

**COLONIAL URBANIZATION IN KENYA: THE CASE OF NANYUKI TOWN,
1920 -1963**

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**A Thesis Submitted To the Board of Postgraduate Studies in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History of Egerton University**

EGERTON UNIVERSITY

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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

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This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other University:

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late father Enock Ambani. May God rest his soul in eternal peace till we meet again.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to the great team of men and women who made this work a success. I wish to acknowledge the guidance, assistance and criticism offered by my supervisors, Dr Peter Waweru and Dr Isaac Tarus. I am also grateful to the residents of Nanyuki who rendered important information during the oral interviews. I also thank the lecturers in the History Department at Egerton University for mentoring and training me into becoming a Historian during my course work. I am also grateful to Mr. Ojode for coming up with the much needed geographical maps of Nanyuki area. I wish to also convey my deep appreciation to my aunt Jane Havi who hosted me while I was collecting data at the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi. My sincere gratitude also goes to the staff of the Kenya National Archives, for their support and cooperation. I thank Ruth Nyambura Njoroge, my friend and classmate for her encouragement and for proofreading my work. Finally, to my children, I salute you for bearing the pain of being left alone as I collected data. May God bless you all.

ABSTRACT

The history of urbanization has become an important part of Kenya's historiography. While a sizeable number of works on urbanization in Kenya exist, towns like Nanyuki have not received adequate historical attention. This study therefore sought to provide a historical perspective on patterns and processes of change in Nanyuki in the colonial period. The research was intended to contribute to knowledge by outlining the history of Nanyuki town so that the dynamics behind the development of Nanyuki are explained in terms of social, political and economic growth historically with specific reference to colonial Kenya. The study on urbanization is the first to be carried out. The findings of the study serve as a basis for other works on urbanization. The study covers the period from 1920 when Nanyuki was designated as a Soldier Settlement Scheme, up to 1963 when formal colonialism ended in Kenya. This study employed the concept of colonial capitalism. The research adapted the *ex post facto* design which deals with the past and tries to reconstruct it. The study relied on both primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources were obtained from both private and public libraries especially in Nakuru and Nairobi. Primary data was obtained from the Kenya National Archives mainly in Nairobi and also from the field research in Nanyuki. Purposive sampling was used in identifying informants. The oral sources were used to complement documentary sources. Analysis of data involved interpreting both the qualitative and quantitative data. The work was then organized chronologically and thematically. The findings clearly bring out the uniqueness of Nanyuki town in comparison to other colonial towns in Kenya. The early history of Nanyuki is discussed. The establishment of European settlement from 1921 is also discussed. The impact of the Second World War on the development of Nanyuki is also discussed. The development of Nanyuki in the post war period is also discussed in addition to leisure activities in colonial Nanyuki. The research therefore contributes towards the history of 'smaller towns' in Kenya and their development that needs to be understood historically.

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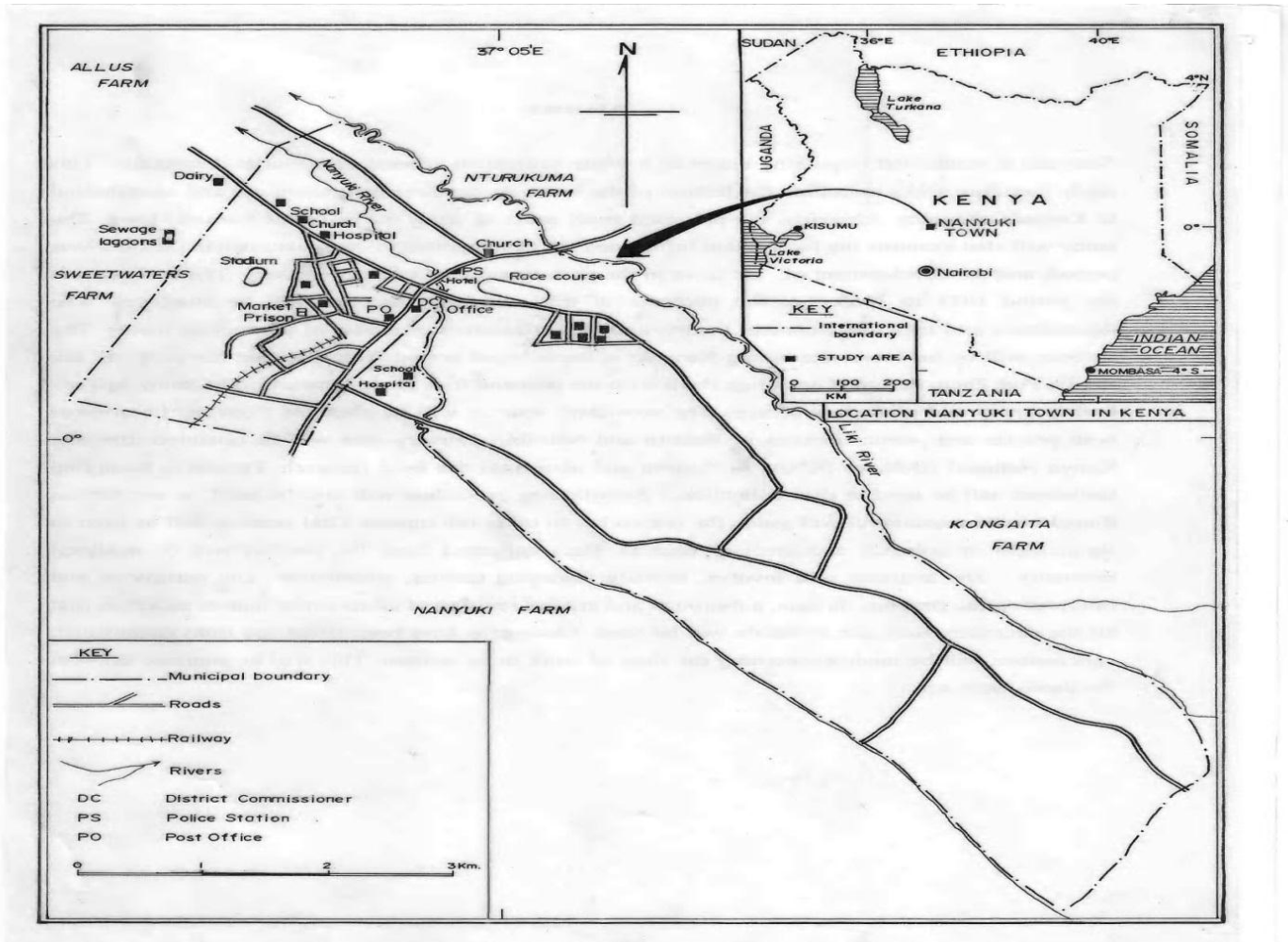
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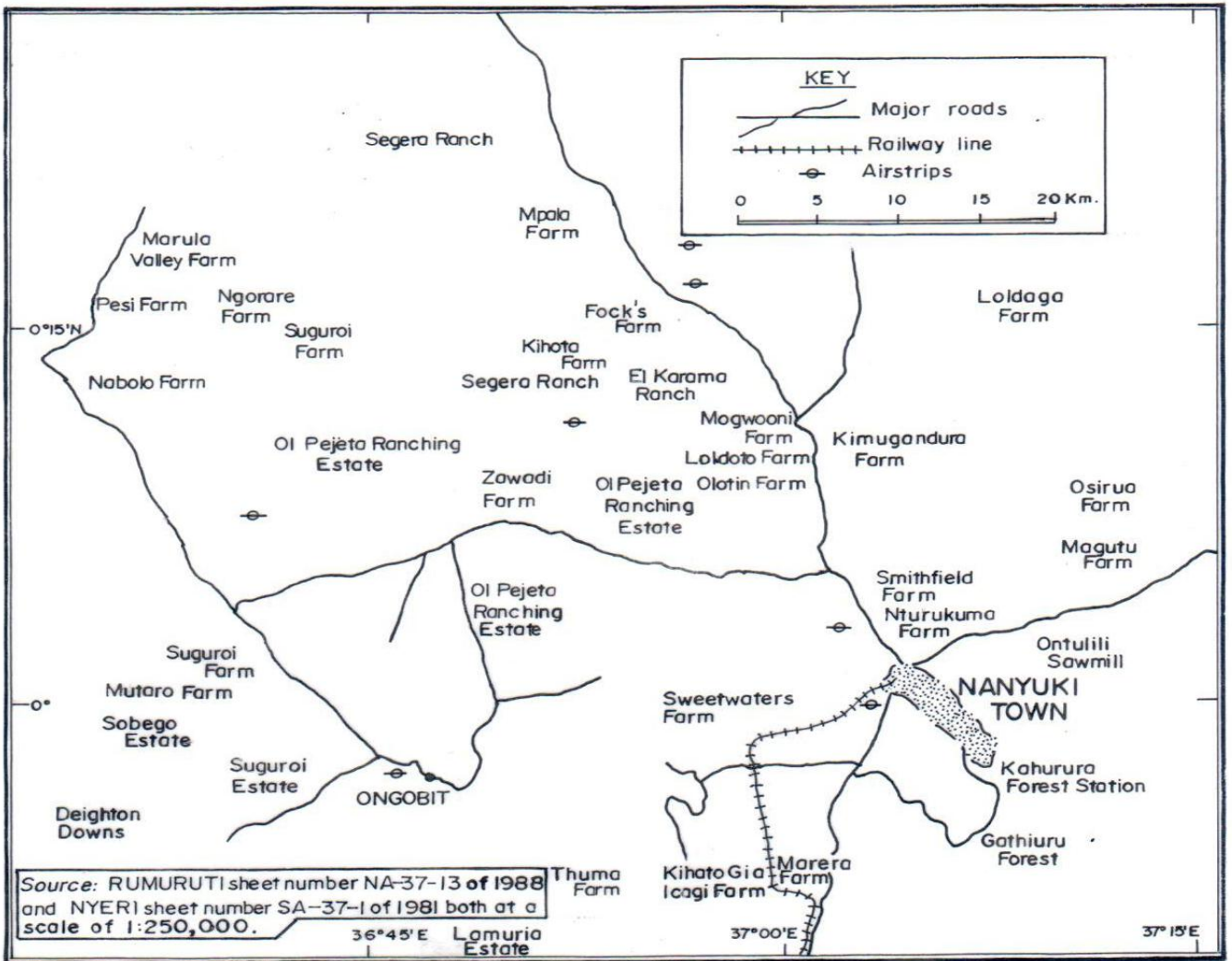
Figure 1: MAP SHOWING THE POSITION OF NANYUKI TOWN IN KENYA



Map showing the location of Nanyuki Town in Kenya

Source: Adapted from Nanyuki 107/3 topographical map at 1:50,000 of 1976.

Figure 2: MAP SHOWING NANYUKI AND ADJACENT FARMS



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

AR	African Rifles
DC	District Commissioner
EAEP	East Africa Educational Publishers
EALB	East Africa Literature Bureau
EAPH	East African Publishing House
IBEA Co.	Imperial British East Africa Company
KAR	Kings African Rifles
KCC	Kenya Cooperative Creamaries
KNA	Kenya National Archives
NFA	Nanyuki Farmers Association
NFD	Northern Frontier District
O I	Oral Informant
PC	Provincial Commissioner
SFG	Special Farm Guards
SSS	Soldier Settlement Scheme
TPR	Tribal Police Reserve

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Colonial Urbanization	Refers to the establishment of towns either as trading centres or administrative posts by the British government.
Indian Exodus	A large number of the Indians opted to go back to their country. They sold their properties and left due to uncertainty on whether the policies of the African leaders would favor them.
Posho	An Indian term for flour. It was used to refer to flour or food given to farm workers in the colonial period.
The Black Sea	A bad patch on Mr. Paice's farm with black cotton soil which was impassable during the rainy season. As a result, travelers to and from Nyeri frequently had to be hosted by Paice when their wagons got stuck.
Screening	The term used by colonial authorities to mean the interrogation of Mau Mau suspect. The alleged member or sympathizer of Mau Mau would be interrogated in order to obtain an admission of guilt—specifically, a confession that they had taken the Mau Mau oath.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

This study explores the emergence of Nanyuki Town as an important economic and military hub. The study was done to provide a historical understanding of urbanization process in the colonial period in Nanyuki. Although urbanization has become an important part of Kenya's colonial and post colonial historiography and a sizeable number of works exist, Nanyuki had not received adequate historical attention. Nanyuki covers an area of 34,500 acres or about 133 square kilometers with an estimated urban population of 330,000 people as per the census in the year 2009. This is an over one hundred percent population increase as compared to a population of 33,000 by 1963. Geographically, Nanyuki town is located in the Rift Valley Province and it lies on the slopes of Mount Kenya along the terminus of the railway branch from Nairobi.¹

In the 1880's the inland areas of Kenya comprised of both nomadic and sedentary pastoral forms of production which were complementary. This however changed with the coming of Europeans who sought to acquire land for themselves in Kenya. It is in line with this change that Nanyuki was officially gazetted as a township in November 1920. This gazette came after the establishment of the Soldier Settlement Scheme in 1919, in an effort to increase European settlement in Kenya. Duder and Youe observe that elaborate schedules of administrators and civil servants to staff the town were also drawn up in the year 1920. This was in addition to the setting up of the basic facilities needed such as the administrative offices, the streets and shopping centres, the hospitals and schools.²

The railway branch line reached Nanyuki in 1930, leading to the transfer of Laikipia District headquarters from Rumuruti to Nanyuki in 1931. The then Governor, Percy Girouard argued that settlers needed land that was closer to the railway to facilitate easy transport of surplus to Nairobi and to ease communication for the Europeans. More Europeans could now settle in

¹ Republic of Kenya: Laikipia District Development Plan, 2002-2010, p. 2

² C. J. D. Duder, and C. P. Youe, 'Paice's Place: Race and Politics in Nanyuki District, Kenya, in the 1920s,' *African Affairs* (1994), p. 253-278.

Nanyuki. The construction of the railway line however, stopped at Nanyuki as the colonial government did not consider the arid and semi arid parts of Kenya resourceful at the time therefore their infrastructure was not developed.

Settlement therefore according to Maughan-Brown came about as a coincidence from the metropolitan government's desire to recoup the cost of the Uganda railway and the apparent suitability of the highlands of Kenya for European farming.³ However, as Sorrenson has pointed out the need to make the protectorate financially stable which involved attracting settler immigrants and capital investments conflicted with the obligation to provide for the welfare of the inhabitants. This was the case in Nanyuki which was to be scheduled as a white settler domain.⁴

According to Kitching, 'settlement spread by a process of kinship, fission and colonization.' Thus, aside from the massive abundance of land which made land tenure rules redundant, pre-colonial Kenya lacked by definition the pre-requisite of anything which can meaningfully be termed "a system of land tenure."⁵ Nanyuki similarly lacked this definition. Although prior to the British administration there was undoubtedly some occupation and use of land in Nanyuki mainly for grazing and obtaining salt for cattle. This was noted by Commissioner G.W. Pease who was also a settler in the Mweiga area.⁶ As observed by Dutto, the boundary between the kikuyu and Maasai was not clear-cut. It was therefore not unusual for the Maasai to raid as far south as Karatina or for the Kikuyu to raid as far north as Nanyuki. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that even though the area was not permanently settled, it was intermittently occupied and utilized by Kikuyu and Maasai.

As a result of the two Anglo- Maasai treaties, the Maasai were moved into reserves to create room for what Sir Eliot referred to as a 'white man's country.' The first treaty was signed in 1904. According to the first Maasai treaty, the Maasai 'decided on their own free will' to move into definite reservations away from the railway line. The treaty was to be enduring for as long as the Maasai existed. The promises of the treaty were only partially fulfilled. Two reserves were set aside, one on the Laikipia Plateau estimated to be 4,770 square miles and

³ D. Maughan-Brown, *Land, Freedom and Fiction; History and Ideology in Kenya* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1985), pp.65-105.

⁴ M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Origins of European Settlement in Kenya*, (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968) Introduction.

⁵ B. Bruce, *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya, The Dialectic of Domination*, (Nairobi: E.A.E.P.Ltd, 1990), pp.49-50.

⁶ C.A. Dutto, *Nyeri Townsman Kenya*, (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1975), p.14.

the other south of the railway at Ngong' estimated to be 4,350 square miles. As noted by Sorrenson there was no complete survey of the reserve boundaries before 1911 when the second treaty was signed providing for the removal of the Maasai from Laikipia to an extended southern reserve.

Sorrenson argues that with the death of Lenana on 7th March 1911, Sir Percy Girouard the then colonial Governor wasted no time in exploiting Lenana's 'dying injunction.'⁷ Girouard assembled the Maasai representatives – Lengalishu from Laikipia and a relative of Lenana from the southern reserve and secured their consent over the move. The treaty was approved by Harcourt the District Commissioner on 29 May 1911 and in June, under Sir Girouard's control, the Maasai started to move from Laikipia. In April 1913, Sir Belfield, the British Governor who succeeded Sir Girouard, was able to report that the movement had been completed.⁸

The beginning of World War I in 1914 was marked by a shift in European interests with more attention being placed on the need for the colonies to support the empires through provisions and the recruitment of men to fight during the war. At the beginning of 1919, the colonial government came up with the Soldier Settlement Scheme with the aim of increasing Kenya's white settler population. It is with regards to the scheme that areas such as Nanyuki, Sotik Uasin Gishu, Laikipia, and Kitale became white settlement areas. The first ex-soldiers started settling in Nanyuki at the start of 1921. Only a few soldiers however, cared to invest in a district that was considered 'remote.' According to Duder and Youe, by the end of 1921 only 73 land owners were in Nanyuki.⁹ The scheme had specified that applicants had to have at least £1000 as capital to develop their farms. Duder avers that this high amount of money essentially limited participation to the wealthy. The study by Duder and Youe provides an elaborate understanding of the development of Nanyuki District from 1921 when it was scheduled as a white settlement area to the time of Kenya's independence in 1963.¹⁰

⁷ M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Origins of European Settlement in Kenya*, (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 194-205

⁸ Ibid

⁹ C. J. D. Duder, and C. P. Youe, 'Paice's Place: Race and Politics in Nanyuki District, Kenya, in the 1920s,' *African Affairs* (1994), p. 253-278

¹⁰ Ibid.

Currently, the town is a market centre for farms, ranches, game parks and wildlife conservancies in the region. It acts as a base for people seeking to climb Mount Kenya. Climbers and backpackers visit North Nyeri on their way to or from Mount Kenya along the Sirimon and Burguret routes. Due to its proximity to this well known snow capped and rugged mountain, the town has many hotels among them the famous Mount Kenya Safari Club and the Sportsman's Arms Hotel. Next to the Sportsman Arms Hotel is the Nanyuki Sports Club which is adjacent to the Agricultural Society of Kenya grounds the British military training base.

Nanyuki derives its name from the Maasai phrase *Engare Nanyuikie* which means 'The River of Blood.' This is attributed to the red colour of the river during rainy seasons as a result of the soil erosion from the mountains. Nanyuki has grown tremendously since the colonial days and is now a center for farms, ranches, game parks and conservancies. It is also the main base for the Kenya Air Force and also a training area for the British Army. The biggest activity in Nanyuki area today is wildlife conservation and internationally known conservancies abound. For instance, the Ol Pajeta Conservancy, a 90,000 acre private conservancy located between the foothills of the Aberdares and Mt. Kenya. The conservancy is 14 kilometers from Nanyuki town, along the Nanyuki – Nairobi road.

The Ol Pajeta conservancy is home to the so called "big five" animals. The conservancy boasts of being the largest black rhino sanctuary in the country. In addition is the Lewa Conservancy which is spread over 55,000 acres, 65 kilometers North of Nanyuki. Lewa dedicates itself to the conservation of the black and white rhinos. Other activities at Lewa include: game drives, bush walks, bird watching, sundowners, educational tours and bush meals. Other tourist attractions are the Sweetwaters Game Reserve, Solio Ranch, Aberdare National Park and the Mount Kenya National park. Currently, Nanyuki can also be reached by air through the Nanyuki airstrip which was built in 1945.¹¹ The town has become the headquarters of Laikipia County, and this makes it an important administrative point. It has also registered huge growth in the tourism industry and this has brought plenty of economic growth and amenities in the town. Such amenities include major banks, supermarkets such as Nakumatt Supermarket, schools, hospitals, bars and restaurants.¹² Some of the descendants of the early colonial settlers in Nanyuki still live in or around the town. The town has grown to

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

become the market centre for farms, ranches, game parks and wildlife conservancies in the region.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Nanyuki town is an important economic and military post in Kenya. The history of Nanyuki town, its development, resources and contribution had not been studied adequately. This study provides an elaborate history of Nanyuki town in the colonial period.

1.3 Research Objectives

The study was guided by the following broad objective;

To examine the urbanization process in Nanyuki town in the colonial period

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- 1) To outline the early history of Nanyuki area to 1920
- 2) To examine the commercial development of Nanyuki town from 1921
- 3) To assess Nanyuki town during the emergency period in Kenya
- 4) To examine the effects of leisure in Nanyuki in the colonial period.

1.4 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- 1) How was Nanyuki district and town established?
- 2) What factors contributed to the commercial development of Nanyuki town?
- 3) What was the contribution of inhabitants of Nanyuki during the emergency period in Kenya?
- 4) What were the effects of leisure to the development of Nanyuki town in the colonial period?

1.5 Justification of the Study

The fact that Kenya's social and economic problems in the present era are increasingly identified as urban, gave greater necessity to research into the history of Nanyuki town.

Aseka urges historians “not to be complacent with general urban accounts conveyed non-historically and in strictly behavioural terms.”¹³

This study sought to provide a historical understanding of patterns and processes of change in Nanyuki District in the colonial period. It also aimed at availing information on the history of the town. It was intended to fill the gap left in the past so that the dynamics behind the development of Nanyuki District are explained in terms of political, social and economic growth historically. The result of the research will serve as a basis for further research on colonial urbanization.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study focused on the history of Nanyuki town in the colonial period. In 1921, Nanyuki was designated a Soldier Settlement Scheme by the colonial government in Kenya. This was as a result of the 1919 Soldier Settlement Scheme; an attempt by the British government to increase Kenya’s white settler population by providing land to the veterans of the First World War. Therefore, the history of Nanyuki District may be deemed to have begun in this period. Formal colonialism ended in Kenya in 1963 and consequently, the study assumed that colonial urban policies came to an end in that year. Subsequently, the policies were to reflect African management. The study was limited by the fact that this is the colonial history of Nanyuki, a period when Nanyuki was a scheduled area and therefore, its findings may not be applicable to other districts.

1.7. Literature Review

The focus of this review is colonial urbanization in Kenya, its development and characteristics as discussed by various scholars and the link between these works and the area of study. The standard United Nations definition of an urban centre is a settlement with more than 20,000 persons who are engaged in non-agricultural activities. While this might not be the case for all towns especially in the colonial period, the reviewed literature outlines the various perspectives under which urbanization process has taken place in Kenya. It also examines some of the gaps that are yet to be filled in the studies carried out and the relevance

¹³ E.M. Aseka, ‘Urbanisation,’ in, W.R., Ochieng’ (Ed), *Themes in Kenyan History*, (Nairobi: E.A.E.P., 1990), pp. 44-67.

of these studies in relation to the study of Nanyuki. The review is limited to Kenya starting with earliest centres ever created at the coast.

1.7.2. Colonial Urbanization in Kenya

The earliest towns to be developed in East Africa were confined to the coastal area of Swahili- Arab culture. Some of the largest towns included Mogadishu, Mombasa, Malindi and Zanzibar. As observed by E.B Martin, by 1500, Malindi town was already wealthy with her economy based on large plantations and extensive trading connections in the Indian Ocean.¹⁴ Similarly, Jan Mohammed's work on Mombasa town states that urban growth in Mombasa was largely a function of two vital processes. These are outlined as the expansion of the commercial sector in which Europeans and Asians played a major role in addition to the influx of migrant African labourers. Although these studies are among the earliest, they tend to have a bias to the coastal region. This leaves out the interior of East Africa which was generally presumed to have very little development.¹⁵

Morgan states that the colonial government established administrative settlements which attracted traders and settlers in the "White Highlands."¹⁶ Europeans thereby created small towns for economic, political and social reasons. As a result, a network of commercial centres then grew following the introduction of cash crops in some areas of peasant farming for instance in Kikuyuland. Morgan's observation relates closely to the development of Nanyuki town that was designated as a white settler domain in the colonial period. Morgan's work provides a background understanding to the study problem.

Hill observes that the railway construction during the colonial period paved way for greater development of urban centres in the interior of East Africa. In her book, Hill shows how and why the two major immigrant races; the Asians and the Europeans originally came to Kenya and explains that the building of the Uganda Railway was therefore the beginning of the opening up of the interior.¹⁷ O'Connor also contends that the railway construction played an important role in providing stimulus for European settlement. As a result of the railway

¹⁵ K. K. Janmohammed, 'Ethnicity in an Urban Setting ;A case study of Mombasa,' in , B.A. Ogot , (Ed.), Hadith 6, *History and Social Change in East Africa* , (Nairobi: East Africa Literature Bureau, 1976), pp186-206.

¹⁶W. T. W. Morgan, 'Urbanization in Kenya: Origins and Trends,' in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, No. 46 (Mar., 1969), pp. 167-178.

¹⁷ M.F., Hill , *The Permanent Way*, (Nairobi East African Literature Bureau , Reprinted , 1976)

construction, a number of towns emerged which acted as either termini or interior centers.¹⁸ O'Connor also notes that the railway similarly facilitated exploitation of potential areas for example the Kenya highlands and the development of collection centers. The railway construction and more precisely the extension of the railway branch line to Nanyuki in 1931 led to the movement of the headquarters of Laikipia District from Rumuruti to Nanyuki thereby facilitating more settlement and development of Nanyuki.

Ominde observes that the rapid rate of growth of urban population and problems raised by the general trend are among the most important areas of interest to policy makers. However, Ominde contends that the nature of urbanization problems is hampered by the uncertainties over definition and the changing or imprecise boundaries. According to Ominde data on some centers that qualify as urban settlement is scanty.¹⁹ More specifically, information on smaller urban centers such as Nanyuki has little known. Likewise, Ominde notes that during the three censuses, 1948, 1962 and 1969, the population of Nanyuki grew from 4,090, to 10, 448; to 11,624 respectively. The trend is observed to be the same if not higher in other towns like Kericho, Nyeri, Thika and Kitale.²⁰

Lonsdale states that in colonial Kenya, towns were controlled by either Europeans or Asians. That there was no dominant culture to which Africans could assimilate. Lonsdale however affirms that although they were small in size and few in number, Kenyan towns were different from each other. Lonsdale's observation provides useful insight to the understanding of the uniqueness of Nanyuki as a town, its early history and development despite the general similarities.²¹

Waweru argues that colonial patterns and conditions of urbanization in Kenya have been restricted to major towns. In redressing this neglect, he focuses his study on the historical development of urban centres in Samburu District. He examines and analyses the roles of these 'embryonic towns.' Waweru's work similarly provides a comparison to the study of Nanyuki which in the colonial period was considered a small urban centre that lay on the

¹⁸A.M. O'Connor, 'New Railway Construction and the Pattern of Economic Development in East Africa,' (Institute of British Geographers Transactions No.36, 1965)

¹⁹S. Ominde, *The Population of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda*, (Nairobi: Heinemann Publishers,1975), p. 93.

²⁰ Ibid., pp.102 -104

²¹ J. Lonsdale, 'Town Life in Colonial Kenya,' in, A., Burton (Ed.), *The Urban Experience in Eastern Africa Ca.. 1750-2000*, (Nairobi: British Institute in Eastern Africa, 2002), pp207-222.

periphery next, to the Northern Frontier Districts (NFD). However, the ‘embryonic towns’ described by Waweru had nothing to do with the white highlands which were scheduled areas for European settlers.²²

According to Aseka, the process of urbanization in Kenya dates back to the pre-colonial period. The point of a ‘central metropolis’ as discussed by Aseka puts emphasis on how the ruling elite coordinated their activities from a central urban centre in the pre-colonial period. Aseka gives the example of the origin of Mumias town under Nabongo Mumia in 1870. Elsewhere, Aseka observes that slave- trading and massive migrations provided the development of urban life in parts of East Africa’s interior. However, in Aseka’s view, patterns of pre-colonial urbanization at the coast were different from those of the interior because, those at the coast were mostly city states that were administratively autonomous, for example Mombasa, Malindi and Lamu.²³

The colonial era according to Aseka witnessed a major reversal of the direction of major economic attraction from the coast to the interior as a result of European imperialism. Other important caravan towns such as Taveta, Dagorretti, Machakos, Tsavo, Ngong, Ulu, Mumoni, Bura, Kikumbuliu and Kitale were averted. These towns served the purpose of establishing a bridgehead with the surrounding communities in order to keep the caravan routes open and secure food. Colonial urban centers as stated by Aseka were results of externally oriented economic development. By 1895, the Imperial East African Company (herein after IBEA Co.) had divided the country into provinces and districts each with an administrative centre. Almost all the first administrative centers were those used by the company. They included: Malindi, Port Durford, Lamu, Witu, Mombasa, Tsavo, Kibwezi, Machakos, Kikuyu, Naivasha, Eldama Ravine, Mumias and Vanga. But after the company was liquidated, administration stations established between 1895 and 1905 were Nairobi, Ngong, Rumuruti, Kasungu, Kericho and Kisumu. Still, more stations were established between 1905 and 1912. These included Embu, Marsabit, Moyale, Kisii, Eldoret and Marakwet.

²² P. Waweru, ‘Frontier Urbanization; the Rise and Development of Towns in Samburu District , Kenya, 1909-1940,’ in, A. Burton (Ed.), *The Urban Experience in Eastern Africa Ca. 1750-2000*, pp. 85-97

²³ E.M. Aseka, ‘Urbanisation,’ in, W.R., Ochieng’ (Ed.), *Themes in Kenyan History*, (Nairobi: E.A.E.P, James Currey, Reprinted, 1993), pp. 44-50

Aseka observes that an even greater rate of urban growth was witnessed in Kenya in the period prior to independence and thereafter. That from 1948 to 1969, the African population in urban centres increased from 53 to 81 percent. From 1962-1959, the rate of urban population growth was 7.3 percent per year. Aseka explains that these trends were as a result of the removal of previous restrictions on movement for Africans. However, following a period of an almost uncontrollable rural-urban influx, the Vagrancy Act of 1968 was enacted to get rid of loafers in cities. Aseka's views relate closely to the process of urbanization in Nanyuki and allude to the study of the processes and patterns of change in Nanyuki in the colonial period.

