NKTWA). Henceforth, the KTWA and NKTWA met only occasionally to collaborate on specific issues, otherwise they developed quite separately (Aseka, 1989: 312). Moreover, there emerged constant antagonisms between the two organisations based on conflict over land and schools in the border locations where the Luo and the Luyia were mixed.

Apart from the foregoing administrative schemes employed to break trans-ethnic nationalism in Western Kenya generally, religious rivalry also exacerbated this ethnic conflict and tension. The Mill Hill Fathers, for instance, formed their Native Catholic Union (NCU) based at Mukumu Mission in Kakamega in 1924. This further weakened the NKTWA. Infact, the Catholic missionaries, following the Government directive, effectively prevented the NKTWA from becoming an inter-denominational organization. Even in 1931 when another organization North Kavirondo Central Association (NKCA) whose main demand was against land alienation and child labour, following the discovery of gold in Kakamega, was formed, the Catholics equally avoided it. These divisive policies of the Catholics were especially acute in Bukusuland where as earlier indicated the area had been divided into Protestant and Catholic spheres. On the one

hand, while this led to more bitter competition, Africans especially the politically conscious ones and the missionary educated elites from both denominations refused to accept the divisions created by white missionaries (De Wolf, 1977: 148; Keya, Nabangi, O.I. 1999). This latter awareness led them into forming the Kitosh Educational Society (KES).

The government and missionary effort in breaking the African trans-ethnic nationalism did not, however, end up with the weakening of the hitherto powerful political associations developing in the whole of Western Kenya. The rising political agitation in the area occasioned by the rise of political associations caused the government to review the policy of political control. From this point, it was now obvious that the politically conscious Africans and, especially, the mission boys were an important threat to the government authority. The answer to this on the part of the government seemed to lie in the provision of "some body in which the young educated natives could feel that their views would adequately be considered"(Lonsdale: 1970: 605).

The inauguration of the LNCs in 1925 was, therefore, aimed at containing the leaders of the associations. In the LNCs, the DCs, the chiefs and the elders could sit together with the radical and young leaders of the associations. In so doing, a fora would be created for the 'responsible' Africans to express their views constructively and to participate in the development of their areas (Ogot, 1974: 280).

By co-opting the 'mission boy' element into local political activities, the LNC's aimed at diverting them from the national level and also kill any trans-ethnic associations.

This was ensured since all communication with the government was to be sent through the DCs who were ex-officio presidents of these councils. In the words of the Native Affairs Department Report:

> the councils (LNC's) - should go far towards counteracting any mischievous tendencies which might develop in native political societies, for representations made to the government by the latter would in the ordinary course be referred to the former in the first instance (Ogot, 1974:280).

The first North Kavirondo LNC had chiefs as appointees, including Mulama, Agoi, Murunga, Lumadede and Kisala (De Wolf, 1977:140). Apart from the chiefs, two people from each location were elected as members. Accordingly Pascal Nabwana, a head Christian of the Catholic Mission in North Bukusu, was a member of the North Kavirondo LNC (Ibid.). Like other LNC's established in Kenya, the North Kavirondo LNC was allowed to raise its own revenue through rates and was encouraged to spend it on roads, bridges, dispensaries, agricultural extension work and education among others (KNA, PC/NZA 3/10/1/1, 1924). These projects were to be undertaken in each location under the overseer of the Locational Advisory Councils (LAC) set up at the locational level to play the same role as that of LNC at the district level.

Although this arrangement worked perfectly well in incorporating the Bukusu educated elites and chiefs, including Pascal Nabwana, Sudi Namachanja, Welikhe, Stephano Wekunda and Namutala Mayeku into the government machinery at the locational level and therefore diverting them from issues of national concern, it did not quite succeed in containing their articulation of political grievances. Indeed by 1928 when the LNC's elected members became the majority in its official sessions, it emerged

as the official organ of the Luyia public opinion (KNA, DC/NN.3/2/2-1931). The LNC's became frameworks within which the Luyia ethnic particularism and sub-ethnic conflicts and struggles were fomented (Aseka, 1989:358).

In Bukusuland in particular, the members of the LNC's used them, and their positions as a useful forum for ventilating their grievances. They were keen to use these councils for the improvement of their areas and the conditions of individual members (Nabangi, O.I. 1999). This happened in spite of the fact that their actions and operations were subject to government approval.

One area in which the members of the LNC in Bukusuland became vocal was in the demand for more secular education. As already demonstrated, the Bukusu had started to appreciate and value education as an end in itself. Its rapid expansion in the Bukusu country devoid of missionary trappings became the main objective of the Bukusu LNC members (Wangwe, O.I., 1999). This was to be achieved through the establishment of secular schools. However, the missionaries resisted calls by LNC's to establish independent secular schools. This was partly because of the fear of the kind of competition likely to ensue once these schools got established. The missionaries anticipated that they were likely to lure away their would be pupils and converts (KNA, PC/NZA. 3/10/1/2-1925-1929).

But the missionaries' complaints did very little to change the Bukusu from their declared course of action which was further reinforced by the overwhelming support given to them by government officials in the province. The officials accused the missionary groups of providing poor quality education to their African clientele (Wasike,

1999:114). According to them, competition among these missionaries had made them convert their schools into evangelical centres, a thing which seemed to have affected the educational quality of those schools (KNA, PC/NZA 1/20-1925; DC/NN.1/8-1927; PC/NZA. 1/22-1927). Moreover, the failure of the DC to get well qualified artisans for the public works department in 1927 brought into question the type of technical education being provided by these missionaries. In the same year, the inspection reports on the missions' technical department further showed that these schools had failed to impart proper principles to their learners (KNA, PC/NZA, 3/10/1/2-1925-1929).

Consequently, the missionaries found themselves in trouble since they could not justify the government's continued allocation of grants to them for industrial education, which was largely being judged to be substandard. Thus, there was need for the establishment of schools in the Bukusu country with the belief that they would provide better education compared to that of the missions (See KNA, PC/NZA 3/33/8/4-1926-1927).

By 1935 the educated Bukusu had started to collect funds which were used to help build schools that had no denominational bias. Through the Kitosh Education Society (KES), started by Pascal Nabwana and supported by the various educated Babukusu, including Anjelimo Wepukhulu Welikhe (Khachonga, O.I., 1999), their quest for more secular education was actualized. The society stressed the abolition of spheres of influence between the various denominations in Bukusuland and decided that funds should be collected to assist in the building of schools of different missions (Wolf, 1971:7). The outcome of the society's activities in the whole of Bukusuland was the

triumph of a wide association of politically motivated men who organized themselves on the basis of friendship which was strengthened by, if not originating from a common educational and political role in the LNC's. Indeed as De Wolf argues, the Bukusu showed signs of greater unity in these years than ever before (De Wolf, 1977: 148).

The threat posed by the Bukusu to the government through the KES was great. Pascal and his fellow educated Bukusu took advantage of the argument against denominational segregation in Bukusuland to also spread the message on the need for the people to be united in order to overcome the hardships that were being imposed on them by the colonialists and the missionaries (Keya, O.I., 1999). Due to its apparent threat to the colonial administration, the society was proscribed towards the end of 1930s. However, it was speedily revived as the Bukusu Union with the advent of the Second World War. The Bukusu Union began to sponsor its own schools and by 1945 four of them were in operation. In 1948 they were ready to start a junior secondary extension at one of them (De Wolf, 1971:8, Namulala, O.I., 1999). The Bukusu Union became a radical organization under the leadership of Pascal Nabwana and it was through it and the activities of Dini Ya Musambwa among other avenues that the Babukusu articulated their political grievances during and after the Second World War as we shall demonstrate in the next chapter.

But education was not the only concern of the educated Babukusu through the LNC's. Concerted efforts were also made towards the self-improvement of the people's economic status. As Ogot argues more generally, the failure of the 1921-22 political movements had convinced Africans in Kenya that Europeans could only be fought

successfully with their own tools, western education and economic power (Ogot, 1974: 280). The struggle for more secular education, therefore, went hand in hand with efforts towards economic betterment.

As demonstrated earlier, the economic realities in Kenya and in Bukusuland in particular during the inter-war period occasioned mainly by the effects of the First World War, the world economic depression and the colonial policies, especially those that favoured the settlers greatly affected the Africans. The latter's economic situation seriously deteriorated. Moreover the situation in Bukusuland was complicated by the invasion of locusts in the early 1930's that devastated the crops (Khachonga, Wekesa, O.I: 1999).

To improve the foregoing state of affairs, both the educated Babukusu and generally the people who were politically conscious took the initiative within and outside the LNC's to encourage the masses on ways of improving their economy. According to oral evidence, self-sufficiency in food production among the Babukusu became their main goal (Keya, O.I., 1999). Apart from new methods of farming, such as the use of ploughs and contour ploughing, crops, such as maize, beans, potatoes, groundnuts and bananas were emphasized and promoted. Advice was also offered on techniques of soil conservation, for example, by discouraging over cultivation on the same piece of land, planting of trees and use of animal manure on farms (Chikati, 1988:47). These developments, happening at a time when the government had put restrictions on African production and marketing, especially in the 1920's, greatly boosted the Bukusu society and fostered the peoples' self-determination.

Perhaps, one area in which self-determination was enhanced was in the production of maize. The introduction of the oxen pulled ploughs in the 1920's marked a turning point in the history of the crop in Bukusuland. Since the ploughs were expensive, there was the formation of ploughing companies and groups to ensure that they were easily accessible to each member (Nabangi, O.I., 1999). Between 1929 and 1936, Kimilili division had about 45 ploughing companies (Nasimiyu, 1984:74). By 1939 one company alone had about 600 acres under cultivation. The company, Yalasi farmers club of South Kimilili consisted of eleven farmers (KNA, PC/NZA/3/27/23-1927; Aseka, 1989: 293). There were other ploughing companies in other parts of Bukusuland with the largest concentration being in Chwele, Chesamisi, Lugulu and Kimilili areas (Vermouth, 1978:77).

The obvious outcome of this proliferation of ploughing companies was the increase in food crop production, especially maize. This, together with the establishment of townships like Bungoma, Kakamega and Busia where the extra crop would be marketed, made maize the main source of revenue in the whole of Bukusuland. Impressed by the state of maize production in the Kimilili area, the North Nyanza DC in January 1934 wrote that:

> This is a location of Agriculture on large scale. Two or three disc ploughs are a rule and shambas run to 20 or 30 acres... upto date, maize has been a principle crop (Vermouth, 1978:78)

The implications of this apparent improvement in the economic state of affairs and,especially, food production in Bukusuland on the people's political lives were to

follow. The immediate being that the Babukusu became better able to cope with the challenges of colonialism than before. More important, however, was the realization that they could actually compete favourably with the settlers in the Trans-Nzioa neighbouring areas if various political restrictions were eliminated. Indeed, some of the restrictions were being overcome by their unity through the various groups and ploughing companies and also through the conscientizing role being played by the educated elites and the politically conscious Babukusu. The solidarity gained through the various ploughing companies had political outcomes.

The Babukusu had learnt the importance of collective bargaining through the various groups and ploughing companies.. Both economic and political demands were presented to the government for redress. It is no wonder, therefore, as Aseka argues in reference to the whole of Buluyia that the period of the depression provided the first complete decade when economic entreprenuership and political expression became a reality (Aseka, 1989:294). During and after the depression, the Babukusu peasant producers under the auspices of the North Kavirondo Chamber of Commerce (NKCC), an association of maize growers in Kimilili and Webuye neighbourhoods, presented various grievances to the government. Their main bone of contention was the drop in the prices of maize by 50% of its 1929 value by 1931 (Kanogo, 1986:2; Aseka, 1989:294). Although the effects of the depression could explain the drop in the price, its discriminatory application on the Babukusu resulted in their bitterness against the government. The National Marketing Boards paid lower prices for produce supplied by

Africans on the pretext that it was invariably diseased and, therefore, of lower quality (Wafula, 1981:23; Nabangi, O.I., 1999).

The demands for better prices by the Bukusu members of NKCC was also compounded by other demands laid down by the parent NKCC which was formed in October 1933. Among the demands, included unfair competition posed on African traders by Indian hawker traders, the government's restriction on cutting of trees in Central Kavirondo and hindering efforts of cultivation by Africans while at the same time permitting Europeans and Asians to cut timber in South and North Kavirondo which they sold in Kisumu (KNA, DC/CN/8/2; Aseka, 1989:296). These concerns cut across the whole question of African economic interests. The new outlook which reflects the rise of the African political consciousness can best be understood in terms of the conflict between the African economic interests and those of the colonial political economy.

Indeed in Bukusuland the conflict was not only confined to the activities of the NKCC which tried to articulate the African interests. Even after disbanding it with the outbreak of the Second World War, other organisations and groups of people came to the fore in trying to articulate the Bukusu interests within the constraints of colonial policy. The next chapter shows how in their activities, the Bukusu tried to do this.

5.5 Summary

The inter-war period was a remarkable time in the Bukusu anti-colonial history. It was a time that witnessed the continued participation of the people in Kenya's anti-colonial politics. The policies enacted by the colonial government together with the

economic hardships experienced by the Babukusu at the time, including the effects of the First World war and the depression all generated the material conditions that fuelled the people's unrest and political activism.

It is clear from the study that the colonial government directed its policies towards the promotion of its wealth and that of the settler community. As a consequence of this, there emerged fundamental changes in the Bukusu material conditions that ensured the people's survival. Owing, therefore, to what the Babukusu viewed as dominating and exploitative political and economic arrangements; political protests against the government through official and unofficial channels arose. This chapter has shown how the people's quest for greater participation in the colonial political economy by attempting to control the means of production and the political machinery of the colonial state began to take shape, although receiving rebuffs from the government. Towards the beginning of the Second World War, several strides for the Bukusu unity began to yield fruits. Though disadvantaged, various groups of the Babukusu people took initiatives through the narrow political channels to play a concerted role in the community's self improvement which in turn fostered the people's self-determination for the struggle for independence.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 THE BUKUSU POLITICAL ACTIVITIES DURING AND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

6.1 Introduction

The period between 1939 and 1963 was a critical one in Kenya's history in general and in Bukusuland in particular. Within this period the seeds of African nationalism which were sown in the past germinated, grew with rapid speed and matured into the decolonization drama, which eventually led to the independence of the country in 1963. Just like the First World War had precipitated and fuelled nationalist unrest among the Bukusu, so did the Second World War. The war time circumstances specifically created the conditions favourable in shaping both local and nationalist politics.

As indicated in the previous chapter, the Babukusu, like other Kenyan Africans, had articulated their grievances against colonial policies, like land alienation, taxation, neglect of their area in terms of development, the Kipande system, forced labour, and generally lack of representation in the legislature. By 1939, however, none of these grievances had been redressed by the colonial government, which instead worked closely with settlers to thwart the African political and economic efforts. Moreover, avenues of articulating the African demands in the form of early political parties were either suppressed or cleverly turned by the colonialists into ineffective tools for serving the African interests.

With the advent of the Second World War, therefore, the old African grievances which had been shelved for a long time, and which they were not prepared to overlook

came to the fore. New forces also emerged on the Kenyan socio-political scene propagating for freedom from colonial domination. These forces, which were a consequence of the changing economic and growing political awareness, made the area to witness militant rural unrest as characterised by the activities of Dini Ya Musambwa. The growing political awareness was also reflected in the new African leaders. Most of these leaders were the products of the new education policies, which were initiated in the 1920's. This group felt discriminated against by the colonial government, yet some of them had acquired high economic and educational standards. The result of this was a widespread disillusionment and bitterness among the new leaders who set up indigenous political parties and societies through which they articulated their demands.

