

**THE STRUGGLE OVER RESOURCES BETWEEN SAMBURU PASTORALISTS  
AND BRITISH COLONIAL STATE, 1850-1961**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Master of Arts Degree in History of Egerton University**

**EGERTON UNIVERSITY**

**NOVEMBER 2023**

**DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION**

**Declaration**

This is my original work and has not been presented for any academic award in any other institution.

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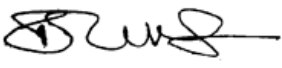
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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my parents, grandparents, family members and members of the community.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis came up as result of contributions, encouragement, productive collaboration and inspirations from the environment in which I grew up, lecturers, non-teaching staff of the Egerton University, research I undertook based on, Archival sources, Government reports, Government official letters, minutes of the meetings, court testimonies, unpublished sources, written sources, informants, online sources to mention just a few. I wish to acknowledge and appreciate the assistance and corrective efforts of my supervisors, lecturers of the Egerton University who taught me in the course of this study. They included; Dr. Isaac Tarus who is my lecturer and Supervisor and Dr. Halkano Abdi Wario who is also my Supervisor. Dr. Isaac Tarus besides, being a resourceful teacher, he provided a technical advice and support that was vital in the writing of this thesis. He also gave his precious time, mentor-ship guidance, encouragement and inspiration required of a professional historian. Dr. Halkano Abdi Wario revealed to me a mass of written sources on the Samburu and other relevant sources to this thesis. He provided me with computer technical skills required in the presentation of the research findings. I thank them for putting up with my working phase. I highly appreciate their constructive criticism. Dr. Dorothy, Dr. Onyanacha and Mwangi Macharia were the Lecturers who taught me in the course of this study. Dr. Onyanacha insisted on the importance of writing and completing the thesis within the framework of the time given. Dr. Dorothy Nyakwaka emphasized on the technical requirements of the historical research methods. Mwangi Macharia highlighted on the need to read and research widely. I wish to thank the entire Department of Philosophy, History and Religious Studies including the non-teaching staff for creating a conducive environment in the course of this study. I thank all those who tolerated my limitations during the field work in Samburu, Marsabit and Laikipia. I acknowledge and appreciate the assistance I got in the form of technical computer skills from the Library staff of J.D.Rockefeller Research Centre. They enabled me to locate and download a mass of online sources relevant to the writing of this thesis. I similarly wish to acknowledge and congratulate Staff of the Main and FASS Libraries for their indispensable efficient services they provided on the relevant information for this thesis.

## **ABSTRACT**

This study examined the struggle over resources between the Samburu pastoralist and British imperialists from 1895 to 1961. Nomadic pastoralist exploitation of natural resources has been the subject of many scholars. The colonial officials expressed their racist based views by focusing on the subject in general perspective. The Samburu people have been viewed as pre-modern, obstructive to development and people whose material conditions had not gone through any structural changes. Their customs and laws were seen as archaic and needed to be replaced by modern structures of the British colonial State. They were condemned and bullied for being a wasteful people who degraded environment through overstocking. The study discussed the Samburu traditional land tenures systems and exploitation of resources. It examined Samburu subsistence production. It also scrutinized the ecological disasters that rocked the Samburu from 1870 to 1897 and, their survival strategies. The above were subjected to historical break by the colonialists. It investigated Samburu contact and reaction to British colonial inimical policies of establishing the Kenya Colony. This is in regards to land alienation, creation of reserves, extraction of force labour, imposition of taxation, creation of forests, grazing schemes, game parks and currency trade. The policies were mechanisms designed to erode and dissolve the self-sufficiency of the Samburu pre-capitalist production. The study discussed the strategies the colonial State officials used to transform the Samburu traditional pre-capitalist subsistence production to capitalist system of production. It concerned with reasons that led to the failure of the grazing schemes in Samburu in 1961. This study used two theories to achieve the set objectives. It utilized Karl Marx's theory of political economy which postulates that it is common end that governs human relations. It is economic structure also referred to as substructure that provides the basis for the society on which the superstructure is built upon. The study also used Articulation theory of producing modes of production as advanced by Bernstein in 1977. Articulation theory links the Samburu pastoralist pre-capitalist subsistence system of production to British Colonial State capitalist system of production. This study used both primary and secondary sources. Data was collected from libraries in Kenya, online sources, Kenya National Archives, oral interviews of individuals and Groups. The sampling technique selected to carry out this study was qualitative research method. The semi-structured questions were used in the interview. Data was analyzed, categorized according to topics and subtopics. It was interpreted, written down and finally presented. The research findings will contribute to the historiography of pastoralism in Kenya.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>NOVEMBER 2023</b> .....	<b>i</b>
<b>DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION</b> .....	<b>i</b>
<b>COPYRIGHT</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	<b>vi</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b> .....	<b>ix</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b> .....	<b>x</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</b> .....	<b>xi</b>
<b>THE GLOSSARY OF TERMS</b> .....	<b>xii</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	3
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	4
1.4 Research Questions .....	4
1.6 Justification of the study .....	5
1.7 Scope and Limitation .....	6
1.11 Methodology .....	15
1.13 Map of the Study Area.....	19
1.14 Research Design.....	19
1.15 Data Collection Procedures.....	21
1.16 Ethical consideration.....	22
1.17 Data Collection Instruments .....	22
<b>CHAPTER TWO</b> .....	<b>25</b>
<b>THE SAMBURU PRE-CAPITALIST SUBSISTENCE PRODUCTION C1850-1895</b> ....	<b>25</b>
2.1 Overview .....	25
2.2 Samburu Origin and Clan Structure.....	25
2.3 Origin and Evolution of Nomadic Pastoralism.....	27
2.4 The Samburu Traditional Land tenure Systems.....	29
2.5 Search for Water and Grass Resources .....	31
2.6 Livestock Resources .....	37

2.7 Plants used by the Samburu .....	41
2.9 Exploitation of Wild Life Resources .....	45
2.10 Traditional Industries .....	47
2.11 The Structure of the Samburu Traditional Labour.....	49
2.12 Samburu Pre-colonial Trade .....	51
<b>CHAPTER THREE .....</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>DECADES OF SUFFERING AND MISERY IN SAMBURU c1885-1897 .....</b>	<b>55</b>
3.1 Overview.....	55
3.3 Origin and Commencement of the Ecological Disasters in Samburu.....	57
3.4 Impacts of Ecological Disasters.....	70
3.5 Recovery and Survival Strategies .....	74
3.6 Summary .....	78
<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>ESTABLISHMENT OF COLONIALISM AMONG THE SAMBURU c1895-1919 .....</b>	<b>79</b>
4.1 Overview.....	79
4.2 Arrival of Colonialism .....	79
4.3 Colonization amongst the Samburu .....	81
4.4 British Land Tenure Systems and Economic Policies .....	89
4.5 White settlement, Land alienation and Creation of Reserves .....	91
4.6 Colonial Labour in Samburu.....	96
4.7 The Imposition of Tax .....	101
4.8 Summary .....	105
<b>CHAPTER FIVE .....</b>	<b>106</b>
<b>THE DISPUTED LAND QUESTION c1921-1934 .....</b>	<b>106</b>
<b>5.1 Overview .....</b>	<b>106</b>
5.2 The Struggle over Lorroki Plateau.....	106
5.3 Settlers' Claim over Lorroki Plateau in Kenya Legco.....	109
5.4 Samburu Land Question in London.....	115
5.5 Sir Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission's At Kisima Boma .....	116
5.6 Summary .....	124
<b>CHAPTER SIX .....</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>THE SAMBURU DEFENDED THE GRAZING LAND c1930-1936.....</b>	<b>125</b>
6.1 Overview.....	125
6.2 Murders in Laikipia settlers Farms .....	125

6.3 Powys Murder Connected to Samburu Refusal to Vacate the Lorroki Plateau .....	130
6.4 The Exiled Samburu Prophet/Laibon.....	135
6.5 The Laibons and their roles in the warfare .....	138
6.6 Killing and Cleansing Amongst the Samburu .....	142
6.7 Verdict of the Sir Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission.....	147
6.8 Summary .....	148
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN.....</b>	<b>150</b>
<b>IMPOSED PROJECTS OF DEVELOPMENT FOR UNDERDEVELOPMENT C1936- 1961.....</b>	<b>150</b>
7.1 Overview.....	150
7.2 The Creation of Forests in Samburu .....	150
7.3 Colonial Policies of Grazing Control.....	155
7.4 Game Parks in Samburu.....	165
7.5 Trade and Evolution of Trading Centres in Samburu during Colonial Period .....	170
7.6 Summary .....	175
8.2 Conclusion .....	177
8.3 Recommendation .....	180
Appendix 1: Informants .....	182
Appendix IV: Research Publication.....	196

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Samburu Clans Structure. ....	26
Table 2: People and Stock Population .....	120
Table 3: Samburu Stock Census, 1933 .....	121
Table 4: 1927 Livestock Sales .....	174

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Samburu District (red area) is located in Northern Kenya, .....	18
Figure 2: Map of the Study area .....	19
Figure 3: Samburu Land Question Source: KNA BN/12/44 .....	114
Figure 4: Northern Game Reserves and then, Marsabit National Reserve (After Kenya Government 1933:241) .....	170

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ACHPR</b>	the African Charter on Human and People Rights
<b>ADC</b>	African District Council
<b>ASAL</b>	Arid and Semi-Arid Land
<b>ASDS</b>	Agriculture Sector Development Strategy
<b>EAD</b>	East Africa Department
<b>DC</b>	District Commissioner
<b>DF</b>	District Forester
<b>DLO</b>	District Livestock Officer
<b>DO</b>	District Officer
<b>DOAO</b>	Disease of Animals Ordinance
<b>FAO</b>	Food Agriculture Organization
<b>GW</b>	Game Warden
<b>IPAL</b>	Integrated project in Arid Land
<b>IWGIA</b>	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
<b>KLC</b>	Kenya Land Commission
<b>KNA</b>	Kenya National Archives
<b>LEGCO</b>	Legislative Council
<b>LFA</b>	Laikipia Farmers Association
<b>MBT</b>	Marsabit
<b>MRL</b>	Maralal
<b>NFD</b>	Northern Frontier District
<b>PC</b>	Provincial Commissioner
<b>PVO</b>	Provincial Veterinary Officer
<b>PWD</b>	Public Work Department
<b>SAM</b>	Samburu
<b>SDAO</b>	Special District Administration Ordinance
<b>TEEAL</b>	The Essential Electronic Agricultural Library
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nation Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

## THE GLOSSARY OF TERMS

- Anyaiye: malikoo:** The never told murders (secret murders)
- Ayallaa:** assimilate
- Sampur:** A leather bag in which the Samburu women stored some of their belongings
- Kisima:** A cracked ground that water comes out
- Nkishu kerrin:** White and black striped cattle colours
- Nkai:** Samburu name for the national God
- Naapo:** An enclosure in the middle of the manyatta or homestead where Elders meet in the evening and in the morning
- Lmumai:** An oath taking or solemn agreement
- Lamararak:** Morans numbered three to four sent to spy enemy
- Iyati:** someone considered not pure Samburu
- Lapuat:** Food contributed to the Morans who were on standby and when going for raid
- Ltamam:** Moran on stand waiting for impending raids
- Luwampa:** Moran numbered four to seven who steal cattle during the day or at night
- Laikitalak:** Consisted of two to three Morans who get lost and hide in the thick forest Kill members of a rival group, steal livestock and eat meat in the bush
- Njore:** Consisted of ten to thousands organized killers or raiders who raid for cattle and kill members of the rival groups or tribes
- Nkutungat:** It is reinforcement consisted of three age sets that defend cattle, people and the land from external aggressors
- Lebarta:** circumcision song for the boys
- Lorora:** Settlement set up for the purposes of traditional ceremonies and festivals
- Nkarrer:** Milk mixed with water used in traditional ritual ceremonies
- Lasar:** Sacrifice
- Mporro:** Dark pink Venetian beads worn by the Samburu women around the necks
- Rikoret:** a steer slaughtered during marriage ceremony
- Surutia:** copper hearings and wrists bangles worn by the Samburu women and men
- Malla yonkoriong:** a gourd carried on the back by the Samburu bride
- Lboliboli:** a small calabash containing oil carried by the Samburu bride

