

**BRITISH COLONIAL TRANSFORMATION OF INDIGINEOUS CATTLE
PRODUCTION AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS AMONG THE NANDI
OF KENYA, 1890-1963**

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my parents the Late Lawrence Kimurei Ngisirei and my mother, Mrs Anne Ngisirei and the entire Laboso family. To all Nandi freedom fighters who defended their country at the dawn of colonial intrusion.

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ABSTRACT

The Nandi like other ancient traditional societies in the world over depended on cattle production for their livelihood. The purpose of this study was to trace British Colonial transformation of indigineous cattle production and the socio-economic effects among the Nandi of Kenya from 1890-1963. The specific objectives were to examine the origin and nature of cattle production among the Nandi during the pre-colonial period, to trace the impact of early European settlement on the Nandi, to investigate the nature and effect of colonial polices on cattle herding and to establish the history of the response to the various transformations of cattle production. The research study employed the principles of underdevelopment theory, as well as Talbot's concepts of innovation, diversification, adaptation and commercialization. The study was done in Nandi County. A sample size of 100 respondents was randomly picked from the selected target population of 380 from various locations in Nandi using the snowballing sampling technique. The data collection instruments used were oral interviews and focus groups through visitation to the farms. Archival data from the Kenya National Archives was also utilised together with secondary data from the main libraries. Descriptive methods were employed in data analysis and data was presented in the form of distribution tables. The justification for this study was the need to understand the British colonial transformation of Nandi indigenious cattle production due to operation of colonial modes of production. The study concluded that, there were monumentous transformations of Nandi indigineous cattle production due to the penetration of colonial economy. This occationed the changes, leading to the adoption of new cattle breeds. Deprived of their vital grazing land and salt licks they resourcefully exploited other survival opportunities such as squatterdom and wage labour. The white settlers represent the capitalists' development which underdeveloped the Nandi by eliminating their stocks and limit the land for grazing and cultivation. The process did not occur instantly nor uniformly but, in a variety of forms and phases leading eventually to transformation of the indigineous Nandi Zebu breed by the use of the sahiwal bulls and other exotic breeds which included the freisian, ayrshire and gurnsey. Nevertheless the transformation of indigineous cattle to exotic and cross breed had positive results for it led to increase milk and animal products .The Nandi were able to send their children to school, built improved houses and slowly transform their lives and improved their living standards.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ALDEV:	African Land Development Programme
DC:	District Commissioner
EATEC:	East African Tanning and Extraction Company
IBEA Co:	Imperial British East Africa Company
KCC:	Kenya Co-operative Creameries
KDB:	Kenya Dairy Board
KMC:	Kenya Meat Commission
KNA:	Kenya National Archives
NACOSTI:	National Council for Science Technology and Innovations
OI:	Oral Interview
RVP:	Rift Valley Province
PC:	Provincial Commissioner

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Since the ancient period human societies world over depend on their environment for survival. The state of dynamism can be illustrated in the changes of their production mechanism and resource distribution and utilization. Land which is a means of production has been exploited through activities such as: animal husbandry, hunting, gathering, fishing and cultivation. Societies engage in such activities to meet their subsistence demand and dispose off the surplus through exchange and the Nandi are no exception. Cattle production is what the Nandi of Kenya has been doing over time to survive. Cattle keeping have been a primary occupation among many. Davis, sums this aspect by observing that more people in various regions of the world depend on exploiting pastoral resources than any other agricultural enterprises¹.

Generally, most African depends on the produce from their farms to sustain their livelihood. But among the Nandi cattle keeping was more valued in terms of social qualities as well as their economic values. The Maasai of East Africa also keep cattle for various uses. Meat, milk and milk products offer outstanding nutritional quality in the lives of human beings. Due to the beneficial food values and widespread use of milk and its products, Whettian, notes that the cow has been referred to as the ‘foster mother’ of human race². There are good reasons to celebrate cattle, one of the world’s major sources of food for human beings. Whenever cattle are kept, meat, milk and milk products play an important part in diets of families owning them. For a start, milk is the first source of food for all mammalian life on earth not just for human beings. For all newborns mammals, it is a crucial form of nutrition, containing a wide range of nutrients and colostrum, a substance that carries the mother’s antibodies to the baby and can reduce the risk of many diseases.

1 Davis, R.. *Modern Cattle Management*, New York: Prince-Hall Inc, 1962

2 Whettian, E. *Agricultural Marketing in Africa*, London: Oxford University Press, 1972

In Kenya the demand for meat and milk increased with the growth of urban population of European and Asian urban dwellers. In the past one of the Nandi principal occupations was to raid other communities in order to take their cattle. Huntingford, observed that the Nandi are primarily a cattle people³. In Africa generally and Kenya in particular, the advent of Europeans put an end to this method of cattle acquisition in Kenya. Land was taken away by the Europeans to create room for white settlers as a result the 'White Highland' was created. The Nandi were pushed to the native reserve created to tame their movement. New economic systems, ideas and techniques were spread across the country and economic changes occurred.

Economy as noted by Mwanzi, means the acquisition and distribution of goods or resources, it encompasses the use of land, industrial activities and trade among other aspects⁴. Ochieng adds by observing that the Nilotes, Nandi included were for many centuries primarily pastoralists⁴ an economic occupation which most of them still pursue to date. Livestock reared by the Nandi include cattle, sheep and goats. Thus the economic adaptation of the Africans has been a consequence of the dynamic interaction between the Europeans and the pastoralists Nandi included.

The relationship between human beings and cattle has been subjected to continuous change, due to human population increase and the exploitation of science in breeding herds which were resistant to a number of diseases. Turning to the history of the Nandi, research concerning mainly economic, social, political, cultural and political has been done. Indeed economic history is an important discipline in African historiography and no discussion of African history could be complete without due consideration of economic activities of a people. It is for this reason that the study endeavors to explore the transformations in cattle production among the Nandi of Kenya in the period between 1890 up to the attainment of Kenya independence in 1963.

3 Huntingford, G.. *The Nandi of Kenya Tribal Control in a Pastoral Society*, London: Rout ledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1953

4 Mwanzi, H.. *History of Kipsigis*, Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1972

1.2 Statement of the problem

The study of cattle production as an economic pursuit has been approached by scholars from a variety of stand points by agriculturalists, anthropologists and livestock officers among others. While acknowledging the efforts of the mentioned scholars, no known historical study exists on colonial transformation on the Nandi cattle production, yet the Nandi, like other communities in most parts of the world had over the years adopted, initiated and developed unique ideas and skills that enable them harness the environment and exploit the resources within their vicinity. The study focused on British colonial transformation of indigineous cattle and the socio-economic effects with the view of understanding the production mechanisms and resource distribution. The displacement of the Nandi, the squatter issue, forced labour and low priced commodities determined by the external market during the colonial period were examined and to what extend did colonial policies transformed the Nandi pre-colonial cattle economy. The coming of the Europeans into Kenya and especially in the Nandi County introduced various policies which in one way or the other had far reaching effects on the Nandi economy, cattle keeping inclusive. By analyzing these, the research hoped to shed light on how solutions could be arrived at in the present system and hasten the slow pace of cattle production. Finally, therefore this study is worthy undertaking so as to fill the existing gap in historical knowledge on the transformation of indigineous cattle to pure or cross breeds.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to trace the evolution and development of cattle among the Nandi of Kenya,

1.4 Objectives of the study

The study was guided by the following objectives:

- i. To examine the origin and nature of cattle production among the Nandi of Kenya during the pre-colonial period.
- ii. To trace the impact of early European settlement on the socio-economic and cultural orientation of the Nandi of Kenya.

- iii. To investigate the nature and effect of colonial cattle production policies among the Nandi of Kenya.
- iv. To establish the history of response by the Nandi to the transformations in cattle production.

1.5 Research questions

The study attempted to answer the following questions:-

- i) What was the origin and nature of cattle production among the Nandi of Kenya during the pre-colonial period?
- ii) How did European settlement affect the socio-economic activities and cattle production among the Nandi of Kenya?
- iii) What were the nature and effect of colonial policies on cattle production among the Nandi of Kenya?
- iv) How did the Nandi of Kenya respond to the transformations in cattle production?

1.6 Significance and justification of the study

It is hoped that this study will yield data that is useful in establishing and appreciating the contribution of various colonial policies in the promotion of cattle. This study will serve as a source of data for researchers interested in historical study about the transformation of the economic activities among the Nandi of Kenya during the colonial period. And those who wish to apply a similar study to other African communities in Africa and Kenya in particular between 1890 and 1963 will find this study a basis of their studies. The study attempts to inquire into the history of cattle production and the eventual transformation. A study of the society of this nature may in the long run shed light on the agents of change in the study area. This study, therefore, hopes to make a contribution on the growing literature on Kenyan economic history.

1.7 Scope of the study

The study was confined to Nandi County and covered the period between 1890 to 1963. This provided adequate time to analyze the Nandi cattle production.

The study was mainly concerned with the colonial period upto the attainment of independence. The study concentrated on the Nandi of Kenya for they have a unique history which is worth presenting. They were also among the early groups to resist the colonial imposition for 10 years under the leadership of their great leader Koitalel Arap Samoei. Finally, part of Nandi country become a reserve and bore the greatest impact of colonial land, labour and taxation policies.

The study was carried out in parts of Nandi that had intense conduct with the colonial livestock production. The areas covered and visited by the researcher were 4 locations; Kabiyet, Kaptumo, Kilibwoni and Kipkaren out of the 7 location covered by the Nandi reserve.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

Ideally this study could have been conducted on all cattle keeping communities in Kenya, so as to make recommendation for the whole country. But due to the size of the study area, the research findings were restricted to Nandi County. The study limits itself to the study of cattle production among the Nandi of Kenya.

Most areas fell apart and far from the main road thus interviews were not easy to conduct. Therefore, out of the total 7 locations covered by the Nandi Reserve 4 were covered which is nearly half. The regions were different in ecology as well as groups of Nandi *Pororiosiek* occupying those areas. On the other hand most of the archival information such as cattle and milk sale covered the entire Rift Valley with a few specifically on Nandi. Still reports written by the government officials represent the official or personal view of those who wrote them. The farmers and local views were hardly captured. Attempts were made to overcome this by including the views obtained from oral data.

Further focus groups are however limited in terms of there ability to generalize findings to a whole population, mainly because of the small numbers of people participating and the likelihood that the participants will not be a representative sample. To overcome this individual interviews were used to obtain individual experiences and views.

1.9 Literature review

This section provided a review of literature related to cattle production among the Nandi of Kenya. Studies conducted outside Kenya are reviewed first, followed by those on Kenya and finally those related to the Nandi community.

1.9.1 Origin and Nature of Cattle Production

In the past, it was widely accepted that cattle were domesticated elsewhere and subsequently introduced into Africa. According to Epstein and Mason, the cradle of the world's domesticated cattle was thought to be in western Asia, where there is evidence that domestication took place between 8000 and 9000 years ago. It was believed that humpless longhorns were first introduced into Egypt from western Asia in approximately 5000 BC and humpless shorthorn in about 2500 BC⁵. They suggested that the various types of cattle were introduced at different times and by different routes. However, discovery of the remains of domesticated shorthorn cattle dating to approximately 5100 BC at Capéletti in Algeria and at Uan Muhuggiag and Adra Bous in central Sahara have been found⁶. This aspect helps in relating the history of Africa to the world. That Africa has something that she contributed to the world.

Smith cast doubt on this theory that cattle were domesticated before being introduced into Africa. It is now clear that shorthorn cattle were present in North Africa for several hundreds of years⁷ before the period given by Epstein and Mason. Historically, humpless shorthorn cattle were found in almost all types of ecological zone with populations being recorded in Sudan, central Tanzania and the Mount Elgon area of Kenya. Rock paintings; provide evidence that humpless shorthorn cattle were found 2000 years ago in the Mount Elgon area of Kenya⁸.

5 Epstein. H and Mason. In: Mason I. L. (ed.) *Evolution of Domesticated Animals*, London: Longman 1st ed, 1984

6 Roubet C Une économie pastorale, préagricole en Algérie orientale: le néolithique de tradition capsienne. *Anthropologie*, 1978

7 Smith. A.B. *Pastoralism in Africa: Origins and Development Ecology*, London: Hurst and Company, 1992

8 Payne. W. J. A. "Domestication: A Forward Step in Civilization". In: Hickman C. G. *Genetic Resources*, (1st ed.) Amsterdam. World Animal Science, 1991

Recently, genetic data have been found to support the hypothesis of an African centre of domestication⁹. This view still supports the origin of domesticated cattle to be Africa.

When the origin of African cattle is talked about, it becomes clear that the origin depends on the group to which the breed belongs. The original African cattle can be divided into two major categories, namely humpless (*Bos taurus*) and humped (*Bos indicus*). The former category is subdivided further into longhorn (*B. taurus longifrons*) and shorthorn (*B. taurus brachyceros*), while the latter category is subdivided into zebu proper and zebu crossbred-types. Besides, Semitic tribes introduced humped cattle into Africa from Arabia and Asia, in two different time periods. First, in around 1500 BC, long-horned zebu cattle were introduced; these supposedly met humpless longhorn cattle in Ethiopia and Somalia, and crossed to produce the cervico-thoracic humped cattle, also known as Sanga. The Sanga later spread into central and southern Africa.

In around 670AD short-horned zebu cattle were introduced via Ethiopia and Somalia. This second introduction, either led to a major replacement of Sanga cattle from eastern Africa, or to cross-breeding of this zebu population with the already existing Sanga to result in a Sanga with zebu type (zenga). Position of the hump on the animal's back is also used to classify the zebu proper and zebu crossbred types into cervicothoracic-humped (Sanga) and thoracic-humped stocks. The Sanga is nowadays considered a separate group of cattle. As per the current classification of African cattle, four different groups can be distinguished namely *B. taurus*, *B. indicus*, Sanga and Sanga-zebu types.¹⁰ This zebu breed could be the ancestors of the Nandi zebu. This study on the Nandi will help shed light on the relation of the African zebu.

Excavations in Kenya have shown that the Small and Large East African zebu breeds were multitudinous in parts of the Rift Valley by AD 1400 to AD 1500. The zebu cattle spread further westwards and southwards to become the dominant cattle within the area demarcated by latitude 20°N in the north (northern Sudan).

9 Bradley D.G., MacHaugh D.E., Cunningham P. and Loftus R.T. "Mitochondrial diversity and the origins of African and European cattle" *National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 1996

10 Rege J.E.O. "The State of African cattle genetic resources II. Sanga, Zenga, recent derivatives, threatened and extinct breeds" in *Animal Genetic Resources Information*, 1999.

The term 'East African Zebu' is used to describe all the 'Shorthorn Zebu' of Eastern and Southern Africa¹¹. Based on their body sizes, the East African zebu breeds can be divided into two subgroups, the 'Small' and the 'Large'. The term 'Small East African Zebu' was suggested to portray the small frame of these animals and to avoid confusion with other types of East African cattle¹².

In Kenya, all indigenous cattle are of the shorthorn, thoracic humped zebu type and are found throughout the country. Their wide distribution over diverse ecological zones implies that over the years, they have developed adaptive characteristics because of natural selection under different environmental conditions. The Sahiwal breed has been accepted as an indigenous breed, but is excluded in the following discussion. The Sahiwal was imported into Kenya in two phases: in 1939, 3 bulls were bought from the Pusa herds of India; and in 1962, 60 bulls and 12 cows were imported from Pakistan to form the national Sahiwal stud¹³. Apart from the Boran, of which three breeds/strains can be distinguished – the improved Kenyan Boran, the unimproved Boran (Borana) and the Orma Boran), the remainder of the indigenous cattle are classified as Small East African zebus.

These cattle are found among the Nandi ethnic group inhabiting western parts of Kenya. The Nandi have a long history of cattle raiding and fighting, especially with the Maasai, and therefore their cattle are influenced by the Maasai stock. Nandi Zebu is small, fine-boned, dairy-type of cattle with varying coat markings and patterns (including black and red, fawn, white and grey, and a mixture of these colours). In the majority of the animals, the hump is thoracic in position; it varies in size but is large, rounded from front to back and hangs backwards in bulls. The udder is moderately well developed with rather small teats that are placed close together.

11 Rege J.E.O. and Tawah C.L. "The state of African cattle genetic resources. I. Taurine humpless (*Bos taurus*) and zebu (*B. indicus*) cattle" in *Animal Genetic Resources Information*, 1999.

12 Mason I.L. and Maule J.P.. *The indigenous cattle of eastern and southern Africa*, Wallingford: UK Commonwealth Agricultural Bureau International, 1960.

13 Kimenye, M.D. *Comparison of Ayrshire and Sahiwal crossbred cows with high grade Ayrshires on Kilifi Farm, Coast province of Kenya*. M.Sc. thesis, Nairobi: University of Nairobi, 1973.

1.9.2 Impact of Early European settlement on socio-economic and cultural orientation

According to Zeleza, the state itself, required massive supplies of labour to build and maintain the colonial economic infrastructure and the administrative bureaucracy.¹⁴The colonial state introduced settler and corporate production as the mainstay of the colonial economy. The state forcibly seized land, cattle and other indigenous means of production from certain regions, communities and households on behalf of the settlers and corporate interests. By the mid-1930s about one-fifth of all usable land in Kenya was under the exclusive control of the settlers.

Zeleza States that African land practices reflected the ability of African to manipulate the environment. This work is useful in establishing systems of land use which is a means of production in Nandi¹⁵. It helps to show how land was important for cattle production. This study highlighted the many warfare fought by the Nandi to acquire more grazing fields for its cattle. In addition, the state provided the settlers and corporate capital with the necessary infrastructural, agricultural and marketing services and credit facilities. And above all, the state sought to create, mobilize and control the supply of African labour for capital. His analysis on land alienation is a useful guide in the examination of the land factor, at the onset of colonial domination among the Nandi of Kenya.

Anderson accounts on how the first European settlers arrived in 1902 helps to identify the policies employed by the colonial administrative. In 1915, the Crown Land Ordinance recognized native rights in lands reserved for the Kenyans. In 1926, this was further defined by the creation of "African Reserves" for each of Kenya's ethnic groups leaving the "White Highlands" for the Europeans. The White Highlands consisted of large parts of central province especially Kiambu and Murang'a, as well as great tracts of land in the Rift Valley, and far to the west on the plateaus beyond.¹⁶His work will provide valuable reflection to this study.

14 Zeleza T. The Colonial Labour System in Kenya." In *An Economic History of Kenya*, W.R Ochieng' and R. Maxon, eds, 1992

15 Zeleza T., *The current agrarian crisis in Africa: its history and future*; Journal of East African Research & Development Vol 6 No. 4, 1979

16 Anderson D. *Histories Of The Hanged: The Dirty War In Kenya And The End Of Empire*,1994.

The establishment of capitalist estate production depended upon the appropriation of African land. But this partial separation of Africans from their means of production did not have an immediately adverse effect upon their well-being save in the case of the pastoralists, who suffered immeasurably larger losses than the cultivators. On the contrary, African farmers enjoyed an enormous access of exploitable land, the British enabled them to use areas previously left empty for reasons of defence, and as white landownership made available to their tenants' hoes the acres which settlers could not yet afford to plough.¹⁷This work is useful to this study as the work tackles the articulation of modes of production.

1.9.3 Nature and Effect of Colonial Cattle production policies

Hopkins, writing on West Africa economics argues that pre-colonial economics were diversified and included cattle production, agricultural products, manufacturing and trade¹⁸. He uses the example of cattle production groups the Tuareg and Fulani where animals were more valued in terms of social qualities unlike their economic values. Beside there existed a symbiotic relationship between the cattle production groups and the cultivators and how each needed the products of the other. The importance of Hopkins work is that it provides a frame work for understanding the importance of economic activities of the Nandi of Kenya during the pre-colonial period and colonial period. However, Hopkins view on the Tuareg and the Fulani of West Africa does not reflect the real situation in pre-colonial Nandi as the animals were in short supply. This study attempts to ascertain the actual position in Nandi during the pre-colonial period.

Van Zwanneberg with King, while examining the economic history of Kenya and Uganda, traced the history of the Maasai, the Turkana and the Nandi. This pioneer work is useful in establishing the basic principles that govern cattle production in societies in the East African region Nandi included. That animal was the basis for a widespread social network of relationships¹⁹. This created the diversification of resources so as to

17 Lonsdale J. and Berman B. "Coping with the Contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1895-1914," *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 20, No. 4, White Presence and Power in Africa, 1979

18 Hopkins A.G. *An Economic History of West Africa*, London: Longman Ltd, 1972.

19 Zwannenberg R with King, *AAAn Economic History of Kenya and Uganda 1800-1970*, London: MacMillan Publishing House., 1975

cushion the keeper agribusiness any natural or man-made challenges such as attacks drought and diseases. However their assertions do not clearly show concrete systems that were adopted by the Nandi themselves. This study therefore is an in-depth analysis on various systems used by the Nandi to replenish their stock.

Gold, studied women in agricultural change among the Nandi in the 19th century. She argues that through this period dominated women in order to control their surplus production in grain and cattle²⁰. The control over surplus was maintained through the control over the means of production. Gold, also traces the transition from mixed farming to more emphasis on cattle which occurred at the end of the nineteenth century. This work's shortcoming is that it does not expound the main features of the Nandi indigenous cattle systems. The present study fills this gap by detailing indigenous cattle systems.

A complementary work to Gold's account is the anthropologist work of Oboler, who examined the changing role of women in Nandi economy from the pre-colonial to the colonial era²¹. The work concentrated on gender roles in Nandi economy but failed to address the effects of colonial economy on Nandi cattle in detail. This work can also be utilized in the study to shed light on the issue of division of labour among the Nandi as well as the rules that governed communal labour by doing a detailed research in the field under review.

The review demonstrates the bias among scholars, towards cattle development in Kenya. Nandi is perhaps the region least covered by researchers. Besides Gold's and Oboler's work there is little history on Nandi economy on cattle production despite the role the Nandi played in cattle production. This study hopes to fill this important gap in the historiography of Kenya.