This chapter focuses on the impact of the Second World War on the rise of the Bukusu nationalism. It also examines the roles of Elijah Masinde's Dini Ya Musambwa, Pascal Nabwana's Bukusu Union and other political parties that came up to challenge colonialism and eventually led to Kenya's independence.

6.2 The Impact of the Second World War and the Bukusu Nationalism

The Second World War played a major role in arousing the African people's consciousness in Kenya. The news of its outbreak in 1939 was received with great excitement and uncertainty among the Babukusu (KNA DC/NN.1/21, 1939; Namulala, O.I., 1999). The reason for the people's response was based on the perceived implication of another war on their individual lives. Many still nursed fresh memories of the first World War, even after a lapse of twenty four years. They were not willing to repeat the

same experience, which they had experienced during and after the First World War (Namulala, O.I., 1999). The role of the colonial administration in their hardships was particularly noted.

Indeed, their fears were not without cause for it did not take long for the British Colonial Office and the colonial government to start mobilizing all the potential resources in the whole colony, both in men and materials for the purposes of war (Zeleza, 1989:145). The mobilization of labour was, perhaps, of immediate concern. The importance of reorganizing and using African labour in the initial stages of the war was to avoid the expensive foreign labour (Momanyi, 1996:26).

By 1939, enlistment for pioneer corps had already commenced in Nyanza and the local people had begun experiencing the high-handedness of the local administration. In Bukusuland the recruitment was done by the colonial chiefs who were very brutal (Khachonga, O.I., 1999). To avoid such brutality from the government agents, most able-bodied Bukusu men migrated to the Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu areas. Others fled their homes on learning of the presence of the chiefs and hid in the bushes and only come back when they were sure that the recruitment party had left (Khachonga, Keya, O.I, 1999).

Most of them resisted forceful conscription but to no avail. Indeed, as one source maintains most of the young men opted to go and work on the Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu settler farms than be conscripted for military service (Wangwe, O.I., 1999). This seems to account for the increase of men in employment outside the district during the period. In 1932, for instance, about twenty percent of the men in North Kavirondo were

working outside the district. In late 1930's, the figure increased to thirty percent. As Aseka puts it, the late 1930's and the Second World War set the stage for male migration as a permanent feature of the male life cycle (Aseka, 1989:330).

For those who were conscripted, military service was their destination. Some participated as soldiers while others were charged with the responsibility of constructing and manning roadblocks on the boundaries of neighbouring countries to avoid military attacks. They made part of the Kenya Defence Force.

Young and energetic able-bodied men were the ones mostly in demand. The chiefs identified homes with such youth, captured and took them to labour recruitment centres. Some were taken from schools into military lorries with the promise that they were being taken to places of work only to land at military training depots (Zeleza, 1989:146).

According to Khachonga (O.I., 1999) very few Bukusu men voluntarily joined the military. The latter group joined the military on learning that the war was just another one of the European jobs available. Few others fell prey to false rumours that military service would exempt them from paying taxes (Khachonga, Wameme, O.I, 1999). Rumour had it too that those who waited to be conscripted into the army and did not join voluntarily were always sent to the frontlines where fighting was fiercest.

Propaganda was another method extensively used to lure the Babukusu into the military service. One source indicated that the common propaganda used in Bukusuland was that if the youth did not join the war, the racist Germans and Italians would invade their land, kill and maim children and women (Wangwe, O.I., 1999). They, therefore,

joined the army in view of the rumoured danger. But perhaps the most effective and compelling thing that attracted some young men was the promise of better and fuller life after the war. Funds for trade and business, land for settlement, permanent and high wage employment and other such tentalising opportunities (Zeleza, 1989:148).

The colonial government's propaganda was not wholly successful in wooing the Bukusu youth into the war, neither were the empty promises. Consequently, more assertive and coercive methods had to be employed to get the required number of people for military service. Labour shortage was also being experienced in the "essential services", like on the white farms, since not all of those recruited ended in the military service.

The colonial state responded to the problem of labour shortage by extending mass recruitment beyond what they initially called " Martial tribes". The colonial state additionally acquired broad powers of coercion over labour. New regulations were passed, such as the 1940 defence (Native Personnel) regulations which gave the governor power to order PC's to produce quotas of workers for military and essential services (Zeleza, 1989:148).

Each clan in the district was given its quota to produce. This forced many lcoal administrators to become even more dictatorial in the way they sought labourers. Their actions greatly annoyed many Babukusu people. Further, screws were tightened on the squatter system which directly affected the movement of the Bukusu young men to the Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu settled areas. In March 1944, the statutory number of days which squatters were allowed to work in a year was increased from 180 to 240

throughout Kenya (Zeleza, 1989:149). This, indeed worsened the conditions of the Bukusu squatters and also deterred those who had the intentions of moving to the settled areas to avoid conscription for military service.

The direct consequence of these coercive colonial policies and measures was the increase in the number of those Bukusu men conscripted for military service. Apart from those recruited, the whole community was upset by the loss of the young and energetic men who hitherto served in various key roles in the community. This helped to heighten their discontent towards the colonial administration.

But beyond the military service another area that the Babukusu were dissatified with was their material contributions to the war effort itself. They, like other communities in Kenya, were to provide food and cattle for the army. Tax was also increased in the name of catering for the emergency war fund. This overburdened the people and helped to heighten their discontent (Namulala, O.I., 1999).

The chiefs were empowered to raise allotment of animals and people were encouraged to take their animals for "auction". The colonial government bought the "auctioned" animals at throwaway prices. Many of the Bukusu men did not want to part with their animals. Indeed, as it is argued, it was only until the chief began moving to each home to confiscate the animals that they unwillingly started to give out their animals and especially cattle (Khachonga, O.I., 1999). This unwillingness to part with their animals and men for the military, perhaps, partly explains the energy put in the exercise by the colonial administration as is reported in the Annual Report thus:

> The collection of stock for the Supply Board and the military recruitment have each made their calls on the time

of officers and native authorities alike (KNA, DC/NN.1/24. 1942).

Apart from the foregoing Bukusu contribution to the war effort in terms of men and stock which generally went to the central war Fund, Ambulance Fund, KAR the Pioneer Corps, the Labour Corps and other units of the forces (KNA, DC/NN/1/22. 1940), other requirements were expected of them. They, like other Kenyan communities, were also expected to contribute to agricultural production. The latter was to increase in order to boost the war effort. Of particular concern was their provision of labour for settler farms. Although their contribution in terms of labour to the settler farmers was already noticeable as earlier demonstrated, the war requirements demanded its increase. The government had, therefore, to pre-occupy itself with the issue of providing labour for both military service and for agricultural and to some extent mining industries in the country as a whole (KNA DC/NN. /1/22. 1940). It became mandatory for the Babukusu to provide labour for both obligations. This combination only increased the people's dissatisfaction and discontent against white domination.

By providing labour for settler farmers, especially in the Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu settled areas, the Babukusu, like other Kenyan communities, helped to greatly enhance the settler economic power at their own expense during the war period. Indeed, as it is argued, the government intensified its forced labour policy to keep the settler economy going (Bogonko, 1980:30). On the other hand, the settlers made substantial political gains during the war in representation on various committees and on the executive council where non-officials gained parity with officials (Ibid.).

The foregoing combined settler and government economic and political power worked greatly to inhibit the Bukusu progress during the war period. Their labour policies particularly effectively depopulated the Bukusu area of the able bodied men and contributed to famines.

The years between 1942 and 1944 witnessed the emergence of a lot of problems in Bukusuland mainly resulting from the occurrence of a serious famine. The famine mainly resulted from the deprivation of the area of energetic men who had hitherto provided most manual labour. They had also played various security roles in the community (Keya, O.I, 1999). The great agricultural production experienced in the inter-war period, as earlier demonstrated, therefore, greatly declined mainly because of the shortage of manpower. Cultivation of foodstuff was left to old men and the women folk who could barely produce enough to sustain the community (Situma, O.I., 1999). Famine also resulted from the failure of the short rains and on few instances the low prices paid for the Bukusu grown maize (Wafula: 1981).

The food shortage was a grim but eloquent testimony to the harsh conditions generated by the war and an outcome of the cumulative effects of the discriminatory agricultural policies. These colonial measures and policies were opposed in Bukusuland and were among other things behind the emergence and spread of Dini ya Musambwa. The latter sect occupies a central position in the Bukusu and indeed the whole Kenyan nationalist history.

6.3 Dini Ya Musambwa as an Agent of Decolonisation

Many works have been written on Dini Ya Musambwa (hereafter DYM), a religious sect that emerged among the Bukusu. Its activities in Buluyia and beyond have attracted the attention of many scholars who have treated the sect as a movement of all sorts (Wipper, 1971 and 1977; Were, 1972; Kipkorir, 1972 and 1973; Shimanyula, 1978; Simiyu, 1997). Were in particular argues that the DYM was actuated by religious, political, economic and social grievances (Were, 1972:85).

In this section, we need to point out rather quickly that we shall not concentrate on aspects of the DYM, its origins, basic beliefs, practises and spread in their entirety. Our concern here, is to show that DYM as a religious sect was inspired by political and nationalistic aspirations. We demonstrate how through the DYM, the Babukusu and other Africans who practised it articulated their grievances and challenged the colonial status quo. Of particular interest here also, is how DYM and other organisations intensified and accelerated the process of change in the political economy of the entire colony during and after the Second World War.

DYM had its beginnings in Bukusuland where it first came to public notice in 1943 (Were, 1972:86; Namulala, O.I., 1999). There are various versions about its origin. According to Simiyu, the movement originated through a dream that was received in the 1930's by a man called Walumoli (Simiyu, 1997:6). In the dream, Walumoli was instructed by ancestors to preach to the people about the revival of the Bukusu way of worship (Ibid). Walumoli was a close colleague of Elijah Masinde and because of the latter's charismatic qualities became the uncontested leader of the movement from its early days.

It is however, Elijah Masinde popularly known as "Okhwa Nameme", who began preaching the messages of chasing the white men out of Kenya through the movement in the late 1930's (Simiyu, 1997,6, Manguliechi, O.I., 1999). Elijah became the spirit and engine of the Musambwa Movement. It is not therefore true, as Wipper (1977) and De Wolf (1977) would like to have us believe that the Musambwa Movement began in mid the 1940's.

Elijah Masinde belonged to the Babichachi clan among the Babukusu. He was born about 1910 of Mwasame (father) and Wabomba (mother) in Maeni village of Bungoma district. He joined the Friends African Mission (FAM) in 1928 and by 1932 was working as an instructor with the mission (Shimanyula, 1978:3). In 1935, he took a second wife against the requirements of the mission and was therefore expelled (Ibid. p. 4). For the period up to 1942 he was employed by the Local Native Tribunal Court. His duties included arresting suspects and attaching their property after Court Orders. He was so disgusted with his work that he quarelled with the President of the Tribunal, refused to obey orders and resigned (KNA, DC/NN.10/1/5, 1946-1949, Simiyu, 1997:14; Keya, O.I. 1999).

DYM, like other African independent sects that arose in the colonial times, was engineered by the activities of the colonial government, Christian missionaries and White settlers (Ndeda, 1985: 16). It combined traditional religious aspirations with political aspirations and served as a fundamental vehicle for agrarian protest (Wipper, 1971: 157).

The five first members of DYM were Masinde, Benjamin Wekuke, Mzee Walumoli, Mzee Khaoya and Jesse Mufwani (Simiyu, 1997:14, Keya, O.I., 1999). By

1943 Masinde was preaching openly against Christianity and the colonial government. From this time the movement spread far and wide among other Luyia sub-ethnic groups, especially the Tachoni, the Kabras and the Banyala (Navakholo). It also spread among the Iteso, the Pokot, the Nandi, the Marakwet, the Elgon Maasai, the Gusii, the Turkana, the Karamojong, the Gishu, the Sebei and the Abasoga of Uganda.

Its rise and rapid spread can be ascribed to a variety of factors. First, there was a genuine feeling that the people needed a religion which was firmly rooted in their traditions and way of life - a religion which would be comprehensible and meaningful as well as sympathetic to the people's social code (Were, 1972: 88; Ndeda: 1985). Christianity, as taught by missionaries, was foreign, distant, incomprehensible and even harsh. It was intolerant and unsympathetic to the African way of life. DYM was thus activated largely by a desire to break away from many of the Christian Mission teachings and prohibitions (KNA, DC/NN.10/1/5 1946-1949). Owing to the changed circumstances the religion that emerged was a blend of African traditions and those aspects of Christianity that were acceptable to the people (Were, 1972:87).

DYM adherents argued that missionaries preached a contradictory message and that colonialism emphasized separation between the coloniser and the colonised. Christianity being the arm of the British imperialism justified and sustained the colonial order. The DYM adherents read and interpreted the Bible and discovered these contradictory religious teachings as given by mission churches (Shilaro, 1991:168, Manguliechi, O.I., 1999).

The Old Testament formed a major reference section of the Bible for DYM adherents who found in it many practices that were similar to the Bukusu way of life. The value of offering sacrifices for instance had been abundantly demonstrated in the Old Testament where it is a central feature. There are also other practices like polygamy, use of stones in worship, respect for important mountains and revered ancestors which appealed to the Babukusu (Were, 1972, 186-87; Namulala, O.I., 1999). DYM therefore encouraged these practices and allowed polygamy and divination (Wolf, 1977:188).

Equally important was the fact that missionaries were regarded as skilful robbers. While they propagated the gospel of love and equality to all men, in practice they did the reverse. They were accused of fleecing the poor to their own advantage. They lived expensively unlike their African clergy (Were, 1972:88; Manguliechi O.I., 1999). Masinde himself infact openly criticized and condemned the missionaries' alliance with the colonial administrators in looting Africans. He, for instance, accused the head of the Anglican Church in Nyanza Province, Archdeacon W.E. Owen of having supported the confiscation of land by whites during the 1931 Kakamega Gold Rush (Simiyu, 1997:14; Manguliechi, O.I., 1999).

Masinde and his adherents often violently attacked the colonialists. It was because of the violence and political activity which characterised the movement that Bukusuland was described by the PC for Nyanza in December 1946 as:

> "The one area of this province where there is considerable political activity at present" (KNA, DC/NN.1/28- 1946).

DYM's rallying cry was Kenya for the Africans and that 'Wazungu' (Europeans) should go back to their country. Masinde walked in the countryside preaching this (Wipper, 1971:159). In a public meeting at Kimilili in 1944, for instance, he is reported to have said:

> This is a very important day. I have come to talk to you, and I want you to listen to me attentively. It is time for these white people to go. God has told me that their stay is over. They have to leave everything they own behind because they did not come with anything from their country. All they have was acquired here. Let those Asians who are listening to me now also know that one day I'll tell them to go and they will have to pack up and go (Wipper, 1977).

Soon after this speech, Masinde and his friends, Wekuke and Wenani assaulted a local chief and were brought before the District Officer's (DO) meeting *(barasa)*. The D.O. for North Kavirondo, Kennaway, said in his report that Musambwa leaders uttered subversive statements during the Baraza (Simiyu, 1997:16).

Part of the subversive statements also included hymns and pronouncements of other leaders of the sect and adherents. One of their famous hymns was

> Oh baba jua
> Oh baba jua
> Wazungu wanatusumbua
> Were Baba yetu tusaidie
> Wazungu waende kwao
> Maina wa Lugali (sic)
> Wachiye Wanaumbwa
> Mutonyi Bukerembe (sic) Wasaidie
> (KNA, DC/NN.10/1/5 1946-1949).