**Naililiori:** a small gourd containing milk carried by the best man and the milk was fed to the bride while on journey to the home of the

**Saa:** grass and water finding mission amongst the Samburu

**Sepe:** Samburu word for refugees

**Nkiyama:** a Samburu word for marriage

**Munken:** straps made from the skin of lion the Samburu men tied below  
The knees during married and circumcision ceremonies

**Nkaji Naibor:** a ceremonial house built for bride by the Samburu

**Louwa onyokie:** Red Mountain

**Logesana:** a traditional leather skirt worn by Samburu women

**Laibartak:** the Samburu circumcised boys under seclusion

**Nkaibartani:** a Samburu word for bride

**Soot:** mats made by Samburu women from a wild plant used to cover  
Traditional house

**Nkuaarie yooltompon:** season of lawlessness and immoral tyrants robbers.

**Ntagule:** arm

**Mutai:** destruction

**Lkipei/Lopidpid:** pleura-pneumonia

**Lodwa:** Samburu word for Rinderpest.

**Nkeeya mara:** small pox

**Lmaati:** locust plague

**Lkonchoor:** device of handling thorny branches

**Lpiroi:** elders of the fire stick

**Napi:** medals worn around the neck and hands

**Raap:** food prepared and eaten in shifts when the Borana were fighting  
With enemies

**Njartimi:** immoral Moran robbers who emerged during ecological disasters to  
Lynch terror on the remnants who survived the disasters

**Lorikine:** rain season that comes in June to September and falls only in the  
Samburu West specifically in Lorroki and Laikipia plateaus

**Ltumuren:** rain season in the months of October to December that falls in  
Samburu East and Marsabit

**Lngerngerrua:** rain season that falls in March to May and cover the whole  
Samburu country

**Nkakwai:** rain that falls for two weeks in the last week of May and the first of June

**Laibon:** a Samburu word for prophet

**Nkidong:** a divination gourd

**Ntasimi** a protective ritual medicine

**Entalengoa:** Maasai word for protective ritual medicines.

**Esitani:** a sorcery destructive medicine

**Nkurupore:** Samburu word for sorcerer destructive medicine.

**Laankalao:** of the ants

**Larrabal:** war

**Merat:** war song sang when enemies were killed.

**Lkishiroto:** war song/epic sang when raid was successful or when enemies were defeated cattle recovered and were driven home

**Moyog:** first ruminal content/chyme

**Marlen:** string made from skins tied to the wrist.

**Sirkon:** a Samburu word for slaves/ potters

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

The Samburu trace their origin from Egypt, Nile valley and between Sudan and Ethiopia<sup>1</sup>. They split from the Maasai around L. Baringo. The Maasai migrated southwards while the Samburu moved to the North. They comprised nine clans. The Samburu today live in Samburu central, Samburu North, Samburu East, Laikipia, Marsabit and Isiolo. There is no agreement on the age of nomadic pastoralism.<sup>2</sup> Theories of origin revolved on archaeologists' findings and Mythical Theories. There is evidence of the domestication of cattle in Africa by 9500BC in the Sahara. Domestication came into effect seven thousand years BC in the Near East. There were excavated bones of cattle at a site in Ileret around L. Turkana in Kenya 4000 thousand years ago. The Samburu based the origin of their nomadic pastoralism in their popular myth which advocates that the Samburu were dropped down from heaven together with livestock at Kisima. Many studies on pastoralism in the world and in Kenya tend to portray nomadic pastoralism as being in a backward stage of development.<sup>3</sup> It is seen as backward in the sense that the features of the nomadic pastoralism in livestock breeding and economic production are characterized by low income and large expenditure of labour. Production, experience and knowledge connected with livestock breeding were handed down from generation to generation in practical and identical form. Pastoralists were accused of following the herds and flock<sup>4</sup>.

Lawrence Krader advocated that nomadic pastoralism mode of subsistence, combine both symbiotic and parasitic relationship with environment<sup>5</sup>. The herds supply herdsmen with food, clothing and transport and the herdsmen protect herds and flock from predators and winters. Spencer maintained that plants are integral part of life among the Samburu as they provide fodder for animals, food, tools, building materials for people and medicine for both people and animals. A large part of the Samburu country is semi-arid and prone to prolonged drought.<sup>6</sup> They had mastered their environment and land scape that is characterized by

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<sup>1</sup> C 2007-2016 Advisor com- all rights reserved

<sup>2</sup> Smith, A *Spread of Pastoralism in Africa*. Department of Archaeology University of Cape town South Africa. 1992 pp.126-133

<sup>3</sup> Fage, J.D, *History of Africa 3rd edition* Rout ledge London 1995 P 426

<sup>4</sup> Spencer, P, *The Samburu Gerontocracy* Precise Group London 1966 pp. 1-20, 140

<sup>5</sup> U.N.E.S.C.O. *the International Social Science Journal*.. in Paris pp 1959.483-506

<sup>6</sup> Bogomov, S.V, *Study and Agricultural development of arid and semi-arid zone of the U.S.S.R* By U.N.E.S.C.O. 1959 p.4

irregular and unpredictable rainfall and recurrent drought.<sup>7</sup> Illius and Connor observed that nomadic pastoralists had developed over the years certain strategies of adapting to their immediate environment in finding water especially where water was scarce and grass was in plenty. Ecological disasters in the last three decades of the nineteenth century depopulated the Samburu lands to an extent that they almost lost their uniqueness<sup>8</sup>. The catastrophe attacked cattle the backbone of the Samburu pastoral economy.<sup>9</sup> The disasters included; cattle plagues such as Rinderpest, pleura-pneumonia, and outbreak of insects swarm like locust invasions. There was outbreak of small pox, measles and malaria. The effects resulted in mass destruction of cattle, ruins of thousands of the Samburu and whereabouts of many is still not known up to date. Some sought refuge among the Rendille, the Turkana, the Elmolo, the Dassanetch and the Borana. Their strength during the advent of colonialism was in fact not stable. (Juul, 1994) on the other hand advocated that the Samburu exploitation to land existed<sup>10</sup>. He noted that, rights to exploitation were acquired by a virtue of territorial affiliation. They depended on environment to the whole network of customs, institutions, ideas and culture. Nomadic pastoralists have been considered by colonists as people who overgrazed pasture and ruined environment.

Kervin maintained that British administration in Kenya did not recognize the pastoral grazing rights. Reserves and settler boundaries were created according to wishes of the European<sup>11</sup>. Sir Charles Eliot the Commissioner for the East Africa protectorate announced that nomadic pastoralists had no part to play in the colonial economy. They could not be entertained in the face of advancement of western ideas and technologies. He maintained that nomadic pastoralists would not be allowed to keep superior races out of large tracks of land consequently pastoralists lost larger tracks of land than cultivators. Carl Fumagalli maintained that nomadic pastoralists and the Samburu in particular that their way of life has conflicting character and was incompatible with the so called ‘civilized’ behaviour manners and values. He noted that the colonial administration saw pastoral nomads’ warriors as raiders and noble savages and, untouched by civilization therefore any policy measure aimed

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<sup>7</sup> Roy, B “National Management in Pastoral Africa” Paper prepared by U.N.S.D. Donor Agency consultation meeting in Paris 1992

<sup>8</sup>Mungeam, *British Rule in Kenya 1895-1920*. Oxford University press London 1966. Pp.39

<sup>9</sup>Waweru P, *Continuity and Change, History of Samburu 1895-1963* Ph.D. thesis Egerton University 2006 Pp.126-138

<sup>10</sup>[www:lwgia.org/lwgia](http://www.lwgia.org/lwgia)

<sup>11</sup>Lai,L *Climate and Cultural Change* Department of Anthropology and Science University of South Florida USA, 2008

to introduce some changes involving their tradition, mode of production and way of life was considered entirely justified. He added that colonial policies and measures introduced among the Samburu stemmed directly from tenets underlying the colonial doctrines aimed at exploiting local resources both human and natural for the sole benefits of the metropolitan. Development of grazing schemes, water projects, destocking, branding and construction of abattoir in 1951 were subordinate to those of forests protection and preservation of wildlife. The factors that affected the Samburu nomadic pastoralist's life style included pronged drought, diseases of both human and the stock, land privatization and conflicts.<sup>12</sup> Anything that affected pastoral herds and the flock affects the life of the nomadic pastoralists' directly.

This study examined origin of the Samburu nomadic pastoralism<sup>13</sup>, attachment to cattle, the existence of land tenure systems as well as attachment to ancestral land,<sup>14</sup> establishment of the clans structure as a survival strategy during ecological disasters, the Samburu knowledge of their immediate environment, the skills they developed over the years in regard to mobilization of both human and natural resources in exploiting the available resources, the roles of traditional institutions in regard to control of resources and the struggle over resources between the Samburu nomadic pastoralists and the British Colonial State in repute to land alienation<sup>15</sup>, creation of native reserves, forced labour, taxation, confiscation of the Samburu forests, creation of Game Parks, introduction of grazing schemes, censorship of pastoralist nomadic mobility, centralization of trade, replacement of the Samburu traditional institutions and inimical policies against the Samburu<sup>16</sup>The Samburu perceive their livestock as fountain source of their livelihood contrary to British Colonial State official's perception that pastoralism is an archaic stage of development. They appropriated the Samburu land and resources to fit the interest of colonial economy.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

British Colony officials assumed that the Samburu had no idea on individual land ownership. They argued that the Samburu destroy environment through overstocking. The central argument is that the Samburu had traditional land tenures systems, grazing rights,

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<sup>12</sup>Salzmann, P.C. *Are Nomads capable of Development and Decision?* Department of Anthropology 857 Sherbrook St Montreal Quebec Canada, 1985

<sup>13</sup> Lekimir Lesyiokono (2018)

<sup>14</sup> James Lekarkar (2019)

<sup>15</sup><sup>15</sup>*Report of Kenya Land Commission September 1933* presented to Parliament by command of His Majesty, Majesty Stationery Office London 1934 p 227,229

<sup>16</sup>Stiles, D.N. *Desertification and Pastoral Development in the Northern Kenya*, British institute Nairobi 1983 p4-12

environmental knowledge, herding skills, conserved and protected the environment, attached to cattle and ancestral land, they exploited both human and natural resources, they had survival strategies when faced by odd face of nature, The situation led to violation of trespassing laws on Laikipia white ranchers' farms, breaching of rules governing grazing schemes and struggle over the possession of Lorroki Plateau. Such knowledge and experience has not been addressed sufficiently by previous studies. This study is a historical inquiry into the origin of the Samburu attachment to cattle, ancestral land, existence of traditional land tenures systems, their traditional mechanism of conserving and protecting their environment, exploitation of both human and natural resources, indigenous knowledge of the environment) and pre-capitalist subsistence production. The study interrogates the Samburu struggle strategy for survival in the face of ecological disasters that fell upon them in the last three decades of nineteenth century and it inquires Samburu steady resistance against colonial domination and its oppressive systems of forced labour land alienation, forced taxation, creation of native reserves, forests reserves, grazing schemes and registration.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

- i. To examine the Samburu pre-colonial resources use
- ii. To investigate natural disasters that rocked the Samburu in the last three decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> c and their recovery struggle.
- iii. To explore the impacts of colonial policies of establishing the Kenya Protectorates and Colony on the Samburu
- iv. To analyze the Samburu response to colonial policies of capitalist production in the 19<sup>th</sup> c

### **1.4 Research Questions**

This study is set to answer the following questions:

- i. What resources were vital for the survival of the Samburu nomadic pastoral people in pre-colonial period?
- ii. What ecological disasters threatened Samburu existences and which strategies did the Samburu use to survive the odd face of nature and cruelties of their neighbours in pre-colonial period?
- iii. How the Samburu responded the British colonial policies of laying the foundation of colonial state in regard to land alienation, labour force, creation of reserves and taxation?