1.9.4 History of Response to Transformations on Cattle Production.

Leys, in his analysis of underdevelopment in Kenya postulated that a small class of Africans such as chiefs, tribunal elders and the educated, who got cash for salaries,

20 Gold, A. E.. "Women in Agricultural Change", in B.A. Ogot (ed) *Hadithi 8 in the 19th Century*, Nairobi: Bookwise Limited, 1985

21 Oboler, R. S. *Women Power and Economic Change: The Nandi of Kenya*, California: Stanford University Press, (1989)

managed to accumulate wealth and were tied to foreign capital²². Swainson has also argued that colonial government in the 1950s deliberately encouraged the emergence of an African middle class as a means of political stability and prevention of ultra radical nationalism²³. The above work discusses the emergence of class differentiation in Kenya in general. Thus the study on Nandi relies on their analysis with a view to finding out the class differentiation took in Nandi. This study shows to some extent their findings apply to Nandi.

Wolff, also contents that Kenya's economic history during the colonial period witnessed the radical transformation of African society into the wage force, leading to a systematic suppression of the African peasant cattle production²⁴. He argues that the colonial development programme had difficult constraints for the African population. This included land alienation and labour policies which forcibly diverted labour from cattle production to wage labour in European settler's farms especially in Uasin-Gishu and Trans-Nzioa. Africans were not allowed to keep improved cattle kept by the settlers.

This view is supported by Brett²⁵ who argues that the stagnation and non-development of the African sector was directly related to the progress and development on the European one. These views provide a framework for analyzing the effects of colonial policies on Nandi cattle production. How Nandi class and social differentiations were created. It is hoped that this study will bring to the limelight how few individual Nandi cattle producers were able to be referred to as progressive while others were not.

Ndege, concurs with Brett when he observed that the colonial state imposed considerable limitations on the freedom of pastoralists and hence accessibility of their cattle to grazing pastures. The enhancement of various land and cattle ordinance began to erode the traditional economic foundation of cattle production economy²⁶. That the, colonial state registered direct intervention in cattle practices of the African herders and farmers. Cattle

22 Collins L. *Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo-colonialism 1964-1971*, London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1975

23 Nicole S. *The Development of Corporate Capitalism in Kenya 1918-1977*, Nairobi: Heinemann Limited, 1980

24 Wolff, R.T. *Britain and Kenya The Economies of colonialism*, Nairobi: Transafrica publishers 1897-1930.

25 Brett E. *Colonization and Underdevelopment in East Africa: the Politics of Economic Change 1919-1936*, England: Heinemann, 1975

26 George N. "History of Pastoralists in Kenya 1891-1980" in *An Economic History of Kenya*, (eds) W.R Ochieng and R. M. Maxon, Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992

production witnessed tremendous change. Ndege's work illustrates how innovative Africans were and responded creatively to the new constraints and opportunities that were advanced by the European settler community for example the establishment of the Kenya Cooperative Creameries (K.C.C) and the Kenya Meat Commission (K.M.C). However, the above arguments suggest that. Africans benefited from the colonial developments to some degree but it does show clearly how the unequal exchange of cattle products led to the underdevelopment of the Nandi society. This study is hoped to fill the gap in the absence of literature on the Nandi of Kenya.

Kandagor, argues that two major factors were responsible for the transformation of the Tugen economy, the general circumstances of colonial rule such as government policies and the missionary western education²⁷. The colonial system accelerates the pace of economic development by opening up new opportunities for the Tugen to trade and practice cattle production using modern methods. This arguments show how other Kenyan communities were faced with the same challenge of taking up western education. In particular agricultural economy and transformed agricultural economy such that by the end of colonial era in 1963 more Kenyan farmers was practicing modern methods of cattle production. This study therefore without the comparative aspect among the Nandi and other kalenjin groups who practiced cattle production.

Ogutu and Kenyanchui noted that cattle were kept by many Kenyans. In addition cattle had economic value and could provide a variety of products and services. This trend was interrupted by the British rule in Kenya²⁸. The transformation of traditional barter system of trade can be seen by the introduction of money. Huxley, concurs when he observed that the use of money (rupees) was not accepted easily by the Africans²⁹. African prefer other items instead of money.

This work through wide in scope helps in showing how colonial policies changed the exchange systems among the Africans. However this study attempted to shed light on how proper exchange evolved among the Nandi of Kenya.

27 Daniel K.. *Rethinking British Rule and Nature Economies in Kenya: Tugen Economic Transformation, 1895-1963* Egerton: Pangolin Publishers Limited, 2010.

28 Ogutu A. & Kenyanchui S. *An introduction to Africa History*, Nairobi: Nairobi University Press, 2007

29 Elspeth, H. *Reminiscences of Kenya*, London: Evans brothers Limited, 1890-1968

Ochieng, noted that the Nandi were some of the greatest herders and cultivator in western Kenya. They had large grazing fields and that the Nandi were rather ineffective as hunters and gathers but for sheer survival purposes, possession of limited agriculture seems reasonable³⁰. However Ochieng's observation that the Nandi were ineffective in hunting and gathering and had possession of limited agriculture did not give clear picture about the Nandi. Consequently this study focused on obtaining more information to fill the gap. This study showed that the Nandi had an economic life through cattle production and cultivation before the advent of capitalists system.

Tanui's research places more emphasis on the development of cash crops. The colonial state had to look for ways to raise revenue to run the colony. African agriculture was encouraged through the dual policy³¹, an approach to agricultural development in the country develop agricultural resources and wealth of the country, it was essential for the Africans to take their proper place in the economic life in Kenya and that they would be made to utilize profitably those large sections of the country they occupied. As a result extension services and promoting maize as a cash crop were intensified. This research addressed one aspect of the economic life of the Nandi. The finding will bring into board another historical aspect of the Nandi, the cattle production.

From the above discussion it is clear that little literature on cattle production is available. Beside agriculture other economic activities have not been given the attention it deserves. This study on cattle production among the Nandi of Kenya, therefore attempted to fill the glaring gaps in the existing literature while contributing to the history of the Nandi of Kenya in the period under review.

30 William O*History of Kenya*, Nairobi: MacMillan Ltd, 1975

31 Prisca J. "Agriculture in Nandi District under Colonial Rule 1895-1963", Thesis M.Phil Moi University, 1996.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

Various theories have been adopted to explain the transformation of the Nandi economy. The transformation of indigeneous cattle production can be undertaken within a framework of theories and concepts from a variety of disciplines which include sociology, psychology and economics, whose application can help in the construction of past knowledge. The theory of underdevelopment and Talbot's concepts of innovation, adaptation, commercialization, diversification and are employed.

1.10.1 Underdevelopment Theory

The theory states that underdevelopment occurs when a dominant capitalist system penetrates into a previously autonomous pre-capitalist social formation. This creates a dialectical structural system of center-periphery relations culminating into domination, subordination and exploitation of the pre-capitalist system by the capitalist system. Underdevelopment makes sense only as a means of comparing levels of development.

Writers such as Rodney³² and Leys³³ have used the underdevelopment paradigm to explain the outcome of the incorporation of African economies into the world capitalist systems. This creates an event in which the capitalist takes centre stage thus relegating the pre-capitalist society to the periphery³².

This relation culminates into domination, subordination and exploitation of pre-capitalist social formation. This leads to uprooting or replacement of the existing social, economic, political and cultural institution and relations by the capitalist structures³³. The weaker pre-capitalist system is taken over by strong capitalist system as it did happen in Kenya and among the Nandi in particular.

Further to note, African economies were never static. In this case the Nandi cattle production systems were not static at the time the capitalist (colonial rule) penetrated Kenya. It kept on constantly changing due to the interactions with other Kalenjin communities and their neighbours like the Maasai, Abaluhya and the Luo.

32 Walter R. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya, 1989

33 Collins L. *Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo-colonialism*, London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1964-1971, 1975.

The environment also becomes an important factor in their day to day interaction. Rodney, observed that, African societies were developing independently until they were taken over directly or indirectly by the capitalist powers, when that happened, exploitation increased and the export of surplus ensued, depriving the societies of the benefits of their natural resources and labour that is an integral part of development.

The developing countries, Kenya included continued to make contribution to the development of advanced capitalist societies especially Britain in terms of raw materials. This included animals and animal product, grains, minerals and human labour. This resulted in the transfer of surplus from these developing countries to the developed countries mainly Britain. Underdevelopment is viewed as an impoverishing process of a country or community through external extraction of labour, raw materials and surplus through an unequal exchange. This leads to further exploitation by the developed economy because of the superior position.

The draining of resources to the metropole makes the periphery to remain poorer. This theory of underdevelopment is applicable to the Nandi cattle production economy where Zwannenberg³⁴ and Arap Ngeny³⁵ noted that the colonial capitalism massively alienated Nandi land. The Nandi were turned into squatters in order for the capitalists to find land for their cattle to graze on. With the burden of taxes to pay, and the need for other merchandise, the Nandi were conditioned to sell their labour in order to meet the needs associated with colonial capitalism. Considerably they provided cheap labour for European settler. All these elements of underdevelopment impoverished the Nandi to varying degrees and actually made them dependant on the colonial capitalism.

However, this theory has limitations; it blames the entire poverty of the community (periphery) on the colonial capitalist systems. It overestimates the possibility of internal conditions within the society in creation of dependency. The theory asserts that the external influence especially colonial changed, subordinated and weakened the social economic and political institutions in Africa.

34 Zwannenberg, R. with Anne K. *An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda 1800-1970*, London: MacMillan Publishing House, 1975.

35 Samuel N. "Nandi Resistance to the Establishment of British Administration 1895-1906" in Betwel Ogot (eds) *Hadithi 2*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1906.

The theory ignored the role of the internal factors such as the stocking of many animals in a small area leading to overgrazing and less milk production. Also, the slow pace of acquiring improved animal breeds, which give high milk output, as compared to indigenous breeds which give less milk. Although, they are high disease resistant, are also easily adaptable to local environment.

Andre Gander Frank³⁶ also assumes that underdevelopment as a process occurs only when there is an interaction between stronger versus a weaker system. But VanZwanenberg³⁷ in his introduction observed that the pre-capitalist and the capitalist system gradually grows into each other, that there is no economic system that is separated from the other. This applies to the improvement of the indigenous breeds by use of exotic breeds to create a more productive breed as well as disease resistant variety. The end results are that these systems are independent in one way or the other.

1.10.2 Talbott's Framework

According to Talbott's concepts of innovation, adaptation, commercialization and diversification, traditional African economies had principal themes of production. These are employed to explain historical phenomena and understand the resilience of African cattle production economy especially among the Nandi during the colonial period. In place of the myths that the Africa past was more or less static or at best repetitive is reputed by acknowledging a continuous process of social and political innovation, economic improvement and technical change. Talbott noted that, agricultural history of the pre-colonial period is a story of innovation rather than stagnation, the assumption therefore that the economy was static is untenable.

Development as a process is generated within society by forces propagated and invigorated by the actual members of any given society. That true development cannot be started nor sustained by outsiders as it was evident. In total, Talbot observed that, African were real innovators during this period, since they developed, adapted and integrated animals, crops and techniques to the Kenyan experience; accepting, rejecting and modifying them to compliment changing traditional society policy and economy.

³⁶ Frank, A.G *Capitalist Underdevelopments*, London: Oxford University Press. P. 60.

³⁷ Zwannenber, R.M. *Colonial Capitalism and Labour in Kenya 1919-1939*, Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1974.

Accordingly the concepts of commercialization, innovation, diversification and adaptation were carried over into the colonial period. Commercialization as a term is used in this study to refer to the raising of animals and their products for exchange purposes, price differentials for varying grades of agricultural produce that indigenous systems developed for the exchange of animal products. Innovation on the other hand refers to new ideas, methods or inventions of doing things differently and better than those that existed before. While adaptation as a term is used to refer to gradual change of behaviour and attitude by the people made to incorporate new systems and techniques from external sources. Cattle in cattle keeping society were not only for consumption but were also the main stock of capital. The economic utility of cattle was significant for they served as a store of value and a medium of exchange. Economic transaction and capital accumulation were practiced long in existence in traditional systems.

In this case the Nandi cattle keeping economy can be studied within Talbott's framework. For instance, among the Nandi cattle played a unique role in the emerging commercial economy. In the same way as money, cattle were viewed as a store of value and as such were exchanged in commercial transactions. The cattle keeping systems provided for economic security and were designed to accomplish a variety of purposes much as any economic security provisions might be utilized in other societies. In the process of commercialization, cattle acted as guarantors of bonding capacity, they were used to purchase foodstuffs from other communities like the Abaluhya, Luo and other Kalenjin in time of drought and locust invasion.

Finally economic transaction and capital accumulation were practices long in existence in traditional Nandi cattle economy. But with the advent of British colonial economy and the monetization of the trading systems, the methods of economic transaction and capital accumulation began to change but their objectives and purpose had long been in place. It is within the above concepts and the theory of underdevelopment that the exact character of colonial rule among the Nandi can be discussed. Cognizance should be taken of the fact that this study does not reflect a determinist application of a particular theory. A complementary combination of the theory and concepts are used to give a comprehensive understanding of the changes in the cattle production economy of the Nandi from 1895 to 1963 as illustrated in further discussions.

1.11 Research methodology

1.11.1 Research Design

The Qualitative research design as noted by Creswell was chosen for this study due to the fact that the method used for data collections were interview schedules and focus group discussions. Through the use of descriptive survey design the study surveyed Nandi's involvement in cattle keeping in Kenya in 1890-1963. The descriptive design was relevant due to its ability to identify various methods employed by the Nandi in Kenya during the colonial administration to independence in Kenya.

1.11.2 Study Area

The research was carried out in Nandi County. Nandi County is one of the western limits of the Central East African plateau that extends from Mau, the western wall of the Rift Valley to the Nyanza plains.³⁸ The Nandi people also occupy areas below the south escarpment in the middle and lower Nyando valley and on the North Nyanza Plain at the foot of the west escarpment. The southern and western limits of the Nandi plateau are well defined by granite escarpment rising steeply from plains below.

The south escarpment which towers 2000 feet above the floor of the Nyando valley extends eastwards from the south west corner of Nandi until it merges with the Tinderet and Mau ranges³⁹. In the northwest, a smaller less precipitation escarpment extends from Osorongai to Kapkoimur below which the land falls away to the Kipkarren-Turbo valley.

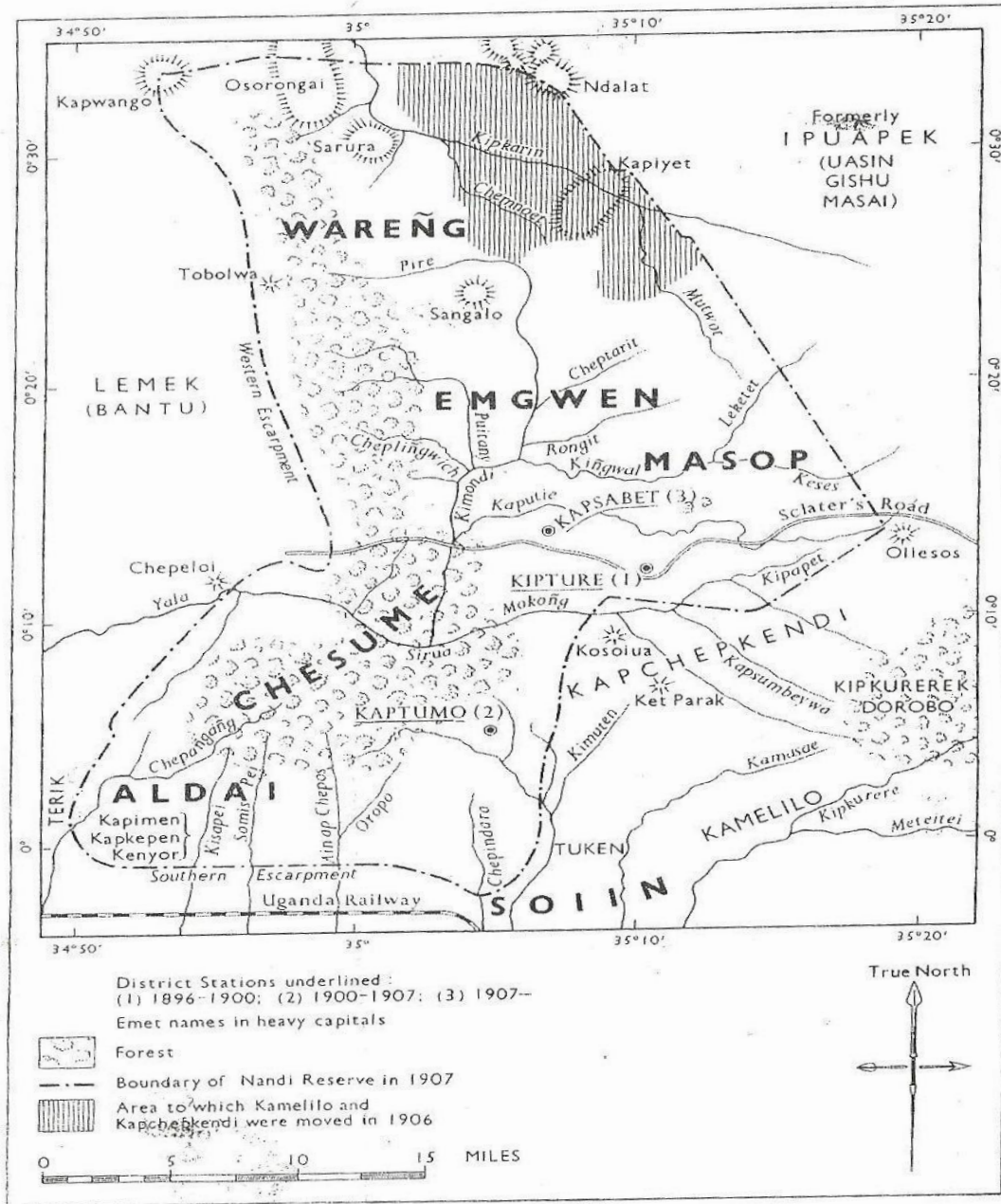
The Nandi inhabited until 1905 the whole of the highland known as the Nandi plateau. This region was roughly bound by the Uasin Gishu plateau extending to Mt Elgon on the north, the Nyando valley on the south, the Elgeyo escarpment on the East.⁴⁰ As a result of punitive expedition necessitated by the continued attack of warriors of certain sections of the Nandi on the Uganda Railway and on inoffensive Africans, the whole community was placed in a reserve somewhat to the north of the escarpment which bears

38 Matson A.T. *Nandi Resistance to British Rule, 1890-1906*, Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1972

39 Ibid

40 Ibid p. 10

their name and away from the immediate neighborhood of the railway,⁴¹ as shown on the map 1 below.



Map of the Nandi Country c. 1907

Map 1 showing Nandi Reserve

41 Ibid p.8

The present administrative boundary is the outcome of a process that started in the 1900s when the British and the Nandi fought for 10 years from 1895-1905. The Nandi like other African groups in Kenya resisted the imposition of foreign rule. When the Nandi leader Koitalel Arap Samoei was killed in 1905; they were subdued and brought under colonial rule.

As observed by Ochieng⁴², the new commissioner met the Nandi leader on 15th December, 1905 where they accepted the term of peace which included removal to the reserve, (see plate one). The Nandi were brought under the administration of East African protectorate and were administered from Kapasabet which became the headquarters of the district.

Nandi County borders Kakamega County to the northwest, Uasin-Gishu County to the northeast, Kericho County to the Southeast, Kisumu County to the South and Vihiga County to the west. It lies within latitude 0° and 0° 34° North and longitude 34°25° and 35°34° east. Nandi County is divided into nine divisions namely; Aldai, Kabiyeet, Kapsabet, Kaptumo, Kilibwoni, Kipkarren, Kosirai, Nandi Hills and Tinderet as shown on the map 2 (see map on the next page). The headquarter is at Kapsabet which is also the largest division. Nandi covers an area of 2884.5 square Kilometers⁴³. The total population in 2009 stood at 752, 965 showing an almost balanced gender figure.

The climate of the Nandi County is governed by the prevailing weather condition in Mau, to the East the direction in which the prevailing winds blows. It is also affected to some extent by the weather of Lake Victoria⁴⁴. The County has cool and moderate, wet and dry climate that is ideal for cattle production. On average, the County receives between 200mm and 1200mm of rainfall per annum. The long rains starts in early March and continues up to the end of July, while short rains usually fall from mid-September up to end of November⁴⁵. A dry spell is usually experienced between December and March.

42 William O'History of Kenya, Nairobi: MacMillan Ltd, 1975

43 Nandi District Development Plan. Nairobi: Government Printers. 2007-2008, 1997

44 Matson, Nandi Resistance to British Rule, p.11

45 Ibid.

Day temperatures seldom reach oppressively high levels even during the hottest Month. This is ideally one of the healthiest conditions in the county. As a result, the animals and its inhabitants have been shielded from a number of dangerous tropical diseases like rinderpest, East Coast Fever, redwater and Anaplasmosis.



Map 2: Map of Nandi District showing the location in Nandi

Source: Geographical Information System Laboratory, Moi University 2016.

From the foregoing, there is direct relationship between the rainfall regime and the economic activities in the division. The division is predominantly a cattle keeping region with most of the farmers rearing several breeds of cattle like the indigenous zebu and the cross breeds as well as pure breeds such as Friesian, Aryshire, Guernsey and Sahiwal. Sheep and goats are among other animals reared in the study area. This is made possible by the abundance of forage throughout the year and the favorable climatic conditions. Other economic activities include crop farming where the main cash crops include tea, coffee and sugarcane with maize remaining as the major cash crop as well as a stable food crop among the Nandi. Horticulture is also practiced where fruits like passion, Avocado, mangoes, quavers are grown. Vegetable planted include cabbage, kale, spinach, French beans and traditional vegetable which include *chepololet, isagiat, isochot, sarat* and *mborojik*.