The history of Machakos town provides a comparison source for the study on Nanyuki town. Machakos, "the place of Machakos" a Kamba elder who ruled over parts of Ukambani in the middle of the 19th century was first established as a halting place and administrative post in 1890 by the representatives of IBEA Co. The first three administrators of Machakos were Latrobe Bateman (also known as 'Katembi') Mr. Keith (also known as 'Kikombe') and John Ainsworth ('Kithouni'). These were names given to them by the Kamba people based on the characters of these European administrators.²⁴ Ainsworth built the fort in Machakos in 1893.²⁵ At about the same time Reverend Stuart Watt, a missionary, established his fruit farm at Ngelani. The farms later became the property of the Langridge family and home of the fruit and jam industry in Kenya. Stuart also introduced eucalyptus and wattle into the district. Wheat was first grown in Machakos in 1895 by C.M.S. Missionaries. There is a great similarity between the towns especially with the coming of white settlers such as Loblam and Wilson in 1913, who set up the first European store and post office in Machakos. They can be compared to Mrs. Gascoigne and Arnold Paice commonly referred to as 'the pioneers' of Nanyuki.

Eldama Ravine is yet another old administrative centre established in Kenya in 1890's by IBEA Co. It was one of the main halting places on the caravan route from the Coast to Uganda. Eldama Ravine was first known as shaman "the place in the hollow" but by 1895, F.J. Jackson, the then administrator, also known as Sir Fredrick Jackson, moved the

²⁴ It was common for the settlers to be given nicknames by the various communities where they settled or administered. These nicknames were sometimes a reflection of their character or a mockery of their physique.

²⁵ J. Anderson, & F. Moore (Eds), *They made it their Home*, (Nairobi: Majestic Printing Works Limited, Reprinted, 1993), pp10-11

administrative centre to the hillside. Lord Delamere and his porters arrived at Eldama Ravine in 1897. Delamere climbed the Lamasia escarpment and saw for the first time the miles of rolling land which he would later occupy. He went on the Laikipia and then to England. He returned two years later to become the leader and inspiration of European farming in Kenya²⁶

The railway reached Nairobi in May, 1899 and Col. John Ainsworth moved to the growing town together with the administration which was formally based in Machakos.²⁷ By 1904 new settlers were arriving in numbers and more than one hundred British settlers from South Africa and the United Kingdom had taken up land in and around Nairobi under the British Government Settlement Scheme. As early as 1900 the Indian Bazaar was built in Nairobi. The city of Nairobi bore some resemblance to the little township of Nanyuki as both towns developed as a result of the construction of the railway line.

Karen Blixen came to East Africa with her husband Baron Carl Von Blixen in 1913. They bought the 6,000 acres farm near the Ngong Hills which they named Karen. Likewise, another part of Nairobi that developed quite early is Muthaiga named after the tree whose bark the Maasai used to distil poison for their arrows. Muthaiga was originally an estate of some 5000 acres which Colonel John Ainsworth, the then Commissioner for Nairobi, persuaded G. Sandbach Backer to acquire from the government in 1901. Sandbach Backer was in the dairy industry in England and he continued the same in his land at Muthaiga. As early as 1904, Baker won seven first places for dairy produce at the Nairobi Agricultural show and Mombasa.²⁸

Njoro believed to mean 'cool waters' in the Maasai language is an appropriate name given to the place where Lord Delamere built the Equator Ranch in 1904. Njoro is, thanks to Lord Delamere, the waddle of wheat production in Kenya. He planted his first wheat crop in 1904 and over the next four years experimented with various types of grains until in 1908 he harvested a good crop from 300 acres. There were other early pioneers in the Njoro district who contributed to the growth of mixed farming in Kenya. Berkeley Cole, a brother -in -law of Lord Delamere, bought 10,000 acres in 1905 and grew wheat, barley, oats and potatoes

²⁶Ibid., pp.14-15.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 18-19.

²⁸ E. Huxley and A. Curtis (Eds), *Pioneers Scrapbook, Reminiscences of Kenya 1890 to 1968*(London: Evans Brotherhood Limited,1980) pp.18-22.

successfully. By 1919, a large influx of settlers from other parts of the country had arrived to take up farms in the district, such as C. Grant. In 1920s, Lord Egerton of Tatton who had settled in the district earlier donated a gift of 800 acres of land to the establishment of a farm school. This later became the Egerton Agricultural College. Njoro is still the centre of wheat experiments and the good work began by Lord Delamere still continues at the government's Plant Breeding Station. The growth of wheat and the rearing of cattle in Njoro was similar to that of Nanyuki in the colonial period. This therefore serves as a complementary to the study on settlerdom in Nanyuki. Notably the wheat products were exported in large scale especially during the Second World War²⁹

Another settler town is Londiani. Londiani is a corruption of *L'Oldiani* a Maasai word meaning "Hill of Bamboos." From 1902 until the railway reached Eldoret in 1924, Londiani was the railhead for the numerous people who trekked to the Uasin Gishu and Kitale areas. Among the early pioneers who developed land in Londiani included: Lord Cranworth, Major J.J. Drought, Col. Ewart, Grogan and E.C Atkinson. Londiani was one of the first districts to grow pyrethrum and by 1938; it was the growing of pyrethrum crop which pulled the farmers in the area out of the Great Depression of the thirties.³⁰

Limuru district similarly attracted early settlers the first of whom arrived from Nairobi in 1903. Among the early settlers were G.W. L. "Willie" Caine and his brother who came in 1903 and P. Impey who started Hope Farm in 1904. They are said to have later established a well – known strain of Polo Ponies. "Willie" Caine is said to have imported tea seed from India in 1903 and planted a nursery from which he later planted acres of tea. Mr. Donell who arrived later in 1906 also planted tea. Brooke Bonds bought land in Limuru and formed the Kenya Tea Company. This is presumed to have been the commencement of the tea industry in Kenya. A few miles from Limuru Township is the Upland Bacon Factory also started by the settlers for the intake of pigs. In addition, one of the first girls' schools to be built in colonial Kenya was Limuru Girls School. This was done by A.B McDonnell who acted upon a suggestion by the administration that a school for the daughters of Limuru farmers should be built. He built the school in his own farm. What makes Limuru unique in comparison to Nanyuki is that the district grew tea and also had a bacon factory.

²⁹ Ibid., p.50

³⁰ Ibid., p.28

The name Kisumu is derived from the Luo word *kisumo* meaning “the place one goes to get ones’ needs.” When the first European arrived in Kisumu, the town is said to have been uninhabited although early explorers found signs of abandoned dwellings on the ridges. The flat plain by the lake shore was selected as a suitable place for a railway terminus but it had many disadvantages especially from the health perspective. Kisumu Town lay at an altitude of 3,700 feet above sea level and Black Water Fever and Malaria took a heavy toll of the officials who were stationed there. The headquarters of Nyanza Province was moved from Mumias to Kisumu in 1900. Up until April 1902 to the present day, Nyanza and Rift Valley Provinces had been a part of the Uganda Protectorate. In 1902, Nicol who was the mother of Mr George Nicol of Kipkabus made a return journey by train from Mombasa to Kisumu and described Kisumu as follows;

Consists of a few protectorate officials’ houses and the native bazaar, round shaped huts, thatched with long dried grass and ending in a bunch of long shift tassel at the top...In time, Kisumu as a town is to be done away with and the bazaar e.t.c. moved up to the hill above Port Florence as it is a healthier spot.³¹

This recommendation was acted upon to create the present Kisumu town. Kisumu has developed from the time of Major Robert Foran who came in 1904 to Mr. P.H. Clarke the only European businessman at the time to the present. Okumu observes that Kisumu is the third largest city in Kenya today. Kisumu has grown according to Okumu into an administrative centre for Nyanza province which produces most of Kenya’s sugar, cotton and fish. What makes Kisumu exclusive is the fact that it connects the rest of Kenya to Tanzania and Uganda through the shared Lake Victoria. The study on development of Kisumu therefore provides insight to the study of Nanyuki in the colonial period.³²

Eldoret town known in the early days of settlement as “64;” is a busy thriving town and the main commercial centre of the Uasin Gishu plateau. In 1907, the then Post-master General Mr. Gosling made a safari in the plateau to establish a post office. After touring the area and

³¹ A.A. Okumu, ‘The Urban History of Kisumu, Kenya: Aspects of Social and Economic Changes from 1900 - 1980,’ M.Phil. Thesis, (Moi University, May 1996) p.12-13

³² Ibid., p.3

studying the farms not yet taken up for development he chose Farm 64 as a central place for the district post office. In 1912, “64” was given the name of Eldoret by Sir Percy Girouard, who was the governor of the colony at the time. Governor Percy had paid a visit to the district and called a meeting of the settlers to decide upon a name for the township.³³ After many suggestions, it was agreed upon that as the river flowing through the town was the *Eldore* and as it flowed towards the Nandi, border, where all names ended in the letter “T” it should be called Eldoret.

The Van Rensburg Trek was the first large influx of pioneers from South Africa to Kenya. The party consisting of forty seven families is alleged to have reached Mombasa on 18 June 1908, and then they travelled using wagons to Eldoret.³⁴ J.C Cloete who had come with the first trek went back to South Africa and returned at the head of the second large trek in 1911. The Afrikaners landed at Mombasa with 120 head of cattle, 800 sheep and 100 horses including 25 mares. They moved by train from Mombasa to Londiani and later followed the new wagon trail which had been opened up in 1909. By this time, a number of pioneers had sunk all their capital in the farms. The long transport haul by the Afrikaners in addition to the cattle and plant diseases which took a toll on the cattle and crops made farming in Eldoret difficult and expensive. However settlement continued giving rise to the flourishing agricultural town of Eldoret. Notably, the Afrikaners also moved and formed a part of the settlers in Nanyuki in the inter-war years.

According to Huxley, “Mau Summit was an uninhabited area when the settlers first arrived except for very few Wandorobo.”³⁵ The first European to settle in Mau Summit was Major J.J. Drought. He built a small wooden house and reared cattle to supply milk to the railway constructors. The Mau Summit station was said to have been the highest point on the Kenya Railway about 8,300 feet above sea level. The distinctiveness of Mau Summit town was the fact that it was where the Women’s Territorial Service of East Africa was formed and where women soldiers trained from 1930 until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. This was the first colonial women unit ever formed and later it was recognized in the U.K as a full military unit with fully commissioned officers.

³³J. Anderson,& F. Moore(Eds), *They made it Their Home*, p.16

³⁴ Ibid., pp.17-18.

³⁵ Ibid., pp.103-104.

When Joseph Thomson the explorer reached the fertile valley backed by distinctive hills and landscape, he noted in his diary his arrival to *Olgiligili*. Joseph noted that habitation in Gilgil dated back to pre-history. The relics of which have been found at the Kariandusi prehistoric site above Lake Elementaita. Galbraith Cole; husband to Lady Eleanor Cole who built the Church of Good Will in Gilgil arrived in the district in 1905. In 1907, he imported into the country several sheep, a Guernsey bull and two short-horn bulls from Australia which he reared in his farm. Sheep farming in Gilgil is said to have begun in 1904 when the East African Syndicate imported a shipment of crossbred sheep from Australia and New Zealand and started sheep rearing for wool on a large scale. This remains a major economic activity in the town in addition to rearing of beef cattle and the cultivation of wheat, barley and pyrethrum in the upper Gilgil district. One similarity of Gilgil and Nanyuki town now is that from the colonial period both towns had barracks set up in them for the purposes of military habitation and training. Therefore, urbanization process of Nanyuki can be compared to that of Gilgil.

The Ol Kalou district was not opened up for settlement until 1916, when the Syndicate commissioned Stanley of Coverdale and Company to survey a number of farms for sale. The first settler to buy the newly surveyed farms was Miss Margaret Collyer, an English artist whose brother had been a district commissioner in the protectorate. In her book, "*The Life of an Artist*,"³⁶ Miss Collyer describes her incredibly lonely life on her farm named "Chatu" where she was surrounded by game of all kinds with no neighbors or roads. Later other settlers such as Mr. W.G. Pattern who had been a District Commissioner bought land near Chatu. In the early 1920's, flax was grown in Ol Kalou as the main crop but the prices of flax went down during the Second World War. This promoted the latter farmers to now grow wheat, barley and oats. The early thirties are observed to have been difficult years for the farmers in Ol Kalou. They experienced floods which were later followed by drought and locust invasions. Farming was at low ebb in Ol Kalou in the 1930's., When the Second World War started, most of the men volunteered for service and the women kept the farms going. Machinery which was previously difficult to obtain now became available to cope with the government's plan to grow food on a large scale. Just like Ol Kalou, Nanyuki is said to have also experienced low ebb during the Second World War in addition to the locust invasion.

³⁶ E. Huxley, *Settlers of Kenya*, (Nairobi: Highway Press, 1948), p.19.

Kericho is also another settler area which was noted due to its heavy rainfall and acid soils that are ideal for the growing of tea. The first tea bush was planted in 1906, by the then acting D.C Mr. Dobbs near the site of the present Kericho prison. Cara Buxton planted tea on Kapkorech Estate in 1916. Then in 1919, Butter field put down tea nurseries at Ngoina and later at Jimji Estates in Kericho. Some years later these estates are said to have come under the Brooke Bond Group. In 1924, Capt. T.N. Derby planted tea bushes on Kericho Estate on behalf of Messrs Brooke Bond and Company Limited. Also about that time Messrs, James Finlay and Company cleaned the land for African Highlands Produce Company. Similarly, the Buret Tea Company came into being in 1925, followed by the Mau Forest Tea Estate and Kaisugu Limited. The first large scale commercial tea growing was started at Kericho in 1924 and by 1932, the acreage had increased to over 12,000. Conversely, in 1933, progress was halted by Kenyans participation in the International Tea Restriction Scheme, which insisted on the maintenance level. This resulted in the prohibition of extension of acreages under tea in addition to the prohibition of export of tea seeds from India. In the early days, all the initial planting and preparation of land was done by hand labour however, today the industry is highly mechanized and provides employment to about 30,000 Africans.³⁷ In addition, at Timbilil stands the Tea Research Institute started soon after independence, where soil is analyzed and diseases peculiar to tea are studied. The concept of colonial capitalism adopted in the study tries to explain some of the restrictions placed by the colonial government to ensure that Africans had minimal participation in international trade.³⁸

Some forty miles south of Kericho lies the Sotik settled area. Sotik was a no-man's land before the Europeans arrived. That the Kipsigis and Kisii tribes were constantly at war with each other and in 1902 the government came up with the idea of forming a "buffer state" between the warring tribes. As a result the area was surveyed into farms for sale to European settlers, the first of whom arrived in Sotik from 1904. Initially like other settled areas there was limited development of the farms due to no roads or bridges and the long distance from the railhead at Limuru. It was not until 1912 when the farmers with the help of a grant from the government built a wagon road from Sotik to Kericho thereby opening up Sotik for development.

³⁷ <http://www://kerichotown.com>.

³⁸ The International Tea Restriction Scheme was stated by the British Government to ensure maintenance of quality exports from their colonies while also limiting the participation of tea growing to the white settlers.

Among the early settlers in Sotik were Major B.F. Wett and William Robinson. Wett bought a farm on the border of the Kisii reserve and did much to encourage the development of the district while Mr. Robinson lived in Sotik nearly fifty years, and imported the first hounds into the district from South Africa. He was among those who pioneered flux farming and built a factory in Sotik. Although the European farms separated the two tribes, there were still frequent clashes. These skirmishes were termed by Major Wett as tiresome but an inevitable part of life in Sotik.

A few miles south of Sotik is the Kisii highlands which was first established as a government station in 1907, when a District Commissioner was appointed to administrate South Kavirondo. This was a vast area which included the Kisii highlands and all the Luo country stretching eastwards to the border of Maasai land. It is believed that the Kisii, a Bantu tribe, formally known as Abagusii came to the district from the north some two hundred years ago and settled in the highlands of Kisii.³⁹ The first European to settle in Kisii was R. Gethin, who is said to have made a reconnaissance safari through the area in 1912. During the First World War, Gethin played a prominent role in the evacuation and re-occupation of the station when German troops invaded the district from Tanganyika. A battle was fought and the several graves in the township are a reminder of the incident that took place during the First World War.

In the mid 1920's, gold prospecting began in Gori area, south of Kisii town. The pioneers of gold mining in the Gori area were Major Lathbury, Messrs. Riddoch and Maxwell and Major B.F. Webb. Similarly, Sir Northrup McMillan pioneered gold prospecting on the Lolgoriech Belt. Unfortunately, excessive transport costs in those early days hampered this first attempt to establish a gold industry in Kenya. The history of the development of Kisii town provides useful insight to the proposed study perhaps with one major similarity of the graves of many soldiers who fought during both the First and the Second World Wars.

Naivasha has a momentous history dating from the early days of European settlement, when the first explorers to Kenya were followed by numerous caravans and deports. One of the earliest pioneers in Naivasha was H. Story who arrived in Kenya in 1897 and first worked for the railway. He opened a general store in Naivasha in 1902 and two years later built the Rift

³⁹E .Huxley and A. Curtis (Eds), *Pioneers* ,pp.84-86

Valley hotel with an accommodation for fourteen people. Until 1904, European settlement was vetoed in the Naivasha area as the Maasai are said to have been grazing their cattle in the Naivasha plains. The Anglo Maasai Treaty signed in 1904 by the Maasai and the colonial government made the Maasai move to Laikipia plateau, making way for European settlement.⁴⁰ Among the early pioneers to develop land in Naivasha were J.D. Hopcraft, who started Loldia, Farm on the north shore of Lake Naivasha, Knight and Clement who started Munyu Farm. They were later joined by others, Tom Chillingworth, Harvey and Barry and the Attenborough brothers. By 1902, many more settlers came and with the development of the tarmac road from Nairobi to Naivasha and the railway line, Naivasha town expanded.

Nakuru believed to mean ‘the place of dust or ‘storms or devils’ lies at the foot of the extinct crater of Menengai. European settlement started in the district in 1903. A year later the three Anderton brothers elected a wood and iron building in the Nakuru town and established themselves as general merchants, auctioneers and estate agents. The first hotel named the Nakuru Hotel and now known as Midland was built by Lord Delamere in 1906. The Rift Valley Sports Club had its original in a football match played between Nakuru and Nairobi in 1907 and in 1909, the first agricultural show which later became an annual event was held at Nakuru. Lord Delamere won a prize for wheat cultivation; a large silver cup which he had himself engraved, ‘The golden grain which leads to golden hopes.’⁴¹

By 1913, Nakuru and its immediate surroundings was dotted with European homesteads where pioneer farmers were developing the virgin land. In the same year a post office, two banks and a school had been opened. Thereafter, several Europeans and Indian businesses were established in addition to the collection of all farm produce which were being brought to KFA go down next to the railway ready for export. Currently, multi- storied buildings have replaced many of the pioneers’ simple dwellings and Nakuru has become an important business and administrative centre.

Another settlement area was Kinangop. The first European to settle on the Kinangop plateau was Captain Ernest Fey, who came to Kenya in 1906 from India and established his farm at Njabini on the south-eastern corner of the plateau. As soon as he settled in his home, Captain

⁴⁰ J. Fox, *White Mischief*, (London: Jonathan Cape Limited, 1982), pp.26-28.

⁴¹ Huxley and Curtis, *Pioneers*, pp.66-67.

Fey imported several pure bred horses and cattle from New Zealand and Australia as well as a pure bred Arab race- horse called “Talisman” from India. Land was cleared and soon the first fruit trees were planted and three acres of land were put under vegetables. In the post colonial period the district continues to produce large quantities of fruits and vegetables in the country. Kinangop area is currently the Aberdare National Park. A tarmac road constructed soon after independence in Kinangop replaced the foot track over which the early missionaries and pioneers travelled in the colonial period to Nyeri and Mt. Kenya; a journey which took three days to a week now takes only a few hours. The tarmac road constructed soon after independence enhanced the development of Nanyuki.

Kiambu is yet another settler town known for its coffee growers. In 1904 the first coffee is said to have been planted. P.J.H Coldham one of Kiambu’s oldest settlers recalls that dairying also played an important role in the development of Kiambu. Coldham came to Kiambu in 1906 and settled in his present farm Anmer in 1911 in partnership with George Bentley. Later in 1919, the farm is said to have been divided and Bentley side of the farm became known as Kabazi Estate owned by H.F. Ward. The town is said to be growing swiftly and to maintain the high quality coffee for which Kiambu remains famous, many plantations in the present day use overhead irrigation.⁴²

In her book, Huxley⁴³ gives a vivid picture of Thika District as it was in 1910 when she lived there with her parents. Thika was one of the earliest settled districts and was proved as a suitable area for the cultivation of coffee and sisal. The initial experiment of growing pineapple for canning started in Thika. In recent years, Thika has developed into an industrial area supplementary to Nairobi and many factories have been established in the town. Similarly to Thika, Nanyuki town proved to be a suitable place for the growth of sisal and the settlers developed the sisal industries.

Turbo lies in the Nandi salient and was first opened to European settlement in 1906, when the government included the area in the “buffer state” set up between the Uganda Railway and the Nandi community after the Nandi Rebellion of 1905.⁴⁴ Turbo is said to have its origin from the Nandi word *Turobo* meaning rain. The name Turbo is also supposed to have had its

⁴² Ibid. pp. 76-78.

⁴³ E. Huxley, ‘Introduction, *The Flame Trees of Thika*, (Nairobi: Highway Press 1960).

⁴⁴ <http://www.nandicommunity.com>.

origin in this small turbine installed by L.A. Johnson to work his flax factory. The first whiteman to set foot in the Turbo – Kipkaren area was Joseph Thomson. In 1883, the area is said to have been uninhabited and was used only as a battle ground between the Maasai and Nandi communities. A few hunters, traders and pioneer farmers arrived in the buffer state between 1909 and 1910. However settlement in Turbo was hampered by the period of drought, the locust invasion and the Great Depression of 1930's which ruined many of the farmers' investment.

L.A. Johnson, one of the early pioneer farmers, came to the district with his wife in 1910. With eighteen porters who carried their possession, they are said to have walked from Londiani to Turbo where they took to farming like other settlers. However, Johnson decided to search for minerals deposit and it is alleged that he found gold in March 1931 at Kakamega. The above review of the various older settler towns in Kenya in the colonial period shows some similarities in the way land was occupied and developed. Although these histories of the various districts enrich the work on Nanyuki town or shows some similarities it is important to note that every district had its peculiarity.

In addition to the arrival and settlement of Europeans, colonial towns were dominated by European administration and most significantly their economic functions such as the development of industries, transport and trade. Ogonda in discussing the industrialization process in Kenya argues that among the earliest crops grown by European settlers on plantations were coffee, tea, sisal, wheat, maize, wattle and pyrethrum. However some of the settlers specialized in cattle rearing either for beef or dairy products. Ogonda states that Kenya's industrial development started with service industries especially for the railway and agricultural equipment. However, by 1905, some agricultural products had begun to be processed for local use.⁴⁵

It is on the same that Ogonda observes that the first co-operative creameries factory owned by District European Farmers became operational at Lumbwa in 1911, but the second was set up in 1926 in Naivasha. This was followed by five factories located at Mokendat (1926), Nanyuki (1927), Nyahururu (1934), Eldoret (1934) and Molo (1936). Although Ogonda does

⁴⁵ R.,T. Ogonda, 'Industrialisation,' in, W.R., Ochieng' (Ed.), *Themes in Kenyan History*, (Nairobi: E.A.E.P.L, James Currey, Reprinted, 1993), pp.68-69.

not give details with regards to the industries, the Nanyuki Creamery was among the earliest industries to be established in Nanyuki by the European settlers. Ogonda's work therefore provides a better understanding of the study problem as ranching was a major economic activity in Nanyuki in the colonial period.

On transport and communication, Ogonda, observes that the colonial period saw the extension of railway branch lines to Eldoret in (1924), Kitale (1926), Solai (1926), Eldoret-Uganda (1928), Nyahururu (1929), Nanyuki (1930) and Kisumu- Butere (1930). According to Ogonda, virtually all European communities in Kenya were located at a distance of not greater than 40 kilometers from a railhead. And many were within a distance of 24 kilometers. This helped facilitate the transportation of raw materials for export. However, he notes that a few settler areas had to rely first on road transport for example, the Sotik–Kericho area. Ogonda elaborates further that the former branch line to Mau Escarpment and Mau Narok receded to Gilgil due to what he termed as re-alignment. As a result, the track was lifted and used to patch the Nanyuki Branch. That a rail branch line was proposed to pass through Kericho to Sotik, but by 1931 the railway construction in Kenya was completed and no new lines have been built since.⁴⁶ Ogonda's article shows how the construction of the railway facilitated the opening up of the interior of East Africa leading to further exploitation of resources by the Europeans.

On Agriculture, Maxon states that the coming of the British colonial rule altered the traditional patterns of agriculture in Kenya. That despite loss of land and pressure put on African men by the colonial administration to leave home to work on settler plantations and farms. African agricultural production expanded becoming a potential competitor to the settler market. However, as Maxon observes the state favoured settler agriculture in terms of Kenya's export during and after the First World War. Although Maxon does not give specific examples, his argument relates to Nanyuki. As a settler region there was a lot of division with regards to the agricultural activities. Africans were allowed to keep a specific number of livestock and only grow subsistence crops.

⁴⁶ R.T. Ogonda, 'The Growth and Development of the Transport System,' in, W.R., Ochieng' (Ed.), *Themes in Kenyan History*, (Nairobi: E.A.E.P., James Currey, Reprinted, 1993), pp.156-174 .

According to Huxley, the end of the First World War marked the beginning of yet another phase of European settlement in Kenya. The key feature of this phase of settlement was the allocations of land to the demobilized soldiers under the ex-soldiers, settlement schemes.⁴⁷ In addition, Huxley and Ogonda state that new areas that were originally recognized as Africa reserves in Kericho- Sotik, Kaimosi, Kipkaren and Northern-Trans-Nzoia were also opened up for European settlement.⁴⁸ Nanyuki is only mentioned as a scheduled region for white settlement and this is a subject of investigation.

On the military, Parsons examines the inherent tensions in colonial military service by exploring the daily lives and aspirations of rank-and –file askaris⁴⁹. Parsons looks at the shifting social and economic stimuli that drew Africans into the colonial army and explores the unique culture of the Kings African Rifles (KAR) and its implications for the colonial soldiers as a class. According to Parsons a significant degree of social isolation was accomplished through the evolution of a distinct military culture that encouraged soldiers to see themselves as superior to African civilians. In chapter five, Parsons discusses the competition between the colonial army askaris and the African women in defining the nature of “family” within the context of military service. Parsons observes that many British soldiers viewed women as ‘sources of medical and political contamination,’ and defined the military family as ‘monogamous’. The book also analyses the demobilization of African ex-service men and Parsons explains that the governments found it difficult to return African service men to civilian responsibility, and points out that as a result African veterans of the Second World War were in the vanguard of the anti -colonial movement although there is little direct evidence for this assertion. Parsons’ work provides guidance to analyzing the role played by the military in the development of Nanyuki in the colonial period.⁵⁰

1.7.2. Conclusion

The reviewed literature provides a basis on which the proposed study borrows its comparative analysis. One major gap observed in the review is that despite its significance, Nanyuki is mentioned in passing by scholars. As a settler domain Nanyuki’s contribution needs to be analyzed critically. It is on this background that the study on Nanyuki was seen

⁴⁷E., Huxley, *Settlers of Kenya*, (Nairobi: Highway Press , 1948), p.19-24.

⁴⁸Ibid.,p.28

⁴⁹The Kiswahili word ‘Askari’ is derived from the Arabic term for army,

⁵⁰ T. Parsons, *The African Rank -and- File, Social Implications of Colonial Military Services in the Kings African Rifles, 1902-1964*, (Nairobi: E.A.E.P., 1999). p.9, pp.118-213.

necessary. This study used the strengths of the various scholars on the subject to enrich the work and looked at the weaknesses as points of correction for the study.

1.8. Theoretical Framework

For the purposes of this study the concept of colonial capitalism was employed. The concept tries to explain why capitalism had led to underdevelopment in some parts of the world and development in others. Scholars have argued that before the onset of European imperialism in the sixteenth century most parts of the world were basically at the same level of development. However, European expansion into the rest of the world from the sixteenth century led to various stages of capitalist penetration which contributed to the underdevelopment of the non-European world. This underdevelopment was perpetuated through mercantilism, formal colonialism and later on through neo-colonialism. Generally, colonial capitalism was characterized by the exploitation of the resources of non-European world for the development of the European world.

Rodney observes that Colonial Africa fell within that part of the international capitalist economy from which surplus was drawn to feed the metropolitan sector. As seen earlier, exploitation of land and labour is essential for human social advance, but only on the assumption that the product is made available within the area where the exploitation takes place. Colonialism was not merely a system of exploitation, but one whose essential purpose was to repatriate the profits to the so-called mother country. From an African viewpoint, that amounted to consistent expatriation of surplus produced by African labour out of African resources.

Studies on colonialism have tended to focus on two main issues: the nature of the colonial state and African resistance. Crawford Young⁵¹ has argued that the African colonial states derive their peculiarity from the fact that they enjoyed only some of the crucial attributes of the modern states which were created in the late nineteenth century, long after both the modern metropolitan state and the generic colonial states had been formed, thus there was no room for experimentation. All colonial states, irrespective of their ideologies and administrative systems, justified themselves in the names of civilization and pacification. Economic motivations of colonialism were persistently downplayed. Moreover, all colonial powers are noted to have used African intermediaries in their administrative systems because

⁵¹C. Young, "Colonialism in Africa - Typologies Of Colonialism," in , <http://www.colonialcapitalism.com>.

they lacked personnel and local knowledge and in order to minimize African resistance and administrative costs. They also used chartered companies in some of their colonies in the early years for example IBEACo. in East Africa.