- iv. What led to the failure of Colonial State attempts to transform the Samburu pre-capitalist to capitalist system of production in 1961?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

This study investigated into the Samburu origin, origin of their nomadic pastoralism, clans' structure, traditional land tenures systems, pre-colonial subsistence production and the struggle over resources between the Samburu pastoralist and British colonial State. This study is a reliable reference for historians, anthropologists, theologians, sociologists, scientists and researchers. It will also be of a great help to present and future administration, None Governmental Organizations and present and future policy makers as it is a guides to understanding the Samburu and appropriate suitable policies for the community. It assists in preparing the Samburu and other people to be more resilient when faced by the odd face of nature. The study contributes to the present scholarly debate on the British colonial State in Kenya as the agent of settler interest in Kenya and prompts the intellectual debate on the subject of History. It lures the young generations to studying History and finally it fosters research on the subject

### **1.6 Justification of the study**

A study on the history of the Samburu nomadic pastoralists is limited as most of what was written down was the works of anthropologists therefore; this study fills in the existing gaps on the origin of the Samburu nomadic pastoralism, existence of traditional land tenures systems, attachment to land and cattle, resources used, exploitation of livestock resources, plants resources, mineral resources and exploitation of labour and trade. The study covered the period 1850 to 1961 which depicts socio-economic and political factors that prompted colonialism. The study also fills gaps on the struggle over resources between the Samburu pastoralist and British colonial State in regard to land alienation, creation of native reserves, confiscation of the Samburu forests, creation of Game Parks in the land occupied by the Samburu, abuse of labour by the colonial authority, imposition of tax, creation of grazing schemes and introduction of currency and controlled trade. This study prepares the Samburu and other readers in future to be more prepared and organized to face odds and challenges of the environment. It deals with colonial attempts to transforming the Samburu pre-capitalist subsistence production to capitalist system of production. Such experience guides the present and the future policy makers. This study is necessary since oral sources of History are on the verge of disappearing since the present generations have no time to listen to oral sources as

they are busy browsing their phones and computers. This study will lure them to learning history.

### **1.7 Scope and Limitation**

This research is restricted to: Samburu Central, Samburu North, Samburu East, Laikipia North, Karare in Marsabit, Kenya National Archive, libraries in Kenya and informants in the areas mentioned. The research took four months and it depended upon the vastness of the region, seasons, infrastructure as I walked on foot to a place known as Lbaa onyokie since there was no road, financial status of the researcher as I ran out of cash while I was on the way to Loyangalani consequently; I cancelled the journey, conditions of the researcher and the supervisors as I liaised fully with my supervisors. The research also relied upon the informants who were experts of the Samburu history what they omitted due to fading memory caused by the old age was compensated from libraries, Archival and museum sources. The research concerned with the period 1850 in order to uncover resources the Samburu used before the advent of colonialism and the socio-economic and political factors that prompted the evolution of colonialism. It also focused on the 1961 period when British Colonial State development projects were shattered. The research has all that it required in the form of scientific tools such as interview schedule to accomplish its mission in the given time. There were also securities factors that deterred the research as some rural people who were not exposed to interviews before, suspect the researcher as foreign agent working for foreign agency that spy for their enemies. Such was overcome thorough introduction of the researcher to the informants by showing University identity card, letter from the University, letters from Marsabit and Samburu County Commissioners and research permit from National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation as well as liaising with area administration and letting them introduce the researcher to the targeted group for interview.

## 1.8 Definition of Terms

**Colonize:** it is process of sending people to live and govern another country.

**Development:** the process of having high level of economic industrial productivity as well as technological sophistication.

**Disaster:** It is a serious disruption of the Functioning of the society causing a wide spread of human and material damage as well as losses that exceed the ability of the affected community to cope using its own resources.

**Overgrazing:** is most important negative impact of animals' system on land resources.

**Nomads:** are mobile people assumed to have no fixed dwelling place or permanent

Settlements  
**Resource:** is any supply from which a benefit is produced. It is a natural or an artificial Source of Wealth that enhances a quality of life.

**Pastoralism:** is a branch of agriculture concerns with raising stock with mobile aspects and moving the herds in search for fresh pastures and water. It is a successful strategy to supporting population on less productive land.

**Protectorate:** it refers to a virtually a complete control by a strong foreign nation over domestic affairs of weak nation that has surrendered these powers in return for a guarantee of protection.

**Policy:** It means the manner of governing, conducting, directing a state It also Means conducting one's own interest, plan of action, wisdom and governing principle.

**Imperialism:** It originated from the Latin word *Imperium* meaning supreme power that which pertains to the Empire especially the Empire of Rome the word also means Military and Governmental dominance in this context, it is a policy of extending control.

**Authority:** over foreign entities it is a government policy Seeking to increase its size by forcing through war influence and politic.

**Capitalism:** It is an economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit rather than by the State.

**State:** a family group who owe allegiance to a single Chief or King whose domain covers a large area whose function is maintenance of law and order.

**Underdevelopment:** it is a process of having stumpy level of economic industrial productivities and technology sophistication.

**1.9 Literature Review**The review traced the origin of the Samburu and their migration waves. This review concerned with evolution and fluctuations of land tenures systems as dictated by time, population explosion and demands for lands. <sup>17</sup>It highlights conditions necessitated the pastoral occupation of large land tracts. The review investigated the Samburu traditional land tenure systems, resource use and control, pre-capitalist subsistence production as well as Samburu pastoral knowledge of exploitation and tapping of nature resources. It interrogated ecological disasters that rocked the Samburu population and shattered their pastoral economy in nineteenth century and their adaptation strategies before all these were subjected to historical break by the Colonial State. The review elaborated how repressive colonial policies of establishing the colony impacted the Samburu traditional livelihood. The review examined capitalist colonial policies of transforming the Samburu pre-capitalist subsistence production using Carl Marx's theory of political economy that put emphasis on the economic structure of the society also known as substructure. The study also used Theory of Articulation of producing modes of production to link the Samburu pre-capitalist subsistence production to Capitalist system of production of the British Colonial State. The Samburu might have originated from Egypt. Theories of origin of Nomadic Pastoralism, concentrate on the work of archaeologists. Harrison claimed that rules for use of land were developed when man moved from hunter and collector stage to pastoralism.<sup>18</sup>He maintained that nomadic pastoral range-land caused the customary tenure regimes to be perceived as virtually none existent. On traditional land tenures, Unruh maintained that pastoralists depended on availability of land tracts, forests and range-land where they have freedom of movement and access to natural resources on which their subsistence depended upon.<sup>19</sup> It is land which provides pasture, water and minerals. Ndagala on the other hand, advocated that

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<sup>17</sup>.Ochieng W.R *themes in Kenya History* General Printers ltd 1990 p 36,230

<sup>18</sup>..Smith A..S *Origin and spread of pastoralism in Africa* Department of Archaeology University of cape Town Rondebosch South 1992

<sup>19</sup>. Chang and Harold *Pastoralists at the periphery* The University of Arizona press Tucson and London 1994 Pp. 1-23

customary land tenure, included regulations on access to herbaceous wood, vegetation and wild life existed and observed<sup>20</sup>.

Paul Spencer in the gerontocracy of the Samburu maintained that there is no explicit ownership of the land in Samburu.<sup>21</sup>The findings of this study proved beyond a reasonable that Samburu traditional tenures systems exist and real. On subsistence economy, Spencer observed that subsistence production of the Samburu revolved around livestock.<sup>22</sup>He noted cattle, give most in return. Goats and sheep provide meat in dry season. Donkeys were used as pack animal. This study highlighted further that livestock were used as compensation for injuries deaths, fines, to adjust and activate personal relationship, offered as sacrifices to God and spirits in order to communicate to spiritual world as well as practice and beliefs of the Samburu. Krader advocated that mode of subsistence of the herdsman combined both symbiotic and parasitic relationship with environment.<sup>23</sup>Herds support herdsman with transport, milk, hides, meat and goods for exchange with other economies. On the other hand, herdsman protected herds from predators; supply them with grass, water and leaves.<sup>24</sup>This study emphasized the knowledge the Samburu had developed over years. on the varieties of plants they fed their livestock as well as ways they set some regions asides for dry season grazing and traditional knowledge of finding water in the environment and where to dig wells during scarcity of water and the traditional institutions that regulated use and control of the resources. Commercialization of pastoralism was a partial shift in production goals from meeting subsistence goals and needs to producing for the market. Ruth Nyambura Njoroge also maintained that the Samburu body adornment was influenced by interaction with neighbours, colonial policies, intermingling of cultures, impacts of Christianity and trading of new materials other<sup>25</sup>.<sup>26</sup>This study explored trade relations the Samburu had with surrounding societies therefore; different types of exchanges and market existed. Contrary to

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<sup>20</sup>Adrian H.K. *Development of Nomadic Pastoralism in Africa*, a Master Thesis submitted to the Institute of Geography University of Copenhagen Geographical Hafniensia c6 publication Copenhagen. 1997 Pp.10-14

<sup>21</sup> Harrison *History Heritage and Pastoral People Institute* University of South Wales Sydney Australia 2004 pp.1-40

<sup>22</sup>Spencer P, *The Samburu Gerontocracy*. Précis group London 1965 pp1-20, 140

<sup>23</sup>Krader "Studies in Human Ecology", an article in *International Social Science Journal* vol ix 1959 Washington DC 1957 p 499

<sup>24</sup> Longotorio Leparachao (2018)

<sup>25</sup>Nyambura *Body Adornment Among the Samburu* A Thesis Submitted to the Board of Postgraduate Studies in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History Egerton University 1915 p 46

<sup>26</sup>Synsson, T.G. *Commission on Nomadic people* Ethnographic Museum University of Oslo Norway 1987 P 5

Waller & Sobania 1994 claims that the pastoralists were never confronted with external market relations prior to colonialism<sup>27</sup>.<sup>28</sup> At the end of the 19th century pastoralists were at Centre of the regional network of exchange.

Ilius and Connor advocated that pastoralists had developed over the years, certain strategies for finding water in their environment especially where water is scarce.<sup>29</sup> Such areas were important for pastoralists as they contain water which was crucial during dry season. Samburu observed the land scape followed the topography and associated drainage lines to the foot of the slopes where water penetrated the soils and stored near the ground surface if geological circumstances are right<sup>30</sup>. Water sources in dry season are man-made wells. This study highlighted other ways based on behaviours of domestic and wild animals, insects and birds Astrid Meier (Astrid 2007): maintained that inquiry into the History of the ecological disasters in Sudanic Africa were conceived on the basis of economic, political and social systems of the society that depopulated the region, caused crisis migration, forced some pastoral groups to give up transhumant way of life. This study inquired into the Samburu view of the nineteenth century ecological disasters, political, economic and social impacts on the Samburu<sup>31</sup> The nineteenth century ecological catastrophe depopulated the East Africa lands including Samburu country.<sup>32</sup> It occurred in the form of cattle plagues, insects' swarms such as locust invasion and meteorological droughts, and wars. There was a devastating attack of small pox, measles amongst others. They resulted in the mass destruction of cattle, decimation of thousands of the Samburu that shattered their pastoral economy to an extent that it was difficult to imagine Concerning the dawn of Colonialism Helving Helldorf, maintained that Berlin conference institutionalized European Imperialism.<sup>33</sup> That resulted in scramble, partition and occupation of Africa by European powers in search for resources that were required by the European industries. They wanted land to settle their surplus population,

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<sup>27</sup> Susan "Kenya Past and Present Kenya" Museum Society Council Nairobi Issue 31 2000 P44

<sup>28</sup> Harrison *History, Heritage and Pastoral Industries* University of New South Wales Press Ltd Sydney Australia 2004 Pp. 1-40

<sup>29</sup> Lees, S.H. and Bates, *the origin of Specialized Nomadic Pastoralism vol 39 No 2* Department of Anthropology Hunter College USA 1973 PP 187-192

<sup>30</sup> Helldorf *Master Thesis in Integrated Water Resources Management* Swedish University of Agricultural Science Uppsala Sweden 2010 pp. 16-52

<sup>31</sup> Astrid, M. *Natural Disasters, Drought and Epidemics In Pre-colonial Sudanic Africa* The Medieval History Journal 2007 pp.209-236

<sup>32</sup> Pankhurst, *the Great Ethiopia Famine of 1888-1892* Institute for peace and Security Studies Addis Ababa University 1966 P 2