The study concentrated mainly on the cattle farming among the Nandi. The reason for choosing Nandi as the study area is mainly due to its agricultural potential especially on cattle farming. It has reliable rainfall which allows the availability of forage for feeding the cattle animals. The environmental conditions also largely influence the economic activities undertaken in this region.

Beside, Nandi was mostly affected by colonialism. Parts of Nandi became the African Native Reserve. The inhabitants of the Nandi came from Tinderet where they were expelled to create room for tea growing. When the reserve was carved out, members of the Nandi community lacked enough grazing fields for their cattle many turned to squatting so as to maintain a small herd of cattle. A study of cattle production in Nandi illustrates a more pronounced impact of colonization on the Nandi.

1.11.3 Target Population

The target population or the study units were all the cattle farmers in Nandi County. 100 key informants were interviewed from the target population of 380 of this study. Best and Kahn recognize that 30% of the population can be a representative sample⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ Best and Kahn Research in Education 10th Ed. Cambridge: Pearson publishing Ltd, 2002.

Kothari also supports this view⁴⁷. Using the snow balling technique 52 Farmers comprising of cattle, sheep and goat keepers as well as mixed farmers who keep cattle as well as growing of crops were visited and interviewed.

Further 14 ex-teachers, 11 ex-clerks of the dairy cooperative societies, 5 World War11 veterants and 18 Christian elders who were among the early converts of African Church and Roman Catholic faithfuls were interviewed. The targeted respondents were expected to provide first hand information on cattle productions in Nandi County.The above informants are the key players in cattle production in the study area.

1.11.4 Sampling Techniques

Snow balling sampling technique was used in this study. An informant directs the researcher to a knowledgeable informant resulting in a chain of informants who build and colloborate on each other.This was based on the informant knowledge on cattle production and other key issues concerning the Nandi.

Heckathorn, supports this technique when he noted that, respondent driven sampling is a new approach to the study of hidden population⁴⁸. The informants are likely to know others who share the characteristics that make them eligible for inclusion in the study. As the sample builds up sufficient data are gathered for the research.

Snow balling sampling technique was used in this study. The researcher identified a number of knowledgeable informants, who in turn direct the researcher to other informants who had similar or different information's concerning cattle production. A total of 100 informants were interviewed. Age, gender, geographical distributions and command of historical knowledge was relied upon as a guide to the research. Most of the informants interviewed were the heads of households which included male amd female.

1.11.5 Data Collection Instrument

The research used interviews, focused groups and archival sources to collect the data for the study.

⁴⁷ Kothari S. London:Emerald Group publishing, 2007.

⁴⁸ Douglas H.(1997) "Driven Sampling :A New Approach to the Study,"California: University of California press

1.11.5.1 Interview Shedule

This formed the major source of primary data used in the study. Orodho postulates that many people are willing to communicate orally than in writing and they would provide data more readily and fully than a questionnaire.⁴⁹ Interview as a method of research typically involved a face to face meeting with farmers in which the researcher asked the farmers a series of questions. (See appendix interview questionnaire).

A great deal of qualitative information come out from talking to farmers through the formal interviews or casual conversation. Those interviewed included farmers who practice cattle production and those who cultivated crops as well as mixed farmers. They were able to give a chronological order of the changes that have occurred in cattle production as well as crop production.

Ex-teachers were interviewed and vital information on education acquired and their experinces and general practices that they acquired. Teachers at that time were among the first to acquire dairy animals. The ex-chiefs, who worked under the colonial government, were instrumental in implementing government policies and programmes as well as the acquisition of the sahiwal bulls. The ex-clerks of the dairy cooperative societies provided information on collection, sale and marketing of milk and milk products such as ghee. World War II veterans, who were able to use the money earned to acquire dairy animals were also interviewed and they provided the required information.

Finally, older Christians who were among the early converts of African Church, Roman Catholic and African Inland Church, were also among the first to develop their farms, built the semi-permanent houses and fenced their plots. They were referred to as 'progressive farmers'. In turn, they were mostly used for any progressive work that was carried out by the government in terms of dairy and crop farming. Their farms were used as demonstration plots and were given special attention by the agricultural officers.

⁴⁹ James O.Essentials of Educational Science &Social Science Research Methods: Qualitative & Quantitative Approach, Kenya:Nairobi Acts Press, 2003

Interviews enabled the researcher to establish a rapport with respondents, explain in person the nature and purpose of the investigation and to clarify any aspect of the interview. The interviewer also had the opportunity to prepare a respondent before asking questions. Interviewing had a wider application. It was used with almost any type of population: women, men, the handicapped, illiterate or the very old. One shortcoming of interviews was that is time was consuming.

Oral information was very valuable in the study. They illustrate local perceptions of the impact of various aspects of colonial dairy farming and policies as well as valuable resource in the authenticating both archival and secondary sources. They also throw light on local perceptions about what development ought to be, which in itself a powerful commentary on policies direct from the government. Oral interviews therefore have to be corroborated with focused groups to get the exact dates and names.

1.11.5.2 Focused Groups

Focus group is a qualitative research method which gather information through organized discussion with a selected group of individuals to gain their views and experiences on cattle production. Focus group was suitable for obtaining several perspectives about the same topic. Kitzinger identify the contribution that focus group make to social research⁴⁸. This involved the use of three moderated group of 6, 8 and 8 members respectively. During the discussion members responded to questions and some told of their experience under the colonial rule. The discussion was conducted in an informal and natural way where respondents were free to give their views. Most of the responses revealed shared experiences and understanding.

The first focused group was conducted at Kabiyet with a group of 6 members 2 women and 4 men. The group discussed the arrival of the first punch of sahiwal bulls through the veterinary training school at Baraton (Chemamul). The bulls were distributed to farmers who had fulfilled the required conditions for cattle production. The second group was conducted at Kaptumo shopping centre with a group of 8 member 3 women and 5 men. The group discussed the formation of cooperative societies formed to market milk and milk products.

The last group was at Kabyemit comprising of 8 members of 3 women and 5 men. This group discussed the colonial policies such as labour recruitment which was done at the labour office in Eldoret which they referred to as (*ketebeb buluu*) in reference to the blue ink used for imprinting the thumb on the identification documents. The wage labour and key land policies such as the issuing of individual land ownership and the requirements needed to be issued with a title deed. All these aspects of colonial policies and programmes were ascertained by visiting the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi and consulting various colonial files and other available data.

1.11.5.3 Archival sources

Archival research was carried out at the Kenya National Archives (KNA) in Nairobi. A wide range of colonial files on Rift Valley and Nandi District were examined for the light they shed on colonial policies and events. These documents included; correspondences, annual reports and quarterly reports, colonial proceedings, records from various departments such as agriculture, dairy board, labour/land board and personal notes among others. The dairy veterinary agricultural and marketing reports provided vital information on cattle dairy products, cattle diseases and sales. They also shed light on government policies and the impact they created on the economy of the local residents.

These archival sources were used to corroborate or complement the views expressed in oral interviews and the secondary sources. One major limitation of archival sources is that some statistical figures covered the entire Rift Valley province. However, these figures were used because they gave a clue to what was happening in the study area. Archival information such as correspondence, district annual and quarterly reports represented the official and personal views of those who wrote them. The local people's views were hardly represented. Attempts were made to overcome this by including the views obtained from oral interviews and secondary sources.

This study used both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources, archival materials and oral interviews were collected from an extensive three months fieldwork. Besides primary sources, secondary materials found at the major public and private libraries were utilized in the study.

Library materials such as relevant books journals, bulletins research papers, thesis and dissertations were examined. These items were found in major libraries in the country both public and private. These libraries included Margaret Thatcher library at Moi University, Kisii University library at the main campus, University of Eldoret, the Catholic University GABA in Eldoret.

In addition sources in the Kenya National libraries at Eldoret and Kapsabet were consulted. Data collected from the various libraries was corroborated with findings from oral and archival research. The secondary sources were utilized to throw light on the knowledge gaps on the subjects of the study and to prepare topics, themes and questions for further discussions with respondents in the field. These sources were subjected in general to content analysis and provided updates and theoretical insights into the aspects being studied.

1.11.6 Validity and Reliability of the Research Instruments

The content validity of the research instruments was determined in two ways. First the researcher developed the research instruments based on the objectives of the study. Second the researcher discussed the items in the instrument with the research experts from the department and colleagues. The advice given by these people helped the researcher to determine the validity of the research instruments. The suggestions provided were used in making the necessary changes.

Construct related validity of an instrument is determined to ascertain the contribution of each construct to the total variance observed in this study. The contribution of these construct to the total variance is an indication of the degree of validity of an instrument where the greater variance attributable to the constructs, the higher the validity of the instrument. The construct validity of the instruments is determined by correlating scores from one construct with scores from another construct in the instrument.

The reliability of an instrument is the measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials . In order therefore to ascertain the reliability of the research instruments they were piloted in selected locations in the neighbouring Uasin Gishu County. The County has similar characteristics with Nandi County.

The oral interview was administered twice within an interval of two weeks to several farmers. The results obtained from the pilot study assisted the researcher in revising the oral questions to make sure that it covered the contents stated in the objectives of the study.

1.11.7 Data Collection Procedures

The researcher was given a letter of introduction by Kisii University. This was used to acquire a research permit from the National Council for Science, Technology and Innovations (NACOSTI). Permission was also obtained from Nandi County to allow for the collection of data. The researcher set out to the field to conduct the research.

During the interview, note-taking and tape-recording were used simultaneously. Information recorded by way of tape recordings were transcribed and interpreted at the end of the day. A camera was also used to get snap shot of important event and feature. Informants responded to what was read to them at the time of the interview. The questions consisted of both closed and open ended. The open ended questions gave room for much probing and the informant discussed other related issues. The accuracy of the information was obtained by posing similar questions to different informants.

1.11.8 Data analysis

In this study, the information obtained from the respondents was sorted, transcribed and analyzed and arranged thematically by use of descriptive method. Finally a report was written on the findings.

1.11.9 Ethical considerations

There were ethical issues relevant to this study and the social setting within which research was carried out. Ethical and legal framework for protection human subjects rests on the principles of autonomy, beneficiaries and justices. First, the study ensured privacy and confidentiality by allowing respondents to have pre-eminence over time and extent to which they could withhold or share information.

All respondents were treated with respect and equality and published and unpublished literature used were cited in the bibliography⁵⁰.

Secondly, the principle of free and informed consent was adhered to by emphasizing voluntarism, clear explanation and sufficient details of the nature of the research and procedures.

The objectives of the study and benefits were explained to participants as noted by Strauss et al⁵¹. Finally, this study emphasized the need for veracity and candid disclosure of relevant information by all participants as observed by Sharp.⁵²

⁵⁰ Driscod G. & Brizee J. *Ethical consideration in Primary Research*, Owl Purdue: Purdue University, 2010

⁵¹ Strauss E. *The Role of Community Advisory Boards*, New York: C. A, America, 2011

⁵² Sharp, R.R & Barrett, J.C. *The Environmental Genome Project: Ethical, Legal, and Social Implications*. *Environ Health Perspect*, 2000

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Country- all the area occupied by the Nandi during the pre-colonial period.

LandTenure- Is a system of land ownership be it communal or individually

Nandi- Is the name and place refering to the natives found in Nandi Country

Pre-colonial- This is the period in history before the arrival of Europeans in Nandi

Research methodology- is a plan and the procedure for research that span the decisions broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis.

Tranformation- Complete or major or marked changes which occurred in cattle production among the Nandi

Zebu- A humped cattle that is native to the Nandi

CHAPTER TWO

PRE-COLONIAL NANDI ECONOMY AND CATTLE PRODUCTION

2.1 Introduction

Although the concern of this research is the transformation of cattle production under colonization era, it is impossible to commence the discussion with the colonial period itself. The pre-colonial history of the Nandi is important, for the society continued carrying out their cattle practices to the colonial period. This study also examined the geographical ecological systems and socio-political structures which influence the settlement patterns and the economic activities the Nandi of Kenya engage in. The chapter therefore covers the origin and nature of the Nandi during pre-colonial as well as of cattle production.

2.2 Origin and the Nature of the Nandi in the Pre-colonial Period

Society have be categorized differently depending on the way it traces descent, determines kinship, establishes marriage or extract a living from its physical environment, the Nandi are no exception. The earliest archaeological evidence indicates that the earliest inhabitants of Kenya were communities that subsisted on hunting and gathering. These people were later joined by pastoral communities who linguists generally associate with the Southern Cushitic people. They were followed by the Bantu and the Nilotic groups which are reported to have entered the country at the beginning of the Christian era⁵³. As noted by Ochieng no reliable estimate can be given for the period during which the mingling of the Nilotic and Cushitic strain occurred and it is uncertain whether the defined groups of the present day Nilo-Hamites were at same time or ever lived together as one people⁵⁴.

Linguistic classification places the Nandi among the Highland Nilotes. Their ancestors⁵⁵ had established themselves in western Kenya by AD500. This group is also known as the

53 Kassait K. "An Economic History of the Pokot: A Case Study of Kapenguria District 1913-1963", M-Phil. Thesis Moi University., 2003. p.35.

54 Ochieng W. *History of Kenya*, Nairobi: Macmillan Ltd, 1975

55 Ibid p.19

Kalenjin speaking people in present Kenya. According to Kandagor, they included the Nandi, Kipsigis, Tugen, Keiyo, Marakwet, Pokot, Terik, Sabaot, Sengwer and the Cherangany⁵⁶. They are also related to the Barabaig of Tanzania and Sebei of Uganda⁵⁷. All groups were initially referred to as the Nandi- speaking people⁵⁸, but now known as Kalenjin.

The Nandi do not have a unity of origin⁵⁹. They represent an amalgamation of people who found their way into the present Nandi County in several migrations.⁶⁰ Majority of the Nandi traces their origin to the foothills of Mt. Elgon within the former Rift Valley province in Kenya. Matson, noted that, sojourn around Mt.Elgon must have lasted for some time and it was presumably during this period that the previous nomadic pastoralist modified their way of life in order to meet the requirement of more settled mode of existence.⁶¹ Kalenjin traditions agree that at this time, all the sections were members of one ethnic group. This seems a valid claim since the similarity in language and culture throughout the group is most marked and divergence from this norm can generally be explained by events that occurred after the sections had left the concentration area.

The migration of the Kalenjin from west to east was probably caused by the expansion of the Bantu north eastwards to the foot hills of Mt.Elgon. Ochieng, points out that, the Pokot appear to have been the first to breakaway. At a later date the ancestors of Tugen, Marakwet and Keiyo moved away too. Later a majority group moved southwards and established themselves at Tot, a place near Baringo⁶².This group formed the ancestry of the Kipsigis, Keiyo and Nandi.

The group then embarked on a more determined expansion, eastwards and southwards assimilating the Cushites and Sirikwa Maasai.

56 Daniel K.. *Rethinking British Rule and Native Economies in Kenya: Tugen Economic Transformation 1895-1963*, Egerton: Pangolin Publishers Ltd, 2010 p. 3

57 Klima J. *The Barabaig of East African*, New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1970. p.1

58 Henry M. *History of Kipsigis*, Nairobi: Kenya literature Bureau, 1972 p. 66.

59 Ibid p. 67

60 Regina O. *Women Power and Economic Change, The Nandi of Kenya*, California: Stanford University Press, .1989 pp 17-28

61 Matson, A. *Nandi Resistance to British Rule 1890-1906*, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972. p. 3

62 William O. *History of Kenya*, p.57.

It was during this period that they increased their stock of cattle and it is possible that at the same time, they began to evolve their present day clan and age set system possibly borrowing from the Sirikwa Maasai and the Cushites. They were later dislodged by the Maasai who robbed most of their cattle turning them to move to the area of present day Tambach where they settled for some time. Up to this point the Nandi did not exist as a distinct group.

The ancestors of the Nandi and Kipsigis then moved westwards. The cause for division of the group into Nandi and Kipsigis are not known. An account points at drought, which Mwanzi concurs when he pointed out that, a drought drove a large party of Tugen from their country called Burgei⁶³. Other accounts postulate that, the division was accidental. The division took place at Kapkeben hill in present day Nandi County. Whichever account one accepts, most sources agree that the ancestor of the Nandi moved and settled at Aldai in southwest. They were led by a man called Kagipoch⁶⁴.

Lang'at, sets the date of their arrival at about the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶⁵ Whereas, Walter, believes that it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century⁶⁶. Matson, points out that Huntingford's dating was based on a cyclical age-set system consisting of namely *Kipnyigei, Nyongi, Maina, Chumo, Sawe, Kikoimet* and *Kaplelach*⁶⁷. The age sets took a period of one hundred and five years which he assumed remained constant. But age set *Korogoro* was dropped in the early nineteenth century since most of them were killed during raiding and subsequently defeated by the Maasai⁶⁸.

After settling, the Nandi attracted and absorbed other groups of people especially the Sabaot, Gusii, Abaluhya, Keiyo, Tugen, Terik and Maasai. They also incorporated the Dorobo and Sirikwa Maasai, populations that they found in the area.

63 Henry M. *History of Kipsigis*, Nairobi: Kenya literature Bureau, 1972 p. 66

64 Huntingford, G. W *Nandi Work and Culture*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950 p.6

65 Lang'at S. C. "Some Aspects of Kipsigis History Before 1914", in *Ngano* (eds), B.G Macintosh, Nandi East African Publishing House, 1969 p. 89

66 Walter B.J. *Territorial Expansion of the Nandi of Kenya 1500-1905* Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies Africa Programme, 1970 p. 4

67 Matson A.T. *Nandi Resistance to British Rule 1890-1906*, p. 5

68 O.I, Elisha Birech at Kaiboi on 12th February 2012

The group managed to remain intact by virtue of the sense of common Kalenjin origin, customs and dialects. Their unity was further enhanced by the presence of Maasai threat.

Gradually the group expanded from south to the northern parts of the Country. The area initially settled by the Nandi was along the escarpment. The area along the escarpment seemed to have been chosen mainly for reasons of defense. The escarpment and hills afforded a better view of the surrounding areas while heavy scrubs vegetation provided substantial cover. In addition, the presence of fairly large caves along the front of the cliff of escarpment was an important factor as they served as places of refuge in case of attacks.

The Nandi avoided open plains and the cause of this fear is not certain. It may be derived from the time they were migrating when they were subjected to attacks and raids from various Plain Nilotic groups notably, the Maasai and Turkana. The Nandi were physically isolated and no other groups of any size lived in contact with them. Thus the group managed to develop and evolve the basic features of their society.

As the population grew in the originally settled place, some groups broke way and lived in separate areas. As they developed, each of these groups took specific names, *pororiet* p1 *pororosiek*. All the members of a single group identified themselves by this name so did their off springs. Gradually fifteen groups were formed with *Kapigoch* being the oldest as it was composed of members of the original settlement and their descendants.

The first break away from the original group was necessitated by the need for additional grazing land for cattle raided from the neighbouring groups. This occurred between late 1500 and 1850 and it is represented by the following groups, *Kabianga*, *Kapsile*, *Tipigot*, *Murkab Tuk* and *cheptol pororosiek*. Other *Pororiosiek* which come into being include; *Kaptumois*, *Kapchepkendi*, *Kaptalam*, *Kapsiondo* and *Kipngoror*. At a later date come the *Tugen*, *Kamelilo* and *Kakimno*. The last group to develop was *Koilegei*⁶⁹.

These groups parceled out land into individual units, each group taking possession of an exclusive area of land.

69 Huntingford, G. W *Nandi Work and Culture*, London: Rout ledge and Kegan Paul, 1950. p. 1

Emphasis was on group and maintenance of the group unity and not based on territorial occupation⁷⁰. The second major period of expansion between 1850 and 1905 was characterized by an extension of earlier movement.

But it was important due to the amount of land covered⁷¹. It was then that expansion began into the open plateau places initially avoided due to the fear attacks by earlier groups.

The introduction of the institution of the Orkoiyot, a ritual expert was a political innovation from the Maasai, encouraged the Nandi to expand further to the plains. The Nandi Orkoiyot came from a section of the Maasai known as *Iluasi nkishu* which until about the middle of the nineteenth century occupied the Uasin Gishu plateau. The first Maasai Orkoiyot in Nandi was Barsabotwo.

To the Nandi the Orkoiyot served multiple functions. He was military and political adviser, prophet and soothsayer and possessed the power to avert ill-luck⁷². The Nandi looked up to him for instruction on rain making and the best time to start planting crops. He sanctioned and blessed cattle raids and war. The fertility of women and cattle depended upon his blessing. The position of the Orkoiyot was typical in the complexity of African traditional society where the religious factors permeated all other aspects of life.

The Orkoiyot fostered unity among the Nandi and also encouraged raiding by predicting success for raiders. Expansion to the plateau was therefore necessary due to population growth and the need for more grazing area. The migration and settlement of the Nandi in their present settlement was thus a slow process. It was halted by the European in 1905 when they established the colonial rule in Nandi. The interaction between the human and physical environment changes or modifies the livelihood of the population.

70 O. I. Kipsaina Saina at Kabisaga on 20th February 2012

71 Walter B.J Territorial Expansion of the Nandi, p. 19-20

72 Magut, P.K. The Rise and Fall of the Nandi Orkoyot 1850-1957," in the *Ngano*, ed B.G Macintosh, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969."p. 95

As a result, economic aspects arises within particular environments depending on the natural endowments such as soil, rainfall, temperature and the entire climatic conditions and these influences positively or negatively human capabilities. Adaptation of the population to the physical environment shapes and dictates their economic endeavour. Altitude, soil and climatic conditions were conducive for the maintenance of varied and abundant vegetation throughout Nandi. Most of the regions were suited for a variety of agricultural practices and grazing fields were available in all seasons. Aldai, the original place settled by the Nandi means the 'first to change' the implication means that they were the first to practice agriculture⁷³.

The region is also well drained as several rivers run through. These rivers provided water for both animals and human consumption. The plateau also has rainfall distribution with wet season extending from March to October and precipitation is heaviest in the forested areas. The peak period occurs at the onset of the rains from June to September.

Indigenous and grade cattle thrive well because of the favourable climatic conditions.