In its literal translation the hymn goes:

> Oh father in heaven know
> Oh father in heaven know

These Europeans are troubling us
God assist us
Let the Europeans go to wherever they came from
Maina Wanalukale
Wachiye Wanaumbwa
Mutonyi Wanabukelembe assist us.
(The last three are revered Bukusu ancestors)

It was through such hymns and speeches that the DYM exploited the grievances of the people by championing their cause and merely used religious millenarian promises to win their support. Apart from DYM exposing the wickedness of the established churches, especially the FAM and Catholic denominations, other grievances were articulated. It deplored the imposition of hut and poll taxes and argued that these were measures to force the hitherto self-sufficient peasants to leave their land and work for Europeans for petty wages (Wipper, 1971:164). It was critical of compulsory work (conscript labour) and the Kipande system, making the movement to articulate fundamental basic social and economic grievances. Thus, it championed the cause and welfare of the people as a political organ and promised its adherents God's help in their struggle to rid the country of foreigners (Were, 1972:94; Aseka, 1989:370).

In October 1944, many DYM adherents resented the colonial soil conversation policies. During this year, the notorious orders for terracing land and uprooting of Mexican marigold weed were issued (Simiyu, 1997:16; Wangwe, O.I., 1999). The weed had become dangerous to crops, especially maize which had become a major cash and food crop in Bungoma district by 1940's. Although the above measures were supposedly aimed at increasing the productivity of African reserves, the use of compulsion and the exemption of the European settled districts from this exercise angered DYM adherents.

Moreover, they also resented because of the attitude of Bickford, the Local Assistant Agricultural Officer. According to the PC of Nyanza, Bickford resented "any form of direction" and "sought to carry out his appointed duty by force of rule rather than by explanation and leadership". The whole public was resentful of his methods because he was "a hard task master" (KNA, DC/NN.10/1/5 1946-1949; Were, 1972:94, Namulala O.I., 1999). Consequently, his house was later burnt down. During the same incident, houses next to Bickford's were also burned. They belonged to FAM which DYM hated (Simiyu, 1997:17, Namulala, O.I. 1999).

DYM was also highly critical of government conscription in Bukusuland for military, public projects and settler farms. Masinde and his friends refused to be conscripted (Were, 1972:94; Manguliechi, O.I. 1999) and violently obstructed those who came to conscript people. In their argument such free labour only enriched Europeans who in turn brutalised them (Manguliechi, Watima, O.I. 1999). Elijah preached that such free labour shall be paid for (KNA, DC/NN.10/1/5, 1946-49). People were also irritated by the colonial government's policy of procuring cattle for war requirements. They categorically told the government "we do not like our cattle to be taken during active services" (Were, 1972:94).

The crusade against conscription of Africans was particularly appealing to many people. This was more so in the Trans Nzioa and Uasin Gishu areas where land had been alienated and numerous squatters were trying to eke out a living by working on the settler farms (Wipper, 1971:164). Already as early as 1943, a leader of DYM in Hoey's bridge (now Moi's bridge):

> "Preached to them (adherents) that all squatters and labourers should not work for Europeans, should not be afraid of troubling Europeans and of spreading DYM everywhere. They must keep on praying to God to give them good luck and strength for removing the Europeans back to their homelands in Europe from Africa" (cited in Were, 1972).

This appeal which threatened the real essence of colonialism did not stop at this. Settler farmers were harassed in many ways and there occurred numerous strikes for better pay and working conditions. DYM undertook the writing of threatening letters to settlers on the farms in the two regions (Aseka, 1989:371;Namulala, O.I. 1999).

In the reserves, violence and assault of Europeans continued to be the main feature of DYM activities in its attempt to articulate Africans' grievances. On 14th February 1945, Masinde was convicted of assault and sentenced to 12 months in prison. It was during this time that the colonial authorities certified him insane and confined him at Mathari Mental Hospital for two years (Simiyu, 1997:17; Manguliechi, Khachonga, O.I. 1999).

Yet his conviction did not stop the spread and intensity of DYM. Upon his release, Masinde addressed many enthusiastic crowds of over 500 people in rallies at Kimalewa, Kimilili, Kamukuywa and Misikhu. In all these meetings, he reiterated his two major concerns that the Africans must have their own religion and that "Europeans should return to their own country and that an African King, governor and administrator would have to be appointed" (Were, 1972:93). He, indeed openly asked those who attended the rallies to manufacture arms with which to fight the colonialists (Simiyu, 1997:17; Namulala, Manguliechi, Khachonga, O.I., 1999).

Masinde regarded the heroes of the Lumboka-Chetambe war of 1895 as the guiding spiritual forces among the Africans. His aim was to drive the Europeans out of Kenya to fulfill the mission of the 1895 Lumboka-Chetambe war (Makila, 1982:2, Kakai, 1997:11, Namulala, O.I. 1999). To cement the unity of the nationalists, he held a commemorative service at Chetambe fort to remember the colonialists' massacre of the Bukusu heroes who resisted the colonial invasion in 1895. With a party of about 5,000 followers, Masinde slaughtered a sheep there and sprinkled its blood on the six gates of the fort sites invoking those spirits to help him achieve independence for Kenya (Nasimiyu 1979/80:17; Kakai, 1997:11; Manguliechi, O.I. 1999).

The colonial authorities panicked after this ceremony. An attempt to arrest Masinde drove him into hiding. More and very strict surveillance was also placed on the Bukusu. Moreover several riots and atrocities continued to be committed against the chiefs, police and "tribal" policemen sent to enforce law and order. There were also attacks on police stations. There was a wave of arson that burned down mission churches, schools, administrative buildings and caused a variety of other harassments (Wipper, 1971:157).

The climax of the violent confrontations between DYM and the colonial authorities came in the second half of 1947 and 1948. Within this period a crowd of DYM supporters clashed with policemen at Malakisi. During the incident the police opened fire on the crowd killing 11 people and wounding six others. After the incident 34 people were sentenced to nine months each for taking part in an unlawful assembly (KNA/DC/NN.10/1/5 1946-49). Between the same month and 30th June 1948, a total of

55 people were tried for being members of an unlawful society (Were, 1972:98). It was because of the widespread violence that characterised Bukusuland that the PC of North Nyanza wrote:

> The Kitosh (Bukusu) have been restive since 1943...incidents of rioting, indiscipline and non-co-operation, disobedience and impertinence. The DYM is to simple people an attractive faith incorporating violent nationalism together with a certain amount of superstition (KNA Ref. NO KC 2/5/49 cited in Aseka, 1989:365).

On 10th February 1948 Masinde and his lieutenants Wekuke and Joash were arrested and deported to Lamu (KNA, PC/CP/8/8/8 in Aseka, 1989) and the movement was proscribed. But even with the arrest of the leaders and the proscription, the movement did not die, but instead went underground. In December 1949, for instance, the DYM's flag was erected at Kimilili and two letters attached to the pole. One letter emphasized the international recognition received by DYM and the other warned the local chief and his men against recruitment of people for compulsory labour (Were, 1972:73; Manguliechi, O.I., 1999). Later the man convicted of erecting the DYM flag bluntly told the DC that he would never abandon his religion. He argued that:

> "Europeans have been ruling them for fifty years and have not improved their lot. A man can only earn nine or ten shillings a month on a farm" (cited in Were, 1972:93).

This was a bold challenge to the colonial system and was clearly politically motivated.

A challenge to the colonial system in general and the presence of the Europeans in Bukusuland was perhaps at the centre of DYM's grievances. Its struggle for justice, self-realization and freedom from foreign domination in Bukusuland in particular and Kenya

as a whole was basic to their demand (Nasimiyu, 1979/80, 16; Namulala, Keya, O.I. 1999). In their quest, the issue of land was central. In the Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu areas, land had been alienated and numerous Bukusu squatters were trying to eke out a living by working on settler farms (Wipper, 1971:161). The Babukusu lost their land all the way from Kamukuywa to Naitiri. The local people were herded into reserves and they could not expand to new areas even if they became overcrowded (Wafula, 1981; Aseka, 1989, 251;).

Even in the overcrowded Bukusu reserves, land was still being alienated to allow for the building of schools, mission centres, police stations, administrative centres and many more. With alienation on such a large scale, the Babukusu could hardly make a living amidst the harsh colonial policies. The campaign by DYM adherents, therefore, for the Europeans to go back to Europe was hinged on the foreseeable future of them regaining their lost lands in the event that the Europeans left (Manguliechi, Keya, Khachonga, O.I. 1999). This also partly explains why the DYM adherents mostly targeted schools, churches, police stations and many alien places that had taken up much of their land. Moreover around 1949 DYM adherents directed their anger at demolishing concrete beacons marking boundaries between Bukusuland and Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu settled areas (KNA, DC/NN.10/1/5 1946-1949; DC/NN.1/3/1949, Namulala, O.I., 1999).

The demolition of concrete beacons was, however, not confined to the Bukusu DYM adherents. Among the Kabras, concrete beacons were demolished around the Luandeti area that marked the boundary between Kabras and Uasin Gishu settled areas

(Shilaro, 1991:177). A Kabras sect member, Mayafu was found in possession of notebooks in which details of all beacons demarcating the boundary of the settled areas and reserves were noted. They were earmarked for demolition before the authorities caught up with him (Ibid.).

DYM's most revered threat to the colonial authorities continued to lie in its articulation of the African grievances far and wide. It was this concern that made the colonial government consider it not as a religious sect, but as a nationalist movement under a religious cloak. It was also for the same reasons that it somewhat co-operated with other organisations that articulated African grievances in different ways in Bungoma and elsewhere.

A case in point is DYM adherents' sincere concern for the development of the African education. The adherents questioned the payment of taxes which were not utilised for the provision of schools and other services for the African taxpayers. Towards this goal, some DYM adherents founded schools in which free education was offered (Were, 1972:95; Namulala, Khachonga, O.I. 1999). The concern with the development of education among the Bukusu by DYM had also been articulated by the Kitosh Educational Society (KES) as demonstrated in the previous chapter. Moreover, the latter society which evolved into Bukusu Union by 1939 continued to advance the same objectives as will be demonstrated below. In this demand, the Bukusu Union members and DYM co-operated in the 1940's in the quest for better educational opportunities for the Babukusu people.

DYM's other demand that attracted many other Africans and organisations was their concern with the terms and conditions of service for Africans who were employed by Indians. Its adherents agitated against inferior wages, long working hours, high prices of goods, failure to provide invoices for purchased goods, poor housing conditions and lack of tea breaks for the African workers (Wipper, 1971; Were, 1972; Simiyu, 1997; Namulala O.I. 1999). They threatened to incite the local people to withhold their supplies of milk, eggs and fuel to employers who neglected reforms (Were, 1972:94-95). By championing the workers' grievances, the DYM took on the cloak of a trade union (Were, 1972:95; Aseka, 1989). Apart from the violent approach to this concern, the DYM clearly expressed similar sentiments with other trade unions in Kenya in advancing Africans' tribulations.

The link between DYM and the Bukusu Union cannot be understated. Indeed, at the peak of DYM activities in Bungoma, the Bukusu Union, under the chairmanship of Pascal Nabwana, openly criticised the government and Chief Namutala for the constant harassment of Elijah Masinde, the DYM leader (Manguliechi, Keya, O.I. 1999). It abhorred the constant presence of policemen in the Bukusu reserve (Aseka, 1989:366).

The complicity of Nabwana and the Bukusu Union in DYM activities was made more conspicuous when on 17th November 1947, he had addressed a Bukusu gathering on DYM and had led it in obstructing the chief in his efforts to get the people unite and drive out the adherents of the movement and hand over Masinde to the government (KNA, DC/NN.10/1/5 – 1946-49; Aseka, 1989:368; Keya, O.I. 1999). It was because of such activities that the Bukusu chiefs and other government officials in Bukusuland

greatly detested Pascal Nabwana. Indeed, at a meeting of the Bukusu chiefs at Kimilili on 22nd June 1949, all the chiefs were unanimous that the Bukusu Union be condemned as a bad influence. They wanted the union prohibited as it had undoubtedly passed some seditious resolutions and stirred up a lot of trouble (Aseka, 1989:369, Namunane, O.I. 1999).

But, despite the obvious link between DYM and the Bukusu Union and the avowed hatred the chiefs had towards Nabwana, the colonial administration could not afford to ignore his role. The administration persistently sought his co-operation and often attempted to pursuade him to use his position as a member of the Local Native Council, Member of the Locational Advisory Council and a leader of the Bukusu Union to suppress DYM (De Wolf, 1977:184; Aseka, 1989:369, Keya, O.I. 1999). This explains why even after Pascal's arrest and trial, he was immediately released after spending only three months in prison (De Wolf, 1977:184). A much better solution in dealing with him was to appoint him as the President of the Court of Appeal at Kakamega. This would at least keep him away from any direct involvement in locational politics. This was also followed by the subsequent banning of the Bukusu Union (Ibid.).

The assignment of new duties to Nabwana in Kakamega and the banning of the Bukusu Union did not stop him from interacting with DYM members. Because of their shared concerns, Nabwana still used his position as the LNC representative now ADC to secretly support some of DYM activities and programmes at the local level (Manguliechi, Namulala, O.I. 1999). Moreover, former Bukusu Union members including Peter Wafula and Jonathan Barasa, actively co-operated with DYM leaders (KNA, DC/NN.10/1/5 –

1946-49; De Wolf, 1977: 184-189; Manguliechi, O.I. 1999). Indeed, the latter were responsible for the fast spread of DYM activities in Eastern Uganda, especially among the Bagishu through their working closely with the Bugishu Union. Bugishu and Bukusu Union together with DYM shared similar concerns as will be demonstrated below. They often held joint meetings both in Kenya and Uganda (Manguliechi, Keya, O.I. 1999).

The co-operation between the Bukusu and the Bugishu Union members with DYM marked a turning point in the evolution of the sect, especially in the years after 1950. It did not only attain an inter-country recognition but was according to De Wolf "furnished with the brains" (De Wolf, 1977: 183). This indeed marked a distinct turning point in DYM's nationalist agitation for it combined new petty bourgeois revolutionary ideas with radical millenarian promises and tactics (Aseka, 1989: 369).

The wider regional appeal of DYM, especially through the incorporation of former Bukusu Union members had far reaching impacts on Kenyan nationalism as a whole. The Bukusu Union had overtly identified itself with Kenya African Union (KAU) which was formed in 1944 to champion African rights in the whole colony. Indeed, Pascal Nabwana himself was the Chairman of K.A.U. in the North Nzoia branch while Matayo, a son to Pascal's younger brother, was its secretary (De Wolf, 1977; Keya, O.I. 1999). It is no wonder, therefore, that DYM had contacts with KAU and co-operated with the latter in articulating African grievances. As it is argued, many adherents of DYM had attended a huge meeting at Chwele in 1948 that was addressed by Jomo Kenyatta the then President of KAU (Manguliechi, Namulala, O.I. 1999).

That DYM established close links with KAU cannot be over-emphasized. Though the latter was still considered a Kikuyu party, personal contacts between the Babukusu and the Kikuyu in Kimilili and elsewhere in Bungoma made the appeal of K.A.U. stronger. These contacts notwithstanding, the Babukusu faced similar problems as the Kikuyu which were being articulated through KAU. Moreover, KAU was not the first 'Kikuyu' association to appeal to the Babukusu and DYM in particular.