<sup>33</sup> Duder, C.J. and Simpson *Land and Murder in Colonial Kenya* Frank Cass in London, 1992 pp 442-460

market for industrial goods, export of capital and search for prestige amongst others. <sup>34</sup>In Northern Frontier District Samburu included Colonial agents exercised massive powers.<sup>35</sup>N.F.D. was ruled and bullied through coercive institutions. Peter Waweru maintained that pastoralists had no part to play in colonial economy as pronounced by Sir Charles Eliot the Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate who sounded the death knell of pastoralism. His opinion became the guiding principle in formulation of policies in pastoralist areas. This study explored the British colonial policies in respect to land alienation, creation of native reserves, taxation, abuse of labour, introduction of Kipande systems, confiscation of Samburu forests, creation of Game Parks in the land occupied by the Samburu, the creation of grazing schemes, introduction of currency controlled trade were mechanism used by the Imperial Government to disrupt and dissolve the Samburu self-sufficient subsistence production that resulted in Samburu refusal to vacate Lorroki Plateau violation of trespassing laws and grazing rules. The Samburu were driven out of Laikipia Plateau in 1921 and there was an attempt to drive them out of Lorroki Plateau. Settlers required cheap African labour.<sup>36</sup> White settlers pressurized Colonial State to extract African labour for them. The extraction of African labour was abused by Chiefs as they oppressed their opponents at the expense of extracting labour. Boundaries for chiefs' jurisdiction were drawn to ensure firm control of African labour and collection of tax. Two forms of labour emerged to meet settler and state demands. There was migrant contract wage labour and squatting on estate. There emerged the enactment of Master and Servant Acts which provided penal sanction for desertion. Claude Hollis, the first Secretary of Native Affairs 1908 gazetted rules to secure better treatment of workers and ordered withdrawal of coercion of employers an issue that went against the wishes of white settlers. There was fear by Government Officials of losing the confident of the tribes<sup>37</sup>. In Kenya, African pre-capitalist production and Samburu in this case was subjected to historic break in the terminology of the time that they were opened up. Kerven advocated that British administration in Kenya did not recognize grazing rights and resource use. The policies were systematically applied starting in 1935 when Provincial Commissioner announced grazing control in Lorroki Plateau and limitation of cattle to 40,000 The British introduced and imposed on the Samburu who were operating at subsistence production a capitalist system characterized by high degree of

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<sup>34</sup>Fratkin, E. *Pastoral Sedentarization in Marsabit District Northern Kenya* Department of Anthropology Smith College Northampton Massachusetts V 8 w 3 p 5

<sup>35</sup>KNA/PC/NFD/1/1 NFD Handbook copy No 2 1917 p 89

<sup>36</sup>Spradley, J.P. *Continuity and Conflicts* Harper Collins publishers United States of America 1990. pp.40

<sup>37</sup>[Hhps://books google com/book?=-996646936](https://books.google.com/book?=-996646936)

centralization, there was appropriation of local resources and means of production.<sup>38</sup> There was enforcement of strategies for protection and exploitation of natural and human resources. In 1935, 282,200 acres of the Lorroki forest were demarcated and completely closed for grazing. In 1936, Samburu elders reacted against the British policies of grazing control and stock limitation. In response to Samburu elders protest, The British administration in 1950 elaborated plan to expanding grazing control. In 1952, the cattle were sold in quota system fixed at 9000 per year in Archers' Post slaughtering machine. In 1950, administration made an effort to provide permanent water supplies. By 1953 Samburu District had nine boreholes and 13 functioning dams. In 1954 grazing control, spread all over Samburu District. In 1956 grazing control was restructured under the name of grazing scheme. In 1961 one third of the Samburu District was covered with grazing schemes. Severe drought struck Samburu country between 1959 and 1961. The community complained and petitioned against the controlled grazing. They defied grazing rules. In response, the Colonial State give in to the demands of the elders and grazing control was abolished.

**1.10 Theoretical Framework** The first theory relevant to explain this study is found in Marx's theory of political economy.<sup>39</sup> It maintained that common end governs human relations which are found only in the production of the means of production to support living. Next to means of production is the exchange of things produced. He disputed that determinants of social change are found in the ideas of the external truth and social justice but in changes in the mode of production exchanges. Marx advocated that the two factors that enter into production are; resources provided by nature and the instruments that man possesses which they use in the production that included; labour tools and practical skills. Marx theory is relevant to this study since the study looks into resources that includes; land, water, grass, cattle, small stock, wild game, wild plants, minerals, labour, traditional knowledge, modern scientific knowledge amongst others. In what he called primitive society, he added that the implements people make, he called them productive forces. Marx added that production also involves relation between men. There is according to this theory, relations between men and things which he referred to as productive relation. He noted that when the first change the second also change. Marx maintained that the nature of the production in primitive society is that of cooperation. He noted that at the early stage in the

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<sup>38</sup>Lunenburg, and. Beverly *Writing a successful Thesis or Dissertation* Corwin Press 2008 p 1

<sup>39</sup>Hunt, R.C.N. *Theory and Practice of Communism* Penguins Books Baltimore Maryland USA 1950 p 6

history of man certain members of the society acquired a control over the productive forces. Occurrence led to emergence of capitalist system. The situation enabled minority to live by Labour of the majority a situation he described as inclination of men to take advantage of one another. He said it was a corruption introduced into history by what he called private ownership of the means of production consequently, productive relations from then henceforth became those of the two antagonistic classes. He concluded that the history of all existing societies is the history of the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat. Marx added that productive conditions constitute economic structure of the society on which the superstructure of laws and political institutions are based and to which certain forms of political consciousness correspond. The economic system of the society (substructure) always provides the real basis. The religion, ethics, laws, and institutions of the society also referred to as superstructure are built up on substructure and determined by it. The constituents of the superstructure consistently are found on analysis to reflect the interest of dominant class. The systems of morals prevailing at the time will be that body of principles the dominant class regards right therefore, when the Colonial State imposed its policies of land alienation, creation of reserves, creation grazing schemes, game reserves, enacting native ordinance amongst others reflects what the dominant class deemed right. Conceptions of truth and justice belong to superstructure and what renders acceptable is changes in the productive forces. When new inventions or discoveries are reached, productive forces come into conflicts with existing relation of production that is prevailing property system. Such occurred between the Samburu subsistence production and Colonial State capitalism system of production. Contradiction was introduced into productive forces and reflected in the productive relations of the proletariat or the exploited in this case the Samburu nomadic pastoralists. The Samburu resistance against eviction from Lorroki Plateau and their rejection of grazing schemes in 1961 were examples of the capitalist contradictions. The critics of this theory accused it for calling for radicalism and revolution. The second theory to explain this study is the Articulation Theory by Bernstein of producing modes of production.<sup>40</sup> Modes of production refer to ways human beings collectively produce means of subsistence in order to survive and enhance livelihood. The term refers to specific economic systems. Articulation is linkage between two societies which in this case, the British Colonial State which is a capitalist and the Samburu pastoralist system which was a subsistence society.<sup>41</sup> This theory

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<sup>40</sup>Esther,J, “*Introduction to Carl Marx*” Cambridge University Press UK. Www. Encyclopedia 1986

<sup>41</sup>Lonsdale,J & Bruce *the Development of Colonial State in Kenya 1895-1914* Cambridge University Press 1979 Pp.487-505

maintained that social factors can only be explained in economic terms. Economic needs are determined and controlled by political factors. Failure to study one aspect of a society adequately, distorts History of the society. Articulation theory of modes of production covers all dimensions of life. Facts change as a result of interactions inherent in the societies. Colonialism was seen as an agent of change in Africa and Samburu in particular. It was seen as a presentation of gradual articulation of operational models of different cultures. The concept of the articulation of modes of production revolves around labour, workers, agriculture, livestock and changes of structures of Africans and their incorporation into the world economy. Struggle for survival characterized the African and capitalist modes of production. The struggle transformed the African modes of production. The struggle also undermines the productive ability of the domestic forms. Africa's pre-capitalist forms of production and Samburu in this case, were subjected to historic break in their autonomous development. They became externally oriented to suit dynamics of the capitalism that were imposed from outside. This theory therefore is relevance in analyzing the changes the Samburu pre-capitalist subsistence production underwent when their systems came to be linked with the capitalist modes of production imposed by British imperialists. When two different social formation come into contacts, their conflicting modes of production, get into an inter-acting phase consequently they result into new set of relationship of production within that changing setting. Pre-contact class structure like those of the Samburu had to adjust to the needs of the capitalist expansion through a process that took two phases. The first phase of articulation was that the Samburu were introduced into colonial capitalism. That was implemented through coercive manipulation and well organized labour withdrawal from traditional structures of family land and communal land. Extraction of African labour fostered cohesion consciousness of class over the fragment consciousness of the tribe. The second phase of articulation was where the colonial rule was entrenched firmly. The Samburu got into the operations of the new modes of production as a result of prevailing circumstances. Taxes had to be paid. People had to offer themselves for public and forced labour. The Samburu had to turn up for employment in order to get money to pay taxes. (Bernstein, 1977:61) advocated that;<sup>42</sup> the kinship production was replaced by a characterized global epoch of accumulation. Economy was destroyed through penetration of commodity relation in more or less systematic fashion. Colonial State used compulsion to effect the initial break in reproduction cycle of systems of natural economy. The means were supplied

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<sup>42</sup>Bernstein, H, *The Review of African political Economy* N0 10 Peasants Taylor Francis Ltd 1977

by the Colonial State. Colonial State organized the condition of exploitation.<sup>43</sup> Land was alienated and appropriated for production. Articulation of modes of production was also a political relationship in which the dominant group in the modes of production the British Colonial State in this regard allied with capitalist classes to suppress those groups they exploited. Wolff, C.C. advocated that Kenya was shaped to suit metropolitan needs. The services formally rewarded with means of production for example land, livestock and barter exchange came to be rewarded with means of subsistence like food and cash in currency. It was monetization of the Samburu economy.

### **1.11 Methodology**

This research is descriptive analysis that offers a detailed description and understanding experiences of the past events utilizing social concepts.<sup>44</sup>It includes causes and effects and analysis that demonstrate how occurrence of one event correlates a particular outcome. This research used; archival sources from Kenya National Archive, libraries of Egerton University, University of Nairobi, Kenyatta University oral interviews, written texts and printed manuscripts and mass of on sources to searching historical sources that dealt with the Samburu struggle with the environment and the struggle over resources between the Samburu pastoralists British Colonial State. It used primary and secondary sources. Snowballing sampling method was assumed. Reliability, credibility, authenticity and validity of the data were subjected to external and internal criticism. It focused on data analysis, interpretation and writing of findings.<sup>45</sup> Researcher determined if the data adequately explore events in which he is interested. Compton and Hall maintained that documentary or historical research involves discovery and analysis of the records of the previous events and interpretation of trends and attitudes of the events to help to guide present and future behaviour. <sup>46</sup>It consists of locating, integrating and evaluating evidence from physical relics, written records or documents in order to established facts or generalization regarding the past events, human characteristics or other problems in the question.

The Samburu nomadic pastoralists the subject of this study, inhabits Samburu Central sub county, Samburu East sub county, Samburu North sub county, Marsabit, Isiolo and Laikipia

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<sup>43</sup>Araya,M. *Colonialism and Natural Economy* the Eritrean Case City University of New York 2017 Pp167-172

<sup>44</sup>Jack, S. "Analysis for social Science" John Wiley and son ltd West Sussex United Kingdom 2009 P.236

<sup>45</sup>Study.com/academic/...../historical\_research Design, definition-advantages-limitation.ht

<sup>46</sup>Simonton,D.K. "Paper by Department of psychology" University of California Davis, one snield Avenue California USA 2003 Pp. 624-627

Counties. <sup>47</sup>Samburu Central Sub County is situated in the Samburu County and is the Samburu County headquarters. It is situated in the Rift Valley province. To the Southwest is Baringo District, to the North is Samburu North, to the East is Samburu East and Laikipia North to the South. The District lies between Latitude 0° 40' North and 2° 50' North of equator and Longitudes 36° 20' East and 38° 10' East of great Prime Meridian. It is one of the semi-arid areas of Kenya. Samburu central total area is 3979.1km<sup>2</sup>. <sup>48</sup>Samburu County population as per 2019 census was 310,327. Samburu central has 163,942 people. The Samburu Central District has one constituency called Samburu Central.