It was not until Peter Ekeh⁵² published his influential essay "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa" that colonial civil society began to receive serious scholarly attention. He argued that colonialism created two publics that he called the primordial and civic publics, whose dialectical relationships accounted for the political problems of postcolonial Africa. The first public is associated with primordial groupings, sentiments, and activities; the second is associated with the colonial administration and is lacking the generalized moral imperatives operative in the private realm and in the primordial public. The two publics emerged because colonial ideologies of legitimating denigrated African societies and cultures and glorified European colonial rule, while African bourgeois ideologies of legitimating accepted colonial ideas and principles to justify the leadership of the elites in the fight against colonialism and the inheritance of the postcolonial state. Both ideologies envisaged and sought to separate the indigenous and colonial publics, in which different conceptions of citizenship, morality, and material expectations prevailed. Thus colonial civil society was characterized by the bifurcation of the public realm, which accounts for the centrality of ethnicity in African politics and the disjunction between the state and society that has bedeviled postcolonial Africa.

As observed by Brett⁵³ and Berman⁵⁴, the colonial state in Kenya facilitated the penetration of capitalism and growth of capitalist relations. It also mediated the colony's external dependency from the time of conquest to the time of independence. For example, land alienation, taxation and forced labour were some of the mechanisms used by the colonial state to erode or dissolve the 'self-sufficiency' of African economies. Yet some aspects of precapitalist African economies such as land tenure systems were left undisturbed so that these economies could produce cheap labour and thereby subsidize capital. According to Berman and Lonsdale the form of articulation varied according to the particular character of capitalist penetration, the nature of the indigenous modes of production and the local ecology and resources.

⁵² P. Ekeh, "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa," in, <http://www.colonialcapitalism.com>

⁵³ E.,A., Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa*, (London, Heinmann, 1973) pp.40-42

⁵⁴ B. Bruce, *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya, The Dialectic of Domination*, (Nairobi: E.A.E.P.,1990), pp.6-7

With regards to the proposed study, colonial capitalism is appropriate in examining Nanyuki in the colonial period. From an economic perspective, the coming of the settlers in Nanyuki led to their acquisition of large portions of land as a result of the Soldier Settlement Scheme of 1919. The African communities that occupied land in the larger Laikipia prior to the coming of the European settlers were moved into reserves while others were incorporated only as servants and squatters in the ranches. The concept of the settler mode of production sought to capture the specificities of settler colonies. Settler colonialism was characterized by several features: the exclusion of competition (settler control of key economic resources, including land, allocation of infrastructure, banking, and marketing, at the expense of the indigenous people); the predominance of the migrant labor system (which allowed the costs of reproducing labor power to be borne in the rural reserves); generalized repression whereby direct and brutal force was used regularly; and the close intersection of race and class. These were familiar features of Nanyuki in the colonial period.

Colonial Capitalism has however been criticized on the grounds that it portrays capitalism as an evil system that has hindered development of the Third World.⁵⁵ Yet, some Third World countries have experienced rapid development for example the Asian Tigers. Also the dependency perspective tended to marginalize politics, the character of governments, parties, bureaucracies, elections, militaries among other aspects that contribute to development. One major limitation of dependency writers is that they misconceive capitalism as a trade based division of labour and are on the same note unclear as to how transition from underdevelopment to socialism is to be achieved.

1.9 Methodology

The study on Nanyuki town is a historical study that was seeking to investigate and explain phenomenon that has already occurred. The study therefore adopted the *ex post facto* design. The design deals with the past and tries to reconstruct that past. The study looked at naturally occurring events and tried to figure out, after the fact what caused something to happen. As Shama observes, “this approach eliminates the possibility that participants will be influenced by awareness that they are being tested. The treatment is not manipulated as it has already occurred.”⁵⁶ Similarly, the research applied the qualitative method. The qualitative method is used to gain general sense of phenomena, analyze and separate fact from fiction and narrate

⁵⁵ W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1985) pp.72-75

⁵⁶ B.A., Sharma, *Research Methods in Social Sciences* (Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press, 1992) p.11.

the incidences historically and chronologically. It involved getting people's views, attitudes and experiences through oral interviews.

The study employed a historical research method. According to Ogunniyi, "a historical research is a systematic examination of the past in order to understand the present and to look at the future wisely."⁵⁷ In this type of investigation, the researcher depended largely on available data about past events and activities on which were verified and interpreted. Consequently the conclusion was based upon logical analysis and inferences in terms of consistency and usefulness. Theoretical reflection involved marching historical facts against the theory used. The qualitative method of data analysis was employed and data was analysed at two levels that is, descriptive and thematic.⁵⁸

The study used both primary and secondary sources. Secondary data was collected from books, journals, and conference and seminar papers. The secondary sources were obtained from the libraries of both private and public libraries in Nakuru and Nairobi. Primary data was obtained from the Kenya National Archives (KNA) in Nairobi, Museums and private archives such as the Karen Blixen and the East African Natural History Library at the Kenya National Museum in Nairobi. Data was also obtained from the informants. Archival materials that were examined included: newspapers such as the *East Africa Standard*, and *the Daily Nation*, for the period of study. *The Kenya Weekly News* (a colonial magazine), and reports on the annual Nanyuki shows were also examined in addition to the Annual and Quarterly Reports of Laikipia District. Literature available through the internet was also used in the study.

Oral sources were used to supplement and corroborate archival and secondary sources. A sample of fifty informants living in Nanyuki was interviewed. Interviews were carried out to complement the larger percentage of data collected from the archival sources. An interview schedule prepared prior to embarking on field work was used. The interviews were recorded using a tape recorder. The information was later transcribed by the researcher and notes were taken in accordance with their relevance to the questions used. Open-ended guiding questions were used to enable the researcher obtain as much information as possible. English and

⁵⁷ M.B. Ogunniyi, *Understanding Research in the Social Science* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1992), p.69.

⁵⁸ P. Hudson, *History by Numbers: An introduction to Quantitative Approaches*, (London: Arnold, 2000), p.17.

Kiswahili were used in the interviews as was appropriate for the informants. While interviewing elders who were not conversant with either English or Kiswahili, the services of an interpreter were sought. Through a survey, the researcher had identified 6 Europeans and 4 elderly African men who have been inhabitants of Nanyuki from the colonial period to date.

Snowballing and purposive sampling technique were used. Snowballing procedure was found to be appropriate as one person thought to be resourceful guided the researcher to other informants. Data collection involved selecting specific people in Nanyuki believed to be capable of providing the necessary and relevant information. They included elders-inhabitants of Nanyuki, the ranchers and administrators. Ultimately, a thorough and critical revision of all recorded data to ascertain that all the necessary facts were available was done before the thesis write up.⁵⁹

All the main ideas were entered into forms of analysis that were classified according to the research objectives. The transcription of data was done simultaneously with data collection to avoid piling up of work. The forms of analyses were useful when compiling ideas since, data that belonged to the same category was put together and ideas linked. Once all data had been collected and recorded into the first set of forms of analysis, a process of data reduction followed. It involved recording of the selected important data into a new set of forms of analysis.⁶⁰ The interpretation of data was largely dependent on the comparison of data both from the oral interviews carried out and the archival sources of information. After conclusions were made for all objectives, the verification of facts followed in readiness for the thesis write-up.

Each objective was treated as a theme. Tape-recorded information and collected historical materials were analyzed based on the study objectives and research questions. Through text analysis, the researcher read and reread texts to gain an overall sense of the contents, and then the contents were put into several common categories to provide a detailed description

⁵⁹ M.B.Ogunninyi, *Understanding Research in the Social Science* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press 1992 p.62)

⁶⁰ G. Taylor, *The Student's Writing Guide for the Arts and Social Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.14.

of the case, identify emerging themes, and interpreting the findings.⁶¹ Repeated categorization was done until the researcher felt that adequate materials had been obtained.

Data collected from interviews was analyzed separate from the other forms of data through narrative inquiry and written in form of a story. This is because in the interviews, the participants narrated their experiences and views in the form of stories.⁶² Individual transcripts were coded to check the adequacy and consistency of the themes. Thereafter, the full interview transcripts were used as a basis to classify the data into several categories and sub-themes in relation to the research questions and study objectives.

After data was collected and analysed, the researcher proceeded to put together the findings of the research in the following chapters. The chapter content was guided by the data collected and analysed in addition to critical thinking applied by the historian in determining the facts and linking the same to the objectives of the research that was carried out. The consent of the informants was acquired before the data was used in the thesis write-up.

⁶¹ C. Dawson, *Practical Research Methods: a User Friendly Guide to Mastering Research Techniques and Projects* (Oxford: How to Books Ltd, 2002), p.27.

⁶² O.Ndagi, *The Essentials of Research Methodology for Nigerian Educators* (Ibadan: University Press, 1984), p.6.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EARLY HISTORY OF NANYUKI AREA TO 1921

2.1 Overview

The history of Nanyuki town, its development, resources and contribution to Kenya's economy had been inadequately covered. Nanyuki had been mentioned only in passing either as a white settlement scheme or a tourist destination. Nanyuki was within the then North Nyeri District prior to the coming of the European settlers. The name of the town was changed from North Nyeri to Nanyuki when its boundary was readjusted and gazzetted in 1920.¹ This chapter describes the ecology of Nanyuki and the growth of the town at its inception. It has been argued by the earliest European settlers that the area now called Nanyuki was uninhabited by the time of their arrival. However, this fact is disputed in this chapter as the people who lived in Nanyuki before the coming of the settlers are discussed. They included the *Athi* and *Gumba* who are believed to have been the original inhabitants of Nanyuki. In addition Nanyuki was also inhabited by the Mukogodo, Digiri, Le Uaso and Mumonyot. The chapter attempts an examination of the demography of the area prior to European settlement. The suitability of Nanyuki as a settler area is also explained in this chapter.

2.2. The Topography of North Nyeri to 1920

North Nyeri District lies in an area approximately 2,500 square miles and included the Mukogodo Reserve. Geographically, North Nyeri was situated with the Mount Kenya Forest on the East, Nyeri District on the South and the Aberdares on the South Western side.² The rainfall was generally below average, with the region receiving approximately 30.97 inches which was two inches more than the average due to its geographical setting on the Leeward side of Mount Kenya.³ North Nyeri had an unusual rainfall pattern which affected the farmers adversely. The long rains were experienced in January and February which slackened in April and May. The short rains came in July and August and then continued on and off until the end of the year over the whole district with the exception of the northern area, the Mukogodo and Ngare Ndare areas. It was extremely difficult to give an overall district rainfall pattern as

¹ KNA/DC/NYI/1/2: Annual Reports Nyeri, 1913

² Ibid.

³ See also, KNA/DC/NKI/1/2: Annual Reports Nanyuki, 1955.

showers and storms are often localized but the average rainfall in Nanyuki decreases on the whole at a rate of approximately half per mile as one moves north from Mount Kenya.⁴ This explains why North Nyeri was preferred as grazing land due to the vastness of the land that was undulating and the availability of water from River Likii and River Nanyuki.⁵

North Nyeri had two ecological niches, namely highlands and lowlands. The Equator passes through North Nyeri at 1947 metres above sea level. The highland area comprises of regions such as Loldaiga Hills, Oljogi, Muraniwa, and Burguret, while the lowland areas comprise regions such as Mukogodo Division and Ngare Ndare. As a result of these ecological niches, the area was attractive to both agricultural and pastoral groups. It can therefore be viewed as a melting pot of cultures with the Meru and Kikuyu from Nyeri and Meru respectively, the Mukogodo and the Samburu and even the Somali communities interacting in North Nyeri.⁶

The suitability of North Nyeri as an area for settlement is vividly captured by one European informant who avers that the climate of North Nyeri was moderate and that the area could be classified as a malaria free zone. The ex-soldiers also preferred North Nyeri's land because it was an excellent place for a shooting range.⁷ Those who arrived later as a result of the establishment of the settlement scheme set aside land for shooting range activities in North Nyeri. It was also considered the most northerly town and the military bases were established here in order to protect the British in Kenya from presumed attacks from communities residing in the uncharted Northern Frontier District.

2.3. The Peopling of North Nyeri before 1921

The peopling of North Nyeri District before 1921 is a matter of conjecture. Colonial records have established that North Nyeri was inhabited by various groups of Africans. There is evidence of habitation by various African communities who had lived in the area long before the advent of Europeans as observed by various scholars. According to Muriuki, the Kikuyu pioneers in the larger Mount Kenya region were said to have been preceded by the *maitho/*

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Timothy Karanja, O.I. November, 2010

⁶ KNA/DC/NYI/1/2: Annual Reports Nyeri, 1925

⁷ Gordon Smith, O.I. November, 2010

*maitha a ciana, the Gumba, the Athi (Asi) and the Iltorobo.*⁸ Muriuki's opinion as to whether these were distinct or related communities varies. They were allegedly described as dwarf like people who were displaced by the *Athi (Asi)*, who also claim to be the true *Dorobo* and descendants of an ancestor called Digiri.⁹ Muriuki asserts that the names *Athi* and *Dorobo* are alternative names for the *Gumba* and avers that the latter were the first to come into contact with the Kikuyu pioneers. They were described as a race of hunting dwarfs who lived in dug out caves or tunnels. They were estimated to be from two to four feet tall, were stocky and very clever. The difference between the *Gumba* and the *Athi*, according to Muriuki, was their respective stature. While the *Gumba* were dwarfs, the *Athi* were said to resemble their Bantu and Nilotes neighbours. The *Athi* are said to have been assimilated to the Kikuyu. The latter's oral traditions of the Kikuyu. The oral traditions of the Kikuyu aver that the *Gumba* after being frightened by hornbills disappeared into the ground.¹⁰ Presumably the folklore attempts to explain the process of assimilation which eventually led the *Gumba* to become defunct.

Hazel Hook supports the existence of the *Gumba*. In an oral interview, she recalled her father Raymond Hook stating that upon his arrival in North Nyeri in 1914; he discovered traces of the existence of a vanished community known as the *Gumba* in his farm.¹¹ These included skulls, bones of human beings and some pottery in addition to the land that had been cultivated to form trenches and furrows a clear indication that they were agriculturalists.¹² On the contrary, further investigations which were done by Leakey on the fossils found and he concluded that the fossils belonged to the Stone Age period and not the Iron Age as explained by Raymond Hook.¹³ This created a controversy over the period within which the *Gumba* lived in North Nyeri area.

⁸ The term *iltorobo* has obscure origins. It comes from the maa word for "short" *dorop* and the Maa word for tsetse fly *lotorok* and the word for cattle pen *bo*. This word was used by the Maasai as a derogatory term referring to people who were poor. During the colonial period, the British coined this term from *Iltorobbo* to *Dorobo* referring to all hunting and gathering peoples in the Kenya Highlands. For a detailed discussion on the *Dorobo* See Lee Cronk, *From True Dorobo to Mukogodo Maasai: Contested Ethnicity in Kenya*, (1989)

⁹ G. Muriuki, *A History of the Kikuyu, 1500-1900* (Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1974) p.37.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42.

¹¹ Hazel Hook, O.I. October, 2010.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ E Pickering, "The Nanyuki Pioneers," in *The East African Standard*, 27th July, 1956, p.22

According to the minutes of a meeting held in North Nyeri, a sketch plan of the district was prepared by Wightman in 1902.¹⁴ The sketch showed the area occupied by *Gumba* and *Iitorobo* in yellow and the Northern Frontier District boundary coloured in black. The colour distinction was to enable the colonial administrators to know the boundaries that were set up demarcating the Northern Frontier District from the rest of Kenya. In addition to the sketch map, verbal evidence was also noted to have been provided by the Provincial Commissioner Kikuyu, Pugh who first came in contact with the *Gumba* people in 1908 had travelled through the area under review on several occasions and had very good knowledge of the available water supplies during the wet and dry seasons.¹⁵

Lee Cronk emphasizes that North Nyeri was inhabited by more than one community prior to the coming of the Europeans. He states that, the African communities who lived in North Nyeri and its environs were mainly the Mukogodo, the Digiri, the Il Imwesi or IIngwesi and the Le Uaso. The four communities according to Cronk claimed to be of pure *iltorrobo* extraction. They were originally forest dwellers whose occupation was hunting and gathering. In addition to the four communities, Cronk states that the Mumonyot Maasai had also lived in Mukogodo area which was a part of North Nyeri.¹⁶

The Mukogodo were probably of Oromo extraction; the remnants of the original inhabitants of the country lying to the west and north of Mount Kenya, who were eventually driven out by the expansion of the Bantu from the south. Their language was totally different from that of the Maasai and the Kikuyu. They claimed to be the original inhabitants of the Mukogodo hills area in which they had their honey barrels. They also claimed that they were born near their neighbours - the IIng'wesi and the Digiri who were hunters by occupation. Long before 1900, the Mukogodo lived in caves, subsisting on wild animals, plants, and honey. Their population was unlikely to have been more than 200.¹⁷ They referred to themselves as the *Yaaku*¹⁸ a word originally meaning "hunters" and which could have been borrowed from a Southern Nilotes language sometimes around the end of the First Millennium AD.¹⁹ The

¹⁴ KNA/DC/NYI/1/2: Annual Report Nyeri, 1913

¹⁵ See also KNA/DC/NYI/3/1: Political Record –Nyeri 1920.

¹⁶ Ibid. pp.225

¹⁷ KNA/DC/CP/8/2/2: Mukogodo Area General Correspondence 1930-1936 and KNA/PC/CP/8/2/3: Mukogodo Area Continued 1936-1937

¹⁸ KNA/DC/NKI/3/2: Mukogodo- Dorobo 1936-1959

¹⁹ C. Ehret, *Southern Nilotic history: Linguistic approaches to the study of the past.* (Evanston; Northwestern University Press, 1971), pp 51-52

Mukogodo originally spoke a language that has been identified as Eastern Cushitic.²⁰ They circumcised their sons, and probably from the nineteenth century, they shared the Samburu and Maasai age set systems.²¹

The social structure of the Mukogodo was divided into four clans and matrilineages with each lineage having its own territory for hunting, trapping, gathering and the placement of beehives. The Mukogodo married amongst themselves and a few beehives made from hollowed logs were the usual form of bride wealth. After 1900, the Mukogodo began to acquire and keep cattle, sheep and goats. It is probable that the caves in which they resided were inconvenient for cattle keeping and distant from good pasture. They also began to build houses. This was later followed by the adoption of *Maa*, the language of the Maasai and the Samburu.²² One European settler testified in 1932 before the Kenya Land Commission that when he had first met the Mukogodo in 1915, they were basically foragers and beekeepers but from about 1920 they had obtained some livestock.²³

The second group of early inhabitants of North Nyeri was the Digiri.²⁴ The Digiri lived in the central region of Mukogodo Division and are closely allied to the Kalenjin-speaking Okiek hunter-gatherers of the Mau Escarpment. They claimed to have occupied the land along both banks of the Ahoni or Amboni River. They intermarried and traded during the 1890s with the Kikuyu, and cannot remember having come from any other part of the country. For the most part, they foraged and hunted in the Loldaiga hills. Between 1905 and 1912, when the alienation of land to Europeans took place, they were pushed northwards to Mukogodo, where they eventually settled and acquired cattle from the Maasai and early traders such as John Boyes.²⁵

The Ilng'wesi were the third group of early inhabitants of North Nyeri. In 1908 when Hornes first met the Ilng'wesi, they were grazing between the Loldaiga Hills and the Morania River which by then was a part of Meru District. They were neighbours of the Mukogodo and

²⁰J.H. Greenberg, "The Mogogodo: A forgotten Cushitic people," *Journal of African Languages*, Vol.No.2.1963. p.29-43

²¹ Ibid

²² KNA/DC/NKI/3/2: Mukogodo- Dorobo, 1936-1959

²³ Ibid.,

²⁴ KNA/DC/CP/8/2/2: Mukogodo Area General Correspondence 1930-1936

²⁵ Ibid.,

grazed peacefully with them. They were also divided into clans and each clan was allocated a specific grazing area.²⁶

The Mumonyot lived between the Mukogodo and the Digiri in the portion of Mukogodo Division that is west of Mukogodo forest. The Mumonyot trace their descent to the Laikipiak who were dispersed following their defeat by the Maasai. The Mumonyot who were initially cattle -keepers went through a period of economic deprivation with few or no stock. They had to revert to hunting and gathering to survive. By the early twentieth century, the Mumonyot, like the Ilngwesi and Digiri obtained stock and reverted to pastoralism. This transformation was common among pastoralists who after losing their stock due to calamities became “Dorobo”, and reverted to pastoralism after acquiring stock from other communities through trade or raids.²⁷

The Le Uaso lived in the far western portion of Mukogodo Division along the Uaso Nyiro River. They were simply a group of hunter-gatherers and bee-keepers. The name Le Uaso was derived from their area of residence along the Uaso Nyiro River meaning “of the river.” The Le Uaso maintained a close relationship with the Laikipiak Maasai with their interactions including trade and even intermarriages.²⁸

The above groups provide evidence of the existence of African communities in North Nyeri prior to 1921 when white settlement officially began. Generally, the term Mukogodo and Mumonyot, which were once designated to groups of people tied by decent, have since the colonial era become identified with places. Mukogodo, for example, is the legal name for both Mukogodo Division and Location within Laikipia County. Mumonyot is also the name of a location within the same county. The creation of the White Highlands, which included North Nyeri, caused the displacement of some of these groups. D.G. Worthy, the Mukogodo District Officer in the late 1950s asserts that:

The results of European pressure and settlement were that the Digiri moved gradually north until they came to settle in the area called Oljogi which lies partly within and partly to the west of the present Mukogodo area.²⁹

²⁶ KNA/PC/CP/8/2/3: Mukogodo Area Continued 1936-1937

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

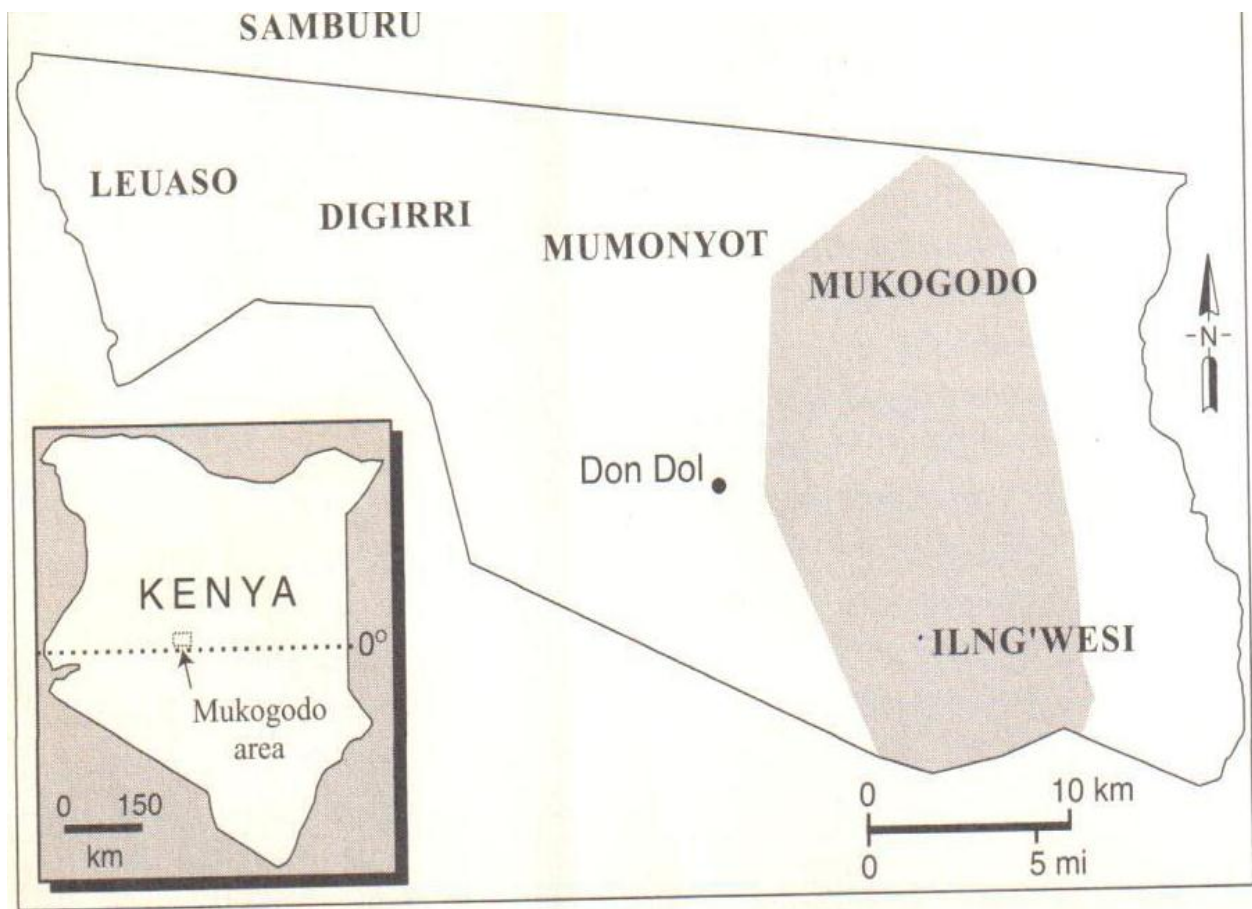


Figure.3 Map showing the division of early inhabitants of North Nyeri-Mukogodo area. Adapted from, L. Cronk. (1989). *From Mukogodo to Maasai: Ethnicity and Cultural Change in Kenya*, (California, West View Press), 2004, p. 24.

2.4 Early European Settlers in North Nyeri up to 1921

Despite its incorporation into Nyeri District, Nanyuki had its peculiar identity. The town was started by British settlers.³⁰ The dominant element in Nanyuki was that the larger populace comprised of the retired military officers. They dominated the Nanyuki Farmers Association, the local economy and local social life. Notably, the individuals who bought farms in Nanyuki were comparatively well off. This is because the Soldier Settlement Scheme had specified that applicants had to have at least £1000 as capital for developing their farms. This requirement limited the participation to the wealthy Europeans only.

³⁰E. Pickering, "The Nanyuki Pioneers," *The East African Standard*, 27 July, 1956, p. 22.

Nanyuki's earliest European settler was Major Lionel Gascoigne. He is said to have set up the first shop in Nanyuki known as Nanyuki Cash Store in 1904. He also owned Gunners Venture Limited together with other four ex-artillery officers. This was a seventeen thousand acre farm which included a saw mill and was located outside the town. He was also the chairman of the Sports Club, which was the main settler organization at the time and the secretary to the creamery. General Wheatley, another early European settler built Nanyuki's race course and was also occasionally the chairman of the Nanyuki Farmers Association. Major Raymond Hook came to Nanyuki in 1908. He was a big game hunter and was involved in shooting safaris. Later, part of his farm was sold to the local council to pave way for the development of the town proper. Hook had also named his farm; Nanyuki Farm after River Nanyuki.³¹

2.5. Early Colonial Administration

The significance of Nanyuki as a settler area can be attributed to the geography of the land. Nanyuki could be considered as a unique town as it connects the highlands of Kenya to the arid and semi arid areas of the north via Isiolo. Similarly from Nanyuki it is possible to access the north -eastern part of Kenya through Samburu and across to Turkana in addition Meru region. The name of the district was changed from North Nyeri to Nanyuki when the boundary of the district was readjusted and gazzetted in 1921.³² According to Duder and Youe, Nanyuki was officially gazzetted as a township in November 1921, after the establishment of the Soldier Settlement Scheme in 1919. The colonial authority transferred Laikipia District head quarters from Rumuruti to Nanyuki to ease administration.³³ The then Governor, argued that settlers needed land that was closer to the railway to facilitate easy transport of surplus to Nairobi and to ease communication for the Europeans.

After Nanyuki was gazzetted as a township in 1920, the first step was to enact legislation to guide the allocation of land in the region. All land was assumed to belong to the Crown, in other words Africans lost all claims they may have had on it. By this time, all land was in the custody of the colonial government who surveyed and allocated it. Africans were moved to the reserves. Prior to the enactment of the Township planning, the local government was set up in Nanyuki. In addition, the following farms were also absorbed into Nanyuki Township in

³¹ Hazel Hook, O.I., October, 2010.

³² KNA/DC/NKI/2/2: District Reorganization, Transfer of North Nyeri to Nanyuki, 1935-1938

³³ Ibid.

1929: L.O.4760 belonging to J.A. Vandder Westhulzen, comprising of 49.5 acres; L.O. 4761 belonging to P.W. Muller, comprising of 49 acres; and L.O. 4762 belonging to Mrs. S.S. Muler, comprising of 20 acres.³⁴ These farms were absorbed into the 3,000 acres portion of the land owned by Raymond Hook which he also sold to the Local Government to pave way for the creation of Nanyuki Township.

Thereafter, The Township Ordinance rules became applicable to Nanyuki. These rules stated as follows:

In exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the townships ordinance 1930 his Excellency the Governor has been pleased to make the following rules:-

1. These rules may be cited as the “Nanyuki township (occupation or buildings) rules 1932 and shall apply to the township of Nanyuki.
2. A person intending to occupy or use any new building or, being the owner thereof, to suffer the same to be occupied or used shall furnish to the local authority a certificate signed by the owner of the building or by any qualified architect or firm or architects to the effect that the building has been constructed in every respect in conformity with the plans thereof as approved, or if not so constructed, specifying any particulars in which such plans have been departed from; and on receipt of such certificate, the local authority or any officer duly authorized thereby in that behalf if satisfied that the building is in conformity with such plans, or that any deviation from the plans as approved are such as may be allowed, small business owners will be issued with a written certificate of occupation. A person shall not occupy or use any new building or being the owner thereof, suffer the same to be occupied or used, unless he shall have procured a written permit of occupation under this rule. Provided that such permit shall not in any way be held to impose any liability whatever on the local authority or on any officer thereof for any loss or damage that may be caused through any building not being designed or built in a proper workmanlike manner or through any building being erected other wise than in accordance with the approved plans and all rules and regulations applicable thereto.