It is argued that the DYM also had links with the secret Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), founded by Harry Thuku in 1922 (Simiyu, 1997:26; Khachonga, O.I. 1999). The latter association protested against colonial oppression and exploitation and in particular against the Kipande system introduced in 1919. KCA was banned in 1940 because, like the DYM, it opposed the involvement of the Africans in the Second World War (Simiyu, 1997:26). KCA had already established contacts with the Taita Hills Association (THA) in 1938. The fear of the colonial authorities was, therefore, that the alliance between K.C.A. and DYM would threaten the formation of a united nationalist movement in Kenya.

Apart from its alliance with other nationalist organizations, the DYM's greatest threat to the colonial administration also lay in its potential to appeal to many communities. This was because of its aims, which attracted people living and experiencing similar colonial injustices as the Bukusu. As already demonstrated the DYM activities spread both in Kenya and Uganda. In the latter country it spread to places like Bumbo, Buputo, Bulucheke, Muyembe and Sebei (Nasimiyu, 1979/80:17;

Namulala, O.I. 1999). Here, communities like the Bagishu, the Iteso, the Abasoga, the Sebei and the Karamojong enthusiastically embraced it.

In Kenya, apart from the Bukusu, the DYM was greatly embraced by most of the other Luyia ethnic communities, and especially the Tachoni, the Kabras and the Banyala (Navakholo). It is argued that one Donisio Nakimayu was responsible for the campaigns of the movement in Trans Nzoia district to both the Luyia and non-Luyia communities after the Malakisi incident of 1948 (Nasimiyu, 1979/80:18; Namulala, Manguliechi, O.I. 1999).

Outside Luyialand, the DYM was popular among the Iteso, the Pokot, the Nandi, the Marakwet, the Elgon Maasai, the Gusii and the Turkana (Wipper 1971; Were, 1972; Simiyu, 1997). Among the Pokot (Suk) in particular, the introduction and spread of DYM was the work of one Lukas Pkiech (Kipkech). This was after he had come into contact with Elijah Masinde in Bukusuland in 1946. The climactic confrontation between the Pokot DYM followers and the colonial administrators on 4th April 1950 resulted in what is in Kenya's nationalist history called the Kolloa affray (See B.E. Kipkorir 1972 and 1973). In this confrontation, one African and three European police officers and 28 local adherents of DYM including Pkiech himself were causalities. Following this incident, the colonial authorities arrested 123 Pokot members of DYM and fined them for being members of an illegal society. Its leaders were imprisoned and deported to remote areas of the country (Wipper, 1971:161; Were, 1972:97; Simiyu, 1997:6). It was after this incident that colonial sources reported of the sect's potential to spread fast thus:

> The sudden recrudescence of DYM in violent form among the Suk in April 1948 came as a startling revelation of the insidious penetration of which the movement is capable (KNA, PC/CP/8/7/3 in Aseka, 1989:374).

The arrest and deportation of DYM leaders, however, did little to curtail the sect's spread and activities. On the contrary, it made it more popular and in turn gained more sympathisers and adherents. A case in point here is when Masinde was confined in Lamu. His sympathisers and friends in Mombasa collected money to help his family (Were, 1972:88). Moreover, there was more positive public talk about Masinde resulting in the authorities' ban on any reporting, particularly if it was positive on Masinde (Simiyu, 1997:26; Keya, O.I. 1999).

With the outbreak of the Mau Mau war of liberation in the 1950's, there were fears amongst the colonial administrators of the possible alliance between DYM and the Mau Mau. According to Frost, the fear was based on the apparent similarity in goals and activities in both movements (Frost, 1977:150). They were fundamentally very anti-European and like the Mau Mau, DYM found in European farms a fundamental cause of grievance (Ibid.). Moreover, their widespread appeal to the Africans under colonial rule was equally important.

That the Mau Mau could ally with DYM in articulating the African grievances, especially in North Nyanza and specifically in Bukusuland cannot be logically denied. Already as demonstrated, the links between the Babukusu and the Kikuyu were well established prior to 1950's. These links had presented a political problem of urgent importance to the colonial administration. It was through the same links that the Mau

Mau activities spread to Bukusuland (Namulala, Keya, Nabangi O.I. 1999) and other places where DYM was active.

Although available information on particular names of persons who were the Mau Mau adherents in Bukusuland was not divulged to the researcher, evidence exists to show that DYM leaders and adherents supported the cause of the Mau Mau (Namulala, Nabangi, O.I. 1999). Indeed, the latter movement was active not only in Bukusuland but in the whole North Nyanza district. Elsewhere evidence has been adduced to show that Chief Mukudi of Samia and Bunyala took the Mau Mau oath in 1953 and undertook to recruit his people into the movement (Ogula, 1974: 183-184). In 1954, Mukudi and thirty supporters of Mau Mau were arrested and fifty individuals were detained briefly for interrogation (ibid.). Moreover the 1954 North Nyanza Annual Reports note that "five Mau Mau ring leaders in the district were arrested" (KNA, DC/NN.1/35-1954). Given, therefore, that this area was already in touch with DYM activities as demonstrated, it is safe to conclude that the people embraced both DYM and the Mau Mau whose aims were not contradictory.

But even with the penetration of the Mau Mau in North Nyanza district, DYM still commanded a large following. Indeed the colonial government viewed DYM as a greater threat to "Law and Order" in Western Kenya than was the Mau Mau movement. This was mainly because most of the labour force in the Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu settled areas came from the then North and Elgon Nyanza (Wipper, 1977; KNA, DC/TN, 3/1 in Aseka 1989). So, as the colonial regime was "crushing" the Mau Mau movement

through various strategems, measures were being taken to control, if not to eliminate DYM.

Indeed DYM's activities since the sect's inception had received diverse punitive measures, which were generally ruthless from the colonial administration. This as indicated included prison sentences, fines deportation of leaders and shooting of adherents. Moreover the movement was also proscribed and all its meetings prohibited.

The reason behind such ruthlessness on the part of the colonial administration was to attempt to stamp out the nationalistic aspirations of the movement. To prevent any further spread of its nationalistic tendencies, it became incumbent upon the administration to also put a ban on the free movement of people from and within the affected areas. This was the logic behind the introduction of the North Nyanza passes rules in 1949. These passes made it difficult for people to move in and out of the areas, particularly Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu which were settled by white farmers.

Described by one colonial official as a nationalist movement under a religious cloak, DYM challenged the whole foundations of the colonial rule. Therefore, in dealing firmly and ruthlessly with its adherents, the government was fighting for its survival - the survival of the colonial administration (Were, 1972:97).

The movement successfully overcame class differences and united peasants, the squatters, the nascent proletariat and the emerging educated elite in a common attack on the British colonialism. It challenged the colonial status quo and together with other agrarian protest movements, like the Mau Mau, intensified and accelerated the process of change in the entire colony (Aseka, 1989:377).

Pressure by the administration on DYM, especially in the 1950's did not, however, lead to its demise. It is only that its activities went underground and became highly secretive. Moreover as Shilaro (1991) argues that the less documentary reference to DYM, especially towards the end of 1950's was because the colonial administration was mainly concerned with the transition to independence. The main subject of concern were, therefore, political associations. However, DYM remained a proscribed movement and only came into the open again after the independent Kenyan unbanned it (Shimanyula, 1978; Simiyu 1997).

In the following section we examine the Post World War II developments and the Bukusu participation in Kenya's decolonisation process to 1963.

6.4 The Post World War II Developments and the Bukusu Participation in Kenya's Decolonisation Process to 1963.

The Second World War, like the first, gave a powerful impetus to political nationalism in Africa generally and in Kenya in particular. The period from 1945 to 1963 witnessed increased African opposition to colonial policy. Unlike in the previous period, the African opposition mounted both in strength and purpose and was geared towards national political independence. The Africans' aim was not just to rectify the socio-economic and political injustices, which they were experiencing, but an overthrow of the colonial system (Sifuna, 1990:193). What made the latter objective feasible was the convergence of international forces and local nationalist politics in a given colony (Maloba, 1989:176, Aseka, 1989:385). The international political climate after the Second World War prepared favourable ground in which the seeds of nationalism

matured and in turn accelerated the rate of the decolonisation process. However, the point to be stressed here is that there would have been no decolonisation at the time it occurred without sustained nationalist resistance to colonialism in the colonies (Maloba, 1989:173).

It has been demonstrated how the Second World War disrupted the Bukusu development and also increased their political sensitivity and aspirations. The latter was evidenced by their participation in DYM activities with its links with other political parties and movements, like the Mau Mau, that were aimed at challenging the colonial order. Indeed this Bukusu sensitivity and aspirations became more articulated in the Post World War II period as a result of the war's outcomes.

The Second World War ended in 1945 after the USA bombed and devastated the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This marked the defeat of Nazism and Japanese imperialism (Mazrui and Tidy 1984:11, Maloba, 1989:176). The end of the war brought about the emergence of new superpowers, USA and Russia, whose strategic presence in collaboration with the United Nations Organisation (UNO) introduced some external pressures on the colonial regimes to grant their colonies independence. The defeat of Britain and France, the major colonial powers in Africa during the war reduced the mystique of the imperial power (Mazrui and Tidy, 1984:11). Moreover, because of the effects of the war these colonial powers could no longer be able to cling on their overseas territories. The economic, political, social, military and even psychological costs of maintaining colonialism became unbearably high for them (Ochieng, 1989:201).

The war also revolutionised the African political consciousness and destroyed the myth of the invincibility of the colonial powers. The Africans and especially the ex-servicemen had come into contact with practically all peoples of the earth. They had learned new ideas through their close contact with other diverse groups of peoples (Sithole, 1968; Shiroya, 1985). By the end of the war, the ex-soldiers had started assessing their political position upon their return home. Despite their high economic and political awareness, they faced serious problems of unemployment and overcrowding (Shiroya, 1985; Sifuna, 1989:193). Consequently, independence or self-government had become their major objective. Mere improvement of the existing system appeared secondary to them. They wanted political reward promised before the war, a better and fuller life which they thought could happen under an independent African government (Momanyi, 1996:60, Namulala O.I. 1999).

More important about the war, however, was that it was fought by the allies in the name of freedom and self-determination. The Africans everywhere in the colonies and, especially the ex-soldiers aspired for the same benefits they had fought for which they did not have back home (Mazrui and Tidy, 1984: 11). The change in political consciousness in the minds of many Africans brought about by the Second World War meant that the disillusionment was soon replaced by a more realistic and determined commitment to political freedom. Though the stage had been set for a gradual disintegration of the empire, it still needed nationalist agitation and even rebellions to hasten the pace of the independence of the colonies. This pace was also complicated by the presence of a large number of British settlers and investments in Kenya (Ochieng, 1989:204).

In Bukusuland in particular, the volatile nature of the anti-colonial campaign continued to be marred by the activities of the DYM as has already been demonstrated. However, due to the strict surveillance placed on the organisation by the colonial government, not many of the people's grievances could be articulated through it. Consequently, other forums that had official recognition had to operate side by side with DYM in establishing a link between the Babukusu and other Africans elsewhere in the colony.

Officially recognised forums for African political participation in the whole of Kenya had been curtailed since the outbreak of the Second World War. This followed the total ban that was placed on political organisations that emerged in different parts of the country in the 1930's and the detention of their leaders at Kapenguria (Shiroya, 1972:3; Ogot, 1974:283; Sifuna, 1989:192). Although this move was aimed at controlling the African political parties during the war, it effectively succeeded in destroying the roots of organized territorial nationalism in Kenya.

By the time political parties were banned in 1939, the Babukusu as demonstrated earlier had already effectively articulated their grievances through political parties that were formed in the whole of the Buluyia. However, locally based organisations addressed particular Bukusu needs within wider Luyia political party formations. The latter organisations included the Kitosh Educational Society (KES) that was also proscribed in 1939. But, KES was speedily revived as the Bukusu Union (BU). Apparently, the DC thought it wiser to allow semi-political associations to organise

themselves openly in order that they could be kept under better control (KNA,DC/NN.10/1/2 – 1940).

The Bukusu Union whose aims were largely similar to those of KES had more radical ideas than the latter. Although the aims were mainly social, it often got involved in political matters. In a union meeting held in Chwele in 1946, for instance, the members passed a number of resolutions, many of which had political connotations. They wanted to get rid of the name Kitosh and be called Bukusu and expressed their wish to revert to the Bukusu traditional laws instead of being subjected to the British colonial law. They wanted to know why the LNC had agreed to the police going into the reserve. They demanded for a new chief. They were also in favour of joining their cousins, the Masaba and the Gishu on the Uganda side of the boundary and leave the North Nyanza and the Kenya colony altogether. They further resolved to dispatch their leaders to meet and inform all the Bukusu in the Trans Nzoia district to unite and claim their alienated lands from Kamukuywa to Naitiri so that displaced Bukusu kinsmen could settle there (KNA, DC/NN/10/1/5-1946-1949). In these demands, the union members shared the same aims with their counterparts in the DYM and it is no wonder that they co-operated as was demonstrated in the study.

Apart from the foregoing demands, the Bukusu Union sought for the continued establishment of private schools in Bukusuland without denominational sponsorship. Indeed, by 1945 four BU Schools had been opened and in 1948 they were ready to start a junior secondary extension at one of them (De Wolf, 1977: 179; Nabangi, O.I. 1999). The Chairman of BU was Pascal Nabwana with Musa Mbuto as treasurer, Victor Khatete

as Organising Secretary and Henry Kerre as Assistant Secretary. On the executive committee were Jonathan Barasa and Daniel Simiyu (De Wolf, 1977: 179; Nabangi, Khachonga, O.I. 1999).

The establishment of private schools was not all they sought to do. The BU members resolved to acquire funds through LNC's in order to sponsor promising students overseas to acquire higher education. As De Wolf observes, the members had already started a process through which Africans would become rulers of their own country (De Wolf, 1977:1985). They had realised that for a start it was necessary for them to gain representation in the Legislative Council (LegCo) in order to be able to influence government policies in the way the European minority was able to do (Ibid.). It was through such union initiatives that Masinde Muliro was sent to South Africa where he acquired his degree (KNA,DC/NN.1/6, 1948; Wandibba, 1996:3). Muliro was later to play a tremendous role in Kenya's nationalist politics, as we shall demonstrate below.

The Bukusu Union worked closely with DYM to articulate the Bukusu grievances at a local level. It brought formal complaints against Chief Namutala accusing him of having taken bribes and using his position to enrich himself (KNA.DC/NN.1/28, 1948 De Wolf, 1977:180, Namulala, Nabangi, O.I. 1999). The union also claimed a number of border farms inside the Trans Nzoia district which had been Bukusu tribal lands, but which had been alienated for white farmers. Furthermore, to strengthen their case and unity with their Uganda cousins, the BU members held joint meetings with the Bugishu Union of Uganda (KNA, DC/NN/10/1/5, 1948).

It is apparent that the BU worked closely with DYM and Bugishu Union. However, these links were not enough in articulating and addressing all the Bukusu political needs. As Bode argues, district leaders felt that the solutions to their grievances were to be found at the centre and this meant joining other Africans elsewhere in the Kenya colony in attaining them (Bode, 1975:215). The latter objective was to be achieved through the BU alliance with KAU and other emerging Kenyan nationalist movements.

KAU was formed in October 1944 with the immediate aim of giving African support to Eliud Mathu, the first African unofficial member of the LegCo. The decision to nominate an African to the LegCo had been reached in an effort to channel the emergent voice of African nationalism toward a support of the administration (Ogot, 1974:285; Bogonko, 1980:40). KAU had among its aims, the unity of Kenyan Africans and the advocacy for their social and economic progress. This should be seen as a formal attempt at territorial nationalism. Its leadership was composed of educated Africans who strove to advance constitutional legal nationalism (Maloba, 1989; Sifuna, 1990).