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<sup>47</sup>Samburu Central *District Development Plan 2012* Government Printers Nairobi 2009 P 1- 5

<sup>48</sup>Kenya National Bureau of Statistics *Population and Housing Census* KNBS Nairobi 2019 p 25

Samburu East is one of the sub counties in the Samburu County.<sup>49</sup> It is also one of the Districts in the Rift Valley province. Its- headquarter is in Wamba town. It became a District in 2007. It borders Marsabit to the North East. To the East is Isiolo District and to the South is Laikipia. To the West is Samburu Central and to North West is Samburu North. It covers 10,141km<sup>2</sup> including 937.65km<sup>2</sup> of the gazetted forest. It has two divisions that are Wamba and Uaso divisions. There are 12 locations and 29 sub locations. Wamba covers 5143.40km<sup>2</sup> and Uaso covers 4998.30km<sup>2</sup>. It has one constituency called Samburu East. It has five electoral wards. Samburu East is covered by acacia trees which explain why the community practices pastoralism. According to 2019 census the population of the sub county was 77137 people. Samburu North District is situated in the Samburu County.<sup>50</sup> It is situated in the Rift Valley province. To the west is Turkana County to the South is Samburu Central, to the North East is Marsabit County and to south East is Samburu East Sub County. The sub county lies between 0° 40' North and 20° 50' North of the Equator and Longitude 36° 20' East 38° 10' East of the Prime Meridian. The sub county is one of the semi-arid areas of the country. Total area is approximately 7005.7km<sup>2</sup>. It consisted of two divisions that are Baragoi which is also the sub county Headquarters and Ngiro. There are 13 locations and 33 sub locations. In 2019 census Samburu North had 66879 people. The area has one constituency called Samburu North. Concerning Marsabit County, this study was confined to an area called Karare.<sup>51</sup> It is inhabited by Samburu who have knowledge and history of the Samburu when Samburu were said to have lived in the Northern parts of Marsabit County and Southern Ethiopia in the 18th century. <sup>52</sup>The Samburu were noted in raiding other communities living in southern Ethiopia. Laikipia North was carved out from former Laikipia District. <sup>53</sup>It is one of the sub counties in the Laikipia County and one of the Districts in the Rift Valley province. It borders Isiolo to the North, Laikipia East to the South and Meru central to East. It lies between Latitude 0° 25' and 0° 27' North and between longitude 33°23' East. It covers 122.5km<sup>2</sup> km<sup>22</sup>

km<sup>22</sup>1.12 The Location of Samburu District in Kenya

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<sup>49</sup> Samburu East *District Development Plan 2012* Government printers Nairobi 2009 p 1-5

<sup>50</sup> Samburu North *District Development Plan 2012* Government printers Nairobi 2009 Pp. 1-5  
Marsabit Karare *District Development plan 2012* Government printers Nairobi 2008 P 4

<sup>52</sup>Mungeam G.H. *British Rule in Kenya 1895-1912*Oxford University press, Ely house London 1966 P 97

<sup>53</sup>Laikipia North *District Development plan 2016*, Government Printers Nairobi 2012p 4



**Figure 1: Samburu District (red area) is located in Northern Kenya,**

**Source:** Republic of Kenya, Samburu District of Development Plan 1997 - 2001

### 1.13 Map of the Study Area

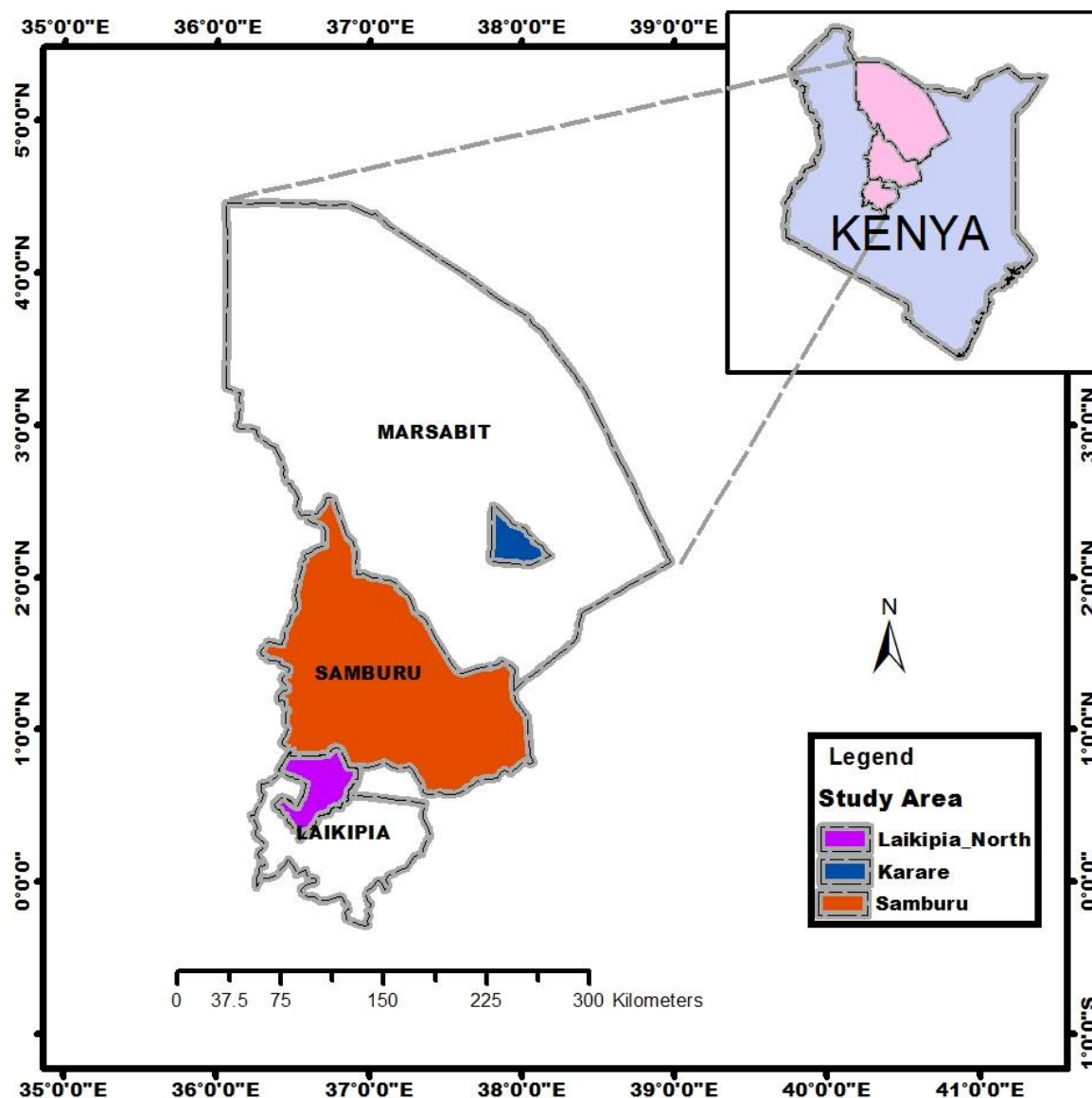


Figure 2: Map of the Study area

Source: IEBC 2010 boundary shape files and Survey of Kenya Topographical sheets of 1979

### 1.14 Research Design

The research used secondary sources that were the description of events by persons other than eyewitnesses. It is an account or records prepared by someone who was not present to observe the event either written or oral but got information from those who were present and from narratives handed down from one generation to another. The secondary sources for this research were obtained from books, journals, articles, seminar/conference papers, thesis, and

dissertations and online download pdf sources also obtained from libraries and Kenya National Archive, Egerton University, Kenyatta University, University of Nairobi and Kenya National Archives. On primary sources, they comprise firsthand knowledge for example eyewitness account of events, orally or written. It included creative production such as the work of art, and museum pieces, Samburu District Annual and quarterly reports, the Samburu District Intelligent Report, Kenya National Museum pieces, Marsabit District Annual Report, Minutes of the Meetings, personal letters, Sir Morris Carter the chairman of Kenya Land Commission 1933 Report presented to the British Parliament. They also included court testimonies, official records, such as legal records instruments, court decisions related to secret murders committed by the Samburu Lkileku age set Moran, Samburu District reports of labour recruitment, taxation, politics and veterinary, informants of both genders.

The interview covered the Samburu origin, the origin of the Samburu nomadic pastoralism, the Samburu migration waves, the Samburu land tenures systems, the resources the Samburu used, the exploitation of the resources and struggle over resources between the Samburu pastoralists and the British colonial State in regard to contentious English land tenures systems, land alienation, creation of native reserves, exploitation of labour, taxation, confiscation of the Samburu forests, creation of Game Parks in the land occupied by the Samburu, creation of grazing schemes and introduction of currency and controlled trade. The field research involved oral interviews. Before the researcher started the interviews, he went to offices of the Samburu County Commissioner and Marsabit County Commissioner. The researcher produced the research permit serial number 16101 the researcher got from National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation who in turn wrote me letters that the researcher showed to Chiefs, sub chiefs , elders and informants at Karare where the researcher interviewed five informants, Poro where he interviewed one old man in fact the oldest in the Samburu county, Malaso where the researcher interviewed six informants, Ngari where he interviewed one informant, Baawa one informant, Loosuk four informants, Ngilai four informants, Wamba six interviewees and Baringo one informant so that they could allow me to carry out the research. During the interview the researcher used note book to write down what the informants expressed but not summary of what they expressed since the researcher is only allowed to make comments on margins on observed gestures in regard to what the events meant for them

The study employed a purposive snowball sampling technique. It is a procedure where the researcher selects a sample based experienced individuals and groups possessing desired responses that are a representative of other informants and the targeted population. The Snowball tool , concerns with identifying informants with desired characteristics. They are identified using focused sampling technique necessary when population possessing characteristic under the study were not known well. The researcher identified people who assisted him to identify others they know well<sup>54</sup>. Feld man, Bell and Berger perceived that there is a need to have someone to pouch for the researcher in the field to build networks relationship to provide lateral and perpendicular connection to people<sup>55</sup>. The researcher interviewed people of both genders based on old age that was people who had experienced colonial domination, others had experience on the Samburu traditional craft and exploitation of natural resources, some had mastered Samburu migration techniques and search for grazing and water. In this research the researcher interviewed 35 people.

### **1.15 Data Collection Procedures**

The data collection procedure used is qualitative search due to its strength in inductive approach<sup>56</sup>. It recognizes that anybody is capable of constructing knowledge including the poor, the voiceless if given the chance. It is non-empirical in nature. Qualitative research permits research beyond statistical results. Human behaviour is best explained by using qualitative research. Qualitative aspect of the historical research must have objectivity to formulating view of history from observation, synthesis, deduction and analysis.<sup>57</sup> Historical investigation should be conducted with objectivity to minimize bias, distortion and prejudice. The trick is to be able to convince others that the opinion is well informed. Historian opinion is to fill in for the missing data. Historian should be guided by the qualitative paradigm that human behaviour, unlike physical objects cannot be understood without reference to meaning and purpose attached by human actors to their activities. <sup>58</sup>In qualitative method, a researcher must develop curiosity, perseverance, tenacity and skepticism of the detective. The data is in the form of words rather than numbers and captures participant's interpretation

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<sup>54</sup>Nyambura, R. *Body Adornment Among the Samburu A Historical Perspective* A Thesis Submitted to the Board of Postgraduate Studies in Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History Egerton University 2015 p 24

<sup>55</sup>Oguniyi, M.B. *Understanding Research in Social Sciences* Ibadan University Press,1992,P66

<sup>56</sup> Mugenda and Abel,. *Research Methods* African Centre for technology Studies, Nairobi Kenya 2003 pp. 90, 115,116,156,202,203

<sup>57</sup>Mark, *Qualitative Aspect of Historical Research* University of Illinois press USA 1996 P 38

<sup>58</sup>Leininger,M.M, *Qualitative Research Methods* in nursing Orlando FL Grune & Stratton 1985 pp 189-192

experience and meaning on a given event.<sup>59</sup>It contextualizes the topic being investigated while inferring meaning from natural settings of the participants.