The yield is quite high during the rainy season because of the abundant pasture and feeds.

From the foregoing, the geographical set up of a certain region is very crucial. This is because of the dynamic results, from a complex interaction between the human activities and the environment. The prevailing climatic conditions namely rainfall, temperature and soil did influence the economic activities being undertaken especially cattle production which does very well. Furthermore, land as a means of production plays a crucial role in providing forage as well as raw materials for other feeds needed to boost milk production and fulfilling the basic needs of human life. Thus Nandi is a suitable and ideal place for cattle production due to this ideal geographic set up. Other than the geographical setting, social and political organization do influence cattle production.

2.3 Social and Political Organization.

The traditional system of social organization was broadly similar to that of other Kalenjin.

73 O.I. Javah Kemboi at Koisolik on 12th February 2012

The general structure classified it as a segmented society, though the relative unimportance of kinship groups and the corresponding importance of the territorial unit is a feature more usually associated with stratified communities.⁷⁴ The Nandi Country was divided into six districts known as *emet* (pl. *emotinwek*), which were divided into divisions known as *bororiet* (pl. *borororisiek*) and these were divided into villages known as *kokwet* (pl. *kokwotinwek*). Relative to other Kalenjin sections, the Nandi administrative system was somewhat unique in having the *bororiet* (pl. *Bororiosiek*) administrative layers.⁷⁵

Within the Nandi and the wider Kalenjin administrative system, the *Kokwet* was the most significant political and judicial unit in terms of day to day issues. The *kokwet* (village) elders were the local authority for allocating sections for grazing and land for cultivation. They were also the body; the ordinary member of the ethnic group would look to for decision in a dispute or problem which defied solution by direct agreement between the parties. Membership of the council was acquired by seniority and personality and within it; decisions were taken by a small number of elders whose authority derived from their natural powers of leadership.

People of the same *oreet* were not necessarily restricted to one *bororiet*, people could and still change *bororiet*, due to migration, without necessarily changing their *oreet*⁷⁶. However, some families were advised, perhaps to avoid recurrent catastrophes, not to live in certain *bororiet*. For example, if one's family lived in one *bororiet* but was haunted by repetitive deaths that pointed to a curse, a ceremony reminiscent of '*Kap Kiyai*' was performed to allow the family to change their *bororiet* by 'crossing a river' in the context of '*ma yaitoos miat aino*' which literally means that death does not cross a river (body of water). This elaborate ceremony was called '*raret*' (*rar* means trim or cut off). A family with a name *Kirorei* probably indicates a case of *bororiet* change which came about as a result of '*rareet*' (chopping off).

74 Snell, G.S.. *Nandi Customary Law*, Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1954

75 Hollis, A.C. *The Nandi -Their Language and Folklore*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1909 p. 4

76 Bethwel K..E *The Marakwet of Kenya: A preliminary study*. Nairobi: East Africa Literature Bureau, 1973. p. 5

A case in point is the long-standing banning of *Kap Matelong* (and all *Kipkenda*) from inhabiting Chesumei which is populated by the relatively obscure but conservative *bororiosiek* of *Cheptol*, *Kapno* and *Tibingot*. Nandi major *bororiosiek* were *KapChepkendi*, *KapMeliilo*, *KapTaalam*, *Kabooch*, *Kaptumoiis*. Other Nandi minor *bororiosiek* were *Koilegei*, *Kabianga*, *Kapsile*, *Kapno*, *Cheptol*, *Tibingot*, *Murkaptuk* and *KapSiodoi*.

The Nandi traditionally practiced circumcision of both sexes, as a rite of initiation into adulthood. Boys' circumcision festivals took place about every seven and a half years.

Boys circumcised at the same time are considered to belong to the same age set; like other Nilotic groups, these age sets (called *ibinda*, pl. *ibinweek*) were given names from a limited fixed cycle. Each age set is further subdivided into a subset (*siritieet*, pl. *siritoiik*). About four years after this festival, the previous generation officially handed over defense of the country to the newly circumcised youths. Girls' circumcision, took place in preparation for marriage.

The Nandi social organization centres on the age-set, or *ibinda*. There are seven age-sets (*ibinwek*) which are rotational, meaning at the end of one ageset new members of that generation are born. The order is roughly as given below. Among the other Kalenjin peoples, an age-set called *Korongoro* exists. However, among the Nandi, this age set is extinct. Legend has it that the members of this *ibinda* were wiped out in war. For fear of a recurrence, the community decided to retire the age-set. *Ibinda* was given out at initiation and by simple arrangements, there ought to be one *ibinda* between a father and a son. For example, a *Maina* cannot beget a *Chumo*. The Nandi don't consider a woman to have an ageset, hence she can marry any ageset except that in which her father belongs. The Nandi say "*ma tinyei ibin gorgo*" which means a woman has no age set. The seven age sets are, *Maina*, *Sawe*, *Kipkoimet*, *Korongoro*, *Kaplelach*, *Kipnyigei* and *Nyongi*.

Like other Kalenjin, the Nandi traditionally worshipped a supreme deity, *Asis* (literally "Sun"), as well as venerating the spirits of ancestors. Their land is divided into six "counties" (*emet*): Wareng in the north, Mosop in the east, Soiin/Pelkut in the south,

Aldai and Chesumei in the west, and Em-gwen in the center. The *Orkoiyot*, or medicine man, was traditionally acknowledged as an overall leader. The *Orkoiyot* led not only in spiritual matters but also during wars, as evidenced during the war between the British colonialists building the railway and the Nandi warriors. The leader at that time was Koitalel Arap Samoei who was killed by Richard Meinertzhagen, a British soldier. In pre-colonial times, they also enjoyed a fearsome reputation as fighters; Arab slave-traders and ivory-traders took care to avoid the area, and the few that dared attempt to traverse it were killed.⁷⁷ Thus the socio-political set up was crucial in livestock keeping because it was the main occupation of the Nandi.

2.4 Livestock Keeping

Huntingford, holds the view that pastoralism was of overwhelming economic importance among the Nandi. The Nandi kept cattle, goat and sheep, mainly as a source of milk, blood, skin and meat⁷⁸. They also kept them for social prestige; individual who had a lot of cattle was regarded as rich while one with few was poor and none was not even recognized. Toweett,⁷⁹ supports this view by noting that, a person who had neither a cow nor a goat was considered to be a pitiable poverty stricken creature of God whom nobody dreamt of paying even a day's visit. Cattle, sheep and goats constituted a complete form of wealth to any Nandi man. A woman sometimes owned small stock such as sheep and goat, but were not supposed to own or possess any cattle this was because men were the head of their households.

Cattle, among the Nandi, were highly valued and occupied a central place in their lives. Cattle had a strong ritual value. Not only is the cow sacred but also items associated with it such as; milk, dung and grass. Thus the status of milk is such that its use may be surrounded by a number of taboos⁸⁰. Milk, blood mixed with milk, butter or ghee were used for ceremonial purposes. Skin was a form of clothing and bedding and meat as food.

77 https://archive.org/stream/cbarchive_102057_remarksuponthehistoryofthenand1927/No._28_3_1927_Huntingford_djvu.txt

78 Huntingford, G.W. *Nandi Work and Culture*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1950. p.5

79 Titus T. *A History of the Kipsigis*, p.56

80 Langley, M.S. *The Nandi of Kenya*, p.5

All these reasons made the Nandi look upon their cattle as the most important means of livelihood.

Herding of cattle among the Nandi, out of fear of raids and attacks from wild animals was done by adult men, the young circumcised young men and boys. Animals were taken to graze in pasture far away from homesteads known as *Kaptich*. *Kaptich* was a temporary cattle camp. Herders moved the cattle from one place to another in search of green pasture. In the process, more permanent homes were established.

The elderly and the children stayed at home whereas the young men went about with cattle. Cattle belonging to one village were grazed communally. The stock was watered at river streams twice a day and taken by the young men to salt licks known as *ng'eny* which were also communally owned.

The Nandi cattle economy was devastated by the punitive measures taken by the British government during the resistance, cattle was confiscated and granaries burnt precipitating famine as the British applied scorched earth policy to subjugate the Nandi into submission and paralyze the economic pillars of the community.⁵⁷ The community suffered from the devastating effects which were compounded by the outbreak of rinderpest (*kipkeitet*) which decimated cattle. What followed was famine named after rinderpest (*rubetap kipkeitet*)⁵⁸

The community was moved to the northern section which had less rainfall.⁵⁹ Besides climatic conditions being unfavorable, east coast fever (*cheptigonit*) was prevalent specifically at Kabiyet. Rinderpest took a great toll over cattle since it was difficult to stamp out in 1911 despite the fact that inoculation was done to prevent further spread of the disease.⁸¹ The Nandi embraced this development reluctantly given that they had no mechanism to control the large number of dying cattle within the reserve and along the Uasin-Gishu border.⁸²

81 Matson, A.T. *Nandi Resistance to British Rule 1890-1906*, p.19

82 Magut Arap, P.K. 'The Rise and Fall of the Nandi Orkoyot 1850-1957,' in *Ngano*, ed B.G Macintosh, Nairobi: East African Publishing House. 1969.p. 96

The controlling of the epidemic was elusive that an outbreak of the rinderpest was reported in 1913 at Tabolwa with mortality being so high that the veterinary department could not cope hence the spread thought out the reserve.⁸³

From the above discussion it can be concluded that livestock especially cattle, played an important role among the Nandi socially, culturally and economically. The animals provided a rational means of storing wealth. Thus the major aim of cattle rearing has been to obtain wealth and social status through accumulation and the socially ambitious man turns his attention to his animals. As a result, the main objective of every Nandi man in Nandi has been to accumulate as many animals especially cattle as he could possibly obtain.

2.5 Methods of Acquiring Cattle

Raiding was a more frequent way of acquiring cattle. Raiding parties were composed mainly of young men. Junior elders could take part in raids if they were physically fit and young boys could accompany the young men in order to gain experience, and to carry out supporting duties away from the combated area.⁸⁴ When a *pororiet* wished to undertake a cattle raids with the neighbouring communities, it would send its *maotik* (consultants within each *pororiet*) usually three members to seek the necessary advice and blessing from Barsabotwo who was the orkoiyot. His approval was symbolized by the granting of *ndasimiet* (a club) smeared with *setanik* (a medicinal compound),⁸⁵ which was conveyed together with his instructions back to the *pororiet*.

Raided cattle belonged to the individual who looted them and were not to be shared by his relatives or brothers. They could be shared among fellow raiders if two people looted one cow both of them would own the cow and share the calves. One would take the first heifer the second man would take the second heifer and so on to the end. But if the cow produced bulls, these bulls would be exchanged with heifers and then shared. Only the children of these raiders would inherit their fathers' cattle, sheep or goat.

⁸³ Titus. T. *A History of The Kipsigis* p. 99

⁸⁴ Regina O.S. *Women Power and Economic Change, The Nandi of Kenya*, California: Stanford University Press. 1989 p. 43.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

Another method of acquiring cattle was through inheritance. Sons would inherit their fathers cows, sheep and goats. Sometimes called *tugab boiyot*, meaning father's cattle. These are animals which the man acquired during his lifetime. Upon the division of his property following his death, such cattle and their off springs were to be distributed to the man's wives, who in turn shared them among his sons.

Another practice of acquiring cattle is the *Kimanagta* system (loaning out). This was a widespread system of cattle lending through which men distributed their cattle among various friends and relatives. At the same time this same men become custodians of the cattle of other. The borrower of cattle had the right to use the milk produced by those cattle while the lender had the right to reclaim offspring born to them. The system was a kind of insurance against ones entire herd being lost to enemies especially the Maasai during a raid and also epidemic. Entrusting a friend with ones most cherished possession served symbolically to dramatize and reinforce the ties of friendship among men. As noted by Opler⁸⁶, managing a herd which consisted of only a few of one's own cattle and mainly of cattle which have been entrusted to one by various friends was the norm.

Cattle could also be acquired through bride wealth. Among the Nandi a bride wealth called *tugakab koito*, (engagement cattle) consisted of four cattle and a sheep. This was given in exchange for their daughter's hand in marriage. These cattle and their offspring joined the family herd and come under the control of the bride's father. The most significant rights in them really lie with the bride's mother and brothers.⁸⁷ Bride price cemented the relationship between the two families and fostered ties with the entire clan which last for a lifetime.

Cattle also could be acquired through exchange or trade. If a man for example grew alot of millets, he could exchange it with goats or sheep. Thus the main movement was grain out of Nandi and cattle in⁸⁸. Cattle were also used to settle disputes; a fine of certain number of cattle could be imposed on an offender. The entire clan would in turn contribute cattle to be given to the offended for instance in a murder case.

86 Regina O.S. *Women Power and Economic Change, The Nandi of Kenya*, California: Stanford University Press, 1989 p.43

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.

This methods of acquisition were practice in respect to the care given to the cattle so as to increase the herd and obtain maximum production.

2.6 Care of Cattle among the Nandi

It was the men's responsibility to see to the wellbeing of the cattle. Small cattle would be left in charge of the wives and children together with the old men. Because of the threat of the enemy communities raiding their cattle, the Nandi did not favour the habit of allowing cattle to graze on their own. When cattle were taken to graze, in a short distance, the cattle were returned to the homestead in the evening and would be put in an enclosure located within the homestead known as *biut*. Cattle were taken to drink in rivers or streams twice a day. And about once a month, they were taken to salt lick. As noted by Obler⁸⁹, though much of an average day is passed in what the European call idleness, squatting on a rock gazing at the cattle or standing on one leg whistling to them, this concentrated apparent doing of nothing is work to Nandi. That the Nandi valued their cattle and devoted time and energy in making sure they got their bellies full.

Milking was done by women twice a day in the morning and in the evening or once a day when the calves were older. Otherwise, when the calves were young, milking twice a day was the rule. Menstruating women were not allowed to milk or go near cattle.⁹⁰ Sometimes young boys did the milking (see plate 7). When a calf died the cow was induced to allow to be milked. This was done by being shown a sewn up skin of the dead calf. This sewn up skin was made to hit the udder several times just as if the calf were sucking its mother and then the cow was ready to be milked

The Nandi knew their cattle and they could tell which of them were for milk, meat and other uses. Their knowledge of cattle characteristics was almost unsurpassed. They gave names to their cattle according to their behaviour, colour and occasionally where they live. For example a hornless cow was called *Karoit*. When a Nandi killed an animal he could divide and subdivide all the meat and named them accordingly.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ O. I, Ludia Biy at Kormaet on 10th October 2011

Thus they were conversant with the anatomy of the cattle. This care of cattle led to clear separation of roles and duties in what can be referred to as the division of labour.

2.7 Division of Labour in Cattle Production

As earlier noted herding of cattle was the responsibility of men. There was clear gender division in terms of herding, care, milking and handling of milk products and implements, cattle was considered a man's property and so he took a lot of care in looking after the stock and directing the women and children on their roles and duties. The table below sums up the gender roles among the Nandi.

Table4.7.1 Gender Roles among the Nandi

Gender	Role
Men	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Herding animals• Take animals to water• Take animals to salt licks• Raiding• Protection
Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Milking• Preparing and storing milk• Prepare food• Fetch water and firewood• Wash milk vessels• Clean huts and cattle pen• Cut grass• Make clothes and pottery

Source: Kipsaina Tarus

2.8 Economic Values of Cattle

Cattle acted as a measure of wealth, social cement and provided the object of exchange in social transaction. Cattle were also valued for their various products which include meat, milk, blood, wool and skin. Milk was one of the mainstays of the Nandi diet and the major source of protein. It was drunk fresh or stored in *lengut* to ferment into *mursik* in gourds called *sotet*. Charcoal from a certain tree called *itet* would be used to add flavour, preserve and make the fermented milk thick.

The milk gourds would be put in the structure, *lengu* for storage and each member of the family knew which gourd belonged to whom. The handling and storage of milk was a woman's affair. The diagram 4.8.2 shows the position of this storage facility.

Blood was another major source of protein. It was drunk fresh or mixed with sour milk. Blood was obtained from a steer that was bled by tying a cord around the neck to cause the jugular vein to stand out. A blocked arrow known as *longnet* was then shot into the vein. They knew how to aim at the blood vessels and when it was removed, blood began to flow and was caught into *tapet* or a calabash. The blood was allowed to flow for several minutes after which the cord was loosened and the flow ceased. The blood was stirred until the coagulant formed lumps and could be removed and discarded. Blood would then be mixed with milk to make a special drink which was fed on women who had given birth. The steer bled should be well fed and will be bled again after three months.

The skin and hides from the cattle were turned into useful items. Clothing was one major item, the tough skin would be made smooth and butter applied. Goat skin was good for clothing for it was soft and durable. Skin was also used as bedding, belt and ropes. Cultural activities were also tied to hides and skin. Initiated boys and girls wore clothes made of calf and goat skin and used them as their beddings.

Cattle were used in dowry or bride wealth. Among the Nandi, during the engagement negotiations the number of cattle required was five. The first cow was accompanied by a calf, two oxen, one heifer and one sheep was also required from the mother of the bridegroom. The more cattle a man had the more wives one could have and consequently more children. Such a person was regarded a rich man since more wives meant increased labour to be employed in cattle handling. He was also highly respected.

The Nandi also exchanged animals and animal products with some neighbouring communities like the Abaluhya, Luo and the Maasai. These communities had grains, honey and sweet potatoes especially from Luo where the name *rabuonik* for sweet potatoes originated from.

In most instances food shortage occurred during drought or locust invasion⁹¹. The most important occupation for almost all herders in Kenya before the advent of colonialism was the acquisition of cattle and other stock such as sheep and goat⁹². Land which was a means of production was owned and shared communally thus a view on land tenure helped in appreciating the importance of land.

2.9 Land Tenure System

Land is an important natural resource which most communities desire for their livelihood. Land among the Nandi was abundant during the pre-colonial period. The land available was utilized for grazing, hunting and other purposes. Nandi warriors roamed at will with their herds in this extensive area. It was owned communally by the Nandi and occupied as per the *pororosiek* or groups. Land in each *pororiet* was divided into two; the cultivated sections, and that which was meant for grazing cattle. If a particular member of the society particularly the male wanted where to settle, farm and graze animals, the Council of Elders were consulted⁹³. An individual could also establish himself in a new area through clan members or best friends in the community. But until he was accepted he was at the mercy of the group. Traditionally, men were responsible for acquiring land and settling down their families.

The elders decided on which part of the land to be cultivated and graze based on their perception of soil fertility. Soil fertility, according to the Nandi was determined by the presence of a particular plant, *Tebengewet (Sambucus Africana)*⁹⁴. If *Sambucus Africana* was found in a given area, it meant that that land was fertile. The cultivated fields had to be located on one side of the village opposite to the grazing fields. This was to ease the task of protecting the crops from being destroyed by cattle, wild animals and birds

The size of land allocated depended on the ability of the head of the household to mobilize labour. One was therefore free to choose the amount of land to cultivate.

91 O.I, Arap Chochi at Kebulonik on 26th October 2012

92 George N. "History of Pastoralists in Kenya 1895-1980" in *An Economic History of Kenya*, (eds.) W.R. Ochieng and R. M. Matson Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992. p. 93

93 Prisca J. T. "Agriculture in Nandi district Under Colonial Rule 1895-1963, M-Phil Thesis Moi University

94 O.I, Everline Tenai. At Kormaet on 10/10/2011

Land once cleared for cultivation belonged to the person using it. The length of time a piece of land was cultivated depended upon the fertility of the soil and the population. Once the fertility was lost, the land was left to revert to fallow for a period of 8-15 years to regain fertility⁹⁵. During the pre-colonial period, there was ample land for shifting cultivation in the Nandi.

Any vacant land was open to anyone to cultivate. For example a newly married couple. The custom was that the person or family, who first cleared an area, had on recultivation of that area to re cultivate his former plot, unless he decided to do otherwise. But if the first man to clear an area was dead or had left the village any of his relatives had first claim to the land for cultivation purpose.

When reverting to a previously cultivated land, each family had to take up their former portion of the land. Therefore land was at the disposal of both men and women. Women could plant vegetables and other consumable crop whereas men could plant the stable family crop such as millet and sorghum. The entire family utilized land for various purposes such as cattle keeping and crop production under the guidance of the elders. It had become a custom for each family to have its cultivated land next to the homestead. This is to make it easier when transporting millet from the farm for storage at the granary. Besides, it was feared that goats and sheep might ravage the neighbours' millet if the farm was next to another man's house.

The Nandi way of life has been essentially a combined cultivator –pastoral one. It is often said that the Nandi are really a cattle people and that their agriculture is largely a new thing forced by population growth, land alienation and government policy. This view though it contains a measure of truth is basically false. For just as the Nandi have a long tradition of cattle keeping and dependence on milk and meat from goat and sheep, they have a long tradition of cultivation especially millet as well as sorghum among others. Thus the Nandi land as described contains fertile cultivatable land as well as fine plateau for pastures.

95 Kennedy K. "An Economic History of the Pokot, 45.

Grazing fields were also owned communally and controlled by the elders to minimize overgrazing. These fields were known as *limo*. Herds could be kept and put to economic use by grazing them away from the homestead for a whole season, in inhabited grassland notably the Uasin Gishu plateau. This systematic use of external grazing demanded high standards of herds' management. It fitted neatly with the Nandi age organization in that herding was mainly the responsibility of the warriors and young men.

From the above description grass was the most treasured resource. Each family surveyed what spot were considered good for a new year's crop. But all families in any one village chose one section of the village land and cultivated there, each family with its own parceled piece. Huntingford, holds the view that pastoralism was of overwhelming economic importance among the Nandi.⁹⁶ The Nandi kept cattle goat and sheep, mainly as a source of milk and meat. They also kept them for social prestige; individual who had a lot of cattle was regarded as rich while one with few was poor and none was not recognized.

Toweett, supports this view by noting that, a person who had neither a cow or a goat was considered to be a pitiable poverty stricken creature of God whom nobody dreamt of paying even a day's visit⁹⁷. Cattle sheep and goats constituted a complete form of wealth to any Nandi man, a woman sometimes owned small stock such as sheep and goat, but were not supposed to own or possess any cattle this was because men were the head of their households.