KAU had a sub-branch in Bukusuland that operated under the KAU North Nyanza branch, under the chairmanship of John Adala. The Bukusu branch was led by Matthew Makanda and had a membership of 200 people (Aseka, 1989:362; Namulala, O.I. 1999). Most members of the Bukusu Union identified themselves with KAU. Pascal Nabwana himself was the Chairman of the North Nzoia branch (De Wolf, 1977:187, Manguliechi, O.I., 1999). The KAU Bukusu sub-branch in its various meetings opposed the repatriation of the Babukusu from the Suk and Sebei areas where they had been for a

long time and argued that they would be strangers in North Nyanza if returned. Alternatively, it recommended their being allocated farms in the areas alienated for whites in the white highlands. This was in line with KAU's main objective in which it called on the government to return the land which had been alienated from the people of Central and Rift Valley provinces (Bogonko, 1980:40).

The link between the BU and KAU was premised on the similarity of concerns and the need, therefore, to opt for national solutions. They both articulated for fundamental reforms that would make it possible for Africans to have a greater role in the political and economic decision making process. Indeed, this formed the basis of their joint meeting held in Chwele market, Bungoma in 1948 and which was addressed by Jomo Kenyatta, the then KAU President. The Chwele rally was just one of those Kenyatta had organized at different places in Central Kenya, the Rift Valley and Western Kenya to explain to his fellow Africans the objectives of the party. It was during this rally that Masinde Muliro joined KAU and began his long career in national politics (Wandibba, 1996:5; Nabangi, O.I., 1999).

Despite the foregoing activities of KAU in Bungoma, the party did not score much. This was mainly because of the colonial repressive measures which made it almost impossible for political movements to thrive unthreatened. The party's proclivity to work closely with DYM adherents led the colonial government to put up very strict measures to control its portended danger. This is why the DC, commenting on the party said thus:

> It is a fair summary of the situation to say that considerable local support was obtained, but there was no district-wide enthusiasm (KNA, DC/NN.1/33).

The other reason why KAU failed to thrive in other areas of Kenya including Nyanza was because:

> "K.A.U. was competing not only against ethnic nationalism but also functioning against the background of inter-tribal suspicion and even apathy. It is therefore true that up to 1947 when Kenyatta assumed its leadership, KAU had scored very few if any political victories" (Maloba, 1989:186).

But even with the return and leadership of Kenyatta, KAU continued to grow steadily but few political gains were made. The colonial government could not allow the growth of a successful movement which would finally dethrone it. This explains why a month after KAU's formation, the government had already changed its name to Kenya African Study Union (KASU). However, KAU reverted to its original name and dropped all pretence of being a study union. Its nationalistic programmes and activities finally led to its proscription in June 1953. In banning KAU, the governor announced that the Kenya Government could never again allow such an association to exist in the country and that in the future the government would only permit those "local associations which have been "reasonable" and "sincere" in the interests of their own people (Shiroya, 1972:4).

The banning of KAU followed the outbreak of the Mau Mau activities that began among the Kikuyu and spread to other parts of the colony, including Bukusuland as already demonstrated. According to Bogonko the causes of the Mau Mau can be

summed up in one sentence – frustration, born of racial discrimination in politics, in social life and in the economics of the country (Bogonko, 1980:70). Its formation and spread were spearheaded by Africans, and especially those in the Kikuyuland, who had lost faith in constitutional and gradualist methods of fighting for independence (Ogot, 1974: 289; Sifuna, 1990:195).

To curb the Mau Mau activities, Sir Evelyn Baring, the governor, declared a state of Emergency on 20th October 1952. Consequently African leaders, including Jomo Kenyatta, Paul Ngei, Ramogi Achieng' Oneko, Bildad Kaggia and Fred Kubai were arrested and charged for commanding and managing Mau Mau. Other brutal measures under what was called the "operation Jock Scott" were put in place to curtail any possible spread of the movement. The governor was compelled to call for additional British army units in the colony. Former KAU politicians countrywide were warned and rounded up because of the government's suspicion of the link between KAU and the Mau Mau. Amongst those who were rounded up and given stern warnings to severe all their ties with KAU in Bukusuland during this period were Pascal Nabwana, Benjamin Kapteni and Nicasio Nang'ole. The latter two were described by the DO in his handing over report of 1952 as the most troublesome members of a most tiresome Locational Council (KNA,DC/NN.2/6, 1952).

The declaration of the state of Emergency and the subsequent use of the British soldiers to crash the Mau Mau meant in effect that the policy of separate development had failed. It also meant that the British policy of devolving responsibility upon the people in the colony through the use of colonial officials and settlers had failed. Thus, an

alternative policy had to be found where Africans could be at the centre stage in the administration of the colony. It should also be noted that it was during this period that there was eventual talk of the "wind of change" (Ogot: 1974; Sifuna, 1989:196). Developments at the international level, especially following the achievement of independence by India and Pakistan and the international environment provided by the UNO had a profound impact on world opinion. These and other forces contributed to the reorganisation of the political and economic system, especially in the mid 1950's leading to the achievement of Kenya's independence in 1963.

The new economic policy entailed integrating Africans in the colonial economic system. A series of reform documents were produced with the aim of increasing African socio-economic opportunities to create a bourgeois class with strong interests in the existing colonial capitalist economic structure (Sifuna, 1990:197). These documents included the Reports of East African Royal Commission, the Swynnerton Plan of 1954 and the Report of the Committee on African Wages.

In Bukusuland in particular, the restructuring of the economic sphere entailed efforts to give some economic power to individuals by allowing them to participate in the African District Councils (ADC). This followed the decision in 1956 by the colonial government to split North Nyanza into two districts, namely Elgon Nyanza and North Nyanza. The new Elgon Nyanza district and ADC had their headquarters in Bungoma. The advantage of this split for the Bukusu was that more revenue raised through produce cesses in their locations would be used for expenditure in the same area (KNA, DC/EN/1/1, 1956; De Wolf, 1977:188; Nabangi, Nabutola, O.I., 1999).

The creation of the new Elgon Nyanza district and ADC despite having economic advantages to the Bukusu, also ensured that close control was put on the growth of nationalism in an area that was greatly affected by DYM activities. From this point it was necessary that all measures were put in place to contain the tendency of DYM to ally with the Mau Mau activities (Nabangi, Keya, O.I., 1999). Former Bukusu Union and KAU leaders in the district now became engaged in the new Elgon Nyanza ADC, hence effectively diverting their attention from the national issues. Pascal Nabwana was elected Vice-Chairman of the council. In 1959 he became the first African in Kenya to be installed as the unofficial Chairman of the ADC instead of the DC Chief Jonathan Barasa became the Vice-Chairman. Indeed, in 1961 the DC recognised the positive role Pascal Nabwana played in the ADC. He noted thus;

> "The unofficial chairman of the ADC enhanced his personal status and dexterity during his third year of office" (KNA, DC.EN 1/6, 1961).

Nabwana was rewarded for his services with an OBE, the first to be conferred on an African leader in Kenya (De Wolf, 1977:190, Nabangi, Namulala, O.I. 1999). Other Bukusu men who were active in the ADC included Nathan Munoko its secretary. Describing Munoko's abilities in the ADC, the DC wrote "Munoko continued to undertake his heavy responsibilities in a thoroughly competent and statesmanlike fashion" (KNA, DC/EN 1/3, 1961).

The Bukusu participation in the ADC and the consequent increase in their power did not mean that they were cut off from political events at the national level. Indeed, they used their positions in the ADC as a springboard to participate and offer support to

nationalist politicians at the national level (Namulala, Nabangi, O.I. 1999). Already on the national political front, the proscription of KAU had created a political vacuum in the whole of Kenya. The Bukusu Union had also become defunct and its members incorporated in the mainstream colonial economic restructuring process.

The only organisation that tended to foster the political grievances of the Africans nationally at the moment was Tom Mboya's Federation of Registered Trade Unions (Ogot, 1974; Bogonko, 1980; Sifuna 1990). Although it attempted to fill the political vacuum, the colonial government could not leave the labour movement to thrive untamed. The government tried all means to seal off most parts of the country, including Bukusuland from the "Political contamination" being fostered through Mboya's activities. But even with the government's red tape, African nationalism everywhere proved to be too strong to be wished away. The only solution for the colonial government in controlling African nationalism lay in a shift in emphasis to a multi-racial approach to politics in Kenya.

In 1954, 1957 and 1960, successive secretaries of state for the colonies promulgated new constitutions for Kenya. These were the Lyttleton, the Lennox Boyd and the Macleod constitutions in that order. They were all multi-racial constitutions that were deemed fit for Kenya. Multi-racialism or partnership and not parliamentary democracy was to be a system of government to be evolved for Kenya (Ogot, 1974:298; Sifuna, 1990:197). This political system would allow Europeans, Asians and Africans to have a voice in the political affairs of the country. The Governor of Kenya had envisaged

multi-racialism as a means of containing both European extremists and African petty-bourgeois agitators (Aseka, 1989:383).

The multi-racial constitutions were powerful instruments in expediting increased African participation in the colonial political structures in Kenya generally and Bukusuland in particular. One way in which this was achieved was through African participation in elections. For the first time Africans were to be elected to the LegCo in March 1957. Prior to this year, the Governor of Kenya was the one with the powers to nominate African representatives to the LegCo. However, the Coutts Report which was published in January 1956 recommended that Africans should be given the right to elect their representatives in the Legco through the secret ballot (Bogonko, 1980:98-99).

In the North Nyanza constituency which was made up of two districts, North Nyanza and the newly created Elgon Nyanza, Masinde Muliro, a Bukusu emerged as the winner defeating other five contestants. The latter included W.W. Awori, Joseph O. Otiende, Christopher Siganga, Webungo Akatsa and Joseph Wamukoya. Other Africans who won seats during the first African election to the LegCo were Tom Mboya (Nairobi), Ronald Ngala (Coast), Oginga odinga (Central Nyanza), Lawrence G. Oguda (Nyanza South), Daniel arap Moi (Rift Valley), J.N. Muimi (Machakos), Benard Mate (Meru) (Bogonko, 1980; Mazrui and Tidy, 1984:106; Wandibba, 1996:8).

The 1957 elections marked an important watershed in the development of the African nationalist movement in Kenya. It gave the new African elected leaders not only a legitimacy which they had not previously enjoyed, but also a platform from which to articulate the African grievances and position. A target of independence within five years

was their slogan and they launched 'Operation Freedom' (Ochieng', 1985: 139). Muliro, together with other elected members therefore began to use their enhanced positions to forcefully articulate the African grievances to the colonial government.

Their immediate demand was for the colonial government to undertake concrete structural changes that would hasten the attainment of independence by Africans. Mainly through the formation of the African Elected Members Organization (AEMO), the elected Africans collectively advocated for constitutional changes that would abolish all forms of discrimination in Kenya. They particularly took issue with the constitutional impediments that enhanced discriminatory policies against Africans and also minimized their representation. They noted that although the multi-racial constitutions had granted Africans direct representation, they had not conceded to the principle of majority nor challenged the concept of European leadership in Kenya. The multi-racial concessions appeared veiled attempts to maintain European political supremacy at the expense of Africans (Aseka, 1989:390).

Through their pressure, various constitutional changes were achieved. These included the shelving of constitutions that were considered inimical to African political progress, the increase in African representation and the holding of a constitutional conference in London. The enactment of the foregoing changes demonstrated to a high degree that the nationalists' pressure had created the right atmosphere on which the imperial power was now willing to talk to African leaders (Ogot, 1974:290). In the course of these dialogues, power shifted from the Europeans to Africans.

The shift in power to the African meant more freedom and independence. Masinde Muliro and other elected members in the LegCo managed to effectively demand for an end to the emergency and also called on the government to allow for the formation of national political parties irrespective of race, colour and creed. Although the colonial government conceded to the former African demand, it had by 1959 not allowed for the formation of national parties. The government was in favour of colony-wide multi-racial parties.

Muliro immediately founded the Kenya National Party (KNP) in 1959 and was elected its President. The party was supported by nine other elected Africans, namely Ngala, Moi, Towett, Nyagah, Mate, Khamisi, ole Tipis, D.I. Kiamba and Muimi, one European S.V. Cooke and six elected Asian members. The KNP aimed at a responsible government for Kenya between 1964 and 1968 and full self-government in 1968 (Bogonko, 1980:219, Wandibba, 1996:13). It is not surprising that Muliro formed and led a multi-racial party. His arguments had been that in order to achieve unity in Kenya, a multi-racial and multi-ethnic approach to politics was appropriate. While contributing to a budget debate in May 16, 1957, for instance, he argued that over-emphasis on either European or African leadership would be detrimental to a United Kenya since one racial community would feel disadvantaged over the other (L.C. OR 16.5.1957).

Multi-racialism did not, however, appeal to other African elected members. The latter accused Muliro and KNP of conspiring with Asians so that they could acquire land in the white highlands. Leaders, such as Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga opposed Muliro's proposal that African reserves ought to be opened to all races. The two argued

that Asians and Europeans have a lot of capital and so would buy bigger shares of land which could have been acquired by Africans (Bogonko, 1980:221).

Apart from the multi-racial basis that made KNP not to appeal to other AEMO members, particularly Odinga, Mboya and Kiano, its timing for independence also generated a point of disagreement. KNP did not want independence immediately since it felt Africans needed to prepare themselves thoroughly before taking over from the colonialists in order to avoid chaos (Wandibba, 1996:13). However, the political alliances which were opposed to multi-racialism and which had launched the Kenya Independence Movement (KIM) did not want KNP's slow pace to independence. Through its President Odinga, and supported by Mboya, Kiano and Lawrence Ogunda, the KIM members wanted independence of Kenya in 1960 and accused KNP of lacking concrete proposals for the transitional period.

The disagreements that came to divide African elected members along KNP and KIM party lines were basically on the nature of society that they wished to see set up in the new Kenya. According to Bogonko (1980:213) their disagreements should be construed to mean disunity within unity. They disagreed on minor details but not on the principle of the majority rule. These differences were healthy because they offered the opportunity for self-examination and enabled nationalist leaders to have various forms of dialogue (Momanyi, 1996:146). Such a dialogue was realised during the First and Second Lancaster House Conferences in London.

During the First Lancaster House Conference held in 1960 and which was attended by Muliro, the African elected members demanded a number of things,

including the release of Kenyatta and other political detainees, formation of an African elected government, a common roll and universal suffrage among other pressing demands. Not all demands were met. But the secretary of state announced a significant proposal which came to be the basis of a new constitution; that Kenya would be an African country with majority rule. This announcement dealt a devastating blow to the white settlers who had always nursed hope for a "Rhodesian System" of government in Kenya.

Following the successful conclusion of the First Lancaster House Conference therefore, Africans triumphed at the expense of immigrant races – the white settlers and Asians. For the first time in Kenya's history, a majority of elective seats in the LegCo – 37 out 65 – went to Africans. The seven-year state of emergency was also lifted and Africans were once again allowed to form nation-wide political parties. The latter African goal was realized through the formation in 1960 of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU).

The formation of both KANU and KADU once again shattered the unity among African nationalists that had temporarily been achieved during the First Lancaster House Conference. KANU that was destined to be led by Kenyatta emerged from the political forces that were behind KIM, including Oginga Odinga, Tom Mboya, Gikonyo Kiano and James Gichuru. Former KNP members on the other hand supported KADU. Its chairman was Ronald Ngala and Masinde Muliro was the Vice-President. Others who joined it were Daniel arap Moi, Taita Towett, Martin Shikuku, John Keen and Justus ole Tipis among others.