³⁴ KNA/BN/9/20,Township Nanyuki ,1929

3. Any person who shall contravene or fail to comply with the provisions of these rules shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a penalty not exceeding £ 50 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months or to both.³⁵

This rule acted very well in the restriction of the setting up of too many shanty buildings within Nanyuki town. On the same, new principles that were proposed by the colonial government through the Local Authority to act as guidelines necessary for directing individual officers engaged in township planning. A scheme had to be prepared by each township. The colonial government deemed it necessary that the public were supposed to understand the objectives and contents of the town planning schemes. What was intended by the scheme was to address issues that could not be executed by means of ‘normal powers,’ for example, slum clearance, boundary rectification, street widening, housing problems, amenities, zoning of areas in the township among others. Perhaps a common trend of most towns established in the colonial period was that as they developed they tended to have almost similar amenities. Soon after the settlement of the Europeans in Nanyuki a township committee was set up. The committee initially comprised of 20 Europeans. Their function was to oversee the proper management of the township resources and make proposals on how best the town would be developed. This committee later on incorporated the Asian community who were also residents of Nanyuki.³⁶

Similarly on township planning, it had been suggested that the boundary between North Nyeri District and Laikipia be readjusted and that when gazetted the opportunity be taken of changing the name of the District from ‘North Nyeri’ to Nanyuki’ as being more appropriate.³⁷ On the same, the Mukogodo Reserve was to be transferred to Samburu District thereby making Nanyuki a purely white settler area. However, the Mukogodo Reserve and Samburu District were not neighboring each other and there was no way of getting from one to the other except through Nanyuki and Rumuruti or Isiolo. Subsequently, the proposal was not feasible and thus Nanyuki became the economic center for the reserve and the administrative centre. Certainly, having both reserve and settled area under one DC and policemen ensured better and easier maintenance of law and order. It meant however that the small African communities in Mukogodo would be integrated into a larger unit with better

³⁵ KNA/LND/9/26: Township Nanyuki, 1928-1929

³⁶ KNA/DC/NKI/2/7/3, Town Planning Office Report, by, J.B.S. Lockhart, 1929-1948.

³⁷ Ibid.

prospects for development. In summary, the new district contained both a reserve and a settler area.³⁸

2.7 Summary

The chapter has illustrated the geographical setting of North Nyeri District and the change of the district's name to Nanyuki in 1921. The early inhabitants of the district have also been discussed. They included: the Gumba, the Mukogodo, the Digirri, the IIngwesi, the Le Uaso, and the Mumonyot Maasai, who were the original inhabitants of North Nyeri District prior to the coming of the settlers. The most important factor addressed in this chapter was the early history of North Nyeri prior to settlement of Europeans which was enhanced by the Soldier Settlement Scheme.

The weather condition in North Nyeri at the time is also discussed. North Nyeri is observed to have had an unusual rainfall pattern which affected the farmers adversely. The heavy rains were experienced in January and February with very little rainfall in April and May. The main rains came in July and August. The presence of some early settlers such as Arnold Paice, Alan Rathbone, Brigadier General Wheatley, and Raymond Hook among others who were either on shooting safaris or exploring the region prior to settlement is mentioned. The controversy in the naming of the district is discussed where others referred to it as *Engare Nanyukie* or *Ngare Nanyuki*, while the settlers chose to refer to the area as North Nyeri up to the year 1921 when the name was changed to Nanyuki.

The importance of the link between Nanyuki and surrounding districts such as Meru, Laikipia, Samburu and Isiolo is discussed. The different climate observed in Nanyuki from the earliest times is also explained in detail in addition to the uniqueness of the town as the northernmost town, and the town that is closest to Mount Kenya. The fact that the Equator passes through Nanyuki at the southern part of Nanyuki at 1947m above sea level is also noted. The origin of the town throughout the consolidation of various parcels of land owned

³⁸ KNA/DC/NKI/2/6/9: Farm, Lr. 4761/R, Nanyuki (Proposals To Expand Nanyuki Town) ,1938-1939

by different settlers is discussed. The later development of Nanyuki as a result of the urbanization process and the establishment of the earliest basic structures are argued. This discussion entails the rules and regulations that were placed through the Township Ordinance towards the setting up of structures in what had become a settler domain with a reserve: the Mukogodo reserve. The dominant element was that the white society who later settled in Nanyuki as discussed in the next chapter was that majority of the European settlers were retired military officers also referred to as ex-servicemen.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NANYUKI AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT, 1921 TO 1939

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the establishment of European Settlement in Nanyuki in the colonial period from 1921. The content of this chapter is centred on the origin and provisions of the Soldier Settlement Scheme. The communities that inhabited Nanyuki and their contributions in the urbanization process from 1921 when Nanyuki when the township regulations were promulgated and official settlement began is also the subject of this chapter. The chapter discussion is concluded in the year 1939 a period that marked the onset of World War II. The chapter also discusses the coming of the Europeans, and the process of acquisition of land by settlers in addition to other immigrants into Nanyuki such as Asians and Africans and their contribution towards the urbanization process.

3.2 The Soldier Settlement Scheme

This was an official attempt to increase European settlement in the Kenya in the colonial period. Initially, as far back as 1833, the British government had been advised by its law officers that the exercise of protection over a state did not carry with it the power to alienate the land therein. This opinion was generally adhered to when Britain began to acquire protectorates in Africa. However, this position was a major obstacle to colonial authorities because it was understood that he who controls the land would be in a good position to influence government. That if the government could not grant land, it would be unable to attract settlers.

The Indian Land Acquisition Act of 1894¹ was extended to the East African Protectorate in 1896 allowing the administration to acquire land compulsorily for the construction of the railway lines, government buildings and other public services. For the purpose of providing land for the settlers, the administration promulgated the land regulations in 1897 which distinguished between the land within the Sultan's dominion and land elsewhere. In the former, the commissioner was empowered to sell the freehold of crown land that was not the

¹ M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Origins of European Settlement in Kenya*, (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968) Introduction.

property of the Sultan.² In the rest of the E.A.P the Commissioner could only offer Certificates of Occupancy which were valid for 99 years for those who were willing to take up land.

In 1899, a new set of principles was introduced. These rules gave Her Majesty the Queen of England the authority to deal with waste and unoccupied land within the East African protectorate. The East African (Lands) Order in Council of 1901 gave effect to this legal opinion. The Order in Council vested crown lands in the whole of the protectorate to the Commissioner and Consul General. The Commissioner was empowered to make grants or leases of crown lands on such terms as he deemed fit or necessary. The Crown Lands were defined as: “All public lands within the East African Protectorate which for the time being are subject to the control of Her Majesty by virtue of any treaty, convention, agreement or of Her Majesty’s protectorate, and all lands which have been or may hereafter be acquired by Her Majesty under the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 or otherwise howsoever...”³

In 1902, the Commissioner promulgated another law; The Crown Land Ordinance which provided for outright sales of land and leases of up to 99 years leading to the real beginning of European settlement in Kenya in 1903.⁴ Indeed the 1902 Crown Lands Ordinance allowed for free hold estates and the land could be sold by the Commissioner .With regards to Africans, their right to Crown Land was seen in terms of actual occupation only.⁵ When land was no longer occupied by Africans it could be sold or leased as if it was waste or unoccupied land .There was no requirement for obtaining the agreement of any chief or African elder. This explains the controversy of the claims made by the earliest settlers of Nanyuki who claimed that this was unoccupied land yet in essence the indigenous communities had been living and grazing their livestock in this region.⁶

² D. Maughan-Brown, (1985), *Land, Freedom and Fiction; History and Ideology in Kenya* (London: Zed Books Ltd.), pp.65.

³ I bid.p.68-105

⁴ B. Bruce, (1990) *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya, The Dialectic of Domination*, (Nairobi: E.A.E.P.Ltd), pp.49-50.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ W. McGregor Ross, (1968), *Kenya From Within, A Short Political History*,(Frank Cass and Company Limited), p.56

The Crown Lands Ordinance 1915⁷ redefined Crown Lands so as to include land occupied by native communities and land reserved by the Governor for the use and support of Africans. In essence, this legislation meant that Africans had no right to land whether they occupied it or was reserved for their use. The disinheritance of Africans from their land was therefore complete. This Ordinance was passed when the first wave of settlement was over and alienation of land had been suspended during the war. Soon after the war, a committee was appointed to plan for the allocation of land to Ex-Soldiers. It is the report of this committee that was later implemented by the Law of 1919 popularly known as The Soldier Settlement Scheme of 1919.⁸ Therefore when the East African Protectorate became a colony in 1920, the sovereign rights to land were fully adopted by the colonial government.⁹

Soldier settlement involved the placing of ex-servicemen on the scheduled land which was also known as the white highlands. It was a widespread response by the British government to the need for economic growth, social stability and the 'debt of honour' owed to ex-soldiers. The Soldier Settlement Scheme after World War I took two basic forms; the first was substitution, or pioneer settlement. Substitution was the placing of soldiers on farms either directly bought for the soldiers by the government or bought by soldiers with money provided by the government. This form of settlement had the advantage of placing settlers on working farms without the necessity for costly capitalization such as construction of farm buildings, roads and schools. The disadvantage of this form of settlement was that it was extremely expensive. As observed by the Australian and Scottish authority, the settlement after World War I was done hastily and much of the economic failure at the time would be attributed to the same.

The second type of settlement was Frontier settlement which involved the placement of soldiers on uncleared or unbroken land. Bringing uncleared land into production was also an expensive process which demanded more capital and labour than the individual settler could manage. Therefore, government aid was necessary. The rush to settle soldiers in large numbers prevented the government from carrying out experimental work to determine the type of farming that was suitable. Consequently, if the new farms failed, government was

⁷ Ibid p.69-89

⁸ C.D. Duder, (1978.) "The Soldier Settlement Scheme of 1919 in Kenya" Ph.D. Thesis, University of Aberdeen

⁹ Ibid.

forced to arrange for compensation which was costly. Soldier settlement was thus invariably an expensive process and one that was difficult to bring to a successful completion.

Britain's own soldier settlement scheme had gone to the cabinet in May 1918, where the county councils were authorized to start acquiring land. During this cabinet meeting Lloyd George made settlement of ex-servicemen a major part of his speech by stating that "There must be a scheme for settling the gallant soldiers...." By March 1919 The Land Settlement (Facilities) Bill was passed in the British parliament. The Bill itself provided £20,000,000 in loans for the County Councils to acquire and equip land for ex-soldiers.

In Kenya, the actual machinery of the scheme was virtually identical in Nairobi as was the case in London. A selection committee was set up by the then Governor Sir Northey. The Nairobi Selection Board consisted of A.C. MacDonald who acted as the chairman, A.E. Townsend and H.T. Martin of the Land Department, two Nairobi land agents, A.C. Tannahill and Major G.H. Graily and Major C.M. Taylor a prominent coffee farmer. The Board met once or twice a week at the Agriculture Department in Nairobi to consider applications and review the applicants of the settlement scheme. These Europeans were the forerunners and implementers of the white settlement in Kenya.¹⁰

Alongside was the selection board, the War Council was established in 1915 at the district councils. It comprised of A.A. Baillie, a large land owner in Solai area, A.C. Hoey another settler in Uasin Gishu and W. McClellan Wilson a former missionary and the representative of the small coffee farmers in Kiambu. The War Council came up with another proposal for settlement based on the assumption that 20,000 Europeans were to be engaged in the campaign process and that the total area involved would be 6,400,000 acres. It was assumed therefore that these would result in the collection of revenue from the farms to approximately £ 40,000. This proposal was not adopted as the coming of soldiers was not consistent with the numbers estimated by the War Council.¹¹

A Land Settlement Commission was also set up in 1917 with its hearings commencing in May the same year. The Commission dealt with three main issues in the scheme, the amount

¹⁰ Ibid. p.139

¹¹ Ibid. p.140

of capital the settlers needed, the size of their farms and their labour requirements. Most of the witnesses agreed that settlement was to be gradual in order to minimize the effect on the labour market. One of the reasons that was cited against a scheme involving intensive settlement was that it would absorb the country's limited labour supplies to the disadvantage of the already existing settlers. The commission held its final hearings in January 1918 with its report though never published emphasizing on closer settlement. The scheme in Kenya was restricted to about six hundred small farms for men with five hundred pounds of capital, if single or a thousand pounds if married. Settlement was to be carried out on land excised from the Kikuyu and forest reserves in addition to the four thousand acres of surveyed farms at Mbagathi near Nairobi.¹²

Similarly, the farms in the Protectorate other than business plots were qualified for the scheme. The Commission recommended that the Swedish Scheme be used to settle men without capital. Surveyed farms were to be allotted free of stand premia on 999 year leases with an annual rent of 10 cents of a Rupee for every acre. The farms were to be sufficiently large so that settlers could sell portions of them to raise capital. The soldier settlers were required to take up their farms within a year of allotment and occupy them for six months within the next two years. Thereafter the farms were to be freely transferable so that settlers could raise capital and those who had failed would be able to recoup their capital.¹³

Closer settlement was not considered applicable to the bulk of the area to be allotted except for the 415 small farms which were on the land taken from the Kikuyu Reserves and the forest reserves. Government flax and bacon factories were necessary if farms in the Solai area were to be subdivided, otherwise this area and the rest of the land in the scheme was to be given out as farms which had already been surveyed. Over two and a half million acres, virtually all the remaining surveyed land in the protectorate which was considered by the government as suitable for white settlement was to be given out as a thousand farms.

The major regions that were to be used in the settlement scheme consisted of 950,000 acres in Laikipia, 370,000 acres in the North and West Kenya areas, 430,000 acres in the Trans Nzoia, 61,000 acres in Muhoroni, 140,000 acres in Kiu, 201,000 acres in Ithanga, 126,000

¹² Land Settlement Commission Report, pp.93-104,

¹³ Ibid.,

acres in Athi 30,000 acres in Sotik and finally 40,000 acres in Nyeri. The Commission also pushed the settler claims to a two hundred square mile block in the Kamba Reserve and forty-six farms in Pokot Reserve. Generally the Commission was satisfied that with sufficient organization, the African labour supply would be adequate for the new settlers. This report and recommendations were however strongly opposed by Governor Northey.

Governor Edward Northey objected to the Land Settlement Commission's Report. Northey argued that free grants to soldier settlers were equal to "giving away the only natural asset" that the British government had. He later came up with another scheme which divided the farms to be allotted into small 'A' farms less than three hundred acres which were to be given free to men without capital and large 'B' farms for settlers with a minimum of a thousand pounds of capital. Those with capital according to Northey were to be allowed to buy their land and pay installments extending to a period of thirty years. Northey had hoped that he could sell two million acres over two years on the above mentioned terms, that are: if eight hundred Class 'A' and five hundred Class 'B' farms were to be allotted by the end of two years period. Northey had hoped to make the first allotment of land by July 1 1919. He gave an outline of his proposals to the Legislative Council on 17 March and appointed a Selection Board in Nairobi on 25 March Allotment thus began as planned although the settlers were warned to expect a labour shortage. Applications were to be closed by June 11th and the successful applicants were given three months to exchange their farms. The applicants in Britain were selected by a London Board and they chose their farms in Nairobi through firms of local land agents.

The Colonial Office approved the new scheme. Its only reservations were that the price for farm 'B' was to be as low as possible in order to reward the ex-soldiers and also due to the shipping difficulties that would otherwise prevent the applicants from Britain from arriving in time for the first allotment. A letter from Northey to Milner authorized the setting aside of 500,000 acres for the applicants from Britain. Upon the receipt of this information Northey published the scheme and invited applicants for the same. He further telegraphed details of the scheme to the Colonial Office.¹⁴

¹⁴ Ibid. 194-195

Northey's scheme contained a number of new elements precisely on the Class 'B' farms which had to be purchased. According to Northey's considerations, the revenue that would be collected from the farms approximately forty thousand pounds a year and the total stand premia of class 'B' farms which he estimated in 1919 at 1,216,000 Sterling Pounds would make it possible for the government to construct the roads and communications network which was necessary to make the soldier settlement a success.¹⁵

The raising of the capital requirement from five hundred to a thousand pounds for the Class 'B' farms was a blow to those who had hoped to gain many acres with little cash although the Class 'A' scheme and the Swedish scheme provided land to some of them. This rising requirement was as a result of Northey's familiarity with the inflation in Britain during the war which had been approximately 100 per cent for four years.¹⁶ Northey justified his raise of the capital as follows: 'I believe that to flood this land with hundreds of men who have not sufficient capital to withstand a run of bad luck in their early days would be a dangerous policy. These men will ruin themselves and bring disaster to the country.' Northey categorically placed emphasis on the ability of the soldiers coming to Kenya as being capable of enhancing economic growth.¹⁷

In any case, Northey's scheme had won the approval of the Colonial Office and most of the settlers. The Ex- War Service Federation also declared its support for the scheme and announced the formation of its own company known as the Ex-War Service Federation. This company acted as an agent in a lottery where cooperative syndicates of Class 'A' farmers raised fifty thousand pounds to finance the soldiers. The 'big men' in East Africa also gained in the scheme such as T.J. O' Shea who was a local land agent noted that the 'A' scheme indeed prevented the growth of a poor white class in the near future while the 'B' scheme prevented a rush of settlers who had insufficient capital. Notably, The Soldier settlement Scheme had one amendment that was its extension. In May, Northey reserved thirteen farms of class 'B' for ex-service doctors who were to provide medical services for the soldiers. The provisions of this medical scheme were designed to keep the doctors in their farms for as long as possible. Thereafter, the stand premia was reduced a fifth for each year the doctor remained in the farm and after ten years he received the land free. Indeed Northey's scheme

¹⁵ Ibid. 198

¹⁶ A. Marwick, *Britain in the Century of Total War*, (London 1968) ,p.143

¹⁷ Northey, E.A.P. Legco, Deb, 1919, p.2, 17/3/1919.

had been conceived in a remarkably short time but was implemented by the local government and colonial office for the longest time. The Government then began building “cart tracks” to reach the settlement areas. This work had barely begun when the Garth Castle arrived in Mombasa with the much awaited ex-servicemen in November 1919.¹⁸

3.3. The European Settlement in Nanyuki

Kenya’s European settlers originated from two distinct stocks: the British from the United Kingdom and Afrikaners from South Africa. The Afrikaners were in minority and remained culturally segregated and politically unimportant in the colonial period. The Afrikaners settled on the Uasin Gishu plateau and maintained their South African way of life.¹⁹ The first European to settle in Nanyuki was Arnold Paice who arrived in Mombasa on 25 April 1907.²⁰ He came up country and worked for a time on a farm at Kijabe. He was told about the allocation of land in West Kenya and so he applied for a farm and was allocated one in the Nanyuki area. Later, following the tracks which led them across the area of land known as Cole’s Plains, they completed the journey and found the beacons marking the West Kenya farms which contained several Maasai *manyattas*, in addition to a large number of wild animals both big and small.²¹

It is interesting to note that Paice engaged his first Kikuyu labourers shortly after arrival for a pay of Rs 4 (5s 4d) per month but the pay was without posho. Europeans were attracted to Nanyuki by what they termed as shooting safaris. Nanyuki had a lot of game at the time and the settlers would hunt game without any restriction. The first shooting safari to be undertaken was by Robert Foran who walked to Nanyuki in 1904 and hence to Meru and then to the Northern Frontier. The shooting safaris were done using guns and the animals killed would be eaten as game meat and the skin of animals such as the cheetah gazelle or antelope would be preserved as a memoir or later sold to leather industries in Britain.²²

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid, p.10.

²⁰ D., Holmes, O.I. ,October, 2010.

²¹ The surveys had been carried out in the district by Jervis Murray and his brother Lennox. The two surveyors later acquired Marina Farm found beyond Nanyuki at Timau.

²² Odile Keane, O.I. ,October, 2010.

The area between the Nanyuki and Likii Rivers, also known as the ‘black sea,’²³ had a lot of buffaloes and rhinos even as late as 1920. As Arnold Paice narrated, anyone who ventured in the area could be certain of being gored by a buffalo or charged at by a rhino at any time. Paice also told of how he sent some of the pigs he reared to Uplands -Naivasha in September 1915. He explained that his pigs were transported across the Aberdare accompanied by three African men who carried along some maize which the pigs fed on. The workers arrived in Naivasha after eight days with the pigs having lost about 12lb per pig. The pigs however still fetched Paice a selling price of two pounds each once they were sold. This was clear indication of the need to establish transport sector to Nanyuki which was a scheduled area to quicken the export process of goods.²⁴

Randall was probably the next European to arrive and settle in Nanyuki.²⁵ He was closely followed by the Bastard family. Randall who leased a farm at Naro Moru from the British Government paid his first visit to Kenya in 1904. Accompanied by his family he traveled by ox-wagon from Gilgil across the Aberdare Ranges before they finally made it to Nanyuki. In spite of the hardships and dangers, all the Europeans settlers survived and even grew in number. There is a saying in Nanyuki that one can safely bet on seeing at least one member of either the Randall’s or the Bastard’s family members for most of the brothers have remained in the district.²⁶

Bastard another early settler came to Kenya in 1911 on a shooting safari. He was so impressed with the grazing possibilities of some land he saw en route that he bought it from the government. The following year, he sent his son Segar (known to everyone in the district as “Uncle Segar”) to farm it. The land lies on the Burguret side of Nanyuki. When Uncle Segar married in 1916 and brought his bride to the farm, the railhead was at Thika and the journey from there to Nanyuki had to be made by ox-wagon. Segar’s wife known by the residents as Auntie Segar reared the first turkeys in Nanyuki, but since there was no market

²³The Black Sea - A bad patch on Paice’s farm with black cotton soil which was impassable during the rainy season. As a result, travellers to and from Nyeri frequently had to be hosted by Paice when their wagons got stuck.

²⁴ Hazel Hook, O.I., October, 2010

²⁵ D. Holmes, O.I., October, 2010

²⁶ Ibid.

for them locally, they had to be transported to Nairobi. She also made butter which she sent to Nyeri in boxes that were carried by runners.²⁷

Willie Bastard another son of the Bastard's drove his flocks to join his brother in 1913. However, when the First World War broke out, Willie Bastard joined up and it was many years before he saw his farm again. Raymond Hook bought his farm in 1912 and it was Raymond Hook who stocked most of the Mount Kenya streams with trout fish. Hook discovered traces of a vanished tribe on the moorlands known as the Gumba. He found in his farm evidence of their curious type of cultivation and some pottery.²⁸

Apart from farming one of his activities was to catch cheetahs for the Maharajah of Komapur, who used them for hunting the Black Buck (the fleetest Buck in the world). Hook caught them on horse-back with a lasso with the help of Maurice Randall. An agent of the Maharajah used to come across from India to collect them sometimes by the dozen at a price twenty-five or thirty pounds per head. The aforementioned are considered as the earliest Europeans who settled in Nanyuki area prior to the establishment of the town. They are considered as pioneers of settlement in Nanyuki at a time when there were neither facilities nor infrastructure. They contributed immensely to the setting up of the basic facilities such as the cash store setting up of houses and basic infrastructure that connected the farms to the town. Although they were few in number through their correspondence they influenced others to come and settle in Nanyuki. Indeed the general development of Nanyuki was spearheaded by some of these early settlers such as Anorl Paice who gave part of their land to be used for the creation of the town. The Bastards were also on the forefront in developing the creamery industry which started in small scale but later developed into a factory.

3.4. The Asians in Nanyuki

The coming of Asians into Kenya and Uganda was concomitant with the imperial effort to 'open up' the interior. In the British sphere the reliance on Asian precedents and manpower paved way for officially sponsored immigration of Asians into Kenya and Uganda. After 1896 when approval for three year contract terms was over, recruitment and shipment of

²⁷Peggy Barkas, O.I., October, 2010

²⁸Ibid.

Asian indentured workers for the Uganda railway began in earnest. It was continued until 1902. By this time, nearly 32,000 labourers and artisans and another 5,000 subordinate employees had been recruited.²⁹ One informant who lived in Nanyuki observed this and stated as follows:

Indians are plentiful here. Most of the shops are run by them. Our village shop belongs to an Indian and it would be hard to find anything that he doesn't sell there. I tried to get a Wilkinson razor blade, a rather rare article, but he had them. A lady came in from an outlying farm with a whole list of the tools and clothes she wanted. He had them all. This encouraged her to ask 'Have you such a thing as a parrot? Certainly Madam, grey or green? She took a grey one home with her.'³⁰

The informant was referring to Osman Allu's shop, the very first to be opened in Nyeri. Osman Allu was one of the earliest Asian merchants who had arrived in Kenya in 1896.³¹ The establishment of trade in the White Highlands can be traced to this time and to the Asian who identified the needs of the settlers and were enthusiastic about meeting their customers' needs. By the time European settlers began moving into the Nanyuki as result of the settlement scheme, Osman Allu journeyed from Nyeri with his pack mules. In 1928, in partnership with the Patel brothers opened the first Indian shop in Nanyuki.

By 1931, Nanyuki had become an administrative centre, it also became the garrison town and supply depot for the Northern Frontier Corps, the battalion that was formed to control the northern parts of Kenya. Osman Allu's shop got the contract to supply the army with all their food (vegetables, maize meal, sugar, tea, dry fruits and beans).³² Osman Allu was also able to get large stocks of pepper and salt needed for preserving meat which he butchered and dried to make biltong sold to the army. In addition he had the contract to supply the army with fuel, all petroleum products, and was the only person in Mount Kenya area who was allowed to deal in guns and ammunition at the time.³³

Osman Allu's shop as observed by Nagin Chouhan served as a post office, a bank, and even as a stable.³⁴ It was a post *restante* for the settlers in Nanyuki. The Europeans would also

²⁹J. S. Mangat, (1969) *A history of the Asians in East Africa, c. 1886 to 1945* (Oxford, Oxford Publishers) p.8

³⁰D. Holmes, O.I., October 2010.

³¹See also Salvadori, *We came in Dhows*

³²V.G. Patel, O.I., October 2010

³³Nagin Chouhan, O.I., October, 2010

³⁴*Ibid.*

leave money at the store for safe keeping, because at first there were no banks at all in Nanyuki. In fact, the first bank opened in 1936 was the Standard Bank of South Africa almost ten years after settlement of Europeans.³⁵

The Settlers Stores was built in Nanyuki in 1938 by Chunibhai Patel who arrived in Kenya in 1914. Chunibhai is said to have been a goods shed assistant and he laboured hard to become a Station Master at Simba Station in Elementaita and then he was moved to Nanyuki as a Station Master. Ultimately, Chunibhai left the job at Nanyuki station and built Settlers Stores. He completed the building in the same year. Settlers Stores was the most modern building in Nanyuki at the time.³⁶

Settlement was further enhanced with the construction of the railway which reached Nanyuki in 1930.³⁷ There were four main stores catering for the European farmers and officials in Nanyuki. These stores were amongst the earliest buildings that were set up by 1930. They were Osman Allu's shop, the Patel Trading Company (started by Jiva Bhai Patel who had worked for Osman Allu), Settlers Stores and the General Stores. As V.G Patel; the current owner of Settlers Stores recalls, there was no jealousy between the shop owners. There was as he claimed enough business for all. Each shop had its own set of customers and a loan book.

If one customer wanted commodity X and it was out of stock, we simply send word round and borrow X from whichever shop had it and enter it in the loan book to be settled between us at the end of the month. We shopkeepers really helped each other in those days, not like the competition you find today.³⁸

In the colonial period, Indians in Nanyuki managed their own affairs. The owners of the prominent shops formed a committee which was like the Indian Panchyat that helped to organize affairs of the Indian community. Disputes between Indians never went to the courts; they were settled by the community elders.³⁹ In Nanyuki, the Indian committee members included Chunibhai Patel, Osman Allu, Uncle Satish and Patel (of Patel Trading Company).

³⁵ D. Holmes, Hazel Hook, O.I., October, 2010

³⁶ V.G.Patel, O.I., October, 2011

³⁷ KNA/DC/NYI/1/2, Annual Report Nyeri, 1913-1931.

³⁸ C. Salvadori, (1996), *We Came in Dhows*, (Nairobi; Paper chase Kenya Limited) p.17.

³⁹ V. Cable (1969), "The Asians of Kenya," in *African Affairs*, Vol. 68, No. 272, pp. 218-231

It was the same group that organized the Indian school established in 1931 where all Asian children were educated.⁴⁰

Another Indian's account of the colonial period was that in those days although small, Nanyuki was a very busy place because it had a military base. During Second World War period, one Indian recounted how they used to open their shop at 6a.m. and not close until midnight. He recalled working as counter salesman and accountant at Settlers Stores. Not only was business good but there was a lot of trust between the customers and the Indian business men that, they used to give unlimited credit indefinitely; this helped to build up good will. Among some of valued customers of Settlers stores was notably Sir Phillip Mitchell, who was the Governor of Kenya from 1948 to 1953. With business 'booming' in Nanyuki the Asian and African population increased. This however brought other disadvantages; one major problem was housing. With much lobbying from the Asian community and the Indian Association, in 1950's an estate was built to curb the problem. It was called the Asian Quarters but due to racial segregation, the estate was strictly inhabited by the Asian community.⁴¹

The settlement of the Asians in Nanyuki also had its challenges. First, the Asian community was restricted to their own community members. In addition, there were restrictions placed by the colonial government which ensured that there was minimal contact between Asians and Africans. Similarly Asians and Europeans only interacted during business. The racial differences were quite transparent that one needed not to be told that some areas were strictly meant for the white settlers and anyone found in those areas was liable to punishment. Such places included the Nanyuki Sports Club, The Sportsman's Arms Hotel, and The Marina Grill Hotel among others. Infact the first Asian to be registered in the Sports club was Nagin Chouhan.⁴² Another challenge was the issue of land, being an area strictly set apart for European settlement; Indians were not allowed to purchase large parcels of land, apart from an allotment of 50sq ft by 100sq ft.⁴³ These plot allotments were provided strictly for

⁴⁰ The Indian school is currently known as Nanyuki Primary School.

⁴¹ Patel , O.I. October 2010

⁴² Nagin Chouhan, O.I. October, 2010.