### **1.16 Ethical consideration**

Ethical consideration is found in critical theory paradigms. It is adopted and used in this research.<sup>60</sup>It is an important consideration that needs to be taken seriously by the historians. Both positivism and postpositivism advocated that ethical behaviour is policed by the external mechanism (extrinsic) for example professional code of conduct and human subjects. They maintained that things really are and work or for the sake of some social good or some clearer truth. In critical theory paradigm, ethical consideration is intrinsic. It is intended to erode ignorance and misapprehensions. It advocates to taking a full account of values and historical situatedness in the inquiry process. It concerns with inclusion of the participants' values in the inquiry starting with respondents' existing construction and working towards increased information and sophistication in their constructions. Hiding the inquirer's intention is destructive to the aim of uncovering and improving constructions. This methodology provided a strong and reliable inquiry and safeguard against deception. It stressed respect for correspondents and open interactions. The researcher was pleasant, showed genuine interest to know respondents without appearing like a spy, found out the kind of person the respondents would like to interact. The researcher provided the informants with a guide indicating questions to be asked in a particular order. The researcher interacted with respondents as equal. The researcher, pre-tested interview guide before using to ascertain vocabulary and language appropriate for the informants. The researcher informed respondents on the confidentiality of the information. The researcher did not ask leading questions but remained neutral in order to be as objective as possible.

### **1.17 Data Collection Instruments**

In this research, the researcher gathered the data without administering instruments to individuals. It concerned with gathering information and reflection of events and their causes and effects from individuals and groups (Plummer, 1983).the researcher used the so called the interview schedule. An interview schedule is a set of questions the researcher asks when interviewing informants. The researcher made it possible to obtain data required to meet the set objectives of the study. There are structured, semi-structured and unstructured questions.

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<sup>59</sup>Patton,M.C, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation* Sage publication ltd 6 Bonhill Street London 2002 Pp 1-20

<sup>60</sup>Guba and Lincoln *Fourth Generation Evaluation* Newbury Park CA Sage 1989 p114

Semi-structured questions were used in this study. Semi-structured are opened-ended questions. Semi-structured questions enable participants reconstruct their experiences and knowledge of the topic being studied for example, “how is that?” “Anything else?” “Would you like to elaborate on that?” Opened-ended questions were used so as not to restrict informants in the discussion. The researcher captured participant’s responses and engagements. The language of communication for this study was Samburu, Kiswahili and English. The researcher informed the Informants that they were in charge of the study and were the experts. The researcher engaged in note taking during the interview.

### **1.18 Data Analysis**

The researcher used data analysis in this research. It began from the time of collection from libraries, Kenya National Archive and from the informants of the research. Data was analyzed to provide detail description of the study. Emerging themes as well as informant interpretation of the events were analyzed. It was analyzed according to research problem on the Samburu origin, the origin of their nomadic pastoralism, land tenures, attachment to cattle and land, the Samburu pre-colonial subsistence production and the struggle between them and British colonial State. Data analysis brings order, structure and meaning to the data collected. It explains how themes of the data are related.<sup>61</sup>The data exists in the form of: text materials, archival sources, oral tradition and pieces of artifacts. Data collection and analysis were done simultaneously. The procedures involved data organization, recording and categorizing themes. Identification of themes, categories and patterns enabled the researcher to evaluate, analyze and determine adequacy, credibility and usefulness of the information.<sup>62</sup>It also enabled the researcher to either validate or invalidate the hypothesis. The researcher subjected this historical research to external and internal criticism.

External criticism concerns with the authenticity and genuineness of the data for example was the letter written by the person who signed it while internal criticism examines materials in the written documents for instance the motives of the author. Interpretation and formulation of generalization requires interpretative and writing skills.<sup>63</sup>It requires critical caution, imagination, ingenuity insight and scholarliness in the light of the research topic. The researcher synthesized the data in relation to hypothesis; research questions and theories

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<sup>61</sup>Garraghan,G.J, *Guide to Historical Method*, New York Fordham University press 1946 p125

<sup>62</sup>Obsornes, W. *Best practice in qualitative Methods* Sage publications Inc California USA 2008,P.47

<sup>63</sup>Schafer R.J. *A Guide to Historical Methods* Illinois the Dorsey Press pp. 1974 120-130

rather than accumulation. The researcher tried as much as he could to avoid bias. Interpretation was done in the form of antecedents and causes in the historical causation. Causes were interpreted in light of the motives of the participants involved. The researcher used concepts from social and behavioural sciences in the interpretation of the data that included: Bureaucracy institution (from Sociology), leadership (Political), institutional effectiveness (from Management), Culture from Anthropology and motive from (Psychology).the researcher used the concepts of historical time and space when interpreting the data. The researcher also used the analogy as a source of hypothesis and framework for interpretation. Events appeared in chronological order pertaining to a specific historical period. In writing the report of the findings, the researcher used appropriate words and phrases required in the interpretative act.<sup>64</sup>The researcher cited the significance and implication of the findings. Description, analysis and explanation led to the statement of the theory under the study.

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<sup>64</sup>Lunenburg and Beverly *Writing a successful thesis or Dissertation* Corwin press London2008 p1

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE SAMBURU PRE-CAPITALIST SUBSISTENCE PRODUCTION C1850-1895

#### 2.1 Overview

This chapter examines the Samburu origin, the clan structure, the distinction between subsistence and capitalist production. It discusses the evolution of the nomadic pastoralism and the position held by the Samburu on the subject. It describes the structure of the Samburu traditional land tenure system in regards to diverging views of Western European Anthropologists and Historians. The study examines ways the Samburu managed access to water, grazing, strategies of finding underground water and future prediction. It discusses briefly the factors that necessitated the Samburu migration from Baringo region to the North in 19<sup>th</sup> century. It analyses the organization and functions of the Samburu Morans as the security organ of the community. It describes briefly the Samburu traditional mechanism of exploiting, controlling and maintaining of the livestock, plants and wild resources. It explains the nature of some of the Samburu traditional industries, structure of the traditional labour and pre-colonial trade.

#### 2.2 Samburu Origin and Clan Structure

The word Samburu came from the word Sampur. Sampur was a leather bag in which the Samburu women stored some of their precious household belongings.<sup>65</sup> The word evolved and came to mean the tribe. It replaced other words used to refer to the community in the past such as Loibor kineji, (people of the white goats) as the Samburu were known to the Maasai and Laikipiak. Korre/Korro as the Samburu were known to the Turkana the Borana and the Rendille<sup>66</sup>. The Samburu might have originated from Ancient Egypt as their artifacts resemble to some of the Egyptians artifacts.<sup>67</sup> Their methods of hair dressings were probably copied from Ancient Egypt. They came from Nile valley as they stand on one leg as a routine in the same peculiar fashion as that adopted by communities that still live in the Nile basin where their ancestors must have known the Egyptians (Greenberg, 1973:78). Like the Maasai and

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<sup>65</sup>Tribes in Kenya Kenya advisor com all rights reserved c2007-2016

<sup>66</sup>Jenning,C.C, *Revision of Parakuyo Identity and History c1830-1926* Ph.D. Dissertation Presented at University of Texas at Austin 2005 p 81

<sup>67</sup>Simpson,G.L. (online 2012) *The Ethnogenesis of the Samburu pastoral people in the nineteenth-century* The journal of the Middle East and Africa High Point University North Carolina 2012, pp 175-197

the Kalenjins the Samburu trace their origin between Ethiopia and Sudan. <sup>68</sup>The Samburu, the Maasai, the Laikipiak and the Lchamus speak a similar language. They were also known as plain Nilotes. The Samburu consisted of nine main clans that included<sup>69</sup>: Lmasula, Lngwesi, Lnyaparae, Loimisi, Lukumae, Longeli, Ltorobo, Lorokishu and Lpusikishu.<sup>70</sup> They have corresponding clans among the Maasai the Lchamus and Parakuyo of Tanzania. <sup>71</sup>They also have matching clans amongst the Rendille and Gabbra as follows:

**Table 1: Samburu Clans Structure.**

<b>Samburu</b>	<b>Maasai</b>	<b>Rendille</b>	<b>Lchamus</b>	<b>Parakuyo</b>
<i>Lorokishu</i>	Laiser	Ldispai	Lkunguaan	Warakishu
-	-	Nepei	Lgesse	-
-	-	Lodoola	Loibor Kishu	-
Lmasula	Ltaarasoro	Rongumo	- Ltoijo	-
		Ldispai		
Lpusikishu	Lmagesen	Lturuiya	- Lmurtanat	-
		Lkatailan		
Longeli	-	Uyam	Longeli	-
		Hurowuen		
Loimisi	Lmolelian	Nahagan	-	-
Lukumae	Lukumae	Lukumae	Longeli	-
		Ltupcha		
		Saale		
Lngwesi	Syria Maasai	- Saale/Lturuiya	-	-
Lnyaparae	-	-	-	Kiringishu
Ltorobo	Ltorobo	-	-	-

Samburu language has 95 percent of terms in common with the Maasai, 25 percent with the Turkana, 19 percent with the Bari of Sudan, 13 percent with Suk/Pokot and 6 percent with

<sup>68</sup>KNA K3065C Socio-Cultural Profile

<sup>69</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1

<sup>70</sup>James Lekarkar( 2019)

<sup>71</sup>Fratkin, E.M, “*Concept of Health and Diseases Amongst the Ariaal Rendille Herbal Medicine Ritual Curing and modern Health in a pastoral Community in Northern Kenya*” Unpublished Manuscript C/D 1901 Walnut ST Philadelphia Pa 19103 USA 1980 p 37

Rendille. <sup>72</sup>Samburu language therefore; is closer to that of the Maasai than any other (Fumagalli, 1977:73). A subsistence production is a non-monetary system which relies on natural resources to provide for the basic needs. <sup>73</sup>In capitalist societies, they separated property less workers from means of production while in subsistence society like the Samburu they freed up the flow of means of production within the community.

### **2.3 Origin and Evolution of Nomadic Pastoralism**

Pastoralists are people who depended primarily on livestock products for income and food. There is no agreement on the age of nomadic pastoralism. The theories of origin concentrated on the theories of Archaeologists. <sup>74</sup>Gauthier maintained that there was domestication of cattle by c9500Bp in the Sahara. It was the Sahara that influenced Europe via Maghreb, Sicily, Sardina and Corsia. Domestication of cattle in the Sahara by c9500BP was earlier than anything found in the Near East. The domestication of animals came into effects in 7000BC in the near East. <sup>75</sup>Nomadic pastoralism had developed in East Africa for a minimum of 4,000 years in the Lake Turkana in the Northern Kenya.

The origin of the nomadic pastoralism amongst the Samburu was based on Mythical Theory which maintained that the Samburu were dropped down to the earth from heaven by God whom they called Nkai for reasons known to Him. <sup>76</sup>They were dropped to the earth together with cattle and other stock at a place called Kisima. It is a place with a small salty lake located about twenty kilometres South of Maralal town. At Kisima, there was a path that connected the earth and the heaven through which the Samburu came down to the earth together with their livestock. The path was known to have been made up of a strap. The strap was referred to as *nkeene enkai* (the strap of God). The cattle were stripped white and black (nkishu kerrin). The path existed for some time. Whoever wanted more cattle could climb up the heaven through the path and came down to the earth with whichever number of cattle one wanted. The Samburu were reported to have not been contented with what God had provided

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<sup>72</sup>Fumagalli C.T. *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-cultural process Among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1900-1975* A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the State University of New York in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy USA 1977 p 73

<sup>73</sup>Wikipedia: //en Wikipedia.org/wiki/subsistence Economy

<sup>74</sup>Smith A. *origin and spread of Pastoralism in Africa* Department of Archaeology University of Cape town South Africa 1992 pp126-133

<sup>75</sup>Adrianson, H.K. *Development of Nomadic Pastoralism in Africa* Institute of Geography University of Copen Hagen 1997 pp36-42

<sup>76</sup>Kalel Lemuruka (2018)

them. They wanted a sheep cow (nkerr kiteng).<sup>77</sup> It was an animal breed that was a half sheep and a half cow. The Samburu sent a man known as Lengaurr to God to present their demands. Lengaurr took the message to God as he was told. God told him to go back to the earth and arrange to come back after some time. Lengaurr took the message to the Samburu. Before Lengaurr went back to God, one Samburu man climbed up the path to the heaven. He went to God and demanded to be given that sheep cow. God refused to give him the sheep cow. The man was annoyed consequently; he cut off the path that connected the earth and the heaven. God's close relationship with the Samburu was destroyed when the heaven went far up in the sky. God again did not want the Samburu to suffer much more than what the destroyed relationship had caused them consequently; He sent a lizard to the earth to give the Samburu a special message such that if they conceded and obeyed the terms and conditions of the message, they would not die but live forever.<sup>78</sup> The message was set in such a way that it would be delivered by a lizard through a woman and not a man. God sent the lizard to take the message to the Samburu. The lizard was known to the Samburu as *roog*. The lizard arrived when a Samburu woman was cooking. It asked to be given a swirling stick so that it could lick to calm the hunger it had. The Samburu woman chased the lizard saying she had children to lick the swirling stick. The lizard pleaded to be given the swirling stick to lick but all was in vain. The lizard left the Samburu woman without delivering the message from Nkai (God). The community therefore; was left to suffer its own fate. It went to the snake who offered the lizard a swirling stick to lick. In addition; it went to the moon who also gave the lizard a swirling stick to lick. The Samburu believe that the snake and the moon never die because God's message was delivered to them by the lizard. They claimed that the snakes drop the old skins and become young again while the moon dies and resurrects.