The agenda of both KANU and KADU were not different in the formative years. Both for instance, sought for the Africanisation of the civil service, equitable distribution of land among the landless, immediate release of Kenyatta, independence and compulsory education for Africans (Bogonko, 1980:248-252; Aseka, 1989:393, Maloba, 1989:52). The main source of their differences according to Wandibba was the level of ethnic jealousies, fears and rivalries that had come to characterise the Kenyan political scene (Wandibba, 1996:17). Two major ethnic groups, the Kikuyu and the Luo dominated KANU. KADU on the other hand claimed to represent the interests of the minority "tribes" in the country.

It is no wonder that the Babukusu wholly supported KADU, given that their representative, Masinde Muliro was the party's Vice-President at the national level. Even after KADU's defeat by KANU in the 1961 general elections, the Babukusu elected Muliro unopposed on a KADU ticket as their representative in the Elgon Nyanza constituency. He went on to be appointed the Deputy Leader of Government and Minister for Commerce, Industry and Communications. This marked the start of Muliroism among the Babukusu, a phenomenon characterised by unquestioning faith in the leadership and direction of Masinde Muliro.

Perhaps, what also attracted the Babukusu and other minority "tribes" to KADU was the party's advocacy for their interests and its implications for the future. KADU called for the establishment of regional governments (Majimbo). The members declared that a unitary state based on the Westminster model, which KANU favoured, would place too many powers in the hands of the majority party (Ogot, 1974:294). The latter, it was

argued would be inimical to the social, economic and political progress of the minority "tribes". The issue of land was particularly central to the Babukusu in the event that a majority party wins with a KANU type of constitution. It was feared that the big communities would alienate their land and dominate them (Nabangi, Khachonga, O.I., 1999). This explains why Muliro was very vocal in agitating for the return of Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu districts to the Luyia in general and the Bukusu in particular (See Barasa, 16.1.1963).

The rift between KANU and KADU and particularly on the question of the type of constitution to be adopted for Kenya was discussed during the Second Lancaster House Conference, held from February to April 1962. In the end, Regionald Maudling, the colonial secretary had to impose a compromise between the two parties. There was to be a strong central government responsible to the Lower House of Representatives. This government would be responsible for external affairs, defence, international affairs and major economic developments. There was provision for six regional governments and an upper chamber, the senate (Ogot, 1974:292; Ochieng, 1985:142).

After the negotiations in 1962, the independence constitution which neither favoured the two parties was agreed on. Both KANU and KADU agreed to form a coalition government and worked towards a general elections in May 1963 (Bogonko, 1980). During the elections KANU won 69 seats against KADU's 31. Due to its overwhelming victory, KANU qualified to form a representative government with Kenyatta as the leader. He was sworn in as the Prime Minister on 1st June 1963 (Bogonko, 1980; Ochieng, 1985) and on 12th December 1963 Kenya became

independent. The latter date marked an important watershed in Kenyan history as it signified an end of the colonial transition. A transition that witnessed an immense struggle by Kenyans and the Babukusu in particular for a period of about seven decades.

6.5 Summary

In this chapter we have demonstrated that the period between 1939 to 1963 was a momentous one in Kenya's nationalist history. It was during this period that the seeds of African nationalism sown before and during the inter-war years matured with rapid speed into the decolonisation drama and eventually independence. Several factors as we have highlighted helped to explain these developments. These included forces at the international level, Kenya as a whole and Bukusuland in particular.

The chapter has noted the role played by the Second World War in generating the forces that made the African quest for independence inevitable. Particularly with its onslaught on the Bukusu economy, the war created other social and political consequences on the Bukusu community. The result of the acrimonious Bukusu War experience was the fomenting of an anti-colonial feeling among them.

But, the process of consolidation of the colonial economy in the period of the Second World War unleashed political contradictions between the Africans and colonialists in Kenya generally. The greatest manifestation of this development among the Bukusu was characterised by the formation of DYM. The Bukusu and other Africans who practised DYM and the latter's wide appeal to Africans under colonial rule, intensified the process of change in the political economy of the entire colony.

The mounting nationalist pressure became more intense and focused in the period after the Second World War as a result of developments taking place both locally, nationally and internationally. In Bukusuland in particular, this period witnessed the emergence of petty bourgeois leadership, which continued to play a fundamental role in the constitutional developments in the colony. These politicians gained power by successfully manipulating the appropriate ethnic grievances and sentiments to articulate their peoples' collective and individual aspirations. The politicians co-operated nationally with others from the various Kenyan communities to advance their positions and aspirations and that of their people amid the fear of colonial political domination and economic exploitation. Although occasional disagreements emerged between them, their primary agreement on the principle of the majority rule made the quest for independence practically real in the eyes of the people.

The petty bourgeois leaders' unity on the goal of independence and their determination to carry with them the masses of peasants and workers against the colonial order came to characterise the basis of the political parties that came to emerge after the Second World War.

Although initial African organisations with political aims had been suppressed because of their potential as centres of fomenting discontent, the political contradictions that developed between the Africans and the colonialists necessitated the formation of African political parties. Especially with the reality of the Mau Mau and declaration of the State of Emergence, political power hitherto festered by the colonial administrators and settlers was shattered and Africans began to be integrated in the colonial economic

and political system. The bid to involve Africans in the administration and the concomitant colonial reforms and African pressure marked a turning point in ushering independence in Kenya.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 CONCLUSION

In the foregoing chapters an attempt has been made to capture the Bukusu participation in Kenya's nationalist politics from 1894 to 1963. It has been the contention here that since the establishment of colonial rule in 1894 through to its end in 1963, Africans in Kenya in general and the Bukusu in particular offered a concerted political challenge to the colonial status quo. This challenge as the study pointed out arose from the colonial role in transforming the people's social, economic and political lives in an attempt to exact revenue, autonomy, security, legitimization of hegemony and alienation of land. The Bukusu political consciousness was, therefore, an inevitable consequence of not only the colonial disruption of their old order, but also its constant use of brutal force. Capitalism is a highly dynamic system and the logic of its development was embedded in the policies and strategies of the colonial state.

Adopting a synthesized theoretical approach, the study has examined the themes of the class struggle, unequal exchange, uneven development of the Bukusu and interrogated some posturalizations of the post colonial theory in order to come to terms with nationalism as a political force. The study has demonstrated that the economic and political processes that shaped the pattern of authority at the level of government and state had far-reaching effects on the Babukusu. With this it also pointed out that factors that engendered racial inequality blocked economic opportunities for the Babukusu and therefore fostered social discrimination, which was openly detested in various forms. Indeed the Bukusu, like other Africans elsewhere in Kenya, were no exception in fostering a political response to the problems posed by the colonial political economy and

their marginalised participation in it. It was this response and consciousness that later led to the intensification of the process of decolonisation in Kenya.

Prior to the onset of colonialism the study demonstrated how the Bukusu traditional political institutions with their interrelatedness to the people's social, economic and cultural spheres fostered the functioning, prosperity and perpetuation of the people. We pointed out that in the reaction to their universe and surrounding, the Bukusu throughout their history of origin, migration and settlement had effectively risen to develop a cohesive society towards the end of the nineteenth century. The traditional institutions effectively regulated all forms of interaction in the society and therefore ensured prosperity and self-sufficiency. We further noted the dynamism in the Bukusu traditional institutions which was reflected in its blending of new developments arising from both internal and external sources. Threats from neighbouring communities, demographic and economic pressure from within, among other factors, constantly called for effective control, management and manipulation within the society to ensure cohesion and prosperity of the community. This was the state of affairs on the eve of the colonial intrusion.

In examining the method and nature of the establishment of the colonial rule among the Bukusu, we have observed that they, like other Kenyan communities, expressed their desire to defend their rights and freedoms, their social and political values by steadily and systematically resisting the British colonialists and their allies. The Bukusu resistance that culminated in the 1895 Lumboka-Chetambe War whose history we have explored in this study greatly impacted on their later relations with the colonial system.

The Bukusu defeat was followed between 1896 and 1918 with an effective establishment of the British authority not only in Bukusuland but also in the whole of Buluyia. Various social, economic and political pressures were imposed on the Bukusu that greatly undermined the people's traditional values and institutions. The colonial government through a system of indirect rule sought to regulate the affairs of the Bukusu through the new policies and institutions. In this sense, the British administration posed a new challenge to the Bukusu nationalism. The latter was perceived as a threat to the administration and its main characteristics had to be transformed in order to neutralize it. Through the imperial policy, the African societies were manipulated to fit into the metropolitan imperialist agenda.

As shown in the study, the Bukusu nationalism was not completely neutralized. Various mechanisms were generated among the people as compensatory reactions to the deprivations of colonialism and the contradiction created by the colonial effort to transform their nationalism. By 1918, various forms of the Bukusu nationalism were being manifested in the people's relations with the exploitative and repressive colonial system. The Bukusu society was brought into the imperialist nexus of the colonial re-definition of societies.

Throughout the inter-war period, we have demonstrated how the Bukusu continued participating in Kenya's nationalist politics. The study has emphasized the central role the unfair colonial policies, especially of land, labour and taxation continued to play in accentuating the political activities of the Bukusu. It has examined other factors that were particularly relevant during the inter-war period, including the new

developments both at the local and national level that helped to foster a political articulation of their disapproval of the colonial status quo.

The Bukusu collective and individual experiences during the first World War, together with the economic hardships arising from it, and the world depression, were crucial in explaining the increase in their political consciousness in the inter-war period. Policy changes were made with the aim of supporting the expansion and accumulation needs of the western capitalism or for managing its economic and financial crises. Factors emanating from these crises helped to exacerbate an already deteriorating situation amid the harsh colonial policies. Moreover as we have shown the colonial policies acquired new reformulations and amendments during the same period largely due to the settler's pressure on the colonial government to improve their lot at the expense of the Africans.

It is clear from the study that the Bukusu in the Inter-War period combined both official and non-official channels in an attempt to fulfil their political demands. Part of their realization amid their hardships and experiences was that Europeans could be fought successfully with their own tools. Self-improvement based on the acquisition of western education and economic power became the goal of many conscious Bukusu people.

The emerging conscious Bukusu through the foregoing programmes began to perceive the pressures and injustices of the colonial system in somewhat different terms. They mooted new liberal means of political redress, including attempts to organise themselves by uniting the Western educated and masses for effective protest against the colonial state. They began to appropriate liberal concepts and applied them to their conditions. From history they had learned that it was not through force but unity amongst themselves that they would overthrow their chains. It was within this realization as we

pointed out that they formed political and welfare organizations to articulate their grievances within and outside the colonial structure. These associations as we noted embraced the earliest beginnings of inter-regional politics that later evolved national perspectives at the country level.

The African associations with national perspectives were, however, detested by the colonial government since they threatened the existence of the whole colonial order. The shamness of liberalism with its claims to democracy whose features are liberty and equality became apparent. As the study has pointed out, the associations' threat seemed to acquire new proportions following the outbreak of the Second World War. The undemocratic nature of the colonial regime was exhibited in its banning of the organisations. However, even with such a colonial move, the period between 1939 and 1963 became a critical one in Kenya's nationalist history. Within this period, the seeds of African nationalism that were sown before and during the inter-war years matured with rapid speed into the decolonisation drama that offered the parenthesis in the metamorphosis of imperialism. The imperialist co-optive strategies were the basis on which Kenya eventually got its independence in 1963.

Several factors at the international level, Kenya as a whole and Bukusuland in particular were central in explaining the foregoing developments between 1939 and1963. Of particular relevance as we have noted was the impact of the Second World War which, like the first World War, precipitated and fuelled nationalist unrest among the Bukusu. The war time circumstances specifically created conditions favourable in shaping both local and nationalist politics.

In the war, Kenyan communities and the Bukusu in particular participated. They were forced or lured through propaganda into participating in a war that meant little to them. The Bukusu contributed to the war effort both in material and labour. Directly, they served as soldiers, carrier corps, cooks, waiters and many others, while at home they also offered labour to settler farms to increase production in order to boast the war effort. Such Bukusu contribution to the war effort as the study has shown had far reaching social, economic and political consequences on the people's lives. They not only inhibited the Bukusu progress in various ways, but also often led to famine in their reserve during the war period. The importance of this acrimonious Bukusu experience during the war was that it helped to foment an anti-colonial feeling among the entire Bukusu people.

As the study has demonstrated, the rise of DYM was one manifestation of the foregoing Bukusu anti-colonial uprising. We pointed out how through DYM the Bukusu and other Africans who practiced it articulated their grievances and challenged the colonial status quo. The movement's association with the Bukusu Union, the Bugishu Union, KCA, KAU and latter the Mau Mau intensified the process of change in the political economy of the entire colony during and after the Second World War.

Yet, the changes resulting from the foregoing nationalist pressure were not enough to usher in independence at the time it did. The international political climate after the Second World War prepared fertile ground in which the seeds of nationalism rapidly matured, and in turn accelerated the rate of the decolonisation process. The convergence of both international and local nationalist forces made the reality of independence feasible. The African opposition as we have noted mounted both in

strength and purpose and it was aimed not at rectifying the socio-economic and political injustices experienced, but overthrowing the whole colonial system in the country for good.

The study has further shown that the outbreak of the Mau Mau and the declaration of the state of emergence finally shattered the power hitherto festered by the white settlers and forced the colonial administration to integrate the Africans in the colonial economic and political system. The state, like never before, became more willing to listen to the African grievances. Their involvement set in motion constitutional reforms and also increased African participation in a broad-based Kenyan nationalist politics that became the landmarks in ushering in Kenya's independence.

In the light of the foregoing summary and far from the belief by diffusionist theorists that nationalism as an ideology had its roots in Europe, African nationalism, as the case of the Babukusu has shown, was fashioned by its own special conditions which in many important respects were different from Europe's. In Kenya and in Bukusuland in particular, nationalism as a political force involved a vision, a culture, a solidarity and a policy that responded to particular ideological, cultural, socio-economic and political aspirations and the needs of the people for independence from the colonial force.

The historical process through which the Bukusu moved from the pre-colonial political patterns to colonialism as presented in this study engendered intense conflicts between the colonial state and the Babukusu as the former sought to control key political and economic resources among the latter. In this process the Bukusu economic, social and political life was restructured, hence laying the general setting for the development of the African nationalist politics. In this way the whole question of the Bukusu political

history has been constituted within the standpoint of social conflict as a motor of historical change. Historical processes among the Bukusu within the colonial period have consistently been conceived as the result of struggles between social categories and groups.

The analysis in this study has extrapolated the connections between different forms of both production and domination. This in essence has vindicated the fact that the fundamental human activity in society revolves around the production and appropriation of the products of labour. The colonial state in this panoply of relations acted first as the ultimate unit of economic reproduction and accumulation for the dominant form of production and secondly as the ultimate unit of political reproduction or more plainly the legitimate authority for the pattern of the Bukusu domination and subordination.

In the historical evolution of the Bukusu society and other Kenyan communities during the colonial period generally, the increasing role the state continued to play in the peoples' economic life was paramount. The state's role involved not only in the spectrum of coercion and cooptation by which the Bukusu nationalism was suppressed and contained, but also in a range of supervisory and didactic activities which served to justify the existing class relations of production and so to gain at least the tacit consent of the ruled.