⁴³ C.,Salvadori, *We Came in Dhows*, ,(1996), p.20

business purposes within Nanyuki township area. The permits for the plots had to be acquired and their tax paid in full by the Asian traders on a monthly basis.⁴⁴

It is also worth mentioning that for a long time, the Asians had been cremating the bodies of their deceased as a part of their culture. This activity also became a good business venture in Nanyuki. They cremated dead soldiers at their Asian Crematorium built in Nanyuki in 1929.⁴⁵ The European settlers who died in the farms and did not wish to be buried in Nanyuki were also cremated and their ashes sent back to their families in Britain. Generally, the relationship between the Asians and Europeans was good. The Europeans depended on the Asians for their daily supplies during the colonial period and as a result Asians were able to develop Nanyuki Town by setting up of more buildings and other social amenities along the main street. During Christmas celebrations, almost all the Indian shopkeepers in Nanyuki would give each of their regular customers a present. The gifts varied from: a bottle of spirits, fresh fruits, and cigars for the men and chocolates for ladies. However, the hospitality of Indians to Europeans as stated by V.G Patel was rarely reciprocated.⁴⁶

3.6. African Immigrants in Nanyuki

In the colonial period, only Europeans and Asians were allowed to own land in the urban areas. There were a variety of laws that prohibited non-working Africans from living in towns such as Vagrancy Ordinances and a pass law. For example, in August 1949, eleven juveniles were found in the Nanyuki African location (Majengo). They were said to be employed but without permits under the Minimum Wage Ordinance. The employers were warned and the juveniles were charged with vagrancy.⁴⁷ No concern was given to urban African housing except to ensure that African areas were isolated from European areas in order to 'protect' the Europeans.⁴⁸ This led to the development of the slum and squatter communities who contributed to the economic production of colonial Nanyuki because they were closely integrated with the larger national economic system. As observed by one informant,

⁴⁴Ibid, pp24-47

⁴⁵ Nagin Chouhan, O.I., and V.G.Patel, October, 2010

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷KNA/VQ/16/3 Nanyuki District Monthly Reports, 1950-1960.

⁴⁸ Charles Munyeria, O.I. October, 2010

My parents -the Boyds came during the Soldier Settlement Scheme programme and owned the Kariunga farm from 1923. They went straight into ranching business which was difficult at first. They had very many workers and squatters at the time. Personally as a family, we had no racial discrimination; we lived well with the workers.⁴⁹

The proportion and growth of Majengo and Likii slums and the squatter settlements in Nanyuki area was in the rise between the 1940's and 1950's corresponding to the period of the expanding trade and export in the white highlands in general. In this period many Africans from the Nyeri Reserve and the Mukogodo Reserve moved into Nanyuki Town in search of work either as domestic workers in the settler farms, or as grounds men and herdsmen. Many Africans also came to trade in order to pay the taxes that were now in place. Apart from the European settlers, the Asians and Africans, Nanyuki district also had Somali inhabitants. They came from as early as 1923⁵⁰ when it was still impossible to say how the township would develop. Even then, areas were selected for the Asians, the Somalis and the Natives. This were however temporary plots. By 1929,⁵¹ the Somalis had acquired thirty temporary occupation licenses of these eighteen were residing with little or no occupation while twelve had small shops. Majority of the temporary occupation licenses had come into being from 1927 because many of them as reported by the then Resident Commissioner had been turned off the Uaso Nyiro area. They were however still trading their sheep and goats and this is what brought about their movement to Nanyuki. As noted by Harford –Walker one of the Resident Commissioners of the district, by 1945 many Somalis had occupied Majengo area in Nanyuki. Walker described the Somalis as ‘always politically minded and up to be litigious.’⁵²

By 1929,⁵³ the Somalis had acquired thirty temporary occupation licenses of these eighteen were residing with little or no occupation while twelve had small shops. Majority of the temporary occupation licenses had come into being from 1927 because many of them as reported by the then Resident Commissioner Harford Walker had been turned off by the

⁴⁹ Peggy Barkus, O.I. October,2010

⁵⁰ KNA/DC/NKI/2/6/24: Nanyuki Mill and Plots 1930-1946

⁵¹Ibid

⁵² KNA/DC/NKI/2/6/27 Response letter on the Somalis in the Nanyuki location and Ibrahim Effendis plot on Nanyuki River 1927-1948.

⁵³Ibid

colonial government around the Uaso Nyiro area on the claim that their trade in sheep and goats would cause the spread of diseases to the European livestock. They however continued trading in their sheep and goats and this is what brought about their movement to Nanyuki. Their role in the commercial development of Nanyuki was not appreciated as noted in a report:

The majority of the Somali temporary occupation licenses have come into being since 1927, and the reason is because many of them have been turned off the Uaso Nyiro. They are still disposing of their cattle in Suk and trading their sheep and goats. The existing village was the natural outcome of the Somali movement. Some of the Somalis are undoubtedly financially strong enough to fulfill building conditions in the B class residential area but not one of them is going to do so, if he is allowed to only trade on a temporary occupation license.⁵⁴

Despite their plea to the colonial government, much preference was given to the Asian traders in Nanyuki. The allegations that their sheep and goats were responsible for the spread of livestock diseases aggravated the situation further.

Although Somali traders wanted to contribute to the development of Nanyuki, they were faced with major challenges such as language barrier, and the high occupation licenses. The Somali traders were said to be trading in cheap goods and it was generally assumed that they would not be fruitful in expanding Nanyuki town which was then a settler area. On the same, the Europeans preferred to trade with the Asians rather than the Somali.⁵⁵ The Somali therefore concentrated in trading in Northern Frontier District where the goods such sugar, paraffin, soap, blankets, cloth and maize meal were inexpensive and ready for disposal to Africans.⁵⁶

3.7. Summary

The Crown Land Ordinance provided for the outright sale of land and leases of up to 99 years which led to the beginning of European settlement in Kenya by 1903. This was followed later by the Soldier Settlement Scheme of 1919 which added to the number of settlers in Kenya after the First World War through a programme that was set up by Sir Northey where farms were classified as either A or B. The evolution of Nanyuki began in earnest after the setting apart of areas in Kenya by the colonial authorities specifically for European occupation. More

⁵⁴ KNA/DC/NKI/2/1: Handing Over Report 1957

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ P. Waweru, "Frontier Urbanization; The Rise and Development of Towns in Samburu District, Kenya, 1909-1940," in, A. Burton, (Ed.), *The Urban Experience in Eastern Africa Ca. 1750-2000*, Nairobi, 2002, pp. 85-97.

specifically is the development of Nanyuki which was established as one of the most Northern towns as a result of the establishment of the NFD from the rest of the districts in Kenya by 1909. Nanyuki was formed as a settler district; the township was thereafter established through the purchase of various farm lands from the settlers.

Alongside the settlement of Europeans was the settlement of the Asians, the Somali and African immigrants into Nanyuki. The role of Asians and Somalis was to trade while the Africans provided labour in the settler farms. The major finding of this chapter was that each group of immigrants who settled in Nanyuki in the colonial period contributed to its growth and development. However, being a scheduled area the Europeans who settled in Nanyuki had more opportunities compared to the rest of the communities. Consequently it is the settlers who determined the physical, social and economic growth of Nanyuki as was a common scenario in most towns in Kenya. Their settlement was characterized by establishment of ranches and farming activities within the farms and also the establishment of the various social amenities within the town such as the hospital, the social hall, the hotels, the shops, the churches and mosques

Europeans were given first priority on settlement as they were allowed by the colonial government to purchase vast pieces of land where they settled on the contrary the Asians were only allowed to occupy plots of size 50 x 100 feet within the town. These plots were strictly business premises. The same applied to the Somalis who were given temporary occupation licenses. As for the Africans, they were allowed to stay in the European farms as labourers and immigrant workers. The study concluded that the settlement of ex-soldiers from 1921 to 1939 contributed to the development of Nanyuki town, its surroundings and population growth.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPACT OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF NANYUKI, 1939 TO 1945

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the commercial development of Nanyuki by focusing on the commercial activities of the various immigrants into Nanyuki town during the Second World War. The development of agriculture in Nanyuki district is also discussed. The concept of trade and taxation and how it impacted on the Africans living in and around Nanyuki District is also discussed. Taxation ensured that Africans had to secure wage labour in the ranches in order to pay taxes. Another aspect of trade, exportation which was conducted by the settlers is also discussed. The various social amenities that were set up within Nanyuki town during this period are also discussed. Although the town had been set up early the period 1939 was significant to the onset of trade in Nanyuki. On the same, the period 1945 marked the end of World War II and the coming back of soldiers to Kenya and Nanyuki. These soldiers contributed to the further development of Nanyuki as elaborated in this chapter.

4.2 The Development of Nanyuki from a Township to a District

Nanyuki was gazzetted as a township in 1921 having only two main buildings at the time, the Nanyuki Cash Store and the Post Office. Prior to European settlement Nanyuki area was used as grazing land mainly by its early inhabitants discussed in Chapter Two. This was followed by the settlement from 1919. In November 1923 a new business premises “The Township Store” was opened and soon after it acquired both a transport license to Nyeri and a liquor license. The township gained a smith and a garage by February 1924. In addition, C.T. Stoneham opened the first butcher shop in the area. Nanyuki was still without a wireless or telephone line by 1924, but a dance hall and a grand stand for the Nanyuki gymkhana were constructed. The provision of £500 from loan funds in 1925 for the construction a government school, Nanyuki Primary, and the establishment of a private school at Naro Moru. ¹

¹C.D. Duder, (1978.) “The Soldier Settlement Scheme of 1919 in Kenya” Ph.D. Thesis, University of Aberdeen, p.482

The railway line construction reached Naro Moru in 1929 and the section to Nanyuki was completed by October 1930 at a cost of £54,780.² Its construction to the NFD region never continued. A song is sung of Nanyuki being the “end of the railway line.” The railway was classified into two; the passenger train and the cargo trains. Railway cabins like all other amenities in the colonial period had classes. The First Class facility was strictly for the white settlers, the Second Class was used by the Asian Community and the lowest class was used by the Africans who were crumbled together with goods or luggage that were to be transported.³

The construction of the railway line was a major starting point in the development of other infrastructure within the town, the increase in population and the setting up of more businesses premises. Trade began to flourish soon after although there were several restrictions put in place especially for the Africans who were only allowed to trade within their areas of residence far from the town.⁴

With the purchase of land from early settlers such as Arnold Paice, Raymond Hook among others and the establishment of the Township Committee in 1931, the planning of the town was established. The basic amenities necessary in every town were set up such as electricity which was installed by the East African Power and Lighting Company in 1931 in addition to the telephone lines installed earlier by the KAR all the way to Meru where the 5th KAR inhabited before moving to Nanyuki.

Indeed, by 1931 Nanyuki had already become an administrative centre, a garrison town and a supply depot for the Northern Frontier Corps a battalion that was formed to control the northern parts of Kenya. The Kenya Farmers Association Building (KFA) was constructed in 1937. This is where the farmers would assemble to collect their dues and farm inputs from the colonial government officials. The Central Square was designed and developed by 1942. It was done to impress Princess Margaret who visited Kenya much later in 1956. In addition, the town hall was also completed by 1943 it was an important meeting point for the settlers. In fact most of the

² M.F., Hill, *The Permanent Way*, p.478

³ KNA/DC/NKI/2/2: District Reorganization, Transfer of North Nyeri to Nanyuki, 1935-1938.

⁴ Charles Munyeria, O.I. October 2010.

official meetings were held in the town hall. Other outstanding buildings included the Hindu Temple which had been constructed with the settlement of the Asian community in Nanyuki, the Silver Beck Hotel the Sports Club and the Mount Kenya Safari Club.⁵

A number of churches were built including the Nanyuki Cathedral and the Baptist church which were set up in 1943 and 1948 respectively. The administrative buildings which hosted the Resident Commissioners Offices were also constructed alongside the Law Courts adjacent to the Marina Grill Hotel by 1952. Mosques had also been set up especially by the Somali and within the military barracks. It is important to note that the construction in Nanyuki was carried out by the military personnel some of whom were engineers and contractors for example Mr. Tom Pipe.⁶

An African intermediate school was constructed in Nanyuki at the cost of £15,700 in 1954. This included the teachers' quarters but no boarding accommodation. A much needed sewage disposal scheme for Nanyuki police headquarters was completed by June of the same year. A contract worth 29,000 was given out to Messrs. R.B Patel for the building of Lugard Barracks at Nanyuki for the 3rd K.A.R. Although a number of these much needed buildings were completed but unoccupied by the end of the year. Additional constructions were made to the railway station and the hospital areas and a total of £15,000 was spent on maintenance and other minor works for the military forces by 1955.⁷

A sewage disposal scheme for the cantonment area was in the process of completion. It was estimated that this would further assist the fast growing population of Nanyuki. The sewage was capable of dealing with 100,000 gallons of sewage daily which was adequate for about 5,000 persons.⁸ Notably, no staff houses were built in Nanyuki despite the acute shortage of accommodation for persons of all races. The site for a police inspectors' mess was chosen. Generally, Nanyuki town and its surroundings had achieved a measure of prosperity and maturity by 1950.

⁵KNA/DC/NKI/2/6/9: Farm, Lr. 4761/R, Nanyuki (Proposals To Expand Nanyuki Town) ,1938-1939

⁶KNA/DC/NKI/2/6/13: Town Planning ,1929-1940

⁷Ibid.,

⁸ KNA/DC/NKI/3/11/6: Local Government Nanyuki , 1945-1949

4.3. The Growth of Agriculture in Nanyuki

The development which the soldier settlers carried out in Nanyuki had a number of common characteristics. The first to be noted was that much of the land remained unused. Here the soldier settlers had encountered the problem of unsuitable land and the limitation of supply of African labour in addition to their own lack of capital resources. The second major point on agriculture was the monoculture nature of farming. It was rare for the soldiers to grow more than two crops. On the same, there were very few livestock in the farms at the beginning of settlement. Indeed, at the early stage of land settlement it was difficult to rotate crops or attempt to build up the fertility of the soil. Worse still was the fact that many soldier settlers lacked the expertise to do proper agriculture. As the 1920s proceeded many settlers managed to acquire skills to improve on agricultural production.

The situation for the soldier settlers in pastoral areas like Nanyuki was somewhat different. Here settlers went for mixed and dairy farming due to the difficulties experienced with regards to transportation especially during the early years of settlement. Soldier settlers in the Thomson Falls area were some of the first in Kenya to undertake mixed farming. Although proper mixed farming, which involved the rotation of crops, and grazing and a need to improve land, came much later.⁹ The soldier settlers in the pastoral areas of Nanyuki for example Doherty, Montgomery and Neave kept 224 cattle on their 5,071 acres. They improved the land by creating furrows, building wells and a water tank. Others included W.S. Beale who had 347 cattle and 401 sheep on their 3,722 acres. Like the others they improved the farm by constructing a dam, a furrow and a sheep dip.¹⁰ The farming activities influenced the development of Nanyuki in the following ways: first, African workers were able to acquire jobs within the farms, secondly, trade flourished and industries such as the creamery where animal products would be processed and sold thereby generating income for the town in terms of taxes and cess which was used to further set up more amenities in Nanyuki.

⁹ KNA /LO 15234 Annual Report , Agriculture Department, 1921

¹⁰ Ibid.,

Nanyuki remained primarily a stock raising area dependent on maize supplies from the Kikuyu reserves brought to the district by either Indian merchants or Kikuyu traders. The interest in stock production was explained as the only product which could cut transport costs by being its own transport and that from the days of the Spanish conquistadors, ranching had always been considered a singularly suitable occupation for gentlemen. It was also appealing to the ex-soldiers who loved the great open spaces and shooting safaris.¹¹

According to the Agricultural Department reports, stock areas began to receive a measure of prosperity in 1923 with the increase in the prices of wool which created a considerable amount of interest in sheep farming by the settlers in Nanyuki. The number of sheep owned by European settlers in Nanyuki therefore increased from approximately 10,000 to almost three times by 1925. The cattle industry in Nanyuki also began to pick up after the post-war slump. Substantial growth was however hampered by the absence of any markets for meat products beyond the local consumers. The development of the railway and the establishment of the Laikipia Creamery on Andrew Dykes' farm in addition to the Nanyuki Creamery enabled the farmers to reduce the losses in production.¹²

To further develop the ranching business in Kenya, the settlers formed an association known as the Stock Breeders Association of Mount Kenya in 1921. It was largely composed of the established settlers in the Nanyuki area. The main purpose of this organization was to channel the meat trade of the area through its own hands. Although the Laikipia and Nanyuki breeders were initially in opposition, the Laikipia settlers soon established close ties with the new organization. They were able to open the "Stockbreeders Direct Meat Supply Company" in Nairobi in 1924. The purpose of this company was to break the monopoly of the butchers in Nairobi who set the prices in the local market.

Dairy farming was also taken up more vigorously with the formation of the Nanyuki Co-operative Creamery. Notably, Nanyuki and Laikipia were not the only areas that participated in

¹¹R. VanZwanenberg, "The economic responses of Africans to European settlement 1903-1939," in Bethwel Ogot, Ed, Hadith 4, *Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya*, (Nairobi, East Africa Publishing House, 1972), p.225.

¹² Ibid.

this growth of the stock industry. The Solai area was also known for producing tons of cream into butter every week by 1925 while the Thomson Falls area sent 13,000 pounds of butter to the market by railway.

Despite set backs such as the animals' Foot and Mouth disease , butter exports from Nanyuki rose from 18,768 pounds to 111,588 pounds between 1922 up to 1925. To facilitate this high level of production, the colonial government provided £15,000 for the construction of a cold store in Mombasa to serve both meat and dairy produce meant for export to Britain. This development in agriculture, more precisely ranching, was followed by the development of industries and infrastructure to facilitate more exportation from settler areas. Nanyuki town became a meeting point for the European farmers who would bring their produce to town to be processed, packed, exported and sold to the local population. On the same, farmers would come to Nanyuki to buy their supplies and farm requirements making the town a hub of activities. There was great interaction as meetings were held to deliberate on how best to develop the town, to pass information concerning vaccination and preventive measures against the various diseases in the farms. Farmers were also given advice on how best to increase their yields by the veterinary department. Interaction was also done through leisure activities in the town.

4.4. The Development of Industries in Nanyuki

The principal industry in Nanyuki in the colonial period was the Nanyuki Creamery which exported its products to England. The Nanyuki Cooperative Creameries was set up as early as 1921.¹³ This was attributed to the fact that most of the European farmers soon after settling in Nanyuki adapted ranching as an economic activity as discussed earlier. It was therefore necessary to set up an industry where all the dairy products would be preserved and transported to Nairobi where products such as ghee, cheese and canned beef were packed and exported to Britain.¹⁴

¹³KNA/DC/NKI/2/7/3: J.B.S. Lockhard, 1929-1948.

¹⁴Ibid.

As observed by Maxon, the growth of the KCC in Kenya was rapid from an annual sale of 147,065 litres in 1921, to 583,809 litres in 1930 to 937,629 litres in 1934. He noted that the export for butter had risen from 1,219 kilograms in 1921 to 61,220 kilograms in 1934. This was a clear indication of how much the settlers had embraced farming in Kenya.¹⁵ Notably, much of the butter was exported from Nanyuki creamery. Applications for business premises improved greatly in the 1930's and 1940's especially from the Asian community whose composition in Nanyuki was enormous. By 1931, Nanyuki had become an administrative centre, it had also become the garrison town and supply depot for the Northern Frontier Corps, the battalion that was formed to control the northern parts of Kenya. The products from the farms were also sold to the NFCs in addition to the ex-soldiers in Nanyuki while much of it was packed and transported to Nairobi via the railway for export. Osman Allu's shop got the contract to supply the army with all their food (vegetables, maize meal, sugar, tea, dry fruits and beans).¹⁶

Another major industry in Nanyuki was the timber industry.¹⁷ The first saw mill in Nanyuki was known as Onturiri saw mill and had been established by 1932. It was at Onturiri saw mill that timber was cut and ferried via the railway to Mombasa and later exported to Britain. The timber was also used for the construction of houses in addition to the construction of business premises in Nanyuki by the settlers. At the time, trees were cut without much consideration to the deforestation effects which were to be experienced in the later years. The colonial government with the support of the DCs and the early settlers such as Raymond Hook, Major Gascoigne and Lockhard were the mastermind behind the development of this industry. In addition to the Timber industry was the Nanyuki Textile Industry also known as Mountex established in 1934 and the Nanyuki Tanners Industry established in 1935. The textile industry developed as a result of the growth of sisal in the European farms. The sisal was used to make woven sacks which were used to store the wheat and flax before it was transported to Nairobi and Britain. Hides and skins tanning were however done on small scale as most of the skins and hides were transported while raw via the railway to Nairobi where they were also processed and exported.¹⁸

¹⁵ G. Ndege, "History of Pastoralism in Kenya, 1895-1980," in W.R. Ochieng & R. Maxon (Eds), *An Economic History of Kenya*, (Nairobi, East African Educational Publishers, 1992.) pp. 93-110.

¹⁶ V.G. Patel, O.I. October 2010

¹⁷ KNA/DC/NKI/3/11/6: Local Government Nanyuki, 1945-1949.

¹⁸ Ibid.

4.5 Trade and Taxation in Nanyuki

The history of taxation in Kenya can be traced to 1901 when Lord Lansdowne the then colonial secretary sanctioned the levying of tax not exceeding two rupees upon every African dwelling. This is explained as the first measure that was under the Hut Tax Regulations of 1901 to impose tax on Africans in Kenya.¹⁹ By 1910 yet another tax was introduced; the Poll Tax Act. It was to cover every male aged sixteen and above. Alongside the taxation policies introduced, other legislation such as the Village Headman Ordinance of 1902, which gave powers to headmen to recruit labourers for farms and estates and the Masters and Servants Ordinance of 1906 left Africans with no room to avoid wage labour.²⁰ The emphasis on wage labour and taxation was explained by the then Governor Henry Belfield as the only possible method of compelling the natives to leave their reserves and seek work.²¹

The exploitation of African labour was made easier by the Registration Ordinance which was implemented from 1920. The act had laid down that every African male who was above 16 years should be registered and had to carry a certificate of identification. This was to be produced on demand by a policeman or anyone in authority. The *kipande* was to become a tool of domination and control. It was used to net labour deserters, tax defaulters and control the movement of African people.²² The Kipande system was not well received by the Africans as it was a reminder of the fact that they had to pay their annual taxes.²³ Worse still was the rule imposed that the kipande had to be worn around the neck which to most people was like a badge of slavery because it restricted the movement of African labourers. The employer recorded in the kipande the registration number, employer, and the rate of pay, time worked, the nature of work and the general comments on the suitability of the individual as an employee.²⁴

¹⁹ I. Tarus, Taxation, Migration and the creation of a working class in Kenya, Africa Development, Vol. XXX, No. 4, 2005, pp. 121-138

²⁰ KNA/PC/NZA/3/20/2/1, Masters and Servants Ordinance Circular No. 12 of 11 February 1910.

²¹ Ibid.

²² R. Wolff, *The Economics of Colonialism: Britain and Kenya*, (New Haven : Yale University Press. 1974) p. 105

²³ KNA/DC/NYI/2/1/8: Passes and Permits: Regulations 1930-1937

²⁴ S.H. Somjee, 'Kipande: The symbol of Imperialism ,1914-1948: A study in Material Culture' Staff Seminar Paper, Department of Literature, University of Nairobi

According to Ochieng, a wage earning class had taken root from 1923 and labour shortages in settler areas had been minimized. With Africans having been alienated from their land and the introduction of harsh labour many opted for wage labour. The wage earning Africans were a class of Africans who depended entirely on wage earning for everyday sustenance. This also led to the growth of African entrepreneurs who established businesses in most rural centres.²⁵ This was as a result of the declining role of peasantry among Africans who no longer relied on land for their survival.²⁶

Africans living in Nanyuki and its surroundings were not exempted from taxation. Taxes were imposed on goods and services from as early as 1935 soon after the railway construction had reached Nanyuki and goods were being transported by rail from Nanyuki through Nairobi to the port of Mombasa. The years following the Second World War were of great significance to the settlers of Nanyuki who having established their ranching businesses started exporting beef and ghee in large quantities.

The colonial government introduced tax registers in Nanyuki. These registers were to be reviewed and a start has already been made with the cooperation of the labour department and passbook office. These tax registers were created to ensure that all residents of Nanyuki District paid their tax in full. By 1940 a Tax Clerk was appointed in Nanyuki this was in addition to the District Revenue officer who used to visit farms and collect taxes. Taxation in Nanyuki District was done on almost everything. The colonial government set up rules that would govern the collection of taxes from all the business owners and other residents of Nanyuk

Another way through which the colonial government made money in Nanyuki was through the collection of cess. The specific amounts charged for every product that entered the Nanyuki market. (See Appendix 2) The high cess rates were put in place in order to minimize imports into the area while maximizing on the exports. Perhaps the most notable was the cess imposed on skins and hides based on their condition and the bones. The cess imposed on fruits and

²⁵ P. Marris and A. Sommerset, *African Businessmen: A study of Entrepreneurship and Development in Kenya*, (London, 1973)

²⁶ *Ibid.*

vegetables was quite low to enable the Soldiers and settlers obtain their daily supplies from the Africans. Majority of the vegetable products were sold cheaply due to their perishability. Similarly, Nanyuki had occupation licenses that had to be obtained at a fee charged by the colonial government soon after the establishment of the town council (See Appendix 3).

4.6 Summary

Nanyuki was not a social island but a part of the mainstream of colonial penetration and the exercise of extraction as observed by various scholars. The district was developed more precisely under the Soldier Settlement Scheme of 1919. The development of Nanyuki as the Northiest town affected Central Province and the Rift Valley economically since being settler area migrant labourers were recruited to the European farms in addition to the recruitment of the soldiers in to the military. Similarly trade benefited both the African and the Europeans although it was centered more on extraction rather than development.

As observed from the data collected, although colonial Nanyuki established various social amenities such as the Cottage Hospital , the churches , settlers stores, the post office among others, it is important to conclude that the majority of these facilities were indeed a preserve of the settlers since the African workers could not afford to use these facilities. Most of the African workers resorted to their traditional healing methods whenever need arose and continued to walk on foot.²⁷ Nevertheless it would be impartial to conclude that the settlers did not contribute to Kenyans economy at the time. This is because the industries created eventually added up to the further development of Nanyuki.

The colonial urbanization policy was racially biased as the town was viewed as exclusively the domain of the Europeans. Africans were viewed as sojourners who must return to the rural areas. The view was translated into the colonial urban policy and manifested in poor urban services offered to African urban settlers in general. Although in the case of Nanyuki most workers lived within the settler farms, they were restricted through the colonial labour policies and the Vagrancy policy. As noted by one informant, a servant in Loldaiga farm, “I was not allowed to

²⁷ Charles Munyeria, O.I. October, 2010.

visit other farms or even make my own decisions. My wages were taxed first before i was given.”²⁸

The development of infrastructure also helped in enabling the farmers access help whenever necessary for example, Over time, Nanyuki shop owners benefited from the presence of a British Fire Brigade set up by the ex- soldiers in the district. This was because the brigade helped in saving many lives and property during accidental fires in the town which were often caused by Europeans who threw cigarette filters alongside the roads and in the farms. These cigarette filters especially during the dry season would light up large portions of the bushes leading to great fire accidents.

Trade in Nanyuki continued to flourish despite the various challenges such as animal and human diseases. Perhaps this could be attributed to the fact that the residents were former military personnel who knew how to protect themselves while ensuring that they made maximum profit from the farms.

²⁸ Mary Ndegwa, O.I. November, 2010.

CHAPTER FIVE

NANYUKI IN THE POST -WAR PERIOD 1946-1963

5.1 Overview

This chapter examines the development of Nanyuki in the post war period. Evidently the trading activities in Nanyuki especially stock marketing was increased with the coming back of ex-soldiers in to Nanyuki after the Second World War from 1946. These ex-soldiers who took up to ranching and stock breeding. The chapter also discusses the extension of taxation to the Africans in Mukogodo Reserve which was a part of Nanyuki District. The Mau Mau mystery is also discussed in the context of Nanyuki due to its close proximity to the Nyeri Reserve where majority of the recruits were obtained and the fact that it was the epicenter of settlerdom. More precisely in this chapter is the detailed explanation of the role played by the military personnel in Nanyuki during the emergency period. The situation in Nanyuki during the era of decolonization and nationalism is also examined.

5.2 Stock Breeding and Marketing in Nanyuki

During the colonial period, Nanyuki was an almost exclusive ranching area, thereby making stock marketing a key aspect in the trade relations in Nanyuki in the colonial period. All stock in the district with the exception of squatters stock that was sold from Mukogodo had to go through The Kenya Meat Commission which had been established by 1950. After the Second World War, ‘agreements’ were made with African tribal chiefs for Africans to vacate their land. The result was that many African herders in Nanyuki were displaced from their grazing land, and were left without adequate grazing for their livestock. They became ‘squatters’ in the eyes of the administration, and lived in communities close to the areas from which they had been displaced. The squatters grazed their cattle at the margins of the settled white farming areas and at the forest edge. They moved along the roads, grazing as they went, to wherever they could find any grass. Their presence constituted a “nuisance as well as a potential disease hazard” according to the white settlers. The settlers insisted that the movement of herds of indigenous cattle in such a haphazard manner was likely to create a potential disease hazard to the settled farming areas of Nanyuki.

Many settler farms kept livestock breeds that had been imported into Kenya from Europe and elsewhere. These imported breeds had much greater production potential than the Kenyan cattle, but were far less resistant to the endemic diseases prevalent among the indigenous cattle and small ruminant herds. Many of the African breeds of animals had developed high levels of resistance, which were both genetic and acquired. Disease control activities at that time involved movement restrictions, which were primarily designed to protect and exploit the higher production potential of the improved livestock breeds held in Nanyuki District however, this did not consider the indigenous cattle breeds to a similar extent.