Spradley maintained that Pastoralism has supported humanity for a very long time.<sup>79</sup> He noted that it would be a mistake to assume such a time tested strategy can easily be substituted by a practice advanced in another time and other place therefore; as long as the Samburu continue to practice their culture and traditions grounded on age set systems, traditional marriages ceremonies, ceremonies accompanying birth, initiations and death rites pastoralism would continue to thrive and, it will not come to an end in the near future.<sup>80</sup> The

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<sup>77</sup>Lekimir Lesyiokono (2017)

<sup>78</sup>Nkaimerri Lasakwel (2018)

<sup>79</sup>Spradley, J.P. *Conformity and conflicts* Harper Collins Publishers USA 1990 p 40

<sup>80</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

Samburu nomadic pastoralism is deeply entrenched and manifested in every aspect of life and beyond.

#### **2.4 The Samburu Traditional Land tenure Systems**

Land tenure is a manner in which individuals or groups in the society hold or have access to the land including conditions under which such land is held.<sup>81</sup>It is a process of acquiring, allocating and possessing land. Land allocation was controlled by land authority that was tribal, clan heritage and family.<sup>82</sup>Customary tenure regimes included regulations on access to pastures, water, herbaceous, woody vegetation, minerals, wild fauna and flora. The system suited ecological and social conditions. Land rights were enjoyed collectively and equally. Paul Spencer claimed that there was no explicit landownership amongst the Samburu (Spencer, 1965:2). Some anthropologists of the western descent refused deliberately to recognize the existence of the traditional tenures systems since such an admission and evidence could have been used to justify socialism, communism and bar compulsory alienation of land and eviction of Africans from their ancestral land. <sup>83</sup>Western anthropologists were foreigners indoctrinated in western legal anthropological philosophy and sociological concepts therefore; they could not examine alien systems without resort to western conceptual glasses or perspective. <sup>84</sup>Western scholars treated African history up to contact with European as homogeneous so that written History does not consciously and systematically explore the actual development of ideas and institutions in pre-colonial Africa. Well known anthropological studies such as those of (Evans Pritchard, 1940, Gullier, 1955, Spencer, 1965 and Jacobs) overlooked many developments of Africans History. <sup>85</sup>The institutions of the pastoral societies were analyzed in the vacuum of time and space. Their systems of production were not described in a regional and historical viewpoint. The pastoralists were people described in terms of their obsession with livestock. Pastoralism was also described as cultural commitment and not as a food production strategy.

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<sup>81</sup>Adriansen, H.K. *Development of Nomadic Pastoralism in Africa* Institute of Geography University of Copen Hagen 1997 p 50

<sup>82</sup>Adrianson, H.K *Development of Nomadic Pastoralism in Africa* Thesis of Institute of Geography University of Copen Hagen 1997 pp. 36-42

<sup>83</sup>Salzman P.C. *Are Nomads capable of Development* Department of Anthropology Sher broke St.w Montreal Canada 1985 pp.2-52

<sup>84</sup>Ogutu,M.A and Kenyanchui *An introduction To African History* Nairobi University Press 1930-1990 and 1949-1990 pp 1-4

<sup>85</sup>Martin “*Wild Life Conservation Ecological Strategy and Pastoral Communities*” [www.berbah.com](http://www.berbah.com) 1990

(Harrison, 1991) advocated that land tenures were developed when man moved from hunter and collector stage to pastoralism.<sup>86</sup> He added that rules were made to harmonize both social relations between competing groups to ensure the continued sustainability of the ecological niche. Tenure systems throughout the history of pastoralists have changed according to increasing population pressure (Harrison, 1991:49). He noted that when resources were scarce, pastoralists regulated the use by tightening up the tenure regimes and use political and military power to effect rules. (Juul, 1994) maintained that Samburu exploitation rights to land existed. The rights were acquired by a virtue of territorial affiliation. The Samburu divided land into clan, region and family based. The Samburu traditional land tenures systems existed and were explicit.<sup>87</sup> In the Ndooto region, families had their portions of land. They controlled rivers, ridges, wells and caves. Each family controls resources found in those areas.

Suruan heights in Ndooto Mountain belong to Loimisi clan of the Samburu. Lekadaa, a man of the Ltarigirig age set (1865) of the Loimisi clan gave a river to his daughter married by a man of the Lolmoodoni family of the Lorokishu clan as a reward. The river was known as Nkidi. Letiuwa family claimed Ntasate region as the ancestral land. Lenkurukuri family possessed Musei area in Ndooto Mountain. Lenkeuwa got an area known as Keleswa in Ndooto Mountain. Mount Kulal was shared between Lmasula and Longeli clans. The northern region known as Arapal belongs to Longeli clan while the southern region of the mountain also referred to as Katap belongs to Lmasula clan.<sup>88</sup> In Matthews Ranges, Lekangu family of the Lgwenya subclan of the Suiyei clan sold Loosikiriachi River for a donkey to Loiborsikiriashi subclan of the Lngwesi clan.<sup>89</sup> In Marsabit, the following areas have been inhabited and considered ancestral land by the Lorokishu clan they include; Ulaula also known as Lolmolog, Karare, Leiyai, Kuturuni and Songa.<sup>90</sup> In Mount Ngiri, South Horr side of the Mountain belongs to Lkirina subclan of the Lorokishu. Uwaso Rongoi region was shared between Surtoi and Lotimi sub clans of the Lmasula. Lare orok and Tuum sides of the Ngiri Mountain belong to Lmaraato subclan of Lmasula of the Samburu. Loonjorin side of the Ngiri Mountain was the property of the Lparsivia subclan of the Lmasula. Majority of the Samburu lived under communal tenure system prior to colonial intrusion especially those

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<sup>86</sup>Harrison, *History Heritage and Pastoral People Institute* University of New South Wales press ltd Sydney Australia pp. 2004 1-40

<sup>87</sup> Nkuten Lekadaa (2018)

<sup>88</sup> Ntoisa Leorkupa (2017)

<sup>89</sup> Lolpus Leakono (2017)

<sup>90</sup> Nkuten Lekadaa (2018)

who lived in the plains and plateaus since they had cattle and flocks in thousands. The Samburu traditional land tenure systems existed till they were disrupted by the colonialism.<sup>91</sup> They lived in Laikipia, Lorroki, Marti-Ebarta, Wamba and Marsabit and Isiolo. Such open access tenure system suited them since they required collective responsibilities to defend their range lands from hostile neighbours. They also required military strength to extend their range lands.

## 2.5 Search for Water and Grass Resources

In order to cope with dry spells, the Samburu set aside some regions for dry season grazing. They called the regions paga (closed).<sup>92</sup> In dry season the elders authorized the digging of wells. The water sources were modified by digging wells and opening up of water ponds. Water sources were shared and used with owner permission. Stocks in dry season were divided into sheep and goats, subsistence herds (cattle) and surplus herds (cattle) to ease control and management.<sup>93</sup> Access to grass and water was well coordinated based on clan, region and family. The elders and warriors institutions enforced rules. Regions and clan alliances allowed accession to territories of each clan; region and family. Clans were divided into localities. Each locality had elders' council to coordinate use of resources access, control and settling of disputes. They enforced customary laws in regards to access and use of the resources. Localities were divided into residential areas or settlement and households. The elders of the settlement granted grazing and water access to herders passing temporarily through that area. The elders of the settlement enforced the access rules and forbade construction of the permanent settlement in their areas of jurisdiction.<sup>94</sup> Samburu over the years had developed strategies of finding water in the environment whenever there was scarcity. Spurs of wild animals, appearance of elephants to an area, the changing of the colours of some weaver birds, roaring of ostrich, urinating of forelimbs by males' goats and production of peculiar voices from cattle throats at night were indications of impending rains<sup>95</sup> The production of certain sounds by frogs, laying of mouths to the ground by camels while standing and appearance of some insects known as Sanampur in the rivers valley were also indication of impending rains. The presence of thick grass, baobab *adonsomia digitala*,

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<sup>91</sup>Leramo Lelenkeju (2017)

<sup>92</sup>Longotorio Leparachao(2018)

<sup>93</sup>Mwangi and Elinor *A century of Institutions and Ecology in East Africa Range Land Linking Institutional Robustness with the Ecological Resilience of Kenya Maasailand* Kennedy School of Government and University Centre for Environment Harvard 2009 p 201

<sup>94</sup>Helldorf. H. *Dry Land Management in Northern Kenya* Master Thesis Submitted to Swedish University of Agricultural Science 2010 p54

<sup>95</sup>Lesurunka Lenkaaka (2017)

ever green acacia, Loiragai and Itungai trees were indication of underground water<sup>96</sup>.<sup>97</sup>The Samburu also depended on some stars for prediction of promising future and impending of disasters. The stars were Lakira dorop (short stars, Lokirai (that crosses the sky), Saneneg (light star) and Nkakwa (small clustered stars).

In a situation that could result in a severe shortage of the grass and water resources followed by massive death of animals, Morans were sent by elders to find out areas that were not severely affected by the drought.<sup>98</sup>The reports of the findings were presented either at Naapo or at specified place near the settlement preferably in the loip (shade). The grass and water search mission was known as *Saa* (singular) and *Saki* (plural).Naapo was an enclosure in the middle of the Manyatta. It had fire maintained by elders. It was a routine for the elders to meet in the Naapo in the evenings and in every morning to discuss the affairs of the community. It was where visiting elders from other settlements were welcomed. The gate of the Naapo faced to the North.<sup>99</sup>The Samburu had traditional weather broadcasting men, prophets, diviners and traditional priests/Laisi. They were involved in all decisions making processes concerning moving the livestock, migration issues and consulted in the time of war. The Samburu once in a while lived in Baringo North alongside the Pokot when Lpetaa and Lkipayang were Morans c1809-1830. My mother rebuked us not to stand like Lmarteuin lekerio (anthills of Kerio) when others were seated. By then the two communities seemed to be friendlier than they are today. It occurred that their children herded cattle together. Unfortunately the bulls fought. One bull belonged to a Samburu family and the other to a Pokot family.<sup>100</sup>The bull from the Samburu family killed the bull belonging to the Pokot. The Pokot the owner of the bull was annoyed and decided that he would kill the Samburu whose bull had killed his. The elders from both sides pleaded and persuaded the Pokot to drop the intention. The Pokot was compensated with one heifer. After some time, the Pokot went alone then killed the Samburu consequently; war between the two communities erupted. The war went on for several weeks. According to Kipeeko Lesoipa, the Pokot were almost wiped out. The Pokot lost the war. Refugees (sepe) from Pokot swamped into the Samburu

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<sup>96</sup>Helldorf,H *Dry Land and Pastoral Water and Land Management in Northern Kenya* Master Thesis in Integrated Water Resource Management Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences Department of Urban and Rural Development 2010 p 49

<sup>97</sup>Lemowon Learka

<sup>98</sup>Kipeeko Lesoipa (2018)

<sup>99</sup>Lemowon Learka (2017)

<sup>100</sup>Longotorio Leparachao (2018)

villages. They pleaded that they should be integrated into the Samburu and become assimilated (ayalaa) because they were no longer secure from their enemies after the Samburu had wiped out their fighting force. After thorough consultation, the Samburu decided that they would not assimilate the Pokot but they would make covenant (Lmumai) such that the two communities would never fight again. The arrangement for the agreement was reached. The site was identified. It was located in the Baringo North near a Mountain known as Tiate. In the agreement, cattle were slaughtered from both sides. A deep hole was dug. The blood of the slaughtered animals was mixed. The spears of some Samburu and Pokot were smeared with the blood from the slaughtered livestock<sup>101</sup>. The spears that were smeared with the blood were broken from the Shafts and dropped into the hole. One stone was smeared with the blood. Each Pokot and Samburu present held that stone in his hand. That stone was also dropped into the hole. Both the broken spears and the stone were buried. Roasted meat from the livestock slaughtered was mixed then eaten by both parties.