Cattle, among the Nandi, were highly valued and occupied a central place in their lives. It had a strong ritual value. Not only is the cow, sheep and goat sacred but also items associated with it such as; milk, dung and grass. Thus the status of milk is such that its use may be surrounded by a number of taboos⁹⁸. Milk, blood mixed with milk, butter or ghee were used for ceremonial purposes. Skin was a form of clothing and bedding and meat as food. All this reasons made the Nandi look upon their cattle as the most important means of livelihood.

⁹⁶ Huntingford G. W. *Nandi Work and Culture*, London: Rout ledge and Kegan Paul. 1950 p.5

⁹⁷ Titus T. *A History of the Kipsigis*, p.56

⁹⁸ Matson A.T. *Nandi Resistance to British Rule 1890-1906*, p.19

Herding of cattle among the Nandi, out of fear of raids and attacks from wild animal was done by adult men, the young circumcised young men and boys. Cattle were taken to graze in pasture far away from homesteads known as *Kaptich*. *Kaptich* was a temporary cattle camp. Herders moved the cattle from one place to another in search of green pasture. In the process, more permanent home comes about. The elderly and the children stayed at home whereas the young men went about with cattle. Cattle belonging to one village were grazed communally. The stock was watered at river and streams twice day and taken by the warriors to salt licks known as *ng'eny* which were also communally owned.

From the above discussion it can be concluded that livestock especially cattle, played an important role among the Nandi socially. The animals provided a rational means of storing wealth. Thus the major aim of cattle rearing has been to obtain wealth and social status through accumulation and a socially ambitious man turns his attention to his animals. As a result, the main objective of every Nandi man was to accumulate as many animals as he could possible obtain. This is evident in the many frequent cattle raids.

Animals were acquired through many ways. Raiding was a more frequent way of acquiring cattle. Raiding parties were composed mainly of warriors. Junior elders could take part in raids if they were physically fit and young boys could accompany the warriors in order to gain experience, and to carry out supporting duties away from the combated area⁹⁹. When a *pororiet* wished to make cattle raids with the neighbouring communities, it would send its *maotik* (consultants within each *pororiet*) usually three members to seek the necessary advice and blessing from Barsabotwo who was the orkoiyot. His approval was symbolized by the granting of *ndasimiet* (a club) smeared with *setanik* (a medicinal compound)¹⁰⁰, which was conveyed together with his instructions back to the *pororiet*.

Raided animals belonged to the individual who looted them and were not to be shared by his relatives or brothers.

99 Magut, P. K.. "The Rise and Fall of the Nandi Orkoyot 1850-1957," in the *Ngano*, ed B.G Macintosh, Nairobi: East African Publishing House. 1969 p. 96

100 Regina O.S. *Women Power and Economic Change, The Nandi of Kenya*, California: Stanford University Press, 1989 p.43.

They could be shared among fellow raiders if say, two people looted one cow both of them would own the cow and share the calves. One would take the first heifer the second man would take the second heifer and so on to the end. But if the cow produced bulls, these bulls would be exchanged with heifers and then shared. Only the children of these raiders would inherit their fathers' cattle, sheep or goat.

Another method of acquiring cattle was through inheritance. Sons would inherit their father's cows, sheep and goats, sometimes called *tugab boiyot*, meaning father's cattle. These are cattle which the man acquired during his lifetime. Upon the division of his property following his death, such cattle and their off springs were to be distributed to the man's wives, who in turn shared them among his sons. Girls did not inherit any cattle since they had to get married.

Another practice of acquiring animals is the *Kamanagan* system. This was a widespread system of cattle lending through which men distributed their animals among various friends and relatives. At the same time this same men become custodians of cattle from others. The borrower of cattle had the right to use the milk produced by those cattle while the lender had the right to reclaim offspring born to them while at *Kaptich*. The system was a kind of insurance against ones entire herd being lost to enemies during a raid and also epidemic. Entrusting a friend with ones most cherished possession served symbolically to dramatize and reinforce the ties of friendship among men. As noted by Opler, managing a herd which consisted of only a few of one's own cattle and mainly of cattle which have been entrusted to one by various friends was the norm¹⁰¹.

Cattle could also be acquired through bride wealth. Among the Nandi, a bride wealth called *tugak koito*, (engagement cattle) consisted of four cows and a sheep. This was given in exchange for their daughter's hand in marriage. These cattle and their offspring join the family herd and come under the control of the bride's father. The most significant rights in them really lie with the bride's mother and brother¹⁰². Bride price cemented the relationship between the two families and fostered ties with the entire clan which last for a lifetime.

101 Regina O. *Women Power and Economic Change, The Nandi of Kenya*, 1989.

102 Ibid.

Cattle also could be acquired through exchange or trade. If a man for example grew a lot of millets, he could exchange it with goats or sheep. Thus the main movement was grain out of Nandi and cattle in.¹⁰³ Cattle was also used to settle disputes; a fine of certain number of cattle could be imposed on the offender. The entire clan would in turn contribute for instance in a murder case.

It was the men's responsibility to see to the wellbeing of the animals. Small animals would be left in charge of the wives and children together with the old men. The threat of the enemy communities raiding their cattle, made the Nandi not to favour the habit of allowing cattle to graze on their own. When animals were taken to graze, if the distance was short, the animals were returned to the homestead in the evening and would be put in an enclosure located within the homestead.

Cattle were taken to drink in rivers or streams twice a day. And about once a month, they were taken to salt lick. As noted by Obler, though much of an average day is passed in what the European call idleness, squatting on a rock gazing at the cattle or standing on one leg whistling to them, this concentrated apparent doing of nothing is work to Nandi¹⁰⁴. That the Nandi valued their animals and devoted time and energy in making sure they got their bellies full.

Milking was done by women twice a day in the morning and in the evening or once a day when the calves were older. Otherwise, when the calves were young, milking twice a day was the rule. Menstruating women were not allowed to milk or go near cattle¹⁰⁵. Sometimes young boys and warriors did the milking. When a calf died the cow was induced to allow to be milked. This was done by being shown a sewn up skin of the dead calf. This sewn up skin was made to hit the udder several times just as if the calf were sucking its mother, then the cow was ready to be milked¹⁰⁶.

The Nandi knew their cattle and they could tell which of them were for milk, meat and other uses. Their knowledge of cattle characteristics was almost unsurpassed. They gave

103 Ibid

104 O.I Jemima Bwalei at Kabiyet on 16/2/2012

105 O.I. Ludia Biy at Kormaet on 10/10/2011

106 O.I. Henry Chumba at Kapchechui on 10/10/2011

names to their cattle according to their behaviour, colour and occasionally or where they live. For example a hornless cow was called *Karoit*. When a Nandi man killed an animal he could divide and subdivide all the meat and named them accordingly. Thus they were conversant with the anatomy of the animals.

As earlier noted herding of cattle was the responsibility of men. There was a clear gender division in terms of herding, care, milking and handling of milk products and implements. Cattle were considered a man's property and so he took a lot of care in looking after the stock and directing the women and children on their roles and duties. Table 4.7.1 sums up the gender roles among the Nandi.

Cattle not only acted as a measure of wealth and social co existence, they provided the object of exchange in social transaction. Cattle were also valued for their various products which include meat, milk, blood and skin. Milk was one of the mainstays of the Nandi diet and the major source of protein. It was drunk fresh or stored in *lengut* to ferment into *mursik* in gourds called *sotet*. Charcoal from a certain tree called *itet* would be used to add flavour, preserve and make the fermented milk thick. The milk gourds would be put in the structure, *lengu* for storage and each member of the family knew which gourd belonged to whom. The handling and storage of milk was a woman's affair. **(As shown on appendix 2)** the storage position of milk which was similar in all the households.

It can be observed that the relationship between human beings and cattle has been subjected to continuous change due to human population increase and the exploitation of science in breeding herds which are resistant to a number of diseases. In Kenya the demand for meat, milk and milk products increased with the growth of urban population of European and Asian urban dwellers. It is for this reason that the study endeavored to explore the transformations in cattle production by the Nandi of Kenya in the period between 1890 up to the attainment of Kenya independence in 1963.

This chapter dealt in detail on the pre-colonial economy and cattle production This was reflected on the origin and nature, social and political organization. Cattle production looked at the methods of cattle acquisition, care, economic value as well as gender roles. Land which is a means of production was also analysed. The next chapter dealt on

colonial policies on cattle production and how the Nandi responded to this policies and the changes arising.

CHAPTER THREE

IMPACT OF EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL ORIENTATION

3.1 introduction

This chapter addresses colonial administration, land alienation, cattle upgrading and the marketing of milk and other products from the animals. This brought about noticeable changes in cattle as well as the economic orientation of the Nandi.

3.2 Colonial administration

Among the Kalenjin groups, the Nandi and Kipsigis were the first to fall under colonial rule, to be followed later by the Tugen, Marakwet and finally the Keiyo.¹⁰⁷ The reason for this first incorporation of the Nandi and other Kalenjin speaking communities into the colonial project of “British East Africa” could be attributed to the environment occupied by the Tugen, Marakwet, Nandi and Keiyo communities. The Nandi had acquired the institution of *Orkoiyot* in the middle of the 19th century. Therefore, by 1893 had a unifying personality in the *Orkoiyot*. However, this line of rulers which had succeeded in giving moral support to the community was to suffer. The victim of sweeping rage of community was Kimnyole Arap Turgat, who in 1890 was put death by clubbing.

The events that led to his death were that a few years before 1890, there were widespread epidemics in Nandi, not only human but also cattle diseases. Since the *Orkoiyot* was presumed to be knowledgeable in supernatural matters he was held responsible for these evils. The other factor leading to his death was the utter failure by some fighting units of warriors in their raiding expeditions. Units suffered unprecedented casualties, particularly in the raid made in Nyanza just before the clubbing of Kimnyole. Usually no raid was conducted without his consent and blessing, (*set-tanik or ndasimyet*) and thus he

107 O.I Kobot Jebiwot at Kabiyet on 16/2/2012

was held responsible for the failure because it was considered to have accurate foreknowledge of the outcome of the undertaking.¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, before Kimnyole died, he prophesied that a foreign people would come and rule Nandi and that one day there would come a big snake from the eastern lake (Indian Ocean) belching fire and smoke going to quench its thirst in Lake Victoria (*rogos*).¹⁰⁹This prophecy was implying the building of the railway and the train. According to the informants and Nandi recollections, the first Europeans to arrive came from the North which would point to these Europeans being stationed at Guasa Masa fort. Since the first significant fight between the British and the Nandi took place in mid-1895, it would appear that any early contacts must have been of minor character.

The main confrontation took place in 1895 on the arrival in the area of the British traders Dick West, who was attacked at the eastern “border” of the Nandi territory.¹¹⁰By then the Guasa Masa Fort, lying to the north of Nandi had been set up. Vandaleur was diverted from his first journey to Mumias, having set out from Bunyoro in order to stop the growing Nandi threat. His expedition reached Nandi on 11th November 1894 and then gradually moved to the Kimondi river in the centre of the territory. There it met a Nandi force of about 500 warriors. A severe fight ensued and many people perished, including 14 men from Vandaleur’s dwindling contingent. Even though he was amazed by this strong resistance, Vandaleur continued his march through the south-east corner of the country, and then he unexpectedly turned eastwards to reach Eldama Ravine later in the month.¹¹¹ This was the first of several expeditions sent to subdue the Nandi who were resisting British rule violently.

In 1897 there was a surprise Nandi attack on the Bukusu and Tiriki. Since the British were preoccupied with Sudanese mutiny at Eldama Ravine and later with a revolt by Kabaka Mwangi of Buganda, no action was taken against the Nandi. In 1900 the Uganda railway was making its way along the escarpment on its way to Kisumu, then known as

108 Chesaina C. *Oral Literature of the Kalenjin*. Heinmann Kenya Ltd. 1991, p. 1

109 Ibid

110 https://archive.org/stream/cbarchive_102057_remarksuponthehistoryofthenand1927/No._28_3_1927_Huntingford_djvu.txt

111 Snell, G.S. *Nandi Customary Law*, Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1954. p.10

Port Ugowe. The presence of telegraph wires which could be used for making ornaments and weapons offered a new and a provocative incentive for the Nandi.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that the Nandi fight was not an instantaneous uprising caused by the British attempt to dissuade them from taking the telegraph wires after the later were put up in 1899. This has been the main reason given by the administrators in trying to explain the so-called “rebellion.”¹¹² Owing to their success in raiding expedition in the past years, the Nandi had come to believe they were superior to any of the surrounding communities, not only militarily but also culturally. They were therefore intent on preventing any adulteration of their ways of life by other people.¹¹³ In entering Nandi country the British were doing something which none of the neighbouring ethnic communities would have dared to do. Thinking of themselves as being superior in every way they could not conceive how these female looking “Satans” could do what they were then doing, entering Nandi.¹¹⁴

The Nandi thought of European as devils because of their dressing, colour and gun sounds which was similar to the sound made by Nandi women when they hit their skin skirts (*chepkaiiet*) while dancing. The same observation had earlier been made about the Arabs traders encounter with Nandi long before the coming of the European at a place called Kipsoboi.¹¹⁵

The railway reached its destination on Lake Victoria. The second of Kipnyolei’s prophesies had come true. The Nandi then became very worried about the probability of their being ruled by a foreign people one day. Nevertheless the Nandi intended to fight to the bitter end. The new *Orkoiyot* Samoei was gradually winning confidence, and therefore the support of the whole community, by virtue of the successes the Nandi had already gained. They thought if they united they would win. In 1886 and 1890, Anglo-German Treaties had given Britain the territory now known as Kenya and Uganda as their

112 Hollis A.C. *The Nandi -Their Language and Folklore*.The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1909 p. 4

113 Snell, G. S.. *Nandi Customary Law*, Kenya:Kenya Literature Bureau. 1954 pp 10 - 11

114 Bethwel, K.E.. *The Marakwet of Kenya: A preliminary study*.Nairobi: East Africa Literature Bureau. 1973, p. 5

115 https://archive.org/stream/cbarchive_102057_remarksuponthehistoryofthenand1927/No._28_3_1927_Huntingford_djvu.txt

sphere of influence. For some time these areas were administered by imperial British East Africa Company, until it became financially difficult for it to continue the administration.

Traditionally the Nandi were organized into groups known as *Pororosiek*. On the whole, this unit was not only a territorial unit but also the military and political basis for practices. On the day Orkoiyot Samoei, died accounts indicate that on that morning of 19th October 1905, the Orkoiyot and the leaders of territorial units (*maotik*) were holding a council meeting at a beer party. Shortly before midday, word came round that Meinertzhagen (*Kipkoror*) and his friend, Meas (Mayes, who had been in charge of Kaptumo Fort) wanted to see the 'old man.'¹¹⁶ So the 'old man' came out to greet his visitor. On shaking hands with Meinertzhagen he was instantly shot in the hip by one of them. As soon as this was done, Meinertzhagen and his contingent set upon the rest of the leaders, killing all except one man who managed to escape.¹¹⁷ As they were returning to their base at Kaptumo Fort, they killed more people, including some who did not even show signs of resistance or opposition.'¹¹⁸

The second phase of Nandi resistance to British rule came almost after the first one was thought to be over. Following Meinertzhagen's sweep through Nandi country, it was resolved that the Nandi must be moved from the vicinity of the railway.¹¹⁹ This created a great deal of resentment and opposition. It was feared that if the two units of Kapchepkendi and Kamelilo were not transferred to Kabiyet in north, there was the possibility of their joining the forces with Kipsigis and offering a greater challenge to the British presence.¹²⁰

Force was used to make the Nandi move but they stood their ground. The British soldiers burned houses for a whole month leading to evacuation of the Nandi to kabiyet. Lives and property were destroyed according to Ngeny.¹²¹ There was the possibility that this

116 Regina O. S. *Women Power and Economic Change* California: Standford University Press. 1989, p.69–88

117 Magut, P. K.: "The Rise and Fall of the Nandi Orkoyot 1850-1957," in the *Ngano*, ed B.G Macintosh, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969. p. 96

118 Titus T. *A History of The Kipsigis* p. 99

119 Regina O.S. *Women Power and Economic Change, The Nandi of Kenya*, 1989.

120 O.I, Magdalaine Tindi at Kamasia on 12/10/2011

121 Samwel N. "Nandi Resistance to the Establishment of British Administration, 1883-1906". Nairobi East African Publishing House. 114

part of Kenya could offer a room for settlers. The Nandi were opposed to being moved. Although the second phase of the Nandi resistance was short lived, it was significant. There were 349 Nandi who were killed, 3466 cattle, 29000 sheep and goats were captured by the British soldiers. Thus, the Nandi lost their land and animals which were driven to Eldama-Ravine camp.¹²² According to Oboler, 1117 Nandi were killed, 16213 cattle and 36205 sheep and goats were seized and 4956 huts and granaries were burned. The Nandi lost their fertile land to European settlers. However, some informants put the number of cattle captured as half the total population of those owned by the Nandi at the time and driven to Eldama-ravine camp.¹²³

In addition, Nandi continued to passively resist colonial administration after the First World War particularly when two sections of Nandi territory were sliced off to be used for the settlement of demobilized British soldiers. These areas were Ndalat, Kipkaren valley and Kaimosi. They continued to act as they had always done. Seeking adventure in cattle raiding in Nyanza, an action seen upon by the government as constituting lawlessness. They also refused to send their children to school because they saw anything that contributed to the cohesion of the system as part of state and so was education and to change their old time methods of cattle keeping and farming as a form of resistance to the British having annexed their land in 1919-20 which was 28000 acres or sixty square miles from the Nandi North Districts.

From the above description, it is evident that the Nandi actively resisted the establishment of colonial administration due to the advice of their popular elder and a diviner at the time, Koitalel arap Samoei who predicted that although the British had more sophisticated weapons, nonetheless, they were not invincible.¹²⁴ Furthermore, from the foregoing discussion, it is evident that the British military conquest marked their initial displacement and subsequent alienation of their ancestral land.

122 O. I. Elena Mosi at kabiyeet on 16/2/2012

123 O. I. Grace Metto at Koisolik on 20/2/2012

124 O. I. John Yego at Kebulonik on 18/2/2012

3.3 Land alienation

The Nandi lost their fertile ancestral land in Uasin Gishu plains to the Europeans. This greatly affected the economy of the Nandi in several ways. It led to a diversion of people's attention from their normal economic activities.

Subsistence cultivation was affected in that preparation of farms was not concentrated on as they fled from the British forces. Moreover, the method of acquiring cattle from the neighbouring communities through raids was hampered at the time of eviction. Besides diversion of attention, some members of the Nandi community who resisted eviction were captured and killed during the time of conquest. This had both short and long term repercussion on the economic activities of the Nandi in that there was a reduced labour force to be employed in the various economic activities.¹²⁵

Furthermore, members of the Nandi community who escaped being captured became afraid to resist the forceful eviction from the productive plains of Uasin Gishu that had abundant pastures for cattle and fertile soils for farming. According to an informant, East African Tanning and Extraction Company, (EATEC) under Mr. Eskin had started at Sergoit, but had acquired land in the north eastern part of Nandi in 1940s which he planted wattle trees and act as buffer zones between the Nandi and the settlers. The Nandi kept cutting the wire and grazing their animals in those farms along the borders which used to be their grazing land.¹²⁶

As a result of the above effects, the Nandi considered the Europeans a nuisance. They began to ignore some of the changes introduced by the British. For instance, they continued to raid their neighbours for cattle.¹²⁷ Besides ignoring the colonial law that outlawed cattle raids, the displacement of the Nandi community from Uasin Gishu plains and subsequent land alienation greatly embittered them.¹²⁸ As such, members of the Nandi community became less enthusiastic to adopt new agricultural methods introduced by the

125 O. I, William Rugut at Kapkaron on 15/2/2012

126 O. I Tecla Chumba at Kapkaron on 15/2/2012

127 O. I, Joakim Koin, at Kapyemit on 17th October 2012

128 O.I, Grace Jepkosgei at Laboret on 15th March 2011

British government in the later years of colonial administration, and preferred their children herding cattle to attending school as passive resistance.¹²⁹ However those who had no cattle took their children to school at government African schools at Kapsabet for boys and another runned by African Inland Mission of girls at Kapsabet while the Roman Catholic had a school at Chepterit.¹³⁰

3.4 Cattle upgrading

Despite the important position cattle held among the Nandi community, the activities of the colonial government was not geared towards developing a productive African herd. The government policy on cattle development was contradictory. It aimed at the Nandi becoming producers of meat, milk and other animal products for purchase by the government marketing system. The milk for instance would be converted to other dairy farming products such as ghee, butter and cream for internal and international market.

The provincial commissioner in 1934 reported that the main line of economic development in Nandi must be in animal products especially dairy farming¹³¹. Thus cattle during this time received much attention from the colonial administration. For instance up to the end of 1932 some 35,000 herd of cattle had been each vaccinated three times and by 1934, 75000 herds had been vaccinated against pleuro-pneumonia¹³².

Further Nandi students who went through Kapsabet boys were taken to Baraton veterinary station which was opened in 1920. In 1934 there were twenty two boys in number, seven come from Nandi¹³³. The vocational training in animal husbandry for advanced pupils from government schools was another step in the stock upgrading in the reserve. The immediate future for the majority of these boys was to be absorbed as workers on the demonstration and dairy farms. A good example is Mr. Edward Limo

129O.I. Stephen Tororei at Kaiboi on 12th October 2012

130 Oral Interview, Edwin Kirarei Kapsabet

131 Van Zwanenberg R. with Anne k. *An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda 1800-1970*, London: Macmillan press Ltd. 1975 p. 42

132 Huxley E. *The Whiteman's country Lord Delamare The making of Kenya*, London: Chatto and Indus. 1974 p.305

133 KNA /DC /NDI /1/ 4 Annual report 1934

who was employed at Baraton veterinary centre as a trainer. Later he was to become the first African Cattle Officer in 1961 at Machakos livesock farm¹³⁴.