Each area of state policy as the evidence from Bukusuland has shown related to both the demands of production and reproduction and to the demands of legitimacy and control. But as our study has shown these twin requirements were often mutually contradictory; the imperatives of accumulation often undermined the legitimacy of control and vice versa. The precise mode of authority exercised by the state, its

institutional apparatus and ideological footing varied in different circumstances. There often arose structural crises between the colonial state and the society. Thus we have demonstrated how such crises in Bukusuland engendered a struggle against the interest antagonistic to their own.

In this struggle factors like the Bukusu living forces of history continued to give shape and direction to the society. The importance of these forces for nationalism lay in the readiness with which they were converted into symbols that were used to stimulate national integrity and defend the people's rights, claims and aspirations in opposition to colonialism. The continuity of these forces in shaping the lives of the Africans and particularly of the Bukusu in Kenya's post-colonial politics and democratisation process need to be examined in another study.

The study has striven to show how the processes of social conflict, unequal exchange, uneven development and patterns of capital accumulation intensified the Bukusu opposition that finally led to the changes in the political economy of the entire Kenya. The Bukusu anti-colonial nationalism has been presented as an inevitable consequence of the inequalities of power and privilege within and among nations, regions, classes and genders that colonialism had created since its inception. Their resistance as the study has extrapolated cannot be analysed as mere attempts by conservative peasants to employ violence in defence of their peasant value paternalism as the post-colonial theorists would present it.

The Bukusu resistance movements to the structural changes that colonialism had introduced entailed a wider national appeal. The dynamism portrayed in the forces and the opposition that engendered partnerships between the aggrieved African subjects in

various ways eventually contributed to the liberation of Kenya from colonialism. This vantage point in Kenya's nationalist historiography should lay the basis for understanding the input that the external forces, especially European initiatives and policy contributed to the decolonisation process in Kenya as a whole.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

a) Archival Documents

KNA, DC/EN 1/1 Elgon Nyanza District Annual Report, 1956
KNA, DC/EN 1/1 Elgon Nyanza District Annual Report, 1957
KNA, DC/EN 1/1 Elgon Nyanza District Annual Report, 1958
KNA, DC/EN 1/1 Elgon Nyanza District Annual Report, 1959
KNA, DC/EN 2/4 Political Records: Ethnology, 1959
KNA, DC/EN 3/1/1 Political Records: Historical and Customs, 1930
KNA, DC/EN 3/1/2 Political Records: South Kitosh Political History
KNA, DC/EN 3/3/2 Abaluyia Land Law and Custom, 1930
KNA, DC/NN I/I North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1917-1918
KNA, DC/NN I/2 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1918-1919
KNA, DC/NN I/3 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1919
KNA, DC/NN I/4 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1923
KNA, DC/NN I/5 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1924
KNA, DC/NN I/6 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1925
KNA, DC/NN I/8 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1927
KNA, DC/NN I/9 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1928
KNA, DC/NN I/10 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1929
KNA, DC/NN I/1I North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1930
KNA, DC/NN I/I2 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1931
KNA, DC/NN I/I3 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1932
KNA, DC/NN I/I4 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1933
KNA, DC/NN I/I5 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1934
KNA, DC/NN I/I6 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1935
KNA, DC/NN I/I7 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1936
KNA, DC/NN I/I9 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1937
KNA, DC/NN I/20 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1938
KNA, DC/NN I/21 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1939
KNA, DC/NN I/22 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1940
KNA, DC/NN I/23 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1941
KNA, DC/NN I/24 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1942
KNA, DC/NN I/25 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1943
KNA, DC/NN I/26 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1944
KNA, DC/NN I/28 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1946
KNA, DC/NN I/29 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1947
KNA, DC/NN I/30 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1948
KNA, DC/NN I/31 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1949
KNA, DC/NN I/33 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1951
KNA, DC/NN I/34 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1952

KNA, DC/NN I/35 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1954
KNA, DC/NN I/36 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1955
KNA, DC/NN I/37 North Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1956
KNA, DC/NN I/38 North Kavirondo District Annual Reports, 1958-1960
KNA, DC/NN I/40 Synopsis of North Nyanza District, 1961
KNA, DC/NN 2/1 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1950
KNA, DC/NN 2/2 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1951
KNA, DC/NN 2/3 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1952
KNA, DC/NN 2/4 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1952
KNA, DC/NN 2/5 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1952
KNA, DC/NN 2/6 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1952
KNA, DC/NN 2/7 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1952
KNA, DC/NN 2/8 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1953
KNA, DC/NN 2/9 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1953
KNA, DC/NN 2/10 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1953
KNA, DC/NN 2/11 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1953
KNA, DC/NN 2/14 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1954
KNA, DC/NN 2/16 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1955
KNA, DC/NN 2/17 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1957
KNA, DC/NN 2/21 North Nyanza Handing over Reports, 1958
KNA, DC/NN 3/2/2 Political Records: Notes on some Customs and Beliefs by Shackleton, D.O, 1931
KNA, DC/NN 3/2-20 Political Records: Local Native Council 1925-1931
KNA, DC/NN 3/2/9 Political Records: North Kavirondo Vol. 1. Historical Customs of Kakalewa Location, C. 1908-1916
KNA, DC/NN 3/1 Political Record Book: General Description of the District
KNA, DC/NN 3/3 Political Records: Market Centres 1910-1928
KNA, DC/NN 3/4 Political Records: Locations and Population 1929-1936
KNA, DC/NN 3/5 Political Records: Hut and Poll Tax 1912-1936
KNA, DC/NN 3/4/11 Political Record Book Vol. 111: Missions 1930-1933
KNA, DC/NN 4/1 Political Records: General Administration C. 1959
KNA, DC/NN 5/1 Political Records: Character of Chiefs, Locations1915 and C. 1951-1960
KNA, DC/NN 6/1/1 '' The African Soldier Speaks'' 1944
KNA, DC/NN 8/1/1 Native Land Tenure, 1930
KNA, DC/NN 10/1 Religions, Sects and Political Associations 1926-1940
KNA, DC/NN 10/1/5 Dini Ya Msambwa, 1946-1949
KNA, DC/TN 3/1 Dini Ya Msambwa and its Customs, 1955-1961
KNA, PC/NZA 1/3 Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1907-1908
KNA, PC/NZA 1/4 Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1908-1909
KNA, PC/NZA 1/16 Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1923
KNA, PC/NZA 1/18 Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1924
KNA, PC/NZA 1/20 Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1925
KNA, PC/NZA 1/22 Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1927

KNA, PC/NZA 2/11/3 African Education, 1931-1947
KNA, PC/NZA 3/10/1 Native Education, 1925-1929
KNA, PC/NZA 3/31/8/1 Ethnology of Tribes of North Kavirondo District by K. R. Dundas, 1913
KNA, PC/NZA 3/33/8/4 Local Native Councils-General 1926-1927
KNA, PC/NZA 3/33/8/8 North Kavirondo Local Native councils, 1928
KNA, PC/NZA 3/33/8/9 Nyanza Province: North Kavirondo Local Native Council, 1929
KNA, PC/NZA 3/66/1 Nyanza Province: Miscellaneous Confidential Papers, 1905-1919
KNA, PC/NZA 4/5/6 Monthly Intelligence Reports, May, 1936- August, 1937
KNA, PC/NZA 4/4/95 Nyanza Province: Annual Report, 1956
KNA, PC/NZA 4/4/100 Elgon Nyanza District Annual Report, 1956

b) Government Reports

Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Committee on Land Tenure in the North Kavirondo Reserve, 1930, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1931

Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Report of Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919, Nairobi: Swift Press, 1919

Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Kenya Land Commission Evidence, Vol. 111, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1934

Republic of Kenya, Bungoma District Development Plan, 1997-2001, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1997

c) **Oral Evidence**

Evidence was also derived from Oral Interviews. A list of the Informants is supplied at the end of this Bibliography (Appendix 11)

d) **Newspapers**

East African Standard
Baraza

2. SECONDARY SOURCES

a) Unpublished Dissertations and Theses

Aseka, E.M., "Political Activities Among the Mijikenda of Kilifi and Mombasa District", M.A. Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1984.

_____., "A Political Economy of Buluyia, 1900-1964", Ph.D Dissertation, Kenyatta University, 1989.

Berg-Schlosser, D., "The Social and Economic Bases of Politics in Kenya", Ph.D Thesis, University Microfilm International. University of California, Berkeley.

Berman, B.J., "Administration and Politics in Colonial Kenya", Ph.D Thesis, Yale University, 1974.

Bode, F.C., "Leadership and Politics Among the Baluyia of Kenya, 1894-1963", Ph.D Thesis, Yale University, 1978.

Burt, E.C., "Towards an Art History of the Baluyia of Western Kenya", Ph.D Thesis, University of Washington, 1980.

Chikati, J.M., "The Biography of Chief Musa Namutala 1930-1973". B.A. Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1988.

Crowley, J.N., "Colonial Policy and Nationalism in Kenya 1952-1963" Ph.D Dissertation, Michigan University 1967.

Dealing, J.R., "Politics in Wanga, Kenya C.1650 to 1914" Ph.D Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1974.

De Wolf, J.L. "Religious Innovation and Social Change Among the Bukusu" Ph.D Dissertation, University of London, 1971.

Gimode, E.A., "Culture and History: The Religious Experience of the Avalogoli, C. 1850-1945" M.A Thesis Kenyatta University, 1993.

Kay, S., "The Southern Abaluyia, the Friends' African Mission and the Development of Educaiton in Western Kenya, 1902-1965" Ph.D Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973.

Kinyanjui, K., "The Political Economy of Educational Inequality: A Study of the Roots of Educational Inequality in colonial and Post-colonial Kenya" Ph.D. Thesis, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University 1979.

Lohrentz, K.P., "The Politics of Educational Development in Central and Southern North Nyanza, Kenya 1904-1939" Ph.D. Dissertation, Syracuse University, 1977.

Lonsdale, J.M., "A Political History of Nyanza, 1883-1945", Ph.D Thesis Trinity College, Cambridge, 1964.

Merrit, M.J., "a Study of Change in the Circumcision Rituals Among the Abaluyia of Bungoma and Kakamega Districts of Western Kenya Since 1910 A.D.", Ph.D Thesis, University of Nairobi 1976.

Momanyi, J.K., "Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya: The case of the Abagusii C. 1939-1963" M.A. Thesis Kenyatta University 1996.

Murunga, G.R., "The Evolution of Mumias into an Urban Centre to circa 1940", M.A. Thesis Kenyatta University, 1998.

Nabiswa, M. Wasike, "The Role of the Friends Africa Mission in the Development of Secondary Education in Western Kenya: The Case of Friends School Kamusinga, 1950-1985". M.A. Thesis Kenyatta University, 1999.

Nangulu, K.A., "Resistance to the Imposition of Colonial Rule in Bungoma District: A Case Study of the Lumboka-Chetambe War in 1894-1896", B.A. Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1986.

Nasimiyu, R., the Participation of Women in the Political Economy of Kenya: A Case Study of Bukusu Women in Bungoma District, 1902-1963", M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1984.

Ogula, P.H.A., "A Biography of Ex-Senior Chief Mukudi of Samia and Bunyala, 1881-1969", B.A. Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1972.

Ominde, S.H., "Land and Population in the Western Kenyan Districts of Nyanza Province", Ph.D Dissertation, University of London, 1963.

Sakwa-M'Sake, G.L., "A History of the Political Organization of Wanga, C. 1880-1926", B.A. Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1971.

Shilaro, P.M., "Kabras Culture Under Colonial Rule: A Study of the Impact of Christianity and Western Education" M.A. Thesis, Kenyatta University, 1991.

Wandibba, S., "The Bukusu Forts", B.A. Dissertation University of Nairobi 1972.

Wafula, S., "Colonial Land Policy and the North Kavirondo African Reserve to 1940", B.A. Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1981.

Wafula, P., "Imperialism and Collaboration in Colonial Kenya: A Case Study of Ex-Chief Sudi Namachanja of South Bukusu Location, Bungoma District C.1907-1950" B.A. Dissertation, Kenyatta University 1996.

Zeleza, P.T., "Dependent Capitalism and the Making of the Kenyan Working Class during the Colonial Period" Ph.D Dissertation, Dalhouse University 1982.

b) **Unpublished Seminar and Conference Papers, etc.**

Aseka, E.M., "Ethnicity, Governance and Prevention of Conflict: State of the Issue and Research Perspectives" Paper presented at CODESRIA Governance Institute, 1997.

Berman, B. and Lonsdale J. "Accumulation and Control: The Making of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1888-1929" Paper Presented at A.S.A.U.K. Annual Conference, 1978.

Bode, F.C., "Reactions to the Imposition of Colonial Rule Among the Abaluyia, C. 1894-1920", Seminar Paper, History Department, University of Nairobi, 1972.

De Wolf, J. "Politics and Religion Among the Bukusu", Universities Social Sciences Council Conference, 1971.

Kakai, P.W., "The Northern Luyia Anti-Colonial Resistance: The Lumboka-Chetambe War", Unpublished paper, 1997.

Kipkorir, B.E., "The Kalenjin Phenomenon and the Misri Legends". Seminar Paper No. XII, Department of History, University of Nairobi, 1970/71.

Makila, F.E., "Significance of Chetambe Fort in Bukusu History", Department of Culture Official Monograph Nairobi, 1982.

Murunga, G.R., "Anthropology in Africa: What Future for the Historian", Staff Seminar Paper Department of History Kenyatta University 1998.

Mutoro, H.W., "The Abaluyia Reactions to Colonial Rule, 1880-1930", Student/Staff Seminar, Department of History, University of Nairobi 1975/76.

Nasimiyu, R., "The Tradition of Resistance Among the Babukusu" Staff Seminar Paper No. 7, Department of History University of Nairobi 1979/80.

Ndeda, M.A.J., "A Luo Prophet: Yohana Owalo and the Rise of the Nomiya Luo Church, 1900-1912" Staff Seminar Paper, Department of History Kenyatta University, 1985.

Ogutu, M.A., "Agriculture and the History of Markets of Western Province of Kenya 1920-1970", Historical Association of Kenya, Annual Conference, 1975.

Osogo, J.N.B., "The Dismantling of the Wanga Kingdom During the British Administration 1895-1926", Historical Association of Kenya, Annual conference, 1971.

Scully, R.T.K., "Two Accounts of the Chetambe War of 1895", Hartwick College Oneanta, New York, (N.d.).

Shiroya, O.J.E., "The Evolution of Territorial Nationalism in Kenya" in Historical Association of Kenya Annual Conference Proceedings 1971.

_____,"The Supra-ethnic Nationalism in Colonial Kenya: Attempts, Reversals and Frustrations" Staff Seminar, Department of History Kenyatta University 1974-75"

Sifuna, D.N., "Indigenous Education in Western Kenya", A Paper Presented at the Annual Conference of the Western Kenya Cultural Festival Symposium, 1985.

Simiyu, V.G. "The Emergence of the Luyia Nation: A Research Agenda", A Paper Presented at the Annual Conference of the Western Kenya Cultural Festival Symposium, 1985.

c) Articles in Journals and Published Edited Works

Ajayi, J.A., "Colonialism: An Episode in African History", in Gann and Duignan (eds.), Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960, London, Cambridge University press, 1981.

Atieno-Adhiambo, "Politics and Nationalism in East Africa, 1919-1935" in Adu Boahen (ed.), General History of Africa, Africa Under colonial Domination 1880-1935, Nairobi, Heinemann, 1990.

Boahen, A.A., "Colonial era: Conquest and Independence", in Gann and Duignan (ed.), Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960, London, Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Bode, F.C., "Anti-Colonial Politics Within a Tribe: The Case of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya", in A.Ojuka and Ochieng' W. (eds.), Politics and Leadership in Africa, Nairobi, K.L.B. 1984.