Animal diseases such as Rinderpest, Bovine Pleuropneumonia and tick-borne diseases were allegedly carried by the indigenous cattle groups according to the European settlers. For example, in 1951,¹ there were reports of Foot and Mouth disease. Tick Fever and Black Quarter cases were also reported. The worst blow to trade in Nanyuki came with the report on April 1951 of horse sickness.² Many horses suffered and approximately 40 horses died of this disease.³ This was a major setback as most settlers depended on horses and oxen for transportation of goods to the railway and the market places.

Diseases presented significant hazards to the improved stock on many of the settler farms, and animal movement restrictions were a major component of the disease control activities at that time. The response of the colonial government to this problem was to attempt to remove the hazards presented by these marginal cattle belonging to people they described as ‘squatters’ to the high-potential cattle breeds owned by the settler farmers. The authorities involved in implementing this policy were the European District Councils. Policing of the ‘squatter’ cattle became more vigorous.

¹KNA/DC/NYK/3/18/2: Monthly/Yearly Reports of Veterinary Office.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

As a collective punishment, the cattle were often impounded and their owners could be forced to sell them. This sale was often at prices that were below their actual market value.⁴ Furthermore, the purchasers were often the settlers themselves, which increased the resentment between the settlers and the local community members in Nanyuki.⁵

As a result of the increased resentment, the herders practiced two types of activities against the administration and the settler farming communities in Nanyuki. First, large areas of pastureland were set alight to destroy the seasonal grazing potential of the farmland.⁶ This was especially the case in the Nyeri and Nanyuki Districts. Second, cattle were attacked with *pangas*,⁷ used to cut the large tendon at the point of the hock (the Achilles tendon). If both hind-limb tendons on an animal were cut, the animal was totally unable to stand on its hind legs. If only one tendon was cut then, that leg would become useless. There was no treatment for these injuries and affected animals had to be slaughtered on humane grounds. The number of cattle maimed in this way was not accurately determined, but was approximated at several thousands. Figures of between 1,000 and 10,000 have been quoted; however, contemporary opinion suggests that the figures were very much of the lower order and that only 1,500 to 3,000 animals were affected.⁸

Precise data on this point was difficult to obtain. Hamstringing cattle was an economic strategy, and it was suspected that those small-scale African farmers who had been displaced from the farm areas were behind it. They had been paid extremely low prices for their land, and many of them were living in squatter communities in the adjacent villages or forest edges. The government at the time had also, on occasion, confiscated the livestock of these communities as a form of collective punishment. Confiscations were often followed, by the reprisal of hamstringing cattle belonging to the white farmers.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Charles, Ndirangu, O.I., October, 2010.

⁶ Charles, Njuguna, O.I. ,October, 2010.

⁷ *Panga*- the simple, sharp-bladed, hand-axe-like tool used by many Kenyan African communities in their daily life. It is used in agriculture as a cultivating and cleaning tool, and in the cutting and collection of wood for household purposes.

⁸ KNA/DC/NYK/3/18/2, Monthly/Yearly Reports of Veterinary Office.

The impact of this activity in economic terms was probably not very significant as Europeans in Nanyuki continued to export their meat products and expand on productions. It served however to drive more vigorous colonial government responses against the Mau Mau uprising and to increase security activities against those perceived to be responsible. A conclusion might be drawn that this was a totally understandable response by a population, which had experienced real injustice by an administration that was in their view interested only in the Europeans.

Following the African reaction of hamstringing, the colonial government's response was implemented through the various by-laws that were passed in relation to trade in Nanyuki and Mukogodo Reserve.⁹ First was the Mukogodo Sale of Stock By-Laws which were proposed by Councilor Kurugai Ole Ruma and recommended by the chairman of the D.C. A.P. Palmer. The By-laws had the following regulations enacted.¹⁰ That:

The chairman of the District Council of Mukogodo will from time to time be mandated to fix dates for the holding of cattle sales. In all the sales, the seller shall pay a cess of Sh.5/= to the District Council of Mukogodo and the buyer Sh10/= to the African District Council of Mukogodo. Sheep, goats and donkeys may be sold at anytime. However, each sheep, goat or donkey sold there shall be levied 50 cents to be paid by the buyer to the African District Council of Mukogodo.¹¹

The consequence of contravening this by law was a fine of Sh.200/= or 2 months imprisonment.¹² These by -law was put in place to monitor the cattle sale in Mukogodo reserve and also reduce the stock breeding process by the Africans while the Europeans settlers on the contrary had no duty to pay and kept as many cattle as they could manage.

As a result of the by-law, the exports from African areas increased by almost 100%. 975 head of cattle and 3,245 sheep and goats were sold in Mukogodo during the year 1955.¹³ This was a large increase over previous years. The average price per beast was Shs 136/- for cattle. In addition,

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ KNA/ LND/16/5/1, Resolutions and By-Laws,1958

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ KNA/DC/NKI/2/6/27: Nanyuki Township-Stock Sales Yard, 1927-1948

229 hides, 991 sheep skin and 2,357 goat skins were also exported from this reserve.¹⁴The only items that were imported by the tribesmen in Mukogodo were posho and cloth.¹⁵

There is no doubt that trade has been brisk in Nanyuki, and normal in other business centers. Nanyuki shop- owners have benefited by the presence of a British Brigade in the District (Mentioned earlier), and there was a certain air of despondency when the Brigade was broken up and left. One of the largest traders stated that money was now becoming tight. None- the – less the improvement in the emergency has lead to many applications for premises and development is being held up the lands department who would appear to be unwilling or unable to advertise plots that have already been surveyed despite repeated requests by this office.

In the same year, the Control of Anthrax By-Law of 1958 was drafted by the Ministry of Agriculture.¹⁶ The control of Anthrax was compulsory according P.T. Preston who was then the Provincial Veterinary Officer of Central Province. Although at that time no cases of the disease had been observed in Nanyuki area. On the same a new rate was introduced to the African District Councils. According to the Commissioner for Local Government in 1958, R. Tatton Brown, a resolution was passed as follows in Central Nyanza;

That in respect of the year 1959, there shall be levy collected from every African unmarried woman inhabitant of Central Nyanza established at Shs 18/=. Such rate shall be paid by every inhabitant on or before 31st January 1959.This is in addition to a location rate varying from Sh. 4/= to Sh.5/=.¹⁷

How did this rate affect the African residents of Nanyuki? This meant that all African men living in Nanyuki and who had families in Central Nyanza would have to pay the levy for their wives and daughters. Indeed a large percentage of African men from Central Nyanza had been recruited into the K.A.R and Army and were therefore residents of Nanyuki.

In 1959, another by-law that was to be adhered to was the African District Council of Mukogodo (Minor Communal Services) By-Law. This by-law required that a chief appoint an able –bodied

¹⁴Ibid.,

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ KNA/DC/NKI/1/1: Annual Report Nanyuki 1957-1959

¹⁷KNA /LND/16/5/2, FL4/5: African District Councils, 1958.

adult African male to work for not more than 24 days under his jurisdiction. He was to carry out minor communal services which included the maintenance of local roads, establishment of camps for administrative purposes and soil conservation work. The wages that were to be paid for this work was not constant and this meant exploitation of the African male who in addition had to pay tax thereafter. As observed by two informants, “sometimes the communal work was used as punishment for defiant Africans under the colonial chiefs in Nanyuki.”¹⁸

By 1960, it was resolved by the Mukogodo African District Council with A. P. Palmer the then D.C Nanyuki that extra fees should be charged at DolDol Health Centre as follows; Adults Shs. 20/= in lieu of Shs.10/=, Maternity Shs 30/= in lieu of Shs 20/= and children Shs10/= in lieu of Shs.5/=.This rise in medical fees was justified as a result of the need to improve the health facility. Unfortunately, the wages of the Africans was not improved to enable them pay for the medical fees. Finally, to replace all the amendments made on by-laws from 1950; in January 1961 a revised list of all existing subsidiary legislative by-laws and fees was issued to the D.C Nanyuki office. In total the by -laws that applied in Nanyuki are listed in the table below.

BY-LAW.	DATE PASSED.
1. Hides and Skins	08/09/1956
2. Stock Breeding	06/01/1956
3. Sales of Stock	20/11/1958
4. Minor Communal Services	21/01/1959
5. Sales of Stock (Amendment)	22/07/1959
6. Licensing of Dogs	10/08/1959
7. Medical fees	21/10/1960
8. Sand Cess	1962.

Figure .4. Source: KNA/LND /16/5/1.ADC-Resolutions and By-Laws

A conclusion might be drawn that while the Europeans in Nanyuki sought to make maximum profits out of their farms they also ensured that Africans as a result of the by-laws worked hard enough to benefit the colonial government.

¹⁸ George Mwai, O.I. October ,2010,

Apart from diseases and the hamstringing of cattle, another set back to stock marketing was stock theft. Relations were strained between farmers and their *dorobo* neighbours especially during the dry weather season when trespass by the latter became a little too frequent. The fines for this offence were greatly increased and trespass ceased. In January 1955 a meeting was held to Kirimun between Samburu, dorobo and their European neighbours on the subject of stock theft. The elders from both communities agreed to pay compensation for stolen stock tracked to their respective reserves. A scale of compensation for the age and sex of the beast stolen was laid down. After compensation was paid for several stock thefts in quick succession the *dorobo* elders exercised control over their *Murran* because very few further thefts were reported. Chief Tugendei of the IIMwesi section came under the greatest fire as it was noted that the *murrans* from his area were the most notorious in stealing cattle. Frequently, *Murrans* from other sections or Samburu moved through his location to carry out their thefts.¹⁹

The years prior to Kenya's independence were characterized with the rise of the trade union movements.²⁰ These were specifically set up to articulate the grievances of the Africans. African workers in Nanyuki joined these unions in large numbers.²¹ The greatest change that occurred in Nanyuki was in two major departments that is health and education. The latter experienced a radical change with African children now being able to attend school together with the Europeans. Admission was in large numbers for the kindergarten and primary school thereafter, most children were sent to Limuru and Nairobi for their secondary education since there were no secondary schools established in Nanyuki by then. The fees for the European settlers ranged between Shs. 400/= and Shs. 150/=.²² Payment of school fees in the years prior to independence by Africans was done through the sale of cattle. It was until after independence in January 1965 that the government agreed to open up a secondary school in Nanyuki at the old European Primary School. However, the population in Laikipia District as a whole had to raise sufficient funds to build a dining hall, a kitchen and a dormitory at a cost of £ 3,500.²³

¹⁹ Ibid.,

²⁰ KNA/DC/Meru /2/10/1, Monthly Report of the Labour Office at Nanyuki, 1960-1963

²¹ Josephat Gitonga King'ori and Francis Ole Kaparo, O.I. November 2010

²² KNA /FL3/1, Nanyuki Primary School, 1942-1983

²³ Ibid.,

Under the guidance of the council, another social amenity was set up. The Nanyuki Cottage Hospital was constructed in part as a memorial to Mr. Randall and General Wheately, the two earliest settlers in Nanyuki. At the end of the Second World War, it was felt that the time had come for Nanyuki to be served by a modern and up to date hospital. A number of residents suggested that the land and buildings offered to the government by Mr. Randall and Wheately be sold and the proceeds be used to increase the accommodation capacity at the new hospital then built in Nyeri. On the other hand, others felt that with the rapidly increasing population of Nanyuki residents, such a hospital should be built in Nanyuki instead. After consultation with the hospital authority and the government, in 1949 public meeting was held in Nanyuki and the hospital committee was authorized to go ahead with the construction. By 1950, the census of Europeans in the Nanyuki showed 1300 persons of all ages and sexes. Of this number, it was approximated that half of them were to be served by the new hospital. A conservative estimate of the Europeans using Nanyuki as their trading centre placed the total aggregate income of traders at not less than £ 30,000 per month.²⁴

While it is not possible to state how much each person contributed towards the construction of Nanyuki Cottage hospital, a capital sum of £5000 which together with an equal contribution from the colonial government enabled the committee of the Nanyuki Cottage Hospital Society to sign a contract for the present new building.²⁵ In addition to the donations for the construction of the hospital, all the Europeans were to pay five shillings per month towards the maintenance of the hospital through the Standard Bank the only Bank in colonial Nanyuki up to the period after independence.²⁶ In case of illness, a payment of fifteen shillings per day whilst in hospital was also applicable. This amount catered for the inpatient and in part for the less fortunate who from time to time required treatment in Cottage hospital. Alongside the Cottage hospital a native dispensary was set up for the African workers in Nanyuki although it had minimal facilities in addition it was considered expensive by Africans who resorted to herbal and traditional healing methods when they were sick. Majority of the African workers could easily obtain herbal medicine from the Mount Kenya forest area as stated by one informant that “with the harm

²⁴ KNA/VQ/16/3: District Monthly Reports, 1949-1959

²⁵ KNA/DC/NKI/3/14/1: Native Dispensary Nanyuki, 1934-1955

²⁶ Ibid.,

stringing going on it was difficult for Africans to trust Europeans. In fact, it was believed that they would overdose the Africans to revenge for their loss.²⁷

5.3 Taxation in Mukogodo Reserve

The colonial government found it necessary to enforce the taxation policy in Mukogodo reserve due to the fact that the reserve provided labour to the settler area in addition to it being a part of the crown land. The Annual Report of 1955²⁸ stated that both the central and local government taxes in Mukogodo were under collected due to the fact that many men were in the security forces or in employment outside the district. It was proposed that the Mukogodo African District Council was to take over all services previously provided by African Land Development Board (ALDEV). To cover expenditure, the council doubled their district council rate and increased the stock sale prices from Shs. 2/ to Shs 12/=²⁹

An inspection was similarly carried out in Nanyuki in the same year by the District Revenue Officer. The result was produced approximately 230 people who had not paid their taxes. They were at the time, the African District Council tax was collected on behalf of the Nyeri and Meru districts for the year 1955. The revenue collected was ₴ 3,279, the expenditure was ₴ 783 therefore the excess expenditure was 2,496.³⁰ The period 1953 up to 1955 was also characterized by high poll and special taxes collected in Mukogodo reserve as elaborated in the table below.

Collection of African Poll Tax and Special Tax

Year	Poll Tax	Special Tax
1953	£7,681	£5,852
1954	£7,165	£5,322
1955	£14,168	£5,638

Figure 5: Source; Developed from KNA/JA/1/220: Nanyuki Urban District Council Minutes, 1957

²⁷ George Mwai, O.I. November 2010

²⁸ KNA/VQ/16/97; Nanyuki District Annual Report, 1945

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

The poll tax collected in 1953 increased by 100% in 1955 as a result of the police searches that were carried out in Mukogodo in order to find the Mau Mau.

5.4 Nanyuki during the Emergency Period

Nanyuki district was very strategic during the emergency period due to various reasons. First, the area was known to have vast land and bushes in addition to the thick Mount Kenya forest, the Aberdare forest and the caves which served as the perfect hideout for the Mau Mau fighters. The second reason was due to the presence of the military in Nanyuki from whom the Mau Mau had hoped to acquire arms easily either by stealing or buying. Thirdly, the farms in Nanyuki were vast making the European settlers an easy target of attack by the Mau Mau. Finally the proximity of Nanyuki to both Meru and Nyeri Reserve would ensure adequate supply of food by Africans to the Mau Mau in the forest during the struggle. Indeed Nanyuki was thus very central in the administration of the Mau Mau.³¹

The infiltration of the Mau Mau into Nanyuki district began quite early in 1950. As observed by one informant, that the start of operation Scaramouche which targeted the combing out of the bushes began after Africans had killed large numbers of Europeans. It is during the operation that screening was done. Screening had to be followed up by the protection and aftercare i.e. the formation of resistance committees in their midst and tedious task rendered more difficult by instructions regarding prosecutions which affected the disposal of screened personnel. None – the-less approximately fifty percent of the farm were screened by the end of the year.³²

By 1956 the T.P.R were increased from 500 to 807. On the same, the Kenya Police farm guards were posted out on farm houses and all labour had already been concentrated near the settlers houses. This was done to offer protection to the African labourers in European farms but also to ensure that their opportunities to assist Mau Mau were greatly reduced. Nonetheless, the resident's gang and others on occasions obtained all support they needed from the unscreened

³¹ KNA/DC/NKI/1/1: Annual Report Nanyuki 1957-1959

³² KNA/DC/NKI/1/2: Annual Report Nanyuki 1955

farms or else stole what stock and crops they required for their sustenance. Throughout the year control was gradually tightened and the Mau Mau found life more and more difficult.

To ensure further safety from Mau Mau attackers, a system known as close boma was introduced. The order to close-boma all stock raised considerable opposition in the Nanyuki Division and a group of farmers attended the provincial Emergency Committee to put their point of view and later met Lieutenant General Lathbury at Nanyuki. Having discussed the matter at length, farmers were made to understand that the order was to be applied throughout the emergency in the settled areas. The farmers therefore got down to it and in the majority of cases cooperated magnificently. Detailed concentration orders were issued to each farmer which took into account the peculation of his farm and later further written instructions were issued regarding relaxation measures to be brought into force at the end of the emergency.

Several farms in Nanyuki were ordered to close-bomas whenever it was considered essential. The main obstacles to close-bomaring were the lack of guards to protect the bomas, and it was considered extremely risky to leave the bomas stock without protection. This point was proved when 400 sheep bomas on Coles estate, were left unguarded and the animals were, slashed and maimed by the Mau Mau. In June 1956, a decision was taken by the settlers in Nanyuki to close-boma all stock under the vigilant watch of 774 special tribal police guards who were provided for the purpose. By September all stock was confined to the bomas at night under guard. These bomas formed big estates that were often miles from the European owners' homesteads.

In addition to close bomaring other methods were adapted. The fight against Mau Mau was carried out using three major operations; operations hammer, in the Aberdare first flute, in Mount Kenya and hunger strike in the settled areas. These operations met with varied success, but together with constant military activity with police and auxiliary forces a total of 237 'Gangsters' were killed, captured and surrendered. 19 precision weapons and over 500 rounds of ammunition were recovered. Several of the leading the terrorists were killed, the principal one being Mohamed Mwai who was responsible for the death of Mr. Beccaloni in 1954. With the killing of Mohamed Mwai the entire gang who participated in this murder were accounted for. Stock losses were fairly constant at rate of 50 head of cattle monthly for the first six months of

the year 1954, but after close- bombing had been effected all over the district losses were reduced in a spectacular fashion. A total of 530 head of cattle's, approximately 1,200 of a sheep and 68 other stock were stolen or destroyed by the Mau Mau . Over 700 of the sheep losses occurred in two separate incidents. In November, 1954, however, only two head of stock were lost.

The European settlers realized that much of the farm produce cultivated was being stolen. As a result in March 1954 the European farmers in Nanyuki decided to permit African Labourers to grow foodstuffs in the three mile belt round the forest ridges however this was with the exception of potatoes which was a preferred crop for the Mau Mau in the forest. While these measures seemed to be a step towards improving African welfare, the contrary is true because as a result, the monthly compensation to the African which varied from Sh. 10/- to Sh. 40/- for the crops he was previously unable to grow was discontinued. This enabled the Europeans to save great deal of money and the resultant loss of foodstuffs to the Mau Mau became negligible. This measure was aimed at starving the Mau Mau in the forest with a hope that they would surrender.³³

As a result of constantly finding the remains of African type sheep in Mau Mau hides it becomes obvious that the resident labour were assisting the Mau Mau with squatter's sheep. In Aug therefore two resident labour inspectors were posted to Nanyuki and all the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru squatter stock was removed sold and the money placed on deposit in the District Commissioners Office. Surplus Kipsigis and Nandi stock was removed. On the whole the removal was carried out smoothly but it was found adequate records had not been kept and the figures had to be rechecked. Several farmers were not co-operative and took over their squatter sheep in order to prevent confiscation. Pass books were issued to all adult kikuyu, Embu and Meru men and women and an initial issue of over 19,000 was made. The district was declared a passbook controlled area in October. In order to assist in the issuing all leave to the reserve was stopped during August and September.³⁴

³³ KNA/DC/NKI/2/2: Handing Over Report 1958

³⁴ KNA/DC/NKI/1/2: Annual Report Nanyuki 1955

It can be argued that it Nanyuki District made do with the minimum security required to keep the situation under control, whereas by 1955 emphasis gradually changed from the reserves to the settled area. To illustrate this point in 1954 on K.A.R. battalion and 156 batteries supported the police in the district whereas in 1955 there was always one brigade and sometimes element of a second in the area. The strength of the auxiliary forces rose from 300 T.P.R and a handful of K.P.R at the start of the year to 433 T.P.R, 744 special farm guards and 807 K.P.R suitable officered by September.³⁵

There was no doubt that Nanyuki district was one of the main centers of supply of arms, food and recruits to the Mau Mau in Mount Kenya forest, as noted in the Annual Report of 1955.³⁶Gangs in Nyeri and Meru reserves used to send couriers to the township to pick up supplies of all kinds. A task force was set up in Nanyuki during the Emergency period.The duty of the task force was to eliminate a possible maximum of 100 ‘terrorists’ scattered over 2500 square miles of Nanyuki district and the adjacent areas. The forces available to carry out the task included the military; One K.A.R. Battalion and the East African Squadron. A further Two K.A.R Battalion was allocated to Nyeri. The Kenya Police also had an approximate operational strength of 62 Europeans and 680 Africans in 31 police posts and stations plus 7 tracker teams and 5 General Service Unit. The administration had 30 Tribal Police and 433 Tribal Police Reserve, 1,581 Special Farm Guards and 7 screening teams under 4 European officers.³⁷

On 5th February, 1955 a large scale raid was carried out in Nanyuki. This operation known as ‘Scaramouche’ was extremely successful, hooded men were used to pick out the Mau Mau passive wing, and almost 4,500 persons were passed before them; as a result 988 men and women were detained for *screening*.³⁸ A considerable number of these were released by the screening camps, but as a result of the information received a further 500 persons were picked up. The first screening in Nanyuki district took four months and resulted in the prosecution and jailing of several hundred Africans, but the results were justified in that the Mau Mau

³⁵ Ibid.,

³⁶ Ibid.,

³⁷ KNA/DC/NKI/3/4/38: Arms Returns Nanyuki, 1956-1957

³⁸During the Emergency, *screening* was the term used by colonial authorities to mean the interrogation of a Mau Mau suspect. The alleged member or sympathizer of Mau Mau would be interrogated in order to obtain an admission of guilt—specifically, a confession that they had taken the Mau Mau oath.

organization was totally disrupted.³⁹ A chief's centre was opened up in Nanyuki location and resistance committees were formed to combat the Mau Mau. As explained by the District Commissioner, "The operation was a complete success and was the hardest single blow struck at the Mau Mau in the district during the year."⁴⁰

Still in the same year, seven teams were generally in operation but difficulty was found in obtaining the services of suitable officers. The efficiency and effectiveness of the teams depended upon their officers. Screening was however considered by the Europeans as the only method of destroying the Mau Mau passive wing. As elaborated upon later, screening was carried out by the military in all the farms. As emphasized upon by the District Commissioner:

Screening has proved itself as the only satisfactory method of combating the passive wing. It is unfortunate that some teams in other districts have brought disrepute upon the system which has led to various restrictions such as denial of surrendered and captured terrorists to screening teams. The screening teams of which there are eight in existence work slowly but surely and cannot be hurried without skimping the work to be done. Should they be hurried it will lengthen the process in the long run as the teams will have to return to rescreen farms.⁴¹

On the same screening activity, the maximum number of teams any one officer could efficiently supervise was two. A suggestion was made that each officer should handle eight teams. This was resisted as it was believed to be inefficient in supervision, and resulted in very low standards of work. There was no doubt that the screening teams were to be retained for a long time in order to deal with any subversive societies or activities related to the legacies of Mau Mau. It was thought that probably as the teams were run down the best were retained as the personnel of the chiefs centers throughout the district where they later acted as the District Commissioner's eyes and ears.⁴²

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ KNA/DC/NKI/3/9/33: Nanyuki Screening Camp; Weekly Reports, 1954-1955

⁴¹ KNA/DC/NKI/3/9/33: Nanyuki Screening Camp; Weekly Reports, 1954-1955

⁴² Ibid.,

Furthermore, great importance was laid on the after care of screened farms which meant the continual re-visiting by the screening teams, and the formation of resistance groups who would operate when possible with the S.F.G and T.P.R., and would provide a force upon which the farmer may rely when the time came to run down the government forces.⁴³

In addition to screening, there were also punitive actions set up against African stock-owning communities. This was especially the case in Nanyuki and Naivasha Districts, which were particularly attractive to new settler communities.⁴⁴ Africans had to give up their livestock due to the restrictions put in place for the number of animals that one could have in a herd and the high taxation and sanction placed by the colonial government.⁴⁵ The response of the Africans in Nanyuki to screening was characterized by resistance as observed by one oral informant:

I was born in 1930. I came to Nanyuki during the emergency 1953. As a result of the emergency, from 1952, the curfew put by the colonial government led to many people being killed and arrested. We had to walk with a pass from your *Bwana*. In Majengo in Nanyuki the movement of Africans was restricted, especially for the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru. Women in my opinion played an important role in supplying food and other necessities to the Mau Mau. Africans who spied for the Europeans were referred to as *Gacheru*. Majengo area was guarded to ensure no person interacted with the Mau Mau.⁴⁶

Most Africans who lived in Nanyuki in the colonial period were residents of Majengo and Likii area. Africans soldiers were appointed to guard the gate. This restricted movement to the other parts of Nanyuki which were occupied by Europeans and Asians especially during the emergency. The Majengo area likewise had only one club Mohammed Kyalo's club which was also screened abruptly by the appointed home guards. Another informant stated that as a result of suspicion:

We experienced a lot of discrimination as Africans even in usage of commodities and utensils. Africans were strictly supposed to use *Mabati* cans. I remember the famous note written by my bwana when he sent me to the butchery. "*Nyamaya Bwana*,

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ KNA/DC/NKI/3/9/33; Nanyuki Screening Camp; Weekly Reports, 1954-1955.

⁴⁵ KNA/DC/NKI/3/9/34: Kikuyu Guard; General Nanyuki, 1954-1955

⁴⁶ Paul Mruigi Mrarama, O.I October 2010

NyamayaMbwa then NyamayaBoyi. Even dogs were given better portions of meat than African workers.⁴⁷

In addition, Officer, Brigadier Hendriks, has an administrative Assistant as a Quartermaster to assist him in the routine running of 2000 T.P.R and S.F.G.⁴⁸ An Administrative Assistant was in charge of Nanyuki Native Location in which a chief's center had been built. There were three chiefs in the Mukogodo in charge of the Ndigirri, Mukogodo and the 11 Maasai sections. The chiefs were Sereu, Kariange and Tugendei. The chief Sereu was said to have great influence. In the settled area there was only one chief who was responsible for the location; Mwangi Thuita.⁴⁹

5.3. Role of the Military during the Mau Mau Struggle in Nanyuki

During the Emergency the task of the military in Nanyuki was to maintain maximum security. This was done effectively by dividing the roles amongst the various police forces available in Nanyuki District. In addition, curfew passes were issued to all the non-European residents of Nanyuki.⁵⁰ A careful measure was taken to ensure that the Mau Mau did not infiltrate to the Nanyuki – Majengo area after screening had been completed. Chief or Headmen's centres were set up at Nanyuki, Timau, Naro Moru, Ngobit, Mweiga and Kiganjo to ensure a closer administration of Africans throughout the settled area. These centres consisted of accommodation for the chief and four askaris, an office for the chief, a tax clerk and a Kiama Hall for a traveling Native Tribunal. The Aberdare County Council also opened up African Community Centers which were adjacent to the chief's centers. Another centre was also established at De Batards on the Nanyuki River as it was believed that the thicket surrounding the river could offer a hiding place for the Mau Mau.⁵¹

Another measure taken was the merging of sub districts to ensure effective management of security during the emergency. The Kiganjo and Mweiga sub-districts and Nyeri settled area police division was entirely re-organized in addition to the Mweiga/Kiganjo Divisions. The

⁴⁷ Paul Kamitha, O.I. October, 2010

⁴⁸ Ibid.,

⁴⁹ Ibid.,

⁵⁰ KNA/1/ 4/ Nanyuki District Operational Plan Period 1st April -30th June 1956

⁵¹ Ibid.

Nyeri settled area division was closed down and Nyeri Township came under the Nyeri reserve police division. A senior chief inspector was appointed and was responsible for the Mweiga sub-district. The merging of divisions and subdivisions during the emergency was as a result of the European need to secure their farms and guard against the Mau Mau more effectively. It was also a mechanism to ensure that screening would be done effectively.

The military forces in Nanyuki also participated in the screening exercises. Roles were divided amongst the security forces as follows: the overall operations were planned by the District Emergency committee, but divisional emergency committees were responsible for planning smaller operations within their divisional areas. Army representatives were to attend the divisional Emergency committee within their unit areas. The Committees included District Officers, District Screening Officers, Special Branch, the Divisional Officers and the Chief Inspector or Assistant Superintendent of Police.⁵² The task of the army was to support the administration and Kenya Police. They were deployed mainly in the forest. The Kenya Police were responsible for the elimination of ‘terrorists’ in the settled areas, and those portions of the forest that were handed over to them by the army.