Later in 1936, an insemination program was started in the division and the Nandi farmers were encouraged to bring their heifers for crossbreeding with the sahiwal bull at the station. Despite these efforts the Nandi were not enthusiastic about crossbreeding of the stock. The colonial officials constantly marveled at the lack of the interest the Nandi portrayed in upgrading their stock and their unwillingness to reduce the size of their herd. This led to the rise of the notion that the Nandi were yet another example of cultural conservatism of pastoralist. In 1934 the District Commissioner K.L. Hunter reported that,

The Nandi especially the leading men frequently visited Baraton, that, they saw results with a purely native herd which astonished them. That so far, however, there was no sign of any Nandi endeavoring to model these methods of Baraton practice¹³⁵.

The sahiwal breed introduced did increase the amount of milk produced since the native breed production little milk. However the Nandi despise the sahiwal breed. They claim that the sound it produced was linked to the sound of a donkey¹³⁶. They were not allowed superior breeds because the European dairy farmers did not want the Nandi dairy herd to give stiff competition to them. They feared the Nandi stealing the European herd which was easily identified in case they did so¹³⁷.

3.5 Marketing of milk

The establishment of the Kenya Cooperation Creameries (K.C.C) in 1920 was a major boost to the marketing of milk. The colonial government wanted the Nandi to produce milk for sale. Emphasis was put on upgrading of the local stock to meet this requirement. The veterinary department put up measures like disease control, inoculation, dipping and control overgrazing through placing limits upon herd size¹³⁸.

The Nandi did not overwhelmingly accept the new measure that were being encouraged. They were adamant in reducing the size of their herds; the stock was their store of value.

134 O. I. Edward Limo at Eldoret on 19th October 2012

135 KNA /DC /NDI /1 / 4. Annual report, 1937.

136 O .I. Ezekiel Tuitook at Kebulonik on 15th October 2012.

137 O. I. Kipsaina Tarus at Kabisaga on 21st February 2012

138 O. I. Julius Sang at Lelmokwo on 17th October 2011

Cattle provided them with their daily requirement. The government on the other hand saw overgrazing and soil erosion as a potentially serious problem although Nandi district, was not so badly overgrazed as many parts of Kenya.¹³⁹

However destocking was done due to quarantine, in 1932 over 1000 heads of bullocks and sterile cows were auctioned at Eldoret, Kakamega and Kitale. Another 1000 heads were sold to Somali traders¹⁴⁰. In the end there was a reduction of stock, due to destocking and payment of taxes. Most of the Nandi met their tax obligation by selling animals. Nevertheless the Nandi were willing to sell cattle at reasonable price. Cattle since pre-colonial period were bartered with the neighboring communities such as Abaluhya and the Luo. The Nandi exchanged a bull for a heifer since the heifer will reproduce more calves leading to the increase of the herd. This trade continued into the colonial period. For instance the gold mining in Kakamega, mostly barter, imported heifer into Nandi for exchange of bullocks¹⁴¹.

Milk and meat production was commercialized in Nandi during the interwar period. However, like the other sector of agriculture, it was supposed to provide support for and not competition with European dairy farming. Regulations were placed in dairy production such that crossbreeding was only with sahiwal breeds which indeed produce increased amount of milk than the indigenous breed but not as other exotic breeds in European farms. The European dairy farmers had secured control over dairy production during this period. They also sort ways of controlling Africa labour.

139 KNA /DC /RSV /2 /6 /1 Annual report 1933

140 ibid

141 Nicola Swainson, *Development of corporate capitalism in Kenya 1918-1977*, Nairobi: Heinemann, 1980 p. 33

CHAPTER FOUR

COLONIAL POLICIES ON LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses colonial measures taken to incorporate the Nandi into the capitalist system. This includes wage labour, squatterdom, kipande system, cash crop production, trade and exchange and the responses by the Nandi to these measures. All these changes came about as a result of the construction of the Kenya Uganda railway. This was because of the movement of people and products.

4.2 Labour Mobilization and its Effects

There was generally an acute labour shortage after the war. A combination of commercial relations, coercion and taxation for example were some of the effective methods used to encourage Africans into the labour market than force¹⁴².

After World War 1 the Sarora Settlement was hived from the Nandi reserve under the Soldier Settlement Scheme, to settle European ex-soldiers. They were settled and this led to increased demand on labour to work on the soldiers farms. Despite the combination of coercion, taxation and labour shortage that fell upon Africans before World War 1 the migrant labour supply did not keep pace with the enormous growth of European demand¹⁴³. Labour shortage for the European sector was always the prevailing condition but the bulk of the Nandi supplied all squatter labour and apart of the casual labour some came from central province and the north Kavirondo¹⁴⁴. The District commissioner in 1934 noted that,

With careful handling and persuasion the Nandi can become a very useful unit in the labour market especially as he is of excellent physique¹⁴⁵.

142 Sticher, S. *Migrant labour in Kenya: Capitalism and African Response 1895-1975* (London: Longman Educational Publishers 1982) p. 41

143 KNA /DC /NDI /1 /3 Annual reports 1921-1932

144 KNA /DC /NDI /1 /3 Annual reports 1921-1933

145 KNA /PC /RVP /2 /6 /1 Annual report 1933

The colonial administration exploited the labour of the Nandi since they had to pay taxes. By the late 1920's the colonial administration had divided Kenya into three labour zones¹⁴⁶. Nandi County fell into the Western Highlands consisting of Trans-nzoia, Uasin-Gishu and Nandi reserve. These involved settlers employing the Nandi as squatters. This was aided by land alienation which had reduced the land initially used for grazing by the Nandi. As a result many of them sought employment in the European farms so as to acquire pasture for their animals and be able to pay the taxes which had been imposed on the Nandi.

Labour relation within the household was also affected. Able bodied men of the *maina* and the *nyongi* age set sought employment in the Europeans farms. Women were left with the responsibility of catering for the family. Opler noted that women workloads increased to enable men to work for cash.¹⁴⁷ They also reduced the number of cattle kept. Men used to herd the cattle. Women were now taxed with the responsibility of herding and cultivating, if the men choose not to squat in European farms.

Therefore colonial forms of labour and squatting in particular interfered with relation of production among the Nandi in many ways. Families began to work for themselves as opposed to communal organizations. The extended family relations were interfered with. Many of the activities were commercialized. Individuals preferred to sell their animals to accomplish a given task using the cash acquired from the sale. The beer meant for exchange of labour become commoditized the amount of beer corresponded with the amount of work one did. Such labour could engage in cultivation, house building or harvesting¹⁴⁸.

The colonial government adopted combination of financial and political measures to create the required labour supply¹⁴⁹. Attempts were made to coerce the Nandi into seeking wage employment in European farms in Uasin Gishu and Trans-nzoia. This were imposing of taxes, the use of *kipande*, creating limited space in the confined nature and

146 Berman, B. and Lonsdale, J. *The Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa*, London: James Currey, 1992 p. 107.

147 Opler, Regina. O.S. "Women, Men and Property change in Nandi District Kenya" Ph.D Dissertation, Temple University, 1982.

148 Prisca T. "Agriculture in Nandi district Under Colonial Rule 1895-1963, M-Phil Thesis Moi University. 1996 p. 136

149 Rono, J. "The Transformation of the Nandi Society 1860-1963", in *Maarifa: A journal of Humanities and Social Science* Vol 2 No 1. 2007 p. 221

denying the Nandi to keep crossbreed or imported dairy cows, as well as growing of cash crops such as tea, coffee and tobacco among others.

4.3 The Pass/Kipande System

The *kipande* was first legislated in 1915, but was implemented from 1919 onwards¹⁵⁰. *Kipande* meant that the Nandi could be tracked and monitor. By 1920 all men leaving the Nandi reserves were required by law to carry a pass or *Kipande* that had a person's name, fingerprints, ethnic group, past employment history and current employer's signature¹⁵¹. The *Kipande* become one of the most detested symbols of the European colonial power. The Nandi had little choices but to carry their identity pass at all the time. Failure to produce it on demand brought a hefty fine, imprisonment or both.¹⁵² It made employment for European farmers easier for many Nandi men could not read what was written on the *Kipande*.

One had to register himself at the labour office in Eldoret in a process known as *keteben buluu* and was thereafter not deregistered. The *kipande* restricted the workers movement and freedom as they could not leave their employment and seek another. Indeed the *kipande* system helped standardize low wages because it made it difficult for any worker to earn a wage that was higher and unrelated to his former wage as recorded on his *kipande*.¹⁵³This was a clear manifestation of underdevelopment of the Africans Nandi included.

Nevertheless the introduction of dairy farming in European farms, benefited the squatters who prospered by utilizing the vast land which the Europeans settlers could not immediately put under production. Later European settlers began keeping grade dairy cattle, they established ranches and using the colonial state they initiated laws that demanded more labour hours from the squatters. In 1940, the vast quantity of squatter cattle had been gotten rid of. Cattle census of 1931 showed that, squatter cattle population

150 Tiyambe Z. "The Colonial Labour system in Kenya" in *An Economic History of Kenya* (eds) W.R Ochieng and R.M Maxon ,Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1992 p. 181

151 *ibid*

152 Elkins, C. *Britain's Gulag; The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya*, London:JonathanCape, 2005 p.16

153 Tiyambe Z. "The Colonial Labour System in Kenya" p. 181.

was 185,441 while in 1945 it was 172,863¹⁵⁴. Thus the squatter became not only frustrated but also continued to become poorer even with the introduction of cash crops.

4.4 Crop Production

The colonialist economy introduced cash crops and new concepts of land tenure. During the 1920s the colonial state favoured settler agriculture for export production. Cash crops such as coffee and tea were the preserve of European farmers. World War 1 paved way for the introduction of cash crops on African areas. Maxon noted that,

In 1922, the Kenya government fell back on increasing African production as the main avenue for saving settler agriculture from ruins..... extensive services in African areas of the colony were expanded, better seeds distributed and on a very limited scale Africans were for the first time allowed to plant coffee¹⁵⁵.

European farmers were protected from competition with African producers. The Nandi grew millet and sorghum, however as noted earlier, the introduction of maize was emphasized. Obler noted that during the 1920s the colonial government began to encourage the Nandi to grow maize as food and cash crop¹⁵⁶. Maize rapidly supplemented and later replaced millet and sorghum as the staple crop since it gave a much higher yield in most parts. According to the District commissioner, Field Jones in 1922 he reported that, quarantine has made it hard for the Nandi to get money to pay tax. The remedy is to put a large acreage under cultivation and to join wage labour. Maize seeds were issued to the Nandi with the hope of improving cultivation¹⁵⁷.

Maize was brought into the country from South Africa¹⁵⁸. This was introduced to help feed the labourers on European settler farms. Maize required little farming skills and less capital while the returns were within a short period.

154 Rono, J. "The Transformation of the Nandi Society 1860-1963" in *Maarifa* ; A Journal of Humanities and Social Science vol 2 No 1. 2007 p. 221

155 Robert M. "The Establishment of The Colonial Economy" in *An Economic History of Kenya*, (eds) W.R Ochieng and R.M Maxon, Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers. 1992, p 72.

156 Regina. S. O. (1982). "Women, Men Property and Change in Nandi District Kenya" Ph. D Dissertation, Temple University. p.38

157 KNA /DC /NDI /1 /3 Annual report 1922.

158 Simion.S.K(1992). "European settler Agriculture" in *An Economic History of Kenya*, (eds) W.R Ochieng and R.M Maxon, Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers. p.122.

Though the Nandi did not like it at first, it soon became a popular food; it replaced traditional crops like sorghum and millet. However millet and sorghum were grown alongside maize.

However maize gradually became both a cash and subsistence crop. Initially maize was a crop many cultivated together with other subsistence crops. Distinct household fields meant for subsistence crops and those meant for maize for sale were created. In 1934 the District commissioner K. L. Hunter reported that for the first time the Nandi had a real surplus of maize and sold an appreciable quantity¹⁵⁹.

4.5 Trade and Exchange

Cattle dairy products such as ghee and butter which were traded internationally were greatly affected by the fluctuating prices especially during the inter-war period. World War 1 was followed by a global depression. The European settlers strived to protect themselves from the insecurity of fluctuating prices. There was a concerted effort to bring the mechanisms of export marketing under a monopoly in order to increase bargaining power. As Peter Ndege noted that, lasting between 1920 and 1925, prices and wages stagnated so did trade¹⁶⁰. The colonial state cushioned itself by putting up trade measures and raising taxes.

For instance L.D Smith noted that

A rearrangement of custom tariffs in 1923 also shifted the burden of imported duties from European settler to Africans..... Again in the early 1920's when the yield from customs revenues fell due to the fall in price, the native hut taxes were raised by one-third¹⁶¹.

159 KNA /PC /NDI/1 /4 Annual report 1934.

160 Van Zwanenberg R.M.A.with Anne K.. *A.An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda 1800-1970*, London: Macmillan press Ltd. 1975 p.225.

161 Smith D.. "An Oral view of Agricultural Development policy" in *Agricultural Development in Kenya; An Economic Assessment*, (eds) Judith Heyer et al, Nairobi: Oxford University Press. 1976 P.118.

Nevertheless the Nandi were also developing a taste for imported goods such as clothes, blankets, hoes and sugar. Money was needed to acquire such goods. The tables below illustrate these phenomena.

Table 4.5.1 Goods Bought from Natives

Goods	1933	1934	1935	1936
Cattle	939	825	1287	1289
Sheep/Goat	1110	580	945	804
Hides	325	138	119	35
Honey tins	873	1256	1150	837
Maize bags	430	2031	1045	235

Source: KNA/PC/RVP/2/6/1 Annual Report 1933

Table 4.5.2 Goods Sold to the Natives

Goods	1933	1934	1935	1936
Posho bag	3210	2585	2409	3500
Blankets	8884	4501	6753	5300
Shuka pieces	3780	4195	5321	4672
Americani rolls	8	159	85	212
Jembes	2460	2950	2869	2365
Ghee tins	-	-	-	10

Source: KNA/PC/RVP/2/6/1 Annual Report 1933

From the tables 4.5.1 and 4.5.2, it can be noted that items bought from the Nandi were especially cattle and maize, although in 1936 the quantity of maize dropped.

This was due to the government measures of increasing sales of cattle and increasing maize production. On the other hand items sold to them were mostly consumables such as blankets and Shuka pieces which were in great demand.

The *Maina* and *Nyongi* had started using blankets and shukas to cover themselves unlike before where traditional garments made of animal's skin especially goat skins were used.

The Nandi, Indian and Goans began establishing trading enterprises.¹⁶² Africans owned businesses started to emerge. Small shops were put up which sold sugar, salt, soap, matches, kerosene and other simple items. These goods could be exchanged for milk, maize, beans and hides and skins. Among the first Nandi people to establish shops were Jonathan Kalya, Willie Bolt and Kowendi Arap Saina and Elijah Cheruiyot¹⁶³.

The exchange items were put together and later sold to Asians or transported to a bigger market. This type of enterprises which were carried out by the Nandi linked the local producers and consumers of the finished products to a wide web of trade exchange. There was diversification of trading activities. Transportation of dairy products especially milk was done by Nandi farmers who had acquired wealth and bought trucks. The Scalter road which passed through the northern part of the Nandi became a gateway to the outside market. Those who were among first to buy a lorry was Arap Baroret and it collected milk mostly in Kabisaga location and delivered to the K.C.C depot in Eldoret¹⁶⁴

4.6 Colonial Chiefs and their Role on Cattle production.

Confining the Africans to the reserves was not enough to force them into the wage economy. An additional tactic of control was enforced, the creation of colonial chiefs to administer their localities. This was the basis of indirect rule, a way of administering the locality by appointing local Nandi leaders and using them to enforce discipline and control over the local population and in return providing them with generous material rewards. The colonial chief was always placed at the top of the community hierarchy. The Nandi did not have chiefs prior to colonialism. They were an acephalous society governed by a Council of Elders. The new chief system was a phenomenon of colonial

162 Prisca J. T. "Agriculture in Nandi district Under Colonial Rule 1895-1963, M-Phil Thesis Moi University. 1996 p. 136

163 O.I. Kiprotich Chepotany at Cheptil on 28th January 2010

164 O. I. Grace Jemutai at Kapsabet on 19th April 2012

rule. They were created by the colonial government and this was illegitimate in the eyes of ordinary Nandi people.

By accepting the colonial authority the chiefs were granted monopoly of power and given authority to exercise it. Their primary activities were labour recruitment and tax collection¹⁶⁵. The introduction of chiefs brought with it bitter internal conflicts, that intensified with time. The council of elders wielded a lot of power and therefore made decision on matters concerning the community. The colonial chiefs had a delicate balance between their official duties and community service. As a matter of fact chiefs were appointed by the colonial administration regardless of age, and place at the top of the community. Basically the council of elders was determined by seniority in age and status in the society. Therefore a younger colonial chief was caught in between great forces, a duty to the government and service and respect to the elders and community.

The chiefs were instrumental in bringing change among the Nandi. They were the ones given the opportunity to receive the imported sahiwal bulls. For instance the sahiwal bulls from Baraton which were taken to Kabiyet for distribution were rejected by the Nandi. The chief decided to keep them all. In Kaptumo chief Elijah Arap Cheruiyot was force by the cattle officer to take the sahiwal bull that had been imported into the country¹⁶⁶. The introduction of the imported breed brought about a great difference because the milk from the chief's herd was greatly improved.

4.7 The Swynnerton Plan

The Swynnerton plan was completed in 1953 and published in 1954. The Africans had been complaining about land issues. They wanted a clear policy on land issues. The plan was prepared by Assisstant Director of Agriculture, Roger Swynnerton, it represented a new phase in African agricultural development policy and it is often cited as the basis for policy in African area even todote. It was envisaged a vastly increased rate of expansion of cash crop production, the introduction of new crops and cattle enterprises and it was notable for its increasing income. It was argued in the Swynnerton Plan that, the greatest obstacles to development had been the complicated communal land tenure system and the

165 OT, William Rugut at Kapkakaran on 15th February 2012

166 O.I. Rev. Bishop Thomas Kogo at Kormaet on 19th June 2011

serious degree of land fragmentation found in African areas¹⁶⁷. The Plan therefore, involved land consolidation and the introduction of high value cash crops within the African occupied areas, and in general, the encouragement of all small holders.

The Swynnerton Plan of 1954 was launched with an objective of tackling the African land problems. This plan aimed at changing the African land tenure system which was identified as an obstacle to development in the African Native Reserves.

That sound agricultural development was dependent upon system of land tenure which would make available a system of farms where productivity will support individual families and practice husbandry and thus develop a cash economy¹⁶⁸. Swynnerton was of the view that in order to achieve the stated objectives, the farmer needed security of tenure through granting of individual title deeds.

This plan was implemented by consolidating of fragmented holdings into one parcel and then registering the parcel of land under individual ownership. The plan also envisaged the establishment of Marketing Boards to provide finance and expertise for dairy farming, maize and pyrethrum growing in the African occupied areas. Swynnerton also reasoned that in the process of individualizing land title deed, some landless would undoubtedly be created as able and energetic or rich Africans would acquire more land and poor farmers less. This according to Swynnerton was a normal step in the evolution of a country¹⁶⁹.

Besides, the plan ushered in the final chapter in the peasantization of the indigenous producer, a phase which was to end with the creation of settlement schemes. A number of writers on the Kenyan economy have argued that the plan institutionalized a small-scale producer in the African occupied areas and permanently and legally incorporated them into the capitalist state, through loans and farm inputs necessary for the survival of a small scale producer.

However, although Swynnerton saw the problem of losing or gaining more land as a result of the land consolidation process as inevitable, this process had far reaching

167 Roger. S. "A plan to intensify the Development of African Agriculture in Kenya". Nairobi: Government Printers. 1954 p.7

168 Ibid,9

169 Ibid, 10

consequences in some parts of Kenya where some people become landless. These measures therefore were inadequate in addressing the African land issues and there was now need for a solution from a different direction, through the establishment of settlement schemes in the White Highlands. In 1959, the British government under pressure from the nationalists, revoked the Land Ordinance of 1939, and opened the White Highlands to the Africans. Thus, as the settlers had been united by the colonial government, most of them left at the expiry of colonial rule¹⁷⁰.

Therefore, it can be argued that the gradual socio-economic changes in Nandi were further accelerated in the 1950s when the colonial government adopted the Swynnerton plan. Among the major provisions of the Swynnerton plan was the allotment and tilling of individual plots of land in areas of high agricultural potential.

170 Sorrenson, M. *Origin of European Settlement in Kenya*, London: Oxford University Press. 1968 p. 19

CHAPTER FIVE

NANDI RESPONSE TO COLONIAL TRANSFORMATION

5.1 introduction

This chapter deals with dairy farming, marketing of dairy products, crop production and land tenure. These aspects come as a result of the development of new systems of production and also responding to these changes brought about by the colonial administration.

5.2 Dairy Farming

The push for increase dairy production was emphasized and stimulated the economic boom rising from the good market prices. There was competition between the European settlers and the Nandi for the market of the produce and also acquiring of more resources. Development in various sectors such as crop production, land tenure and produce marketing in the period from the end of the war to the independence.

It has long been recognized that the productive and the income-earning potential of the indigenous native stock was very low. Increased production was therefore to be based on improving the existing type of animals by cross-breeding with animals known to have better milk potential. This type of improvement had been mainly based on the sahiwal breed thereby giving better milk yield as well as carcasses¹⁷¹. The introduction of grade or exotic cattle of European or sahiwal type continued with the arrival of around 250 new breeds¹⁷².

The Second World War was to have a profound effect on both European and African farming. The European farming sector had been badly hit by the depression years of 1930s and although things were beginning to pick up, the war led to an all out effort to increase food production. By 1951 Africans were allowed to keep grade cattle after the agricultural department failed to develop a suitable cattle alternative but the approach

171 O. I. John Kisorio Arap Martim at Ndalat on 17th February 2011

172 KNA/MSS115/25/54, Economic case studies

developed was highly selective and also very intensive. Alternation was focused on a small number of individual dairy farmers who received most of the available resources. They were referred to as ‘progressive individuals’.