Cohen, D.L., "Class and the analysis of African Politics: Problems and Prospects" in D.L. Cohen and J.Daniel (eds.), Political Economy of Africa: Selected Readings, London, Longman, 1981.

Diop, C.A., "Origin of the Ancient Egyptians", in G. Mokhtar (ed.) General History of Africa UNESCO Vol. II, London: Heinemann 1981.

Kipkorir, B.E., "Kolloa Affray, 1950" in Trans-African journal of History Vol. 2 No. 2 1972.

_____"Colonial Response to Crisis: The Kolloa Affray and Colonial Kenya in 1950", in Kenya Past and Present Vol.2 No. 1 1973.

Lonsdale, J.M., "Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa" in J.D. Fage, J.R. Gray and R.A. Oliver (eds.), The Journal of African History Vol.9, No.1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1968.

_____, "Political Association in Western Kenya", in Robert I. And Ali Mazrui (eds.), Protest and Power in Black Africa, New York, Oxford University, 1970.

Maloba, W., "Nationalism and Decolonisation, 1947-1963", in Ochieng' W.(ed.) A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980, Nairobi: Evans Brothers Ltd., 1989.

Muriuki, G., "Background to Politics and Nationalism in Central Kenya: The Traditional Social and Political Systems of Kenya People," in Ogot B.A. (ed.). Hadith 4:Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya, Nairobi, E.A.P.H., 1972.

Ochieng', W.R., "Kenya and the End of Empire: 1945-1963" in W.R. Ochieng' (ed.) Themes in Kenyan History, Nairobi, Heinemann, 1990.

Ogot, B.A., "British Administration in Central Nyanza District of Kenya, 1900-1960" in Journal of African History Vol.4 1963.

_____,"Kenya Under the British, 1895 to 1963" in B.A. Ogot (ed.) Zamani: A Survey of East African History, Nairobi: EAPH 1973.

Otiende, J.E.,, "Education Since the Early Times" in W.R. Ochieng' (ed.) Themes in Kenyan History, Nairobi, EAEP, 1990.

Ranger T.O., "Connexions Between Primary Resistance Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa" in J.D., Fage, J.R. gray and R.A.

Oliver (eds.), The Journal of African History Vol. 9, No. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1968.

Robotham, D., "Post Colonialities: The Challenge of New Modernities" in International Social science Journal Vol. 153 No. 3, London, UNESCO and Blackwell Publishers, 1997.

Salim, A.I., "Early Arab-Swahili Political Protest in Colonial Kenya" in Ogot B.A. (ed.). Hadith 4: Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya, Nairobi: E.A.P.H., 1972.

Slater, D., "Challenging Western Visions of the Global: The Geopolitics of Theory and North-South Relations", The European Journal of Development Research Vol. No. 7, 1995.

Sifuna, D.N., "The Mill Hill Fathers and the Establishment of Western Education in Western Kenya 1900-1924: Some Reflections" in Trans-African Journal of History Vol. 6 1977b.

_____,"Nationalism and Decolonisation" in Ochieng' W.R. (ed.), Themes in Kenyan History, Nairobi, E.A.E.P. 1990.

Simiyu, V.G., "The Emergence of a Sub-Nation: A History of Babukusu to 1990" in Transafrican Journal of History Vol. 20 1991.

Wandibba, S., "Notes on the Oral History of Abatachoni" in Wandibba S. (ed.), History and Culture in Western Kenya: The People of Bugoma District Through Time, Nairobi; G.S. Were press 1985.

Wafula Muyila, "Leadership from the Graves: The Case of the Bukusu Traditional Society" in Journal of the Institute of African Studies University of Nairobi Vol. 2, 1997.

Were, G.S., "Dini Ya Msambwa: A Reassessment" in University of E.A. Social Science Proceedings, Nairobi Vol. 4 1966.

_____, "Politics, Religion and Nationalism in Western Kenya, 1942-1962, Dini Ya Msambwa Revisited" in B.A. Ogot (ed) Hadith 4: Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya, Nairobi, E.A.P.H. 1972.

Wesonga R., "The Pre-colonial Military Organization of the Bukusu", Wandibba S. (ed) History and Culture in Western Kenya; Nairobi, G.S. Were Press 1985.

Wipper, A. "Elijah Masinde – A Folk Hero" in B.A. Ogot (ed) Hadith 3, Nairobi, E.A.P.H. 1971.

Zeleza, P.T., "African Studies and the Disintegrating Paradigms" in African Development Vol. XIX No. 4, 1994.

_____, "Fictions of the Post-Colonial: A Review Article" in CODESRIA Bulletin No. 2 1997.

c) Published Books

Ake, C. A Political Economy of Africa, New York Longman, 1981.

Ben-Jochannan, J., Africa:Mother of "Westerm Civilization", New York: Alkebu Ian Books Association (n.d).

Boahen, A.A., African Perspectives on Colonialism, London, James Curvey, 1987.

Bogonko, S.N., Kenya, 1945-1963: A Study in African National Movements, Nairobi; Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980.

Clayton, A. and Savage, J., Government and Labour in Kenya, 1895-1963, London: Frank Cass, 1974.

De Silvia, S.B.D., The Political Economy of Underdevelopment, London: Routeledge and Kegan Paul, 1982.

Fearn, H., An African Economy: A Study of the Economy of the Nyanza Province of Kenya, 1903-1953, London: Oxford University Press, 1961.

Fortes, M. and Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (eds), African Political Systems, London: O.U.P. 1940.

Frost, R., Race Against Time: Human Relations and Politics in Kenya Before Independence. London: Rex Collins Ltd. 1978.

Hobley, C.N., Kenya From Chartered Company to Crown Colony: Thirty years of Exploration and Administration in British East Africa, 2nd Ed., London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd 1970.

Hodgkin, T., Nationalism in Colonial Africa, New York: Washington press 1957.

Kaggia, B., The Roots of Freedom, Nairobi; E.A.P.H. 1975.

Kanogo, T., Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau, Nairobi: E.A.E.P., 1987.

Kenyatta, J., Facing Mount Kenya, Nairobi: E.A.P.H. 1938.

Makila, F.E., An Outline History of the Babukusu, Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1978.

Mazrui, A. and Tidy, M., Nationalism and New States in Africa, from 1933 to the Present, Nairobi, Heinemann, 1984.

Mboya, T., Freedom and After, Andre Dentsch, 1966.

Meek, C.K., Land Law and Customs in the Colonies, London: O.U.P 1946

Mungeam, M., British Rule in Kenya 1895-1921, London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Ochieng' W.R., An Outline History of Nyanza up to 1914, Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1974.

_____, The Second Word, More Essays in Kenyan History, Nairobi: E.A.L.B, 1977.

_____, A History of Kenya, Nairobi: Macmillan, 1985.

Ocitti, J.P., African Indigenous Education as Practised by the Acholi of Uganda, Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1973.

Odinga, O., Not Yet Uhuru. London: Heinemann, 1967.

Ogot, B.A., A History of the Southern Luo, Vol. 1: Migrations and Settlement 1500-1900. Nairobi: E.A.P.H., 1967.

_____, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, New Edition, Nairobi: E.A.P.H., 1974.

Onimonde, B., An Introduction to Marxist Political Economy, London: Zed Books Limited 1985.

Osei, G.K. Fifty Unknown Facts About the Africa, London: 56, Chiswick Lane 1964.

Osogo, J., A History of Baluyia, Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1966.

P'Bitek, O., African Religions in Western Scholarship, Nairobi: E.A.L.B. 1970.

Peter, C.B., A Guide to Academic Writing, Eldoret; Zapf Chancery 1990.

Popkin, S.L., The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam, Berkeley: University of Carlifonia Press 1979.

Richards, E., Fifty Years in Nyanza, 1906-1956: The History of the Church Missionary and the Anglican Church in Nyanza, Kenya, Published for the Nyanza Jubilee Committee Maseno, 1956.

Rodney, W., How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Nairobi: Heinemann 1992.

Rosberg, C.G., and Nottingham, J., The Myth of Mau Mau: The Origin of Nationalism in Kenya, New York: Preager Publishers, 1966.

Said, E., Orientalism, New York: Random House 1979.

_____, Culture and Imperialism, London, Chatto and Windus, 1993.

Scott, C. James, The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in South East Asia, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.

Shimanyula, J.M., Elijah Masinde and the Dini Ya Msambwa, Nairobi: Transafrica Publishers, 1978.

Shiroya, O.J.E., Kenya and World War II, Nairobi: K.L.B., 1985.

Simiyu, V.G., Elijah Masinde, Nairobi: E.A.E.P. 1997.

Sithole, N., African Nationalism, London: Camelot Press, 1968.

Smith, A.D., Theories of Nationalism, London: Camelot Press, 1971.

Staniland, M., What is Political Economy? A Study of Social Theory and Underdevelopment, New Haven; Yale University Press 1985.

Temu, A.J., British Protestant Missions, London: Longman 1972.

Wagner, Gunter, The Bantu of North Kavirondo with Special Reference to the Vugusu and Logoli Vol. 10 London: Oxford University press 1949.

Wandibba, S., Masinde Muliro, Nairobi: E.A.P.H., 1996.

Were, G.S., History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya C.1500-1930, Nairobi: E.A.P.H. (1967a).

_____, Western Kenya Historical Texts: Abaluyia, Teso and Elgon Kalenjin, Nairobi: E.A.L.B. 1967b.

_____, Essays on African Religion in Western Kenya, Nairobi: E.A.P.H. 1977.

Wipper, A., Rural Rebels: A Study of Two Protest Movements in Kenya, Nairobi:O.U.P. 1977.

Zwanenberg, R.M.A., Van and King, A., An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda 1800-1970, London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1975.

APPENDIX 1: QUESTION GUIDELINE

PART ONE
GENERAL INFORMATION

NAME OF INFORMANT.....
PLACE OF BIRTH.....
OCCUPATION.....
AGE: ..... SEX: .....

PART TWO
THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD POLITICAL HISTORY

a) Where did the Babukusu come from? When?
b) What events happened in the migration of the Babukusu? Estimate the period.
c) What important places did the members pass through?
d) Who did they encounter on the way?
e) Identify the place and period when the encounter took place.
f) Which places did the Babukusu come to settle?
Whom did they find in those places?
g) What was the nature of their settlement?
h) How was the leadership in the settlements conducted?
Did they have an overall leader?
i) How were leaders appointed or installed in the Bukusu society?
What was their roles and functions?
How did they perform those functions?
j) What relationship did the Babukusu have with their neighbours?
k) Did the Babukusu engage in any war(s) with her neighbours?
Can you list the battles according to when and where they happened?
l) How did the Babukusu organize themselves for the war?
What were the causes and results of the war(s)?
m) How did the Babukusu get in touch and relate to Arabs and Swahili's?
What was the nature of this contact?

PART THREE
THE BABUKUSU UNDER COLONIALISM

a) Where did the Babukusu first make contact with the Europeans?
What was the nature of this contact?
b) Did the Babukusu fight with the British?
When and where did the war take place?

Were they aided in this war?
What were the causes and results of the war ?

c) After the war, what requirements did the British impose on the Babukusu?

d) What were the effects of the above colonial policies on the rise of anti-colonial feelings among the people?

e) Did you belong to any political organisation? Please name it.

f) What role did you play in it?
What led you into assuming that role?

g) Who were your colleagues?
How did you come into contact with them?

h) What were their clan ethnic, sub-ethnic or clan affiliations?

i) How did you interact with other political organizations in the colony and outside the country?

j) What were you fighting against?
Could you list common grievances upheld by you and your people?
What solution did you have to the political and economic problems that colonial rule posed in the area and the colony?

k) How did your organization rally support?
Where particularly was it popular?

l) How did it get funds?
What projects did it undertake with these funds?

m) What was the attitude and reaction of the colonial government official to your position, actions and demands?

n) Did education play any role in the leadership of the organization and enrolment of members?
How did the educated and the non-educated members of organization inter-relate?

o) How did the members of the organisation inter-relate?

p) Apart from political organizations, what other social, cultural and religious organizations that were formed in the area?

q) Who were their leaders?

r) What were they fighting for?

s) What successes and failures did they register?

t) How did government policy affect their activities?

u) In general what would you say were the achievements of political and non-political organizations in your area?

v) When and why did these organizations wind up?

w) What other activities did you involve yourself in?
With what success did you do this?

x) Who were some of the successful personalities in this field?
When did they first break through and how did they proceed thereafter?

y) What problems did people generally encounter in some of these undertakings?

z) Did the coming of independence bring about any changes?
How did people generally respond to these changes?

APPENDIX 11: LIST OF INFORMANTS

(Ages are estimated)

1. Keya, Jotham, Sabwani; 75 years; Interviewed on 15th April, 1999 at kimabole Sublocation, Sirisia Division.
2. Keya, Rosemary; 65 years; Interviewed on 16th April, 1999 at Kimabole Sublocation, Sirisia Division.
3. Khachonga, Christopher, Wakoli; 74 years; Interviewed on 10th May 1999 at Lumboka Sublocation, Bumula Division.
4. Manguliechi, Ngonela; 68 years; Interviewed on 21st April, 1999 at Miruli Sublocation, kimilili Division.
5. Mukhayo, Benedict, Situma; Interviewed on 10th June, 1999 at Kibachenje Village, Bumula Division.
6. Nabangi, Peter; 70 years; Interviewed on 25th April, 1999 at Mateka Sublocation, Bumula Division.
7. Nabutola, John 72 years; Interviewed on 27th April, 1999 at Mateka Sublocation, Bumula Division.
8. Namulala, Luka, mang'ong'o; 91 years; Interviewed on 15th April, 1999 at Musese, Sublocation, Chwele Location.
9. Namuli, Yona; 65 years; Interviewed on 16th April, 1999 at Musese Sublocation, Chwele Location.
10. Namunane, Eliud; 57 years; Interviewed on 2nd April, 1999 at Butonge Sublocation, Malakisi Location.
11. Nayoma Priscilla; 68 years; Interviewed on 5th June, 1999 at Lugulu Village, Webuye Division.
12. Nyongesa Wilfred Sindani; 55 years; Interviewed on 5th June, 1999 at Myanga Sublocation, Kimaeti Location.
13. Otunga Silvester; 68 years; Interviewed on 28th March, 1999 at Tulumba Village, Mateka Sublocation, South Bukusu Location.
14. Situma James Wekesa; 65 years; Interviewed on 10th April, 1999 at Kibachenje Village, South Bukusu Location.
15. Wafula Silvester Wekesa; 68 years; Interviewed on 3rd April, 1999 at Lumboka Sublocation, South Bukusu Location.
16. Wafula N. Loice; 55 years; Interviewed on 2nd April, 1999 at Lumboka Sublocation, South Bukusu Location.
17. Wakasala Joachim; 73 years; Interviewed on 18th April, 1999 at Mateka Sublocation, South Bukusu Location.
18. Waliaula Joseph Lukhale; 78 years; Interviewed on 28th April, 1999 at Butonge Sublocation, Malakisi Location.
19. Walumbe James; 57 years; Interviewed on 4th June; 1999 at Kibachenje Village, Mateka Sublocation, Bumula Division.

20. Wameme Wepukhulu; 72 years; Interviewed on 2nd April, 1999 at Lumboka Sublocation, South Bukusu Location.
21. Wangwe Livingstone; 70 years; Interviewed on 28th April, 1999 at Butonge Sublocation, Malakisi Location.
22. Watima Protus Saratuki; 55 years; Interviewed on 15th April, 1999 at Chesikaki Location, Mt Elgon District.