The methods that were used to combat the Mau Mau in Nanyuki area varied to suit the incidents. There was the use of pseudo gangs and Special Forces to obtain the information required to mount an operation against specific targets. There were also continual routine patrols which were carried out by the police with particular emphasis on farms where it was believed that animal strays were not being reported. All reports of strays were also followed up by police patrols. Whenever it was feasible, The Special Farm Guards (S.F.G) and the Tribal Police Reserves (T.P.R) were used by police for operations. Consideration was also given for the inclusion of farm labourers especially on the large scale farms with the assistance of the Kenya Police Reserves (K.P.R.s). Another mechanism employed was the routine checking of passes, surprise road checks and raids on labour lines.⁵³

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid

Another group within the military was the Auxiliary forces whose role was to ensure the denial of food to 'the enemy' (Mau Mau) by the protection of livestock and guarding of villages to prevent contact with the enemy.⁵⁴ African Farm/Home guards were also appointed alongside the Auxiliary forces. Their duties were stipulated as follows (without any alterations except for clarifications within parenthesis :)

1. African home guards must neither be asked to, nor be expected to, combine their duties as guards with ordinary farm labour work, with the possible exception of herding stock.
2. The only role of African Home Guard is to safeguard stock, unless specifically ordered instead, under the District commissioner's authority, to safeguard life and property.
3. It is the duty of African home guard to report immediately to a European any untoward happening upon the farm. If strangers are seen they should be brought to a European; should they run on being challenged, they will be shot. If the strangers are in a large party, then a watch should be maintained on the party's movements whilst information is dispatched by quickest means to European.
4. African home guard must not normally leave the farm when on duty, except when accompanied by a European or members of the security forces.
5. If an employer grants a local leave pass to an African Home Guard to proceed by himself, then the employer is responsible for the same custody of the firearm until the African home guard returns.
6. During curfew hours, African home guard will all occupy a bullet-proofed non-inflammable strongpoint, surrounded by a wired perimeter fence, with sentries properly posted. This may be the same position as that manned by T.P.R. if extant upon the property. African home guard sentries will watch and protect stock from their night position and only move outside the wired perimeter fence of their strongpoint when special arrangements to this effect have been made previously with the security forces concerned.

⁵⁴ KNA/DC/NKI/3/9/34: Kikuyu Guard; General Nanyuki, 1954-1955

7. During the daytime, never less than two firearms and, if possible, three will be carried in any one part and, if available, spearman should also be present. On no account will one man be allowed to leave his comrades with his firearm by himself, or attack may be invited.
8. As for T.P.R., the amount of ammunition per firearm to be carried is 10 rounds per shotgun and 15 per rifle, a small reserve per detachment of 25 rounds being retained by the employer or the nearest police post.
9. The employer of an African home guard is responsible to the divisional district officer for all administration weapons and ammunition issued to his African home guard. He will be assisted by the District officer (T.P.R), who will check holdings at least once monthly. Empty cases should be surrendered when ammunition replacements are required.
10. In order to facilitate easy recognition by security forces, the African home guard must invariably wear metal brassards and, where issued, green berets and uniform. They must carry on their persons a certificate of employment and local leave pass, showing that they are members of the African home guard, the name of the employer, the number of their firearm and the amount of ammunition carried.⁵⁵

The Farm guards were used for ambushes, and were made responsible for the security on the farms during the day and at night. The aim of the African farm guards was to ensure that no ‘terrorists’ could live on the farm for which they were responsible. Their appointment led to the reduction in stock losses and the interrogation of captured and surrendered terrorists who would state that the Mau Mau obtained food with difficulty as a result of the food denial measures.⁵⁶

It was the duty of the police post commanders’ to ensure that all orders issued under emergency regulations were complied with in his area. The police posts that were set up included: Kiganjo police station, Naro Moru Police station, Ndathi Police station, Royal lodge police post, Kirkwood’s police post, Mt Kenya estates police post and the Airfield Police

⁵⁵ KNA/VQ/16/97: Nanyuki District Annual Report, 1955

⁵⁶ Ibid.

Post.⁵⁷ Reinforcement of security was further enhanced through the deployment of more security forces from April 1956.⁵⁸ This included the 26th (T) Battalion K.A.R who were stationed on James' farm, with their area of responsibility being South Nyeri. The 3rd (k)Bn K.A.R. was responsible for the forest adjoining the Division, an area reported as a great Mau Mau hide out, stationed more or less from about 1/4/56 the 3rd K.A.R ceased to be responsible for this area, the 26th KAR were also returning to Tanganyika. They were replaced by the 5th (k) Bn K.A.R. who will then assume responsibility for this area so far as the forest is concerned.⁵⁹ Replacements were done even more vigorously in the same year within the farms with more police guards being deployed as shown in the table below.

Notably, the K.A.R. together with the Kenya Police, the Kenya territorial unit and the Kenya Regiment were the main forces used against the Mau Mau in Nanyuki. They were assisted by the British Military but only to a small extent. The teams were officered by British Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers and conscripted Local Europeans. With all this police reinforcement in Nanyuki it is inherent to conclude that the farms were well guarded although the researcher was not able to establish the exact numbers of the Mau Mau or the police forces who were killed or captured in Nanyuki area during the revolt. There were also three chiefs in the Mukogodo area who were in charge of the Digirri, Mukogodo and the 11 Maasai sections. The chiefs were Sereu, Kariange and Tugendei. The Chief Sereu was considered the best and he had great influence in the area. In the settled area there was one chief who was also a screening Chief Mwangi Thuita. These chiefs were said to have worked with the European administration to ensure that the Mau Mau were eliminated.

5.5. Role of Women in Nanyuki District during the Mau Mau Struggle

Women were key participants in the democratization process in Kenya. They were involved in various struggles that led to independence. These struggles range from the simple protests to the the Mau Mau protests and even to other more protests in the period after independence due to the

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Kiganjo Division Handing Over Report, March 1956. See also, The "Appreciation of the situation" by Nanyuki D.E.C of 14th February 1956.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

misappropriation of public resources available by those in authority.⁶⁰ Female rebellion took a more violent turn in 1951. For example, In Murang'a, to control the Rinderpest epidemic, the colonial government had authorized a total inoculation of animals. Hundreds of women stormed the inoculation centres and chased away the inspectors. Over 500 women were arrested while others were injured during the fracas.⁶¹ In addition, in 1947, women in Kiambu district stopped picking coffee in the areas between Rivers Chania and Ndarugu because they wanted the prices to be increased by 50cents. To ensure solidarity their leaders threatened to apply a traditional curse on anyone who would go to pick coffee.⁶²

The aforementioned struggles can be conclusive of the build up into the Mau Mau struggles which was referred to by Padmore as “a full scale military operation- the biggest colonial War in Africa since the Boer War.”⁶³ The women who participated in the Mau Mau struggle in Nanyuki can be classified into two major groups; the Forest Mau Mau women and the Domestic Mau Mau women. The former group engaged themselves in intensive campaign of oath –taking to ensure unity among the Kikuyu. During these ceremonies they arranged candidates by sex, beating and intimidating them to ensure that they did not betray the struggle.⁶⁴ The women also went into the forest voluntarily to join other freedom fighters. Some women especially younger ones were abducted to the forest as porters and as “wives” of the freedom fighters.⁶⁵ Some women combined domestic tasks with minor military duties such as cleaning guns and helping in the making of weapons and ammunition while others became fully fledged warriors fighting alongside the men. In August 1953 a meeting of the Aberdare forest leaders resolved that women were to be commissioned up to the rank of “Colonel” depending on their military competence .It was further agreed that incase a woman fell pregnant she would lose the rifle and the man

⁶⁰ C. Rosberg & J. Nottingham, *The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya*, (Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1996)

⁶¹ Maina-wa-Kinyatti, *Thunder from the Mountains: Mau Mau Patriotic Songs*, (London : Zed Press, 1980)

⁶² KNA: MAA/2/3/iv, 1947:3

⁶³ G. Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or communism*, (London : Dobson, 1953)

⁶⁴ Oath taking incorporated features relating to female sexuality and women were required for the performance of these rites. Menstrual blood was an ingredient of some oath concoctions, and various higher oaths included the sexual acts such as placing a dog's or rams penis into a woman's vulva and or the initiate inserting his penis into a woman's vulva for a specified number of times. These oaths bound the partakers to greater violence and secrecy during the struggle.

⁶⁵ D. Barnett and K. Njama, *Mau Mau from Within*, (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1966)

involved would be subjected to punitive chores.⁶⁶ Examples of women leaders in the Mau Mau struggle included Muthoni Ngatha who rose to the position of field Marshal and Wagiri Njoroge who was crowned as the Queen of Mau Mau. The latter group; the Domestic Mau Mau women acted as carriers of both food and firearms to the forest guerillas. One such woman was Florence Maina a resident of Nanyuki who stated that:

The only duty I had to carry out was to supply food and firearms to the guerillas in the forest some of whom were my closest relatives. This would be done just before dawn when the home guards were first asleep as a result of the cold weather in Nanyuki. It was easy for me as in a farm that was close to the forest edge.⁶⁷

Despite the tough screening exercise that was being conducted, the collection of food and its delivery to freedom fighters from Nanyuki continued throughout the emergency. It was however a major logistical operation that was centrally organized. A woman leader would gather information about the freedom fighters requirements and with the help of assistants the leader would mobilize women to collect the food which was covered in goat manure to conceal the content.

As observed by Itote, all Mau Mau adherents were expected to follow a specific social code. Therefore women were forbidden from getting involved with non-Kikuyu men or with un oathed Kikuyu who were considered enemies of the struggle. An interaction in Gakenia Village in Nanyuki was however seen as advantageous where four girls lured four loyalist African soldiers to Kaarage Forest where the soldiers were killed and their rifles taken.⁶⁸ In addition women who worked in the settler farms were reported to have pretended to be sick after stealing guns thus staying at home and in the process they would coordinate with the women leaders from the Mount Kenya and Aberdare forests who would gather the guns and ammunition into the forest.⁶⁹ Based on the above discussion it is clear that the role played by women in the Mau Mau struggle cannot be quantified. Their activities in Nanyuki went a long way in adding value to the movement and the democratization process in the period prior to Kenya's independence.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Florence Maina, O.I. October , 2010.

⁶⁸ W. Itote, *Mau Mau General*, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967)

⁶⁹ Ibid.

Notably in Kenya, during the run-up to independence and the years that followed, former loyalists also demonstrated a strong determination for political power in order to consolidate their own interests. Later, under Kenyatta's regime, many became influential members of the new government. This system of loyalist patronage as observed by Elkins percolated all the way down to the local level of government, with former Home Guards dominating system of government that had once been the preserve of the young British colonial officers in the African districts. Elkins stated that, from 1960, vacancies were created by decolonization for example the provincial commissioner and district commissioner posts. These posts were filled by the Africans who were one time loyalists of the British colonialists. As a result, upon leaving the forests, very few of the Mau Mau participants were appointed into leadership positions.⁷⁰

The era of decolonization as reported by the DC at the time Brigadier Hendriks, Mau Mau resistance groups had been formed in Nanyuki and on several farms by the Africans. These groups were reported to have done a good job in keeping such concentrations clear of Mau Mau. He however cautioned in his report that the groups were to be watched to ensure that they do not in turn form the basis of an illegal political association. Most of the members of these associations were said to be Somalis and Borans with a few Kikuyu Muslims. Yusuf Dohl was the chairman of the Nanyuki Muslims association formed prior to the emergency by all the Muslim residents of Nanyuki. He was also the African representative in the urban council. Similar unions had been prior to the decolonization period in Nanyuki Luo union and Abaluhya union. Neither unions were reported to have been active nor did both have only a small membership. Indeed, all aspects of political activity had been avoided, superficially at any rate in the unions. The union's agenda were restricted to welfare issues.⁷¹

5.6. Conclusion.

The precise number of Mau Mau who were killed or tortured by the military in Nanyuki can only be estimated. It is difficult to assess the actual numbers of the deceased, since they vary depending on the source. Official figures published in 1956 cited 11,000 losses among the guerrilla members, 2,000 collaborator Africans murdered and 30,000 suspects arrested. More

⁷⁰ KNA/DC/NKI/1/1: Annual Report Nanyuki 1957-1959

⁷¹ Ibid.

recent data from English historians refer to 30,000 deceased of the Mau-Mau and 80,000 detained, whilst other sources give about 14,000 dead Africans and 100,000 arrested. The base of this discussion is however not on the numbers but on the emergency period as a whole and the specific events that took place leading to Kenya's independence from colonial rule.

This chapter also sought to establish the various roles played by specific groups such as the military, the African women and men in the struggle against colonial rule in Nanyuki. It is therefore justified to conclude that in the case of Nanyuki the military which comprised of both Africans and Europeans were engaged in the struggle against the Mau Mau. The participation of women in the Mau Mau struggle in Nanyuki has also been discussed and it can be concluded that the women indeed supported the struggle and were the chief suppliers of both commodities and the necessary information needed by the Mau Mau in the forest.

More recently, in a conference held in Karatina University, in December 2013 coinciding with Kenya at 50 celebrations, a platform was provided for scholars to share information and experiences on the Mau Mau .The conference key-note speakers included Caroline Elkins, Macharia Munene , Eric MasindeAseka, Godfrey Muriuki and Vincent G. Simiyu all renown scholars who have written on the Mau Mau struggle.The recommendations emphasized upon in the conference included the need to pass information on the role of freedom fighters by incorporating content in the syllabuses covered in all levels of education, the need to rehabilitate and remodel various Mau-Mau heritage sites, the need to recognize all persons who took part in liberation struggles, the need to carry out more research and provide literature on the role of women in the Mau-Mau and other liberation struggles as the focus so far has been on men.

CHAPTER SIX

LEISURE IN COLONIAL NANYUKI, 1921-1963

6.1 Introduction

“To be able to feel leisure intelligently is the last form of civilization,”¹

Leisure is probably the most nebulous idea which is subject to many interpretations. Some people view leisure as a period of time they call free or unobligated time. For others, leisure is related to recreational activities such as competitive sports, cooperative games, outdoor activities, and cultural pursuits and socializing.² All these activities that individuals choose to do during leisure time have the objective of making life more satisfying and enjoyable.³

The social structure that evolved in Kenya during the colonial period emphasized on race and class.⁴ This can be explained through the dominance of Europeans over Africans. This also applied to the development of social infrastructures such as schools, hospitals and leisure facilities. In deed many Kenyans in the colonial period occupied their leisure time with traditional music and dance. Precise elaborations and examples of leisure activities in relation to Nanyuki in the colonial period are discussed. Leisure activities were guided by three classes of people; the Europeans, the Asians, the Somali and the Africans in Nanyuki. The effect of leisure to the development of Nanyuki such as the construction of hotels and restaurants, the golf club among other recreational facilities is also discussed. Alongside the physical development of Nanyuki came the negative effects of over indulgence and the spread of venereal diseases which are also discussed. Conclusions are not drawn as to whether the development of Nanyuki was influenced by the various leisure activities however; it is observed that throughout the colonial period the town stood out as one with many leisure activities and events.

6.2. Historical Perspective of Leisure

The historical perspective of leisure in Africa can be traced to the earliest kingdoms and states that were established where the kinship were to be entertained through songs and dances by the

¹ Quote from A. Toynbee, a Social Reformer and Historian.

² J. Goodale & F. Godbey, “The Inter-relationship between Leisure , Recreation ,Tourism and Hospitality, in, *The Sage Handbook of Hospitality Management* , by, Roy, Wood, and Bob Brotherton, (London, Sage Publication Limited,2008) p. 90-106

³ Ibid.,

⁴ J. Opong, and E. Opong, *Kenya*,(Nairobi, Macmillan Publishers, 2009), p.48

kinsmen. It also entailed the celebrations conducted during weddings, circumcision, and good harvest. Leisure time was also spent by indulging in sporting activities for example wrestling.⁵In examining the historical perspective of leisure in general, Ambler looks at alcohol. According to Ambler , the British efforts to control alcohol consumption of Kenyan Africans in effect dates from the 1890 Act of Brussels which among other provisions forbade the export of spirits to East Africa, whereas large amounts of liquor was imported to satisfy the demands of the growing population of white settlers in Kenya.⁶

Leisure became a part of the colonial lifestyle in Kenya and more precisely Nanyuki town. As a military post, the town attracted immigrants both Africans and Asians who would come to Nanyuki for business, to get supplies or even to trade. As the population increased and business expanded, there was a need to create recreational facilities such as the social hall, the hotels and restaurants. These were constructed to enable those who came to town to find a place where they could interact with one another and also hold meetings. Nanyuki therefore established these facilities however apart from the gymkhana; the temple and the majengo bar, the rest of the facilities were created and used by the Europeans.

On the same, by 1907, African chiefs had been empowered to impose temporary bans on drinking and on ceremonies such as circumcision, during which heavy drinking as a part of leisure occurred in most African communities. By 1912, this had advanced into permanent restrictions with the first offenders of the law being fined fifteen rupees, the second thirty rupees, and the third, seventy five rupees. These restrictions were adopted in North Nyeri in 1913 and in Embu and Machakos in 1916. In deed by 1920, drunkenness in any circumstances was made an offense although these regulations were often ignored. In the case of North Nyeri it is amazing to note that these rules applied quite early prior to the massive soldier settlement of 1919. This is because the area was inhabited by a number of communities such as the Kikuyu, the Meru and

⁵ J. Lonsdale, 'Town Life in Colonial Kenya,' in, Burton, A., (Ed.), *The Urban Experience in Eastern Africa C. 1750-2000*, (Nairobi: British Institute in Eastern Africa, 2002), pp.207-222.

⁶ C., Ambler, "Drunks , Brewers and Chiefs : Alcohol Regulation in Colonial Kenya , 1900-1939," in *Drinking Behaviour in Modern History* , by , Susanna Barrows and Robin Room, (Oxford ,University of California Press, 1991) p.165.-183

the Samburu. It was anticipated that this ban would go a long way in enabling the early settlers acquire labour for their huge farms.⁷

Drinking liquor as a form of leisure among the white settlers in North Nyeri appeared to interfere with the preservation of order. The assumption among Europeans was that “alcohol dissolved whatever rationality Africans possessed,” hence, Africans were meant not only to preserve order but also to encourage the free flow of labour out of peasant communities. This was based on the assumption that traditional liquor encouraged laziness among Africans.⁸ In examining the historical perspective of leisure therefore, one would conclude that the Europeans believed that Africans were “barbaric” and hence they could not be entrusted to control their mannerism while engaging in drinking as a leisure activity. This notion is disputable since prior to the coming of the Europeans in Africa, systems and forms of leisure such as the traditional liquor was taken in moderation. In fact, in some communities those who overindulged in drinking were punished. Similarly, leisure activities such as drinking, and dances were only carried out after the daily chores had been accomplished by the individual groups in society. More precisely is the observation of the way leisure activities were guided by the class and population. For example the Europeans in Nanyuki would come together at the sports club, while the Asians would meet in the gymkhana and the temple while the Africans had bars in Majengo where men and women would assemble after working or trading.

6.3. The Social Amenities and Leisure in Nanyuki

Starting from the major towns various services were put up to cater for the settler communities. These social amenities included luxuries such as golf clubs, hospitals with Nairobi and Kenyatta hospital being known as King George hospital to remind the settlers of their King back in England to whom they pledged allegiance. There were also hotels such as the Norfolk Hotel and the Stanley which became the meeting points of the settlers from upcountry that came to socialize in Nairobi. Indeed this was replicated in other settler towns where social amenities were set up during the colonial period. In Nanyuki various social amenities were set up such as; the Fairmount Mount Kenya Hotel in 1930, the Nanyuki Sports Club in 1945, The Silver Beck Hotel

⁷ Ibid.,

⁸ Ibid.,

in 1946, and the Sportsman Arms Hotel in 1950.⁹ Other hotels that were set up later include: The Trout Tree Hotel-which was opened south of Nanyuki and was built inside a huge tree, its main attraction being the trout fish which was prepared in various ways, the Marina Grill Hotel and the Ibis Hotel.¹⁰ The setting up of these amenities was done by European architects who were a part of the military personnel living in Nanyuki. On the same, the Italian soldiers in Nanyuki were accredited with ensuring that all the social amenities were well connected by the 1940's by setting up the telecommunications network within Nanyuki town and its surroundings as explained by one informant.¹¹

A song is sung of Nanyuki being *mwisho wa reli* (Meaning: The end of the rail road.) In this song, Nanyuki is described as the epitome of all fantasies and leisure activities. It was believed that a journey to Nanyuki was a journey to a place where one would have the most enjoyable moments due to the recreational facilities available. Nanyuki also had a lane known as Lunatic lane a famous residential lane where the European settlers lived. These European military officers and administrators were noted for acting in a disorderly manner by either stripping themselves naked, shouting and yelling or even rolling themselves in the muddy roads of the lane after taking alcohol.¹² More precisely, the settlers in Nanyuki were notorious for their urban cowboy life as depicted by Fox.¹³

As observed by one informant, “The only amenity at the start of the year 1930 was the social hall, which was practically unused by the Europeans, and the beer halls which were always full.” This was a clear indication of the social origin of the settler community which esteemed leisure and leisure activities. Coming into town most of the European farmers were interested in exporting their produce and taking time out of their normal routine of farming to drink and relax. Others would engage in sporting activities such as polo game, horse racing and golf. The social hall was set up to ensure that the communities in Nanyuki would meet frequently and discuss the general welfare of the town and its development. This was however not the case as mentioned

⁹ KNA/JA/1/800: Township, Nyeri. Nanyuki, 1950-1953.

¹⁰ KNA/MSS/115/19/4: Nanyuki Urban District Council, 1961

¹¹ Charles Munyeria, O.I. December 2010

¹² Odile Keane, November, O.I. 2010.

¹³ J. Fox, *White Mischief*, (London: Jonathan Cape Limited, 1982), p.14.

earlier. Later, the County Council through the initiative of the East African Women's League agreed to make all profits from the beer halls available for African welfare in Nanyuki. Ironically, another welfare centre was also set up in Nanyuki town to cater for the European settlers. This meant that the funds collected from the leisure activities had to be divided to some "needy" settlers in Nanyuki alongside the allocation for the African welfare.¹⁴

Other recreational facilities that were set up in Nanyuki from the colonial period included the children's club, literacy classes, the Nanyuki Social Hall, the Makumbusho Grounds, and the Nanyuki Stadium. These amenities were set up as meeting places and also places where the settlers would engage in sporting activities. Embroidery classes which was an initiative of the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake was also started. It was meant to teach the women also known as *Memsahib* and even the *yayas* how to knit, and make household items during their free time. This was carried out by members of the East African Women's League such as Mesdames Hinde, Patterson and Lewin among other settler women in Nanyuki. The funds used to purchase the embroidery materials were made available every year by the County Council. These funds were collected from the social events held in Nanyuki and were divided for sports and general welfare work equally.

Another initiative was the creation of children clubs. This came about as a result of the population growth both among the settlers living in Nanyuki. In an effort to take care of several hundred children, a recreation group with swings, see-saw and slides was constructed adjacent to the Nanyuki social hall. This venture was met with great success as many European children were brought to this centre from the farms to learn and to play. In addition a girl's club was formed by Mrs. Delaforce, and the members of the club used a former church location as a clubhouse. Meetings were held weekly under European and African supervision. A similar boy's club was also formed in Nanyuki. Boy scouts, Girl guides club and Brownie groups were also formed.¹⁵

¹⁴ KNA/DC/NKI/1/1: Annual Report Nanyuki 1957-1959

¹⁵ KNA/DC/NKI/3/14/1: Native Dispensary Nanyuki, 1934-1957

Another children's club was established during the 1950's with meetings being held every Saturday mornings at the social hall. The club was originally formed to give those children not attending school an interest in learning and to cultivate in them a measure of discipline. The children would draw pictures on the slates, do pottery and sisal work. These activities were carried out under with the supervision of the male community development officers who were appointed by the Nanyuki council. On the same, a centre was opened in the B.P Hall on 9th May 1957, where clinics were held each Thursday afternoon run by European and African volunteers. The objective of these clinics was to apply simple medical treatment for the children. These services were charged at 10 cents per child and they were carried out to impress upon the mothers the value of hygiene and correct feeding of the children. The volunteers worked in close cooperation with the African District Hospital. Whenever necessary, children who needed special attention were forwarded to the Nanyuki District Hospital. The military hospital also played an important role in Nanyuki during the colonial period by providing the personnel who would provide the residents with the smallpox vaccinations, cholera vaccinations among others.¹⁶

Notably, during the emergency period in Nanyuki, little or no social welfare activities were carried out in Nanyuki other than those done by the individual farmers. For example, early in the year, Africans living in Majengo and Likii slums were fortunate to obtain the services of Miss Hardman of the probation service, who undertook to foster what social welfare activities she could in Nanyuki native location and amongst those who had been placed on probation. Shortly before this, a capable administrative assistant, and a first rate chief were posted to the Nanyuki location. A chief's center was built, and for the first time personnel were available to carry out the closer administration and welfare in the location.

Sports were also taken seriously in Nanyuki by the settlers. A football league was formed by the European farmers and the Nanyuki Sports Club donated a trophy for the same. A second trophy was given by Mr. Benes on behalf of the Duchess of Luxembourg, and finally a third trophy was donated by the Nanyuki Cycle Mart. Two football leagues were played in which twenty two teams competed, the winners in each case being the Kiganjo police training school and the

¹⁶ See also, KNA/DC/NKI/2/3: Handing Over Report, 1957

runners up being the Northumberland Fusiliers and Donnelly motors. Great interest was shown on football by the military with the attendance growing from a few men to thousands during the cup finals.¹⁷ Apart from football, a netball pitch was built adjacent to the social hall and several matches were played usually on Saturdays afternoon. The netball games were followed by tea and snacks given by the home team.¹⁸ Other major events which attracted people from all over the colony included the horse races and the polo. The games had been founded by J.A.Pollock who was a soldier settler in Nanyuki. Clear in the sporting activities was the element of racial bar where activities organized by the Europeans were separate from those organized by Asians and even by Africans in Nanyuki.

Nanyuki also had its aristocratic element with visitors such as Lady Mary Boyd, the Queen of England; Queen Elizabeth II and the Honorable H.G.O. Bridgman who was know as a man with ‘bags of money’ due to his contribution to the construction of the creamery, the race course among other amenities. The aristocrats were known to visit Nanyuki for three main reasons that is watching the polo game, fishing trout, and playing golf in addition to watching the beautiful snow-capped Mount Kenya.

The uniqueness of some leisure activities in Nanyuki was the synchrony it had with the economic development of the town. Such was the case especially during the Agricultural shows when the farmers would display their best breeds for competition and award winning occasions. The Agricultural Show was organized as an annual event in Nanyuki.¹⁹ It attracted farmers from other districts and provinces in Kenya. Awards were given to those who had the strongest breeds of sheep, goats, cows, donkeys and horses. It attracted settlers who would travel from far and wide in the Kenyan colony to learn the best practices necessary in the development of the farms and farming activities. The Show ground was built next to the British Barracks after the Nanyuki River and adjacent to the Sport Club. The settlers were henceforth assured of both their

¹⁷ KNA/VQ/16/3: District Monthly Reports, 1949-1959

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ M. Achola, *A History of the Agricultural Society of Kenya* (Newspack Services , University of Michigan, 2001) p.109-325

security, the security of their products and a few drinks after work to seal the business carried out at the Nanyuki Sports Club, a common tradition among the white settlers.²⁰

According to a report on the district development of Nanyuki Township in 1957, free literacy classes in Kikuyu language were given by the location leaders who were also qualified teachers at the time. The classes were officially started in June 1957. The teachers were paid Shs. 35/- per month by the pupils for four hours per week tuition. In fact an observation made by the researcher during the interviews was that some of the settlers and their children who were interviewed could converse fluently in Kikuyu language having been taught and mastered the language over time. Although treated as a leisure activity, it was also vital in the understanding of the Mau Mau Revolt since the majority of the settlers wanted to grasp the mechanism and strategies used during the emergency.²¹

The Asians in Nanyuki also engaged in leisure activities although as a result of their culture and the element of racism, they interacted with their fellow Asians only. Leisure interactions were majorly during wedding occasions and birthdays. They either met at the temple set up in Nanyuki town or at the Gymkhana. This was in addition to the family gatherings and occasions in their areas of residents such as the Asian quarters. Most Asians living in Nanyuki therefore had a difficult time interacting with the Europeans as a result of the colour bar and even more difficult was the interaction between the Asians and Africans. The Asians provided the commodities mentioned in chapter four to the Europeans and their interaction was limited to business. Much later though with Kenya attaining independence, they began to take a leading role in organizing the Safari Rally competitions in Nanyuki.

The subject of leisure for the Somali inhabitants of Nanyuki in the colonial period was controversial. Apart from their trade in livestock and other commodities, the Somali men and women living in Nanyuki were known for the sale of *Miraa*. This product was obtained from Meru. It was brought to Nanyuki by the Meru who would sell the same to the Somali traders who eventually sold the same to the military officers. It was believed that eating *Miraa* was healthy as

²⁰ KNA/DC/3/2/1: Nanyuki District Farmers, 1954-1964

²¹ KNA/DC/NKI/3/1: Nanyuki Operational Plan 1956

compared to drinking alcohol. The sale of *Miraa* to and by the Somalis in Nanyuki in the colonial period was not only profitable business but a form of leisure activity.

6.4. Prostitution in Colonial Nanyuki

Macharia discusses the origin of women's migration from the rural areas in the colonial period. He states that unlike men, the women's "push factors" from the rural areas were not always economic. That while the men left their rural homes and reserves primarily to go and work in the urban areas, women often left without the promise of a job since most Europeans at the time employed men. Macharia explains that women were pushed out of their rural setting as a result of various reasons such as marital unhappiness. Conceiving from a man that was not one's husband was also enough reason for some women to run away to the urban areas where they would not be found and punished. Daughters who refused to accept marriages arranged by their parents were more likely to migrate to urban areas. Incestuous relationships were also embarrassing and punishable this was in addition to accusations of theft and witchcraft.²² The women migrants were however not received well in the cities even in the case of those who came in as traders for example from Kikuyu.

According to Zeleza the women traders in Nairobi tended to double up their legitimate trade with the illegitimate services of prostitution. Robertson observes that the proximity of Nairobi to Kikuyu region contributed to women's early migration. By 1923, when a census was carried out in Nairobi, nearly half of the women were from Kikuyu region. In addition, they were using trade as an excuse to get to Nairobi, while prostitution was a supplementary source of income to their trade. This trend continued especially from the widows and the divorced women. What contributed to their easy movement was because women during the colonial period did not require passes like the men especially if they disguised themselves as traders.²³

Stitcher notes that in the early colonial period, 1907-1909, there was an attempt to "clean up" Nairobi by arresting and repatriating 300 prostitutes among a total of the 12,000 women living in

²² K. Macharia, *Social and Political Dynamics of the Informal Economy in African Cities : Harare and Nairobi*.(Lanham, University Press of America, 1997) p.3-18

²³ Ibid.