Smith noted that,

The general pace of improvement in African farming depends largely on the encouragement and assistance given to progressive individuals. Agricultural officers spend as much time as possible helping progressive Africans. The basis of development was good quality grass which will maintain a low... installation of fencing, cowsheds and water supplies¹⁷³.

An informant, Ezekiel Arap Tuwei supports this view by observing that a progressive farmer was given two cows with a bull from the Baraton veterinary center. The criteria used were the farmer must build a square-shaped house. Initially the houses were round in shape, must convert to christianity, put on clothes as opposed to traditional dressing, this could be a blanket, *shuka* or a short and more so fence the farm and build a night boma¹⁷⁴.

Earlier in 1945 cattle dips had been built where Chief Arap Katonon of Kabiyeet and Chief Elijah Cheruiyot of Kaptumo (Southern Nandi) were very instrumental. They knew the benefits of dipping for it helped in the control of diseases especially those spread by ticks. This was built by the money allocated by the colonial administration. Some Nandi refused the idea of dipping and some migrated to other regions such as Uganda and Tanzania.

In 1948 the Kapchepkendi clan at Kapkeringon of Kabiyeet Division refused the dip to be built in their territory. Since the hole had been dug, they were told to collect money to be used in covering it, indeed they raised Kshs 6000 for that purpose. To their surprise the money was not used to cover the hole dug but used to build a school, the 3rd secondary school Lelmokwo, after Kabiyeet secondary¹⁷⁵.The government sent the security to guard

173 Smith L. D. “An interview of Agricultural Development Policy” in *Agricultural Development in Kenya: An economic Assessment*, (eds.) Judith Heyer et al, Nairobi; Oxford University Press. 1976 p.12

174 O.I. Ezekiel Arap Tuwei

175 O.I.Sarah Kowendi at Kabiyeet on 9th October 2011

the construction and it went on to completion. In Nandi for instance, there were several dips as shown in the **table 5.2.1**

Table 5.1.1 List of Dips in Kabiyeet Division

ORDER	PLACE	YEAR
1ST	Ndalat	1945
2nd	Kipkaren	1946
3rd	Kapyemit	1946
4th	Cheptuiyet	1947
5th	Kaiboi	1947
6th	Kapkeringon	1948
7th	Kiboswa	1950
8th	Kamoiywo	1950
9th	Itigo	1950

Source; Kipsiana Tarus

Table 5.2.1 shows the importance of taking care of the Nandi cattle so as to protect them from being attacked by diseases. Farmers who were able to acquire and keep the crossbreeds were referred to as 'progressive farmers'. Many were those who had gone to school, had fenced their farms and acquired individual ownership. The first primary school was at Ndalat which was started in 1934. Further they were christians and also church elders. They were the first to acquire grade dairy cattle. These farmers who acquired the improved breed of cattle are shown in **table 5.2.2**

Table 5.2.2 List of Early Nandi Farmers

NAME	STATUS	PLACE
Arap Boit	Church Elder	Ndalat
Arap Chemirmir	Church Elder	Kabyemit
Arap Katonon	Chief	Ndalat
Arap Rugut	Chief	Kabiyet
Arap Silgich	Church Elder	Cheptil
Arap Kogo	Church Elder	Lelmokwo
Arap Baroret	Church Elder	Cheptil
Arap Rogony	Church Elder	Kipkaren
Arap Barchigei	Assistant chief	Cheptil
Stephen Arap Kirwa	Chief	Ndulele
Albert Saina	Teacher	Ndalat
Samson Kerich	Teacher	Cheptil
Elijah Arap Chepkwony	Chief	Kaptumo
Isaiah Arap Saina	Chief	Kilibwoni

Source: Albert Saina

From tables 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 it can be argued that most ‘progressive farmers’ came from Ndalat, Kaptumo, Kilibwoni and Cheptil. This is so because they accepted the new breed of dairy animals. An informant noted that, farmers from Cheptil, Kapyemit, Ndalat and Lolkeringet accepted the new breeds; while a few of those farmers in Kabiyet and Ndulele accepted the new breeds of Friesian, Jersey and Ayshire.

The Nandi dairy farmers were able to improve their standards of living; they bought ox-ploughs and put large part of their farms under maize crop¹⁷⁶. Others send their children to school; this is so because they had seen the benefits of education and to date these children have also become successful.

Christian converts were identified by the type of house they built which was rectangular in shape. They also embrace new ways of life such as not circumcising their boys in the traditional way, not circumcising their daughters and not taking the traditional brews (*maiyeke*). These changes made the Nandi advance since they were able to meet their daily expectation. The Swynnerton plan of 1954 brought changes that affected dairy production; the plan put into consideration veterinary concerns and enhanced the productivity of cattle in the reserve.¹⁷⁷ Farmers were encouraged to adopt modern methods of dairy production; the farmers were taught the importance of small size of dairy herd and maintained productive grass.

Further under this plan more dips were constructed so as to fight tick born diseases. Dams were also constructed to supply cleaned piped water to the farms for instance two water dams were constructed in the entire Nandi district one in Cheptil which was constructed in 1958¹⁷⁸, another in Kaptumo. Improvement of dairy stock continued and breeding places for grade cattle were also established in several centers throughout the country. In Kabiyet in 1958 the D.C.R.H Symes noted that he was planning to open an A.I centre at Kabiyet centre immediately and bull camps were being encouraged wherever there was demand.¹⁷⁹ The upgrading of the indigenous dairy stock was therefore done through artificial insemination with the Guernsey bulls. Many Nandi dairy farmers became positive about this new development.

The government enforced a measure on the number of cattle within an individual plot. Towards 1960 Nandi dairy farmers began purchasing pure breeds of European dairy farmers who were leaving the country due to self rule.

176 O. I. Albert Arap Saina at Ndalat on 30th April 2011

177 George N.O. "History of Pastoralism in Kenya 1895-1980", in W.R.Ochieng and R.M. Maxon,(eds),*An Economic History of Kenya*, Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Limited. 1992 p.102

178 O. I. Mama Sarah Kowendi at Kabiyet on 9th October 2011

179 KNA/DC/NDI/2/2 D.C. Nandi Confidential Handing Over Report.,1958

The District cattle officer a Mr. Butler noted that the Nandi seems resistant to purchase cattle from as far away as Nakuru, they prefer to buy locally where they are know the locality, attitude and owner¹⁸⁰

The sale of dairy animals at Hamilton Estate L.T.D in Kericho in 1961¹⁸¹ attracted dairy farmers who included Willy Arap Boit, Wilson Tenai, Arap Baroret and Elijah Arap Chepkwony. There was a sale of dairy cattle on 7th June 1961 and the animals were 130 in number which included cows on milk, cows in calf, heifers in calf and building heifers, pedigree bull and several grade bulls. There were two auction centers; at Kipkaren and Kilibwoni in 1961 to 1962. Nandi farmers sold their native stock so as to acquire the pure breeds and some grade dairy animals. The sales are shown in the **tables 4.1.3 and 4.1.4**

180 KNA, Correspondence - KNA, Sales of Animals From Hamilton Estate Limited (Kericho), 1961, 19

181 ibid

Table 5.2.3 Cattle Sale at Kipkaren in 1961

Date	Location	Sales
January 1961	1	6
	2	99
	3	88
	4	147
	8	6
	9	17
3rd October 1961	1	6
	2	103
	3	93
	4	161
	7	11
	8	9
	9	7
3rd November 1961	1	8
	2	84
	3	199
	4	128
	8	20
1st December 1961	1	1
	2	112
	3	67
	4	178
2nd January 1962	1	3
	2	46
	3	87
	4	127
	8	3
16th February 1962	2	25
	3	24
	4	81

Source; KNA/Vet/23/13/1, African Affairs.

Table 5.2.4 Cattle Sale at Kilibwoni in 1961

Date	Location	Sales
January 1961	1	13
	2	77
	3	27
	4	64
	8	22
	9	15
3rd October 1961	1	135
	2	60
	3	4
	4	2
	8	4
	9	7
3rd November 1961	1	113
	2	49
	3	17
	4	3
	8	3
	9	9
1st December 1961	1	125
	2	78
	3	3
	4	6
2nd January 1962	1	122
	2	71
	3	9
	4	6
16th February 1962	1	99
	2	32
	3	17
	4	2
	8	10

Source; KNA/Vet/23/13/1, African Affairs

From the foregoing the sale of native stock was greatly boosted by the need of the farmers to acquire the improved dairy breeds from the European settlers who were leaving the country at the dawn of independence. This led to the DC in 30th May 1962 to report that;

The northern division (Kabiyet) has almost completely monopolized cattle sales in Nandi, it should be pointed out that this has been brought about by the interest shown by the people in the north and the quantity and quality of cattle sold¹⁸².

Kabiyet was commended for doing a good job of selling their native stock and acquiring the improved breeds, the production of milk did went up as witnessed by the marketing of milk.

5.3 Crop production

The war demands accelerated crop production in African areas, to meet the war demands. Nandi was a maize producing area so the government through its agents, the administration issued maize seeds, beans, potatoes, banana suckers and cassava plants¹⁸³.As a result large tracks of land were cleared and cultivated. The soldiers who went to war had money remitted to their dependants; the money was converted into cattle and purchase of ploughs¹⁸⁴.

As earlier mentioned 'progressive farmers', cultivated large areas to grow maize, the price was favourable; the local native council had passed resolutions to have enough land for grazing of animals. The resolution was for the separation of grazing and cultivation land. Thus in 1941 the separating of grazing and cultivation land was passed by the local native council¹⁸⁵, this affected dairy farming because the land for grazing was becoming limited also farming depended on the natural grass abundance for the cattle however following the abundance of maize productivity the prices offer in the market changed. Maize from Nandi farmers was sold to agents appointed by the government who bought the maize at

182 KNA/DC/NDI/1/4I, Annual Report. 1940

183 KNA/DC/NDI/1/4I,(1940). Annual Report.

184 KNA/DC/NDI/1/4I,(1941) Annual Report.

185 Ibid

a cheaper price¹⁸⁶. There was also the establishment of a government marketing board which influenced and managed the prices.

Nandi farmers were not pleased with the government directives and resorted to selling their produce to better markets in Uganda¹⁸⁷. Farmers began keeping their produce so as to sell and obtain better prices. However there was lack of storage facilities and this led to attack of stored maize by the weevils¹⁸⁸. Foodstuff was also required to feed the war soldiers, Chiefs were entrusted with the responsibility of acquiring the required ratios from the farmers.

There was encouragement by the government for a substantial increase in the production of food crops for sale by the Nandi farmers. This showed that given the opportunity which was earlier denied, the Nandi would respond positively to opportunities to produce crops such as maize production with a reasonable market price.

Smith noted that;

The question of cash crop is a varied one but the nature is becoming accustomed on an increasing scale to living on a cash basis, indeed at the present time he must be in a position to obtain some of this returns in the form of cash, it has been agued on one hand that such crops should not be encouraged because of the possible effects on labour supplies and on the other they should be increased in order to advance the standard of living¹⁸⁹.

From above it can be argued that the government was in a dilemma, on one hand it needed foodstuffs for sale so as to obtain a better price and on the other hand it saw the benefits the Nandi were getting and were thus worried they would lose their source of cheap labour since progressive farmers were getting good returns from the sale of maize.

The Swynnerton plan of 1954 introduced other crops such as tea and coffee. However maize continued to dominate the commodities produced for some time. Arap Baroret a progressive farmer was among the first to grow tea in Kabiyeet. Elijah Cheruiyot in Kaptumo grew coffee, some in Ndalat also planted coffee. The Swynnerton plan

186 O.I, Arap Kerich at Kebulonik on 24th October 2012

187 O.I, Johana Telengech at Kapkagaron on 20th October 2012

188 Smith, L. D.. "An overview of Agricultural Development Policy" in *Agricultural Development in Kenya, An economic Assessment*, (eds.) Judith Heyer et al Nairobi; Oxford University Press. 1976 P.123.

189 Ibid.

encouraged the production of cash crops as compared to subsistence crops such as millet and sorghum. The progressive farmers were to influence others who wanted to engage in them.

The number of cattle kept for dairy production was greatly reduced, this was because more land was being put into cultivation, and farmers sold most of their cattle which initially they could not sell. Auction centers at Kipkaren and Kilibwoni witnessed increased sales of heifers.²³ Sales figures on the tables 5.9.1 and 5.9.2 further confirm this view.

5.4 Marketing of Dairy Products

The main feature characterizing the sale of milk and milk products was the Kenya Co-operative Creameries K.C.C. Since its inception in 1920 it had been dominated by the European settlers with Africans being given small quotas of milk to supply. African farmers found it necessary to organize themselves to supply milk to the K.C.C. Initially capable Nandi farmers were able to register themselves and supply the milk directly to the K.C.C. Later they organized themselves into dairy co-operatives in order to be able to supply their raw milk to K.C.C.

Milk requires proper handling to ensure that it reaches the processing factories or the consumers of fresh wholesome milk in good condition. Thus the Kenya Dairy Board (KDB) was established in 1958 under the Dairy Industry Act chapter 6 of the laws of Kenya.¹⁹⁰ It was established in order to organize, regulate and develop efficient production, marketing and distribution and supply of dairy produce in Kenya. Hence KDB had broad powers over the organization of the dairy marketing system in Kenya. Dairy farmers organised themselves early to take advantage of co-operative movements in marketing their produce.

Several African co-operative societies were established. The first to be established was North Nandi situated at Kabiyeet and Cheterwai. Next was Chebolol Cooperative society was formed in Lelmokwo. A third Kabiemit in Ndalat and finally Kaburwo was formed

190 Smith L.D. "An overview of Agricultural Development Policy" in *Agricultural Development in Kenya, An economic Assessment*, (eds.)Judith Heyer et al Nairobi; Oxford University Press. 1976 p.123.

at Cheptil in 1955 and it was chaired by Paul Arap Boen. Kaburwo for instance collected milk from Cheptil Kabisaga Kormaet and Chepkoiyo. The society bought a lorry which was used to collect the milk and deliver it to K.C.C plant in Eldoret. Farmers greatly benefit because they could get money to pay schools fees for their children. Thus farmers who supplied milk to the K.C.C were able to educate their sons and daughters. They were also given animal feeds of which, the amount was deducted at the end of the month when the payments were being made.

Albert Saina,¹⁹¹ added that they were able to build good houses. These houses were sphere in shape, use iron sheet and cement to plaster. In addition they bought farm implements like the tractors, plough, planters and other items needed for planting of maize. As a result they put part of their farms under maize production and still manage to practice dairy farming. They practiced mixed farming

Low costs of milk production are the results, generally of overall efficiency and good utilization of all the factors of milk production. The system of costing and technique used in costs of milk production depended on the system of dairying practiced and the importance which milk production plays in the economy of Nandi. They realized that the cost of collecting and transporting the milk and its products to the market would be minimized if they joined hand hence the formation of dairy co-operative societies. The Swynnerton plan encouraged farmers to embark on modern methods of farming.

5.5 Land Tenure

Land policies already examines had great repercussion on African land tenure and settlement patterns as well as the development of organized dairy farming. Land alienation led to land shortage among the Nandi. This led to a desire to acquire or redeem much of the alienated land. However the process of individual land ownership took place at different times in Kenya. This was due to the pre- colonial land tenure, population pressure and the penetration of the market forces.

191 O. I. Albert Saina at Ndalat on 30th April 2011

As a long term measure experts recommended that African land tenure should be overhauled and replaced with an alternative tenure pattern based on consolidated and individual holdings Okoth noted that

Individual tenure has great advantages in going individual, a sense of security in possession and in enabling by purchase and sale of land. An adjustment to be made by the community, from present unsatisfactory fragmented holdings to units of economic size¹⁹².

In the early 1940 the process of individual land ownership occurs in Nandi. Progressive Nandi leaders especially protestant church elders found it wise after visiting other parts like the Kipsigis region. They had started to enclose land and the results were very impressive. Under the African Land Development Programme (ALDEV), established in 1946 under the Worthington Plan. The process of individual land holding began in Nandi. One of the programmes undertaken by ALDEV was the setting up of African in co-operative group farming schemes. Group farms were to be farmed in accordance with what was viewed as good soil conservation practice.

The scheme also served as demonstration farms for government approved soil conservation techniques. One such demonstration farming scheme was established at Ndalat. The technique demonstrated include fencing of harvested fields as cattle paddocks which were later rooted back to cultivation. People outside the scheme who would follow the same programme were permitted to claim and enclose land. It was thought that enclosed individual holdings would facilitate proper farm planning on a mixed rotational basis. These arguments were based on an assumption that individual proprietorship in itself will generate more activities and maximize the land productivity. In addition it would improve individual farmer decision-making by giving farmers better incentives¹⁹³.

Initially the colonial administration had looked down upon African farmers as not able to make wise decision on farming as noted by Zwaneberg with king that, the African in Kenya had not yet arrived at level of education which enables them of their own accord

192 Smith L. D. "An overview of Agricultural Development Policy" in *Agricultural Development in Kenya, An economic Assessment*, eds. Judith Heyer et al Nairobi; Oxford University Press. 1976 p. 123.

193 O. I.Casmiry Kemei at Chepyewet on 24th October 2012

to plan agricultural economy successfully. That they have little knowledge on farming practice. Therefore it was essential that their general farming policy shall to a large extent be dictated to them in the light of the experience and knowledge of officers of government responsible for their welfare¹⁹⁴.

Talbott disputes this notion by arguing that, there was a manifestation of innovation in traditional agriculture. The necessity to re-design fields and configurations from time to time as part of the agriculture system required innovation in the application of farming principles to crop and cattle production. The practice of moving homestead as well as animal was well established. This was for the purposes of increasing soil fertility as well as allowing fresh grass or pasture to grow.

The government policies such as ALDEV of 1946 and the Swynnerton plan of 1954 were put in place to bring capable African farmers into the main stream. This was because of the realization that indeed African had the potential to produce goods that could supplement European products in international markets. Progressive dairy farmers such as Willy Arap Boit of Ndalat, Arap Kowendi of Kabiye, Stephen Arap Kirwa of Ndulele, Arap Katonn of Lolkeringet, Albert Saina of Ndalat and Arap Barchigei of Cheptil, Elijah Arap Chepkwony of Kaptumo were greatly assisted. These farmers were able to supply milk to the K.C.C directly not through any co-operative in large quantities.¹⁹⁵

Social changes become noticeable; they were allocated land and given title deed of which they could secure loans from commercial banks to develop their farms. The loans could be used to purchase barbed wire, more dairy cows, milking equipments such cans and iron sheet for building better housing. In some cases female household heads with minor sons were allocated piece of land and given title deed. A case in point is Naomi Kobot Kibet who was given a title deed. She secured a loan to develop her farm by buying barbed wire and a dairy cow. For her she had to be guaranteed by a male who had over fifteen heads of cattle a Mr. Samwel Arap Kilach.¹⁹⁶

194 Van Zwanenberg, R.M.A.with Anne K. *An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda 1800-1970*, London: Macmillan press Ltd. 1975 p.225.

195 O. I. Wilson Tenai at Kormaet on 10th October 2011

196 O. I. Naum Kobot Kibet at Cheptil on 9th October 2012

Further during the period of transition to self government, the laws discriminating against other races in the white highlands were removed. Land in the former white hand lands was open to ownership by African in 1960.¹⁹⁷ As white settlers began to leave the country, Nandi capable farmers who were able to acquire credit from the commercial banks were able to purchase and acquire land in Uasin Gishu and trans-Nzoia Counties. Example of farmers who bought large tracks of land include David Cheluget a prominent dairy farmers who moved to Uasin Gishu from Nandi, Eliasa Mutwol who has a farm in Kabisaga but also bought large track of land in Uasin Gishu Moiben region, Kipsaina Tarus who has farm in Kabiyet and another farm in Trans-Nzoia. Paul Boit from Kabiyet bought land in Uasin Gishu Kamagut area and Wilson Koech in Ndalat who bought huge tracks of land in Uasin Gishu and Trans-zoia. Mr. Edward Limo also was approached by a white settler to buy his land near Eldoret town,¹⁹⁸ which he did and lived there todate.

The changes on land tenure brought about class divisions. The capable farmers were able to acquire farm implement especially tractor and its accompaniments. These farmers were able to put a lot of farm under maize production. Dairy production was also boosted where farmers were able to afford supplementary feeds for their dairy stock especially during the dry season. Farmers were able to send their children to school using money from the sale of milk and maize and generally led an envied lifestyle.

Early British settlement impacted greatly on socio- economic and cultural orientation of the Nandi. Colonial policies such as land tenure system led to individual nland ownership as opposed to communal system changed the traditional ways os cattle production. Colonial chiefs a creation of the colonial administration had profound impact on cattle production. They had other roles which included labour mobilization and recruitment as well as trade and exchange. The Nandi responded to this changes by transforming their system of cattle production and embracing dairy farming which had high returns. The next chapter sums the entire research work.

197 O. I. Elizabeth Bot Lazaro at Eisero on 15th October 2011

198 O. I. Edward Limo at Eldoret on 20th February 2012

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMENDATIONS

This study mainly focuses on cattle production among the Nandi of Kenya. The purpose of the study has been to detail the development of cattle and the transformations from the advent of imperial power to the period of attainment of independence in 1963. The study has been undertaken within the theory of underdevelopment, Talbot's theory of adaptation innovation, diversification and commercialization. The study has demonstrated that the Nandi were greatly affected by the advent of colonial rule and its structural policies that were put in place.

In chapter one the background of the study, objectives, the statement of the problem as well as the scope and limitation of undertaking this study are dealt with. Chapter two analyses literature review and other related literature. Any estimation of the significance of colonial rule has to start with an understanding of the dynamics of the pre-colonial economies; this meant that the traditional economies to a greater extent relied on exchange. This was an important engagement within the pre-colonial economies.

Exchange occurred on a more or less equitable basis with surpluses in one area being exchanged for surpluses in another, everywhere one finds that one area might specialize in cattle and the other will specialize on crop production. This was dictated by the topography and ecological conditions.

Nevertheless accumulation of wealth was certainly an important feature of Nandi economy. Animals especially cattle was amongst the most important of all pursuits. Highlighted also is population expansions, as the original unit expanded in size the clans would subdivide and new pasture and agricultural lands would be opened to accommodate the growing population. As the society moved slowly expanding from one area to another, land tenure rights, system of social and political control were formed on the basis of the laid down principles of the society along gender lines.

Cattle was a true source of wealth, it had an economical value and could be compared with other trade items, it was used to pay debts and fine. It was therefore above subsistence living for cattle provided a variety of products.

They provided a person with milk, meat and blood which was used as food. Milk provided ghee and butter that would be used to soften leather, be used in ritual and could also be stored for long until a need arose. Animal skin and hide were prepared into clothes, bedding, bags, and sandals for all occasions. Horns could be utilized as vessels. Cow dung was used for plastering walls and floor. Milk was used to perform ceremonial activities such as, child naming, marriage and circumcision.

The establishment of colonial rule in Kenya and Nandi in particular and the impact that it brought about is also analyzed. Great economic and social changes that affected the underlying traditional cattle system, are manifested. Likewise those that had been carried out and perfected over a long period of time were preserved. Land which was a source of pasture was alienated to European settlers as well as the creation of the white highland.

Chapter four and five detailed the results in Nandi as the capitalist economy set. Cattle production among the Nandi during the colonial period was in large measure a continuation of aspects which had been an integral part of their traditional ways. To this traditional and indigenous animals were added a new breed, the sahiwal which was aimed at increasing the production of milk. African dairy cows were cross bred with the sahiwal bulls imported from India to produce a better yielding breed which was encouraged throughout the region. From this process the foundation of the dairy farming were laid slowly.

The maintenance of the colonial economy rested on the Africans, taxation as detailed in the study was aimed at providing revenue for the colonial state, taxes kept on rising and it affected the Nandi cattle production since they had to sell the animals and the animal products to pay taxes, this greatly reduced the size of their stock. The process of underdevelopment occurred due to unequal exchange, animal products were offered low prices as compared to imported consumable products like the blankets, sugar and other consumable goods that had been introduced to the division by European and Indian traders.

Further the colonial economy relied on the African labour. Nandi human resource was drawn in to European settler farms that were adjacent to the Nandi reserve. This altered the division of labour. Women shouldered more of the household responsibilities such as

tending the animals and tilling the land. Initially labour was coerced through colonial policies. Slowly migrant labour became voluntary, there was need to increase the income so as to cope with social and economic changes that were being manifested in the community.

The colonial cattle policies further impoverished the Nandi. These policies especially the destocking was geared towards protection of soil and vegetation cover in African reserve from degradation. Generally the colonial government perceived land degradation in African occupied areas to be a direct result of poor agricultural and herding activities and not shortage of land and market outlets for African production. These colonial policies became a setback to cattle development and the general lacking behind of dairy farming in African areas.

Furthermore Nandi dairy farmer were not allowed to keep exotic or grade cattle up to 1950's. This was to protect the European dairy cows in case they were stolen by the Nandi were they could be easily identified. This was also aimed at protecting European dairy farmers from competition from African dairy farmers. Inoculations and vaccinations that were done within the Nandi were mostly aimed at preventing the spread of disease to the European stock. On the other hand crop production was encouraged. Maize was introduced and it soon replaced indigenous crops such as millet and sorghum. Maize production was enhanced by the supply of seeds and it became both a commodity for sale as well as a subsistence crop.

The process of commercialization of dairy products brought about the increased demand for dairy cows. The Nandi responded to this in the 1950's by buying grade cattle. They formed cooperative movements that enabled them to sell milk and milk products. Individual dairy farmers were able to supply milk directly to the KCC that monopolized milk sale. Using the proceeds from the sale of milk they were able to acquired credit facilities that they used in expanding their dairy farming and developing their farms. Rich dairy farmers were also able to diversify their actives by engaging in other income generating venture like running shops and acquiring trucks which were used to transport goods. They also bought tractors and their implement which could be hired out in the

production of maize in farming activities like ploughing, planting and transporting the harvest.

The chiefs and others in government employment were able to send their children to school. This is so because they could see the benefit of western education for had acquired western education. Christianity was another factor that was used to separate the progressive farmers from the not so progressive. They were identified by the Europeans as agents of change within the Nandi community. This group accumulated wealth, engaged in animal and crop production as well as other economic ventures. They were later to acquire large tracks of land at the dawn of independence. The Nandi were therefore categorized as progressive and not progressive Christian and non Christian, educated and not educated. This accelerated individualization and competition rather than communal aspect as it was during the pre-colonial period.

The study of cattle production in Nandi showed that capitalist penetration did not completely succeed in uprooting and dislocating all the aspect of pre-colonial system of Nandi. The house hold units remained the basis of production and they were able to adapt to the new changes that they were being experienced. Adaptation helped them to blend traditional cattle production methods with the modern methods such as the production of milk and products such as ghee and butter that were done in the pre-colonial times. Advanced technologies introduced by the colonials in terms of improved dairy breed, the use of artificial insemination, dipping, vaccination and inoculations greatly increased production. It must be stressed that the African farmer remained basically an implementor. The success or the failure revolved around the Nandi's own efforts

It can be concluded therefore from this study of the Nandi that, cattle production is an important sector that need to be improved further and strengthened by using new technologies such as importation of superior semen and educating farmers on current trends and practices in the dairy industry. That the dairy board has a major role in regulating the sale of milk through recommended and acceptable milk handling standards that prevent wastage and losses. Further there is need to diversify ways of preserving these perishable product such as in powder form which can be stored for longer. The study therefore serves as a tool for the foundation of sound dairy policies.

In this respect, the study has contributed to our understanding of cattle production among the Nandi in the period under review. Similarly by using the Nandi in the study the work will serve to bring the history of this sub-ethnic group into the mainstream of the Kenyan cattle history. Further research is recommended to establish the role of Colonial chiefs in Nandi more so on the development of cash crops. Also the role of women in food security and the impact of land tenure system in food production.

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KNA/MSS/15/34/4 – The Supplementary Feeding of Dairy Work 1931

KNA/MSS/6/5 – The Dairy Industry of Kenya Report with Recommendation 1950

KNA/MSS/15/34/7 – Annual Report KCC 1954-1955

KNA/MSS/15/34/24 - Annual Report KCC 1962-1963

KNA/DC/NDI/2/2- Nandi Confidential Handing Over Report 1958

3. LISTOF INFORMANTS.

Names	Age	Place of Interview	Date
1. SimonArap Bett	75years	Kabisaga	30/9/2010
2. William Sanga	68years	Kabiyet	20/12/2010
3. Jonah Butia	70years	Kipkaren	22/12/2010
4. Kiprotich Chebotany	70years	Cheptil	28/1/2010
5. David singoei	65years	Cheptil	16/2/2012
6. Philip Kiprono	64years	Lolkenge	8/10/2011
7. Thomas Rop	72years	Kabiyet	20/12/2012
8. Paul Arap Boen	69years	Kormaet	19/12/2010
9. Nathan Mengich	70years	Cheptil	10/2/2014
10. Grace Jepkosgei	61years	Laborate	15/3/2011
11. Albert Saina	75years	Ndalat	30/4/201
12. John Arap Maritim	80years	Ndalat	17/2/201
13. Sila Arap Silgich	79years	Ndalat	17/2/2012
14. Kipsaina Arap Tarus	85years	Kabisaga	21/2/2012
15. Mama Sarah Kowendi	76years	Kabiyet	9/10/2011
16. Arap Rugut	69years	Kabiyet	9/10/2011
17. Stephen tororei	59years	Kaiboi	12/10/2012
18. Elisha Birech	64years	Kaiboi	12/10/2012
19. Jaran Kemboi	68years	Koisolik	12/10/2012
20. Milk Towet	63years	Koisolik	12/10/2012
21. Ezekiel Tultoek	71years	Kebulonik	15/10/2012
22. Nathan sang	67years	Rubet	15/10/2012
23. Moses Sorgol	88years	Lelelchwet	17/10/2012
24. Joakin Koin	64years	Kapyemit	17/10/2012
25. Peter Bomet	77years	Kapkagaron	19/10/2012
26. Edward Limo	85years	Eldoret	19/10/2012
27. Johana Telengech	69years	Kapkagaron	20/10/2012

28. Arap Yama	70years	Kabisaga	20/10/2012
29. Arap Mabengo	72years	Kamasai	22/10/2012
30. Arap Kerich	63years	Kebulomk	24/10/2012
31. Casmiry Kemei	68years	Chepyewet	24/10/2012
32. Arap Chochi	70years	Kebulonik	26/10/2012
33. Naomi Kobot Kibet	75years	Cheptil	9/10/201
34. Wilson Tenai	79years	Kormaet	10/10/2011
35. Henry Chumba	70years	Kapchechui	10/10/2011
36. Ludia Biy	83years	Kormaet	10/10/2011
37. Damaris Chemogos	67years	Cheptil	11/10/2011
38. Eveline Tenai	73years	Kormaet	10/10/2011
39. Arap Keny	65years	Kapkagaron	15/10/2011
40. Arap Rogony	73years	Eisero	15/10/2011
41. BotLazaro	77years	Eisero	15/10/2011
42. Julius Sang	66years	Lelmokwo	17/10/2011
43. Maggdaline Rotict	61years	Kimolwet	16/06/2011
44. Rev. Thomas Kogo	78years	Kormaet	19/6/2011
45. Wilson Koech	74years	Ndalat	19/6/2012
46. Elisha Tanui	70years	Eisero	12/10/2011
47. Magdalaine Tindi	90years	Kamasia	12/10/2011
48. Naum Sitienei	58years	Kabisaga	13/10/2011
49. Florence Mursoi	53years	Kabisaga	13/10/2011
50. Dina Lagat	64years	Kebulonik	18/10/2011
51. Anna Lagat	66years	Kelulonik	18/10/2011
52. Jahason Rugut	70years	Ndalat	17/2/2011
53. Gideon Koech	69years	Kipkaren	16/2/2011
54. Gilbert Saina	73years	Kabisaga	15/2/2011
55. Pricillah Seurei	66years	Kabisaga	15/2/2011
56. Rose Mutwol	60years	Kipkaren	16/2/2011
57. Andrew Seurey	69years	Kamasia	22/10/2011

58. Simion Mutwol	63years	Kipkaren	16/2/2011
59. Sarah Buses	70years	Kipkaren	16/2/2012
60. David Sang	60years	Lolkeringet	16/2/2012
61. Samuel Chumba	64years	Lolkeringet	16/2/2012
62. Elisha Biwott	53years	Eisero	18/2/2012
63. David Murey	81years	Eisero	18/2/2012
64. James Kibet	61years	Kibulonik	19/2/2012
70. Moses Kerorei	70years	Sang'alo	20/2/2012
71. Daniel Chumba	78years	Kormaet	24/2/2012
72. Charles Barchigei	60years	Kormaet	24/2/2012
73. Julius Kosgei	81years	Sang'alo	20/2/2012
74. Peter Rotich	67years	Kebulonik	17/2/2012
75. Paul Yego	70years	Township	15/2/2012
76. David Cheplel	71years	Chemnoet	19/2/2012
77 Joshua Sang	64years	Kabisaga	19/2/2012
78 Ben Kibet	65years	Kabisaga	19/2/2012
79 Kinangop busienei	75years	Chepnoet	20/2/2012
80 Gilbert koech	69years	Kapkakaron	20/2/2014
81 Arap muturi	77years	Chepnoet	20/2/2012
82 Gogo Kipteibui	79years	Kapkakaron	20/2/2012
83 Jane Koros	64years	Cheptil	13/2/2012
84 Peter Rotich	75years	Kabiyet	15/2/2012
85 James Sawe	63years	Kabisaga	15/2/2012
86 Sila Kipyego	77years	Kormaet	17/2/2012
87 James Kirwa	64years	Kebulonik	18/2/2012
88 Ziporah	74years	Kabisaga	18/2/2012
89 Joseph Bitok	77years	Koisolik	20/2/2012
90 James Kosgei	76years	Koisolik	20/2/2012
91 Peter Chepkwony	90years	Koisolik	20/2/2012
92 Grace Mettoh	73years	Koisolk	20/2/2012

93 John Yego	61years	Kebulonik	18/2/2012
94 William Rugut	73years	Kapkakaron	15/2/2012
95Tecla Chumba	80years	Kapkakaron	15/2/2012
96 Susan Busienei	90years	Kapkakaron	15/2/2012
97 Arap Chuma	76years	Kabiyet	16/2/2012
98 Kobot Jebiwot	85years	Kabiyet	16/2/2012
99 Jemima Bwalei	79years	Kabiyet	16/2/2012
100 Kipsongol	80years	Kabiyet	16/2/2012

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: PLATES



Plate 1: The peace conference, December 14, 1905, with the Nandi, escarpment in the background



Source: Matson, A.

Plate 2: Nandi herdsman

Source: Matson, A.



Plate 3: Fresian Dairy Cow

Source: Researcher



Plate 4: Jersey Dairy Cow

Source: Researcher



Plate 5: Hereford Dairy Cow
Source: Researcher



Plate 6: Aryshire Dairy Cow
Source: Researcher



Plate 7: Zebu Bull of the Nandi

Source: Researcher



Plate 8: Traditional gourds used by the Nandi community

Source: Mosop Cultural Centre, Nandi County



Plate 9: Nandi Sheep
Source: Researcher



Plate 10: Nandi goat
Source: Researcher



Plate 11: Nandi young man

Source: Researcher

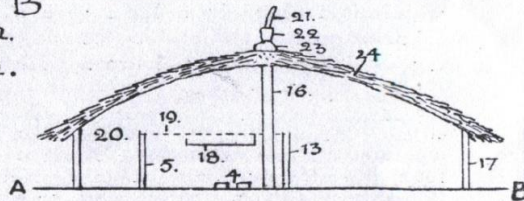
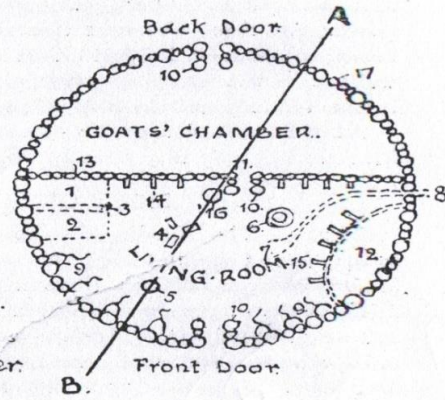
APPENDIX 2: STRUCTURE OF THE NANDI HUT

14

THE NANDI

Diagram of Nandi Hut.

1. Man's bed.
 2. Woman's bed.
 3. Clay division.
 4. Cooking stones.
 5. Skylight support.
 6. Depression for beer-pot.
 7. Urinal gutter.
 8. "Eye" of gutter.
 9. Thongs for tying up goats.
 10. Door posts.
 11. Entrance to goat-chamber.
 12. milk Compartment.
 13. Partitio. wall.
 14. Pegs.
 15. Pegs for milk-gourds.
 16. Pole supporting roof.
 17. Wall of hut.
- Section through A-B
18. Tray for drying grain.
 19. Ceiling of living room.
 20. Skylight.
 21. Finial of central pole.
 22. Grass binding.
 23. Broken pot.
 24. Grass roof.



4.4.1 Structure of Nandi hut

SOURCE: A.C HOLLIS: *THE NANDI THEIR LANGUAGE AND FOLKLORE*

APPENDIX 3: SAMPLE GUIDING QUESTIONS

QUESTIONNAIRE AND ORAL INTERVIEW GUIDELINES ON COLONIAL TRANSFORMATION OF CATTLE PRODUCTION AMONG THE NANDI OF KENYA 1890-1963”

Respondent No

Location

Age.....

Date.....

1. ORIGIN, MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

- a) Where did the Nandi come from?
- b) Why did the Nandi leave the place they were occupying before coming to their present land?
- c) Around what time did the Nandi leave their place of origin?
- d) In their place of origin what economic activities did the Nandi engage in?
- e) Did they have any leaders of migration? if yes, who were this leaders of migration and which clans or groups did they lead, if No how did they conduct their migration?
- f) From the places of origin, which course/route did they follow?
- g) Around what period did the Nandi settle in Aldai/Tindiret?
- h) Did they find any groups that had settled in the region? If Yes, who were these groups? And what happened to this group
- i) Did the Nandi meet any opposition from the groups they met?
- j) Why did the Nandi leave Aldai?
- k) What time did they settle in the nandi?
- l) What was their reason for migration?
- m) Did they meet any groups in Kabiyeet? if Yes what happened to the group?
- n) What was their economic activity as they settled in Kabiyeet?

2. LAND

- a) How was land acquired in pre-colonial period?
- b) What was the pattern of land ownership during the early period of settlement in the Nandi?
- c) How was the ownership of land
 - i) individual
 - ii) family
 - iii) clan
 - iv) community
- d) What role did the elders play in land ownership?
- e) How did the community control the use of land in Nandi?
- f) Did women have access to ownership of land, if No, why?
- g) What rights did an individual have over land and how long did these rights last?
- h) How were the person's rights protected?
- i) How was the land rights passed over?
- j) How did the community control the use of land?
- k) How was land allocated for various uses
 - i) Grazing
 - ii) Cultivation
 - iii) Settlement
 - iv) Hunting

3. LABOUR

- a) During the pre-colonial period, how was labour organized?
- b) How were people working
 - i) Individually
 - ii) Groups/Clans
 - iii) Communally
- c) How was labour organized communally?
- d) What tasks were performed by

- i) Men
 - ii) Women
 - iii) Men and Women
 - iv) The elderly
 - v) Children
- e) What implements were used? Did it influence the division of labour between men and women?
- f) Was there labour scarcity in the pre-colonial period?

4. CATTLE PRODUCTION

- a) What were the animals kept?
- b) Who owned the cattle e.g. cattle, sheep, goats?
- c) Could women own cattle, if Yes which? And if No, which?
- d) How was cattle acquired
 - i) Raiding
 - ii) Exchange
 - iii) Donation
- e) How were gender roles in relation to cattle production?
- f) How were resources shared or used for example
 - i) Grazing grounds
 - ii) Salt licks
 - iii) Water
- g) How were the animal products such as milk, meat, hides and skin
 - I) Used
 - II) Disposed, usage.
- h) Who was responsible for storage and disposal of surplus?
- i) Did the Nandi have any form of exchange? If Yes with whom and which commodities?
- j) What was the medium of exchange?

5. CROP PRODUCTION

- a) What crops were grown in the pre-colonial period?
- b) Who did the planting, men, women or both?
- c) How were the farms to be ploughed prepared?
- d) How was the planting calendar?
- e) How was the harvested products used?
- f) Who did the harvesting?
- g) Where were the harvested products stored?
- h) Was there any special structure made to store the products?
- i) Who was responsible for storage/disposal of surplus food?

6. TRADE

- a) Did the Nandi of Kabiye engage in exchange relation, if so whom and what commodities were offered for exchange?
- b) Were there any trading
 - I) Grounds
 - II) Routes
 - III) Centre's
- c) Was there a group of people specializing in exchange? If Yes why? If No why not?
- d) Was this trade only among the Nandi or did involve other neighboring groups?
- e) What did they offer and what did they receive from their trading partners?
- f) How was this exchange conducted?
- g) Was this initial exchange aimed at
 - I. Subsistence
 - II. supplementary
 - III. profit making
- h) Did the entire Nandi group benefit from this exchange or only a few?

APPENDIX 4: RESEARCH PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

Permit No : NACOSTI/PI/14/2526/5604
Date Of Issue : 10th November, 2014
Fee Received : Ksh 1,000.00

on the topic: **COLONIAL TRANSFORMATION OF LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION AMONG THE NANDI OF KENYA, 1890-1963**

for the period ending:
31st December, 2014



[Signature]
Applicant's
Signature

Secretary
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit
2. Government Officers will not be interviewed without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two(2) hard copies and one(1) soft copy of your final report.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice.



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



National Commission for Science,
Technology and Innovation

**RESEARCH CLEARANCE
PERMIT**

Serial No. A **3535**

CONDITIONS: see back page

APPENDIX 5: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471
2241348, 310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No.

Date:

NACOSTI/P/14/2526/5604

10th November, 2014

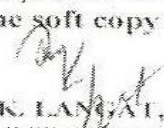
Rael Jeruto Ngisirei
Kisii University
P.O.Box 408-40200
KISII.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Colonial transformation of livestock production among the Nandi of Kenya, 1890-1963*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Nandi County for a period ending 30th December, 2014.

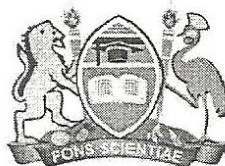
You are advised to report to the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nandi County before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf of the research report/thesis to our office.


DR. S. K. LANGAT, OGW
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
The County Director of Education
Nandi County.



KISII UNIVERSITY

ELDORET CAMPUS

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR-ACADEMIC AFFAIRS

Phone: 0720 094 039

Email: eldoretcampus@kisiiversity.ac.ke

P. O. Box 6434- 30100

ELDORET - KENYA

20TH NOVEMBER, 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

Dear Sir / Madam,

RE: RAEL JERUTO NG'ISIREI REG NO: MAS11/60062/14


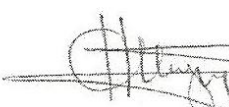
The above mentioned is a bonafide student of this university undertaking her Master's degree. She has successfully defended, her Thesis Proposal:

"Colonial Transformation of Livestock Production among the Nandi, Kenya, 1890-1963".

We are kindly requesting your office to provide her with the permit to proceed to the field for data collection and completion of her research.

Please do not hesitate to call the undersigned for any verification.

Thanks.



Charles O. Ongiyo (0720986205)
DEPUTY DIRECTOR-ACADEMIC AFFAIRS.