Nairobi. The repatriation reflected the idea that women did not belong to the urban areas. This became the unofficial policy and understanding even amongst the African men. This was despite the fact that prostitutes were valuable assets for town inhabitants who were overwhelmingly male because they provided domestic services of all kinds especially to the men who had migrated from long distances to come and work in Nairobi.²⁴

Notably, in Nanyuki, the status of African servicemen increased during wartime, as they were particularly well paid and fed in comparison to civilians. During World War I, a combination of drought, increased food exports and a drain on civilian labour supply led to famine in rural Kenya. It is most likely that these economic hardships drove many women and girls to seek the company of relatively affluent soldiers. As observed by Parsons, when the KAR servicemen returned to Kenya on leave, they often carried their remunerations in form of cash and other assets. That some desperate or ambitious women coerced the soldiers with drinks and later robbed them of their clothes and money. This was a common phenomenon in colonial Nanyuki where we had the KAR military base.²⁵ Women from the reserves would disguise themselves as traders while others would chose to engage in trade during the day and prostitution during the night. Justifying this with the high rates of taxation imposed by the colonial authorities and the low wages earned from trade in the colonial period. Considered in History as the oldest form of business , prostitution in colonial Nanyuki was almost inevitable thanks to the high numbers of both married and unmarried men in the military who had left their wives in the reserves and even Europe , in addition to the allowances provided by the military to the soldiers. It is needless to argue that the solidiers were paying for the company and sexual services provided by these women who also in turn received money to assist their families. On the same according to one informant prostitution enabled some of the women to establish businesses in post colonial period. For the few lucky women, they ended up inheriting property from some of the administrators who lived in Nanyuki.²⁶

²⁴ S. Sticher, 'Women and the Labor Force in Kenya, 1895-1964,'University of Nairobi, Institute of Development Studies ,1977, Discussion Paper No. 258.

²⁵ T., Parsons, *The African Rank –and- File, Social Implications of Colonial Military Services in the Kings African Rifles, 1902-1964*, (Nairobi: E.A.E.P. Limited, 1999), p.80-97.

²⁶ Hadija Ali, O.I. November, 2010.

The sexual interactions between the KAR soldiers and the women however, led to the spread of venereal diseases such as gonorrhoea and syphilis. The British officials blamed the alarming increase of Venereal Diseases (VD) amongst the colonial army in Kenya on these unsanctioned women. Approximately 350 of the 9000 men in 1/6 KAR were infected and the battalion formed a special 'VD company' to allow them to continue training while undergoing treatment.²⁷ Military authorities therefore tried to control women who had sexual relations with servicemen. The East African Community pressured the East African government to force civilian women to undergo medical treatment by enhancing legislation similar to the Contagious Diseases Act in Britain. The Pre-war Kenyan Public Health Ordinances empowered the government to order the examination of any person suspected of infection. The Ordinance was used in 1935 to compel women living near the 3 KAR lines in Meru to submit to medical inspection.²⁸ Medical officers required patients to describe the conditions under which they were infected, including the name, race and address of the woman involved. If they were married but infected they also had to provide their wives names and addresses. This was to enable the medical team to make a follow up and provide treatment of those not yet examined. It was also a measure that was used to ensure that the disease prevalence and spread was curbed.

Reports by the medical department showed that women living near major military installations in Nanyuki aggravated the problem. For example, by 1943 medical officers found that 86% of the 398 African women examined in Nanyuki Township were infected.²⁹ That is to state that of the 398 examined, 342 were infected leaving only 56 women uninfected.³⁰ The military authorities consequently established their own VD clinics and tried to coerce other women to accept treatment. In the Kenyan township of Kitale and Kisumu women were reported to have welcomed the VD treatment and even offered to pay rent for the caters. However, in Nanyuki, the Somali and other Muslim women are said to have locked themselves in their houses to avoid the inspections. In other cases it was noted that Nanyuki prostitutes tricked askaris into sleeping with them by using a rented medical inspection certificate to prove they were free from Venereal Diseases. Conversely others who valued medical treatment demanded that the

²⁷ Ibid.,

²⁸ Ibid.,

²⁹ KNA/DC/MERU/2/10/1: Monthly Report of the Labour Office at Nanyuki, 1940-1943

³⁰ Ibid.,

government cracks down on these illegal tactics. Nevertheless many evaded the inspection and treatment programs.³¹

The statistics of how many men and women continue to be infected in the post independence period in Nanyuki is a subject for further investigation. The town has been noted to experience an influx of women from other regions with the arrival of the *Johnnies* the British soldiers who have continued to train in Nanyuki every year.

6.5. Summary

In deed as observed in this chapter, leisure was a major component of the socio-economic development of Kenya as a colony. Most recreational facilities and activities were a preserve of the white settlers in colonial. As observed in the findings, other communities living in Nanyuki were able to create time for leisure activities. Despite the fact that Nanyuki was a scheduled area, other communities were able to become a part of its leisure activities such as during the agricultural shows, the football matches among other functions.

Women can be said to have been the greatest beneficiaries of these leisure activities as a result of the contact they made with the soldiers. Although denied by many people the statistics of the spread of venereal diseases in this chapter are a clear indication that there was a high percentage of sexual interactions across the two racial lines especially among the British men and African women and the British men and Somali women based on the statistical data of those diagnosed with venereal diseases in the colonial period in Nanyuki. There was however no evidence recorded with regard to sexual interactions between African men and the European women in Nanyuki. It is justified to conclude therefore, that the increasing number of *mullatoes* in Nanyuki in the colonial period and even after independence was as a result of the sexual relations between the African women and the European men more precisely the British soldiers.

On sports, the football leagues, the netball team, the horse races, the polo and the golf discussed above were a preserve of the European settlers living in Nanyuki versus others from outside the town. The Agricultural Show exhibitions were similarly a preserve of the European. The

³¹Ibid.,

Africans who participated in these occasions only came in as labourers and servants of the Europeans.

The social welfare department assisted the Africans by training them in the various formal classes such as embroidery, knitting, housekeeping, courtesy, reading and writing held in Nanyuki social hall. They were also seen as a form of leisure activity as they were carried out after work. The inculcation of these skills was however done at a fee which translated to Africans getting deeper into their pockets to pay for the services provided. The Europeans similarly offered this basic training in order to ensure proper education; the researcher observed that the older European children from Nanyuki district were all educated in schools outside the district. In Nanyuki there was the beehive school. This was a small boarding school for children up to 12 years, Mrs. Malison's day school and an army school for children of army families stationed in the area. A large primary boarding school on the district boundary at Nyeri for boys and girls was also set up. The Asian communities also had a primary school at Nanyuki.

Generally, the dominant element of Nanyuki's European society was that it was composed of retired military officers, military soldiers who dominated the politics and social life of the town in the colonial period. These individuals were comparatively well off. All of them had the habit of command, which was reinforced by their financial resources and guaranteed incomes in the form of military pensions. The leisure activities had both positive and negative effects to the people living within Nanyuki during the colonial period. The effects of these activities have continued to influence the urbanization process in Nanyuki in the post -independence era.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION.

7.1 Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to outline the historical development of Nanyuki town over the period 1921 to 1963. The history of Nanyuki town, its development, resources and contribution to Kenya's economy in the colonial period has been discussed. A quick elaboration of colonial urbanization in Kenya and more precisely settlerdom in areas such as Nanyuki can be explained with the development of the railway which paved way for urbanization and growth of what was referred to as 'secondary towns.'

Chapter two showed the existence of various communities Nanyuki prior to the coming of the settlers. This finding cleared the mishap that Nanyuki District was a no man's land before 1921. Indeed new faces appeared in Nanyuki from Asia and Europe consequently due to the opening up of the interior by the construction of the railway line and as a result of the Soldier Settlement Scheme of 1919. This is in addition to African immigrants from other parts of East Africa who eventually resided in Nanyuki. Among the earliest settlers being Raymond Hook in 1914 and Randall in 1920. The earliest Asians who settled in Nanyuki were Mr. Osman Allu and Mohammed ally Rattansi in the 1920's and finally Africans from Uganda, Tanzania and Sudan as a result of the recruitment into the Kings African Rifles, in addition to the indigenous communities such as the Gumba, the IIng'wesi, the Digiri, the Mumonyot, the LeUaso and the Mukogodo who claim to be the original inhabitants is validated in the thesis.

The third chapter described the main agencies that brought about the growth of Nanyuki District. It discusses the history of settlement of the Europeans in Kenya from 1921. The contents of this chapter are centered on the various communities that inhabited Nanyuki and their contributions in the urbanization process in the colonial period. The argument of this chapter was a discussion on the acquisition of land by the settlers, the coming of other Europeans, the Asians and Africans in addition to the colonial structures put in place in Nanyuki. The role of Asians and Somalis was to trade while the Africans provided labour in the settler farms. The major finding of this chapter was that every group of immigrants who settled in Nanyuki in the colonial period contributed to

its growth and development. However, being a scheduled area the Europeans who settled in Nanyuki had more opportunities compared to the rest of the communities. Consequently it is the European community that determined the physical, social and economic growth of Nanyuki as was a common scenario in most towns in Kenya. The element of racism is seen in the way the Europeans were given first priority on settlement as they were allowed by the colonial government to purchase vast pieces of land where they settled on the contrary the Asians were only allowed to occupy an allotment of 50 sq ft by 1000sq ft which were strictly business premises within Nanyuki. The same applied to the Somalis who were given temporary occupation licenses. As for the Africans, they were allowed to stay in the European farms as labourers and immigrant workers.

In the fourth chapter, trade became the next significant activity in Nanyuki. The commercial activities in Nanyuki in addition to the infrastructure that were set up was discussed from 1939 upto 1945 a period that also marked the beginning and end of the Second World War. The activities of the various immigrants of Nanyuki town in this period are explained in relation to the commercial activities. The main supply of labour to Nanyuki was noted to have been from the Kikuyu reserves in Nyeri district and the Mukogodo reserve. The early years of trade were quite tough on both the settlers and the indigenous people due to lack of social amenities and infrastructure. The initial activities were concerned with the establishment of the ranches and livestock breeding by the Europeans. This was in addition to the ongoing progress of the railway construction in Laikipia district. Trading activities were not very significant due to lack of sufficient transport. Several murrum roads were built connecting the farms to the main town which was a shopping centre with only three amenities; the Nanyuki settlers' store, the Post Office and a small garage which also served as a filling station. These three amenities later served to reinforce the commercial development of Nanyuki as discussed further in the chapter.

Chapter five discussed the development of Nanyuki from 1946 when the Second World War ended. Trade continued to be a significant theme in this chapter with a focus on taxation and how it impacted on the Africans living in and around Nanyuki district. Taxation ensured that Africans had to secure wage labour in the ranches in order to pay taxes. Another aspect of trade, exportation which was conducted by the settlers was also discussed under stock marketing. The situation in Nanyuki during the emergency period 1950 to 1956 was also discussed. The precise

number of Mau Mau who were killed or tortured by the military in Nanyuki could only be estimated. It is difficult to assess the actual numbers of the deceased, since they vary depending on the source. The base of this discussion was however not on the numbers but on the emergency period as a whole and the specific events that took place in Nanyuki and Kenya leading to the eventual independence from colonial rule. This chapter established the various roles played by specific groups such as the military, the African women and men in the struggle against colonial rule in Nanyuki. It is therefore justified to conclude that in the case of Nanyuki the military which comprised of both Africans and Europeans were engaged in the struggle against the Mau Mau. The participation of women in the Mau Mau struggle in Nanyuki has also been discussed and it can be concluded that the women indeed supported the struggle and were the chief suppliers of both commodities and the necessary information needed by the Mau Mau in the Mount Kenya forest.

Chapter six sought to elaborate on the concept of leisure as practiced by the inhabitants of Nanyuki who included; Europeans, Asians, Somalis and Africans. Some of the activities that men and women engaged in during their free time are the epitome of this chapter. The effect of leisure to the development of Nanyuki such as the construction of hotels and restaurants, the golf club among other recreational facilities is also discussed. various social amenities were set up such as; the Fairmount Mount Kenya Hotel in 1930, the Nanyuki Sports Club in 1945, The Silver Beck Hotel in 1946, and the Sportsman Arms Hotel in 1950. Other hotels that were set up later include: The Trout Tree Hotel-which was opened south of Nanyuki and was built inside a huge tree, its main attraction being the trout fish which was prepared in various ways, the Marina Grill Hotel and the Ibis Hotel. The setting up of these amenities was done using European architectures that were a part of the military personnel living in Nanyuki. Alongside the physical development of Nanyuki came the negative effects of over indulgence and the spread of venereal diseases which are discussed in this chapter. Conclusions are not drawn as to whether the development of Nanyuki was influenced by the various leisure activities however; it is observed that throughout the colonial period the town stood out as one with many leisure activities and social events including visits from the aristocrats such as Queen Elizabeth, Lady Mary Boyd, and The Duchess of Whales among others.

Despite its incorporation into Nyeri in the beginning, Nanyuki had its peculiar identity. The dominant element in Nanyuki was that it was composed of retired European military officers. These individuals were relatively well off compared to other settlers who came as a result of the Soldier Settlement Scheme. Based on these scheme applicants had to have at least one thousand pounds capital available to develop their farms and this limited the participation of the Europeans to the wealthy. The living standards of the settlers were indeed very high with an average settler occupying a minimum of 10 acres of land.

7.2 Recommendations

The study has provided a basis for understanding the history of the development of Nanyuki over the period 1921 up to 1963. The study should be of much interest for anyone wishing to undertake the same study from 1963.

The study has also revealed an existence of a large number of European settlers who still live in Nanyuki in addition to the yearly immigrants in the British Army. It is hoped that the significance of Nanyuki as a military post can be explored further. The effect of military training on the inhabitants of Nanyuki needs to also be investigated further.

The biggest activity in Nanyuki area today is wildlife conservation and internationally known conservancies abound. For instance, the Ol-Pajeta Conservancy, a 90,000 acre private conservancy located between the foothills of the Aberdares and Mt. Kenya. This is also a subject worth studying in relation to the revenue collected from tourism in Nanyuki area.

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	INTERVIEWEE	GENDER	AGE	OCCUPATION	LOCATION	DATE
1.	Ali Hadija	F	62	Shopkeeper	Majengo – Nanyuki.	12-10-2010
2.	Barkus Peggy	F	73	Farmer	Alexandria Estate	2-10-2009
3.	Butt Chris	M	70	Farmer	Ole- Naishu (Kamwaki)	30-10-2010
4.	Chouhan Nagin	M	74	Trader	Nanyuki town	1-10-2009
5.	Cl. Wachira Francis	M	74	Former colonel	Lunatic lane	12-11-2010
6.	Cl. Wamaguru Justus	M	73	Former Colonel	Lunatic lane	13-11-2010
7.	Douglas Aldrid Christine	F	67	Farmer	Lunatic Lane	15-10-2010
8.	Dye Michael	M	65	Farmer	Borana Farm	1-11-2010
9.	Dyer Jack	M	64	Farmer	Loldaiga Farm	21-10-2010
10	Dyer Mary	F	73	Farmer	Nanyuki town	22-10-2010
11	Gathogo Peter	M	59	Former chief	Sportman Arms	10-11-2010
12	Gordon Herbert	M	69	Farmer	Nanyuki Air Base	24-10-2010
13	Grattan Sophy S.M.	F	52	Farmer	Chestnut Nanyuki	4-10-2010
14	Grattan Paul	M	57	Farmer	Chestnut Nanyuki	4-10-2010
15	Hassan Suleiman	M	43	Artisan	Railways Estate	5-11-2010
16	Holmes Dan.	M	78	Farmer	Cottage Farm	8-10-2010
17	Hook Hazel	F	77	Farmer	Cottage Farm	8-10-2010
18	Kamitha Paul	M	74	Former SFG	Nanyuki town	19-10-2010
19	Karanja Timothy	M	77	Former SFG	Muthaiga Estate	14-10-2010
20	Keane Odile	F	63	Farmer	Lunatic lane	11-10-2010
21	Kenyon John	M	68	Farmer	Mugwooni Farm	26-10-2010
22	King'ori Josephat	M	56	Former SFG	Asian Quarters	7-11-2010
23	Kyalo Mohamed	M	54	Artisan	Majengo-Nanyuki	7-10-2010
24	Lance Tom	M	60	Farmer	Loldaiga farm	3-11-2010

25	Lawrence Tom	M	61	Farmer	Loldaiga farm	20-10-2010
26	Littlewood Mike	M	72	Farmer	Sweetwaters farm	23-10-2010
27	Maina Florence	F	43	Nurse	Nanyuki Cottage	16-11-2010
28	Maina Francis	M	50	Bishop	Muthaiga estate	17-11-2010
29	Mohamed Ali	M	55	Artisan	Likii estate	13-10-2010
30	Mrarama Paul Mruigi	M	89	Former SFG	Chestnut	6-10-2010
31	Munyeira Charles	M	76	Retired chief	Sportman arms	4-11-2010
32	Murray George	M	71	Ex-soldier	Marina farm	5-10-2010
33	Muthura Charles	M	74	Retired Public Servant.	Kenyatta Drive	16-10-2010
34	Mwai George	M	63	Trader	Nanyuki town	6-11-2010
35	Ndegwa Mary	F	60	Trader	Hooks farm	14-11-2010
36	Nderitu Gacheru	M	60	Ex-Councillor	Asian quarters	6-10-2010
37	Njuguna Charles	M	70	Retired Public Servant	Alexandria estate	27-10-2010
38	Ole Kaparo Francis	M	70	Former Speaker	Lunatic Lane	8-11-2010
39	Patel V.G.	M	78	Enterprenuer	Nanyuki Settler Store	01-10-2009
40	Patel V.G.S	M	76	Enterprenuer	Nanyuki Settler Store	01-10-2009
41	Peterson Bryan	M	56	Trader	Majengo-Nanyuki	2-11-2010
42	Rono John (Chief Rono)	M	62	Former chief	Nanyuki town	10-11-2010
43	Rtd. Major. Iku Peris	F	71	Retired Major	Cottage farm	28-10-2010
44	Rtd.Cl. C. Macharia	M	68	Retired Colonel	Lunatic lane	9-10-2010
45	Slade Robin	M	72	Farmer	Lunatic lane	2-10-2009
46	Smith Gordon	M	67	Farmer	Lolmarik farm	29-10-2010
47	Tatham Water Jane	F	78	Farmer	Nanyuki Air Base	25-10-2010
48	Wanjiro Bernice	F	36	Anthropologist.	Nanyuki town	9-10-2010
49	Wartislaw Alex Countess	F	56	Farmer	Mugwooini farm	9-11-2010
50	Wilderstein T.	M	69	Farmer	Oljogi farm	3-10-2010

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A. Interview Schedule for the Local Residents

Name.....Age.....

Sex.....Occupation.....

Division..... Area of residence.....

Date of interview.....

A list of sample questions:

- 1) For how long have you lived in Nanyuki town?
- 2) Were your parents or family residents of Nanyuki?
- 3) If yes, for how long have they lived in Nanyuki?
- 4) Which are some of the first buildings to be constructed in the town?
- 5) Who were responsible?
- 6) What factors made them to construct buildings around the town?
- 7) Which are some of the oldest industries in the town?
- 8) Comment on trade and commerce in the town.
- 9) What do you think could have been the factors behind the growth of Nanyuki town?
- 10) What was the role of the military barracks towards the development of Nanyuki Town?
- 11) Comment on the military establishment in Nanyuki
- 12) How did the presence of Europeans in the area influence the growth of the town?
- 13) Any other comment or observation you would like to add?

B. Interview Schedule for White Ranchers (Kenyans of British extraction) in Nanyuki

- 1) How long have you been a resident of Nanyuki?
- 2) Did your family or relatives live in Nanyuki? If yes, for how long?
- 3) As a rancher how did you acquire your land and livestock?
- 4) What are some of the challenges you have encountered as a settler in Nanyuki?
- 5) How have you overcome these challenges?
- 6) As a settler to what factors would you attribute the growth of Nanyuki town?
- 7) Comment on the issue of squatters in the settler farms in Nanyuki.
- 8) Comment on race relations in Nanyuki in the colonial period.
- 9) Did you have any squatters or African labourers in your farm?
- 10) If yes how many hours did they work?
- 11) What was the wages earned by these African labourers?
- 12) How were the labourers handled especially during the emergency?
- 13) Did the labourers have any savings?
- 14) After independence did any of the labourers acquire land in Nanyuki?
- 15) If yes how and what was their source of funds by then?
- 16) Provide your general view on the urbanization process in Nanyuki in the colonial period.
- 17) Anything else you would like to add?

C. Interview Schedule for the Local Governance in Nanyuki

- 1) How long have you been an administrator in Nanyuki?
- 2) What is your designation?
- 3) Comment on the administrative structure of Nanyuki in the colonial period .
- 4) Comment on the economic changes you have observed in the town from the colonial period.
- 5) What are some of the observations you have made concerning the colonial administrative system in comparison to the African administrative system in Nanyuki Town.
- 6) What factors in your view led to the population increase in Nanyuki?
- 7) Give a brief critique of the race relations in Nanyuki during the colonial period.
- 8) How did the government deal with the issue of sanitation, squatters and stock theft in Nanyuki in the colonial period?
- 9) How did the government deal with the issue of Mau mau in Nanyuki
- 10) What was the role of the SFG and TPR?
- 11) Did the British soldiers contribute towards the safety of the European settlers?
- 12) If yes, explain how
- 13) Comment on the relations and contributions of the military in the development of the town.
- 14) Is there anything else you would like to add?

**APPENDIX 2: THE RATES CHARGED ON COMMODITIES OF TRADE IN NANYUKI
IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD, 1939-1945.**

LICENSING OF OCCUPATIONS

ANNUAL FEE

Baker	Shs. 10/- to Shs. 60/-
Barber (hairdresser)	Shs. 5/- to Shs. 25/-
Basket Makers and Hawkers	Shs. 10/- to Shs. 20/-
Beehive Maker	Shs. 10/- to Shs.
Bicycle and vehicle repairs	Shs. 5/- to Shs. 25/-
Blacksmith	Shs. 5/- to Shs. 25/-
Brickyard owner	Shs. 10/- to Shs. 20/-
Butcher	Shs. 10/- to shs. 50/-
Carpenter	Shs. 5/- to Shs. 30/-
Cobbler	Shs. 5/- to Shs. 30/-
Charcoal Burner	Shs. 15/- to Shs. 40
Coffee shop keeper	Shs. 11/- to Shs. 30/-
Confectioner	Shs. 10/-
Dairy owner	Shs. 10/- to Shs. 20/-
Firewood dealer	Shs. 10/- to Shs. 40/-
Fisherman	Shs. 60/- per half year
Fishmonger	Shs. 10/-
Fodder grass cutter	Shs 50/-
Fish hawker	Shs. 5/- to Shs 20/-
Garage owner	Shs. 20/- to shs 60/-
General trader	Shs. 10/- to Shs 180/-
Grocer (produce trader)	Shs. 10/-
Hawker	Shs. 5/- to Shs. 150/-
Hawkers of Tembo	Shs. 20/- to Shs 180/-
Hide and Skin trader	Shs. 20/- to Shs. 45/-
Hotelkeeper	Shs. 10 to Shs. 45/-
Itinerant contractor	
Lauderer	Shs. 2/- to Shs. 20/-

Maize buyer	Shs. 15/- to Shs. 25/-
Mechanic	Shs. 50/-
Miller – water	Shs. 5/- to Shs. 100/-
Power	Shs. 20/- to Shs. 100/-
Native tobacco seller	Shs. 5 to Shs. 45/-
News paper vendor	Shs. 2
Nursery gardener	Shs. 10/-
Painter	Shs. 5/- to Shs 10/-
Pit sawyer	Shs. 20/-
Poultry and Egg trader	Shs. 10/- to Shs. 40/-
Pot - hawker	Shs. 5/- to Shs. 10/-
Refreshment seller	Shs. 10/- to Shs. 20/-
Rubber sandal maker, shoe repair & Repairer	Shs. 2/- to Shs. 20/-
Second hand clothes Dealer	upto Shs. 45/-
Snuff seller	Shs. 45/-
Slaughter house owner	Shs. 15 to Shs 50/- per half year
Stone cutter	Shs. 20/-
Tailor	Shs. 5/- to Shs. 30/-
Timber merchants	Shs. 15/- to Shs 300/-
Tin-smith	Shs. 10/- to Shs. 15/-
Traders in charcoal	Shs. 5/- to Shs. 40
Traders in Honey and Beeswax	Shs. 40/- to Shs. 50/-
Traders in produce	Shs. 5/- to Shs. 18/-
Traders in Sisal	Shs. 10/-
Traders in cooked food	Shs. 45/-
Traders in Miraa	Shs. 150/-
Travelling Musician	Shs. 15/- to Shs 100/-
Transporter lake	Shs. 25/-

APPENDIX 3: CESS FEE AND SERVICE CHARGES IN NANYUKI FROM 1930-1963

1.	Ambulance	40 - 50 cents per mile Shsol.6/ trip Shs. 5/- - Shs. 30/- a trip "based –on Mileage
2.	Bicycle	Shs. 5/- per annum
3.	Borehole water	Shs. 2/- per annum per head of cattle
4.	Dipping	5 - 10 cents per head of sheep and goats Shs. 2/- percattle Shs. 2/- to Shs.5/- per annum per head of cattle or 50 cents to Shs5/- per sheep or goat
5.	Dispensary-	Shs 1/- to Shs. 2/- per week (half for a child) 5 cents - 50 cents per visit
6.	Dog license	Shs. 2/50 - Shs.5/- (in certain cases includes cost of immunization against rabies)
7.	Donkey	Shs, 1/- to Shs.10/-
8.	Grazing	20 cents per head of cattle per week 50 cents - Shs. 1/- per month 10 cents per head of sheep and goats per month Shs. 2/- to Shs.10/- per annum per head
9.	Health Centre	20 cents to Shs.1/- a visit (higher for non-ratepayers)
10.	(Outpatient) (Inpatient)	Shs. 2/- to Shs. 3/- a week (half for a child) Shs, 5/™ to Shs.15/- per week (half for a child)
11.	Innoculation	Shs. 1/- to Shs.3/- (Salk vaccine)
12.	Market	Per commodity in value up to 5/- 20 cts 5/- to 10/- 50 cts, over 10/- 1/- 1 – 1 ½ cents per sq foot 5 cents - 10 cents per day
13.	Maternity	Shs. 10/- to Shs.20/- (higher for non-ratepayer)
14.	Antenatal visits	Shs. 1/- to Shs. 2/-

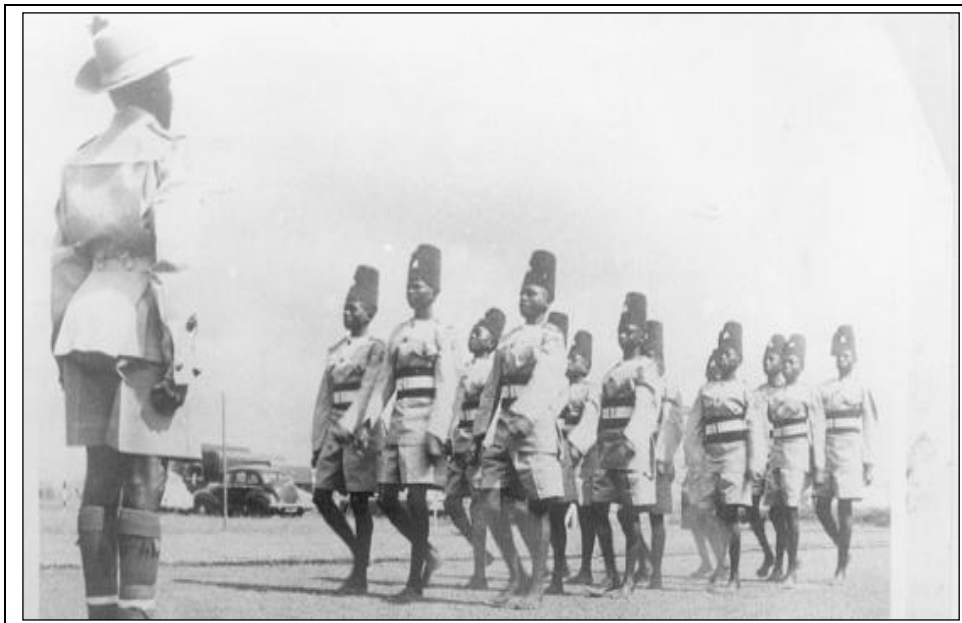
Source: Derived from KNA /DC/NYI/1/3: Annual Report Nanyuki, 1930

The charges were created by the colonial government to ensure maximum revenue was collected. The revenue was later used in the payment of the British colonial administrators and the development of their administrative premises in Nanyuki.

PHOTOS



1. A signboard indicating that Nanyuki Town lies astride the Equator.



2. Sergeant Major Mutuku Kioko training recruits on drill in Nanyuki in 1950. The recruits are wearing their ceremonial number one dress. Source: Personal Gallery.




3. The Nanyuki War Cemetery: An amazing observation by the researcher during the field research at the cemetery was that even in death, soldiers were buried according to their racial background and status /Ranks with even greater priority given to Senior Europeans, then down to the soldiers from Asian countries.

Research Permit

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MS. SHEELAH EDDLYNE AMBANI
of EGERTON UNIVERSITY -NJORO
CAMPUS, 0-20100 NAKURU,has been
permitted to conduct research in
Laikipia County
on the topic: COLONIAL URBANIZATION:
THE HISTORY OF NANYUKI
TOWN, KENYA, 1921-1963
for the period ending:
31st December, 2014

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/14/8409/4217
Date Of Issue : 18th November, 2014
Fee Received :Ksh 1,000



[Signature]
Applicant's
Signature

[Signature]
Secretary
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation



**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,
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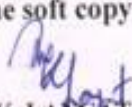
Sheelah Eddlyne Ambani
Egerton University
P.O. Box 536-20115
EGERTON.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Colonial Urbanization: The History of Nanyuki Town, Kenya, 1921-1963,*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Laikipia County** for a period ending **31st December, 2014.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Laikipia 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
Laikipia County.

The County Director of Education
Laikipia County.