The Samburu also lived around Lake Baringo their second remembered dispersal point after that between Sudan and Ethiopia.<sup>102</sup> There was a prolonged drought and dry spells that swept cattle in the region and threatened human life. The elders together with Morans were holding a crucial meeting in the shade of a tree near the settlement. They were discussing the direction the community would take since life had become intolerable. While they were in the meeting, a weaver bird brought fresh green grass. The bird was making a nest on the tree under which the Samburu were holding a meeting. People were stunned by the bird. Consequently; the elders chose warriors and instructed them to sleep under the tree on which the weaver bird was making the nest. The Morans were advised to observe keenly the direction the weaver bird flew in the morning. The bird got out of the nest early in the morning and flew towards north-east. The matter was reported to the elders who called for a meeting involving the elders of the whole community. Warriors were chosen and given a very challenging assignment of following the direction taken by the weaver bird. The warriors were advised to go as far as they could in the north to find out where there were the fresh pastures. Contributions were made in the form of sheep and goats as food for the warriors who would go on an indefinite journey. The journey took some weeks.<sup>103</sup> The warriors reported that there were fresh pastures and plenty of water in the northern plains probably Lorroki and Baragoi Plateaus. They also reported that there was a community

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<sup>101</sup> Ntupa Leparkumoi (2017)

<sup>102</sup> Kipeeko Lesoipa (2018)

<sup>103</sup> KNA K30650C Socio Cultural Profile

inhabiting the region. The Samburu migrated from Baringo region and moved to the north. Lesoipa maintained that it was in Baringo where the Samburu separated from the Maasai who migrated to the South and the Sabaot who migrated westwards to Mt Elgon region. The Lchamus decided to remain around Lake Baringo and said they would feed their families with fish (supore).<sup>104</sup>There was also a lullaby that evidenced that the Samburu inhabited in Baringo region.<sup>105</sup>The lullaby was sung to small children by my grandmother (Kiriamal) when I was a little boy. The song goes as follows:

*Apaaya Lesse*, the song called on the Samburu traditional priest known as Lesse

*Maa-a-a,*

*Tinimayan nkop, when you bless the area*

*Maa-a-a,*

*Mipal kuna donyio do not forget those hills*

*Maa-a-a,*

*Ndonyio ankaisialsial*, hills known as Ndonyio yankaisialsial

*Maa-a-a,*

*Nakaisiala lerra*, surrounded by Naivasha yellow acacia trees

*Maa –a-a*

*Lera lekapplel*, the Naivasha yellow acacia trees of a place known as kaplel

*Maa-a-a*

The lullaby called on the Samburu traditional priest known Lesse to bless hills known as Ndonyio ankaisialsial overlooking the settlement. The trees on the hills were Naivasha yellow acacia trees (*Acacia hockii*).<sup>106</sup>The area where the hills were located was known as Kaplel probably a place in Baringo near the present day Sacho location. While on the move northwards, the Samburu came across a community of the Boran descent.<sup>107</sup>The community was easily subdued. The Samburu assimilated many families of the conquered community. Many of those families were assimilated among the Lmasula and Lorokishu clans. The Samburu found fresh pastures in Lorroki, Elbarta, Ndotto Mountain, Ngiro Mountain as well

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<sup>104</sup>Fratkin, E.M, *Ariaal Pastoralists of Kenya Studying Pastoralism Drought in Arid Lands* second Edition Pearson Education Inc Smith College USA 2004 P 58

<sup>105</sup>Kalel Lemuruka (2018)

<sup>106</sup>Kabirer Simon(2018)

<sup>107</sup>Lemuson Lesuruai (2017)

as Marsabit.<sup>108</sup>The journey took them to Otto that was north east of the Lake Turkana (Mpasso Narok) region and around Lake Stephanie (Mpasso Naibor) that was in Southern Ethiopia. The Lngwesi clan of the Samburu was following the other clans behind in the journey to the north. They travelled for several weeks before they caught up with the rest of the community<sup>109</sup>. When they reached a place known as Soit Pus in Kirisia hills also referred to as saddle of the Lngwesi up to date, (neteretenere Lgawesi) they became divided. Some said they would not keep on following the rest of the community. They held a crucial meeting. The Lngwesi clan split into two. One group said it would never be heard that there was no a clan called Lngwesi. They followed the rest of the Samburu till they caught up with them. Another splinter group decided to join the Dorobo and depended on hunting and gathering for their livelihood. That group is still living amongst the Dorobo of Ndongol.

Samburu Morans were arranged in five divisions that included; Lamararak, Lluwampa, Laikitalak, Njore and Nkutungat. Each and every division had its own specific functions. Lamararak were chosen when circumstances demanded.<sup>110</sup>They numbered three to four. When Morans organized for raids, Lamararak were sent to spy the enemy positions, movement and strength. They investigated the fighting capability of the enemy, the number of their livestock and the terrain to be encountered on the way to raiding and on the way back. It was also their function to spy enemies who had raided the Samburu and were on their way to their country. Lamararak were required to enter homes, camps and manyattas of the enemies to get as much information as possible. Lamararak were required to climb high ground to observe the enemy's livestock when they got out of the villages, when grazing and when drinking water. The Morans selected for the job must have exhibited certain principles. One must have been brave, courageous, good runner (keten), had good eye sight and had ability to pick the enemy tracks even where they had stepped on the stones. In addition, one must have been known for his strength of walking for long distances without food and water.

Elders reflected the historical background of the Morans. The history of the family of an individual was looked into to ensure that the Moran was a pure Samburu. Someone who was not pure was known as *Iyati* and there was a saying that "Iyati should not lead cattle" (*merrik Iyati nkishu*). Cattle here included the people in the ethnographical terms. Lamararak also had

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<sup>108</sup>Ludwig Von Hohnel, *The Lake Rudolf Region its Discovery and Subsequent Exploration 1888-1909* Journal of the Royal African Society Vol 37 No 146 Oxford University press UK pp. 1938 29-37

<sup>109</sup>Lemuson Lesuruai(2018)

<sup>110</sup>Lkitosian Leshiipi (2017)

a unique knowledge of extinguishing, hiding and covering up their tracks. In most cases in the past Lamararak used mystical powers and medicines of the Laibons and traditional priests (Laisi) to conceal themselves. Lamararak were also sent for patrols in the frontiers when there was impending attack from rival communities. Such occurred when there were tracks of the enemies in the surroundings.<sup>111</sup>The Laibons and other diviners predicted the impending attacks from the enemies through dreams, from pouring out stones from their divination gourds, observing behaviours of the cattle and the intestines of the slaughtered animals. The elders blew the horns (mouo) to call on all elders and Morans for crucial security meetings. Elders arranged the logistics of the Morans in the form of livestock eaten by the Morans (Lapat). Those many Morans left in the high places to observe (observation points) and were on high alert were known as Ltamam (singular) and Ltamami (plural). Lamararak brought accurate information to Ltamami. Soils from trails of the enemies were collected as well as any property dropped by the enemy then given to the Laibons.

The other division of the Samburu Morans was known as Lluwampa. They could number four to seven Morans.<sup>112</sup>They went for raids in where they had spied for themselves. Sometimes they stole cattle during the day or at night. Sometimes they captured the herders or shepherds tied them up and thereafter they drove livestock many kilometres away then released the captives. They sometimes killed the herders or shepherds by strangling them so that voice could not be heard. At times they raided the manyattas or camps that lived in the brims of the major settlement. They also used mystical powers of the Laibons and Laisi. They usually brought home many livestock. The other segment of the Samburu military organization was known as Laikitalak. It consisted of two to three Morans. That group as the name implies, means those who got lost. Their whereabouts was not known to other people except themselves. They got lost for two reasons. They wanted to kill human beings so that they could boast their prowess and warrior hood. They wanted to eat meat in the forests so that they could become strong like giants. Such a group disturbed and annoyed the white settlers in Laikipia during colonial period where they had their labourers killed in what was called spear bleeding. They stole animals from the rival communities and took to the forest to eat. They sometimes spent a year or three years in those forests. Njore was the fourth

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<sup>111</sup>E.Fratkin *The Samburu Laibon's Sorcery and the Death of Theodore Powys in Colonial Kenya* the Journal of Eastern African Studies Department of Anthropology Smith College Northampton USA 2014 p 47

<sup>112</sup>Kipeeko Lesoipa (2018)

division in the Samburu Morans arrangement.<sup>113</sup> It comprised fifteen to thousands of people. It could be joined by young elders and big boys who could move in one pace with the Morans. It involved many people in the community or people from one clan. It was a well-organized raid against the rival community. Advice of the elders, mystical powers of the Laibons as well as their medicines and blessing powers of the Samburu traditional priests known as Laisi were sought and used. They killed people in masses and took animals as a revenge for their people killed by their enemies in the previous battles and livestock taken. Njore was also planned and carried out to make the rival enemies who had invaded the country grazing land and water sources move away or migrate to other places. It was also intended to expand the grazing land.

When the Samburu had raided the enemies and were driving livestock away, the strongest defense was laid in the rear to stop the livestock from going back and blocked the enemies from recovering their livestock. That defense was known as Lkaterr. Other defenses were put in front; the two sides and all passages known as Lgoso were blocked so that the enemies would not have a chance to ambushing them. The other segment of the Samburu defense wing was known as Nkutungat.<sup>114</sup> It consisted of the Morans in service and two age sets that followed the Morans in service. When the enemies raided the Samburu, it was Nkutungat that defended the people, the land and the cattle. Men from the affected villages blew the horn to call for reinforcement from neighbourhood and locality. Those who heard the horn also blew their horn in that order till the message had reached all borders of the Samburu country.

## **2.6 Livestock Resources**

The Samburu food production revolved around cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys<sup>115</sup>. Cattle gave most in return. Donkeys were used for transport.<sup>116</sup> Milk was the main diet for the Samburu.<sup>117</sup> The Samburu produced surplus cattle that contributed to their use for trade, rituals ceremonies and dowry. Small stock had high productivity rate due to a short birth interlude, short gestation period and a high twins' births. The Samburu could easily depend

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<sup>113</sup>Labaru Lelenkeju (2017)

<sup>114</sup>Lenchododo Lalbalanga (2017)

<sup>115</sup>Semantic scholar:[http://www semantic scholar orgl](http://www.semantic-scholar.org/)

<sup>116</sup>Fratkin,E, *Ariaal Pastoralists of Kenya Studying Pastoralism Drought and Development in Africa's Arid Lands* Pearson Education Inc Northampton USA 2014 PP75-77

<sup>117</sup>.Fratkin,E, *Ariaal Pastoralists of Kenya* Pearson Education Inc. 2004 pp.83-85

on building up their small stock following a drought as they could salvage quickly following a drought and got traded with the large livestock particularly cattle.

When a Samburu was born, a goat or a sheep was slaughtered immediately for women to eat. The slaughtered animal was known as *Moor*.<sup>118</sup>The word moor is a Samburu word that means do not separate. The word means a call to God not to separate the mother and the new born baby through misfortunes. The woman who had given birth was fed with blood from live cattle for seven days thereafter cow or a steer was slaughtered. It was called Lbuutan. The blood of the slaughtered animal was mixed with water squeezed from the chyme (fast stomach ruminal content). It was given to the woman to drink. She was assisted to vomit. When Lbuutan was slaughtered, present members of the community from that village would have their share of meat except the Morans. Several livestock were slaughtered for the woman to eat in the course of breastfeeding in the process known as *abiooki ntomononi* (strengthening the mother of the baby).<sup>119</sup>One year before the circumcision of the boys began all over the Samburu country, the Samburu gathered annually for every fourteen years. A ceremony that marked the beginning of the new age set was conducted. A steer was taken to one of the secret groves on the top of Mount Ngiro then slaughtered (*Aar Imongo*). Incoming age set was given a name. The mass circumcision of the boys followed after a year. In preparation for circumcision, cloaks made of sheep skins were made for every initiate. Four months to the circumcision, the boys picked cloaks all over the Samburu country on subclan and locality basis. They sang a song known as *lebarta* asking for animals to eat. Whenever they went to a family asking for a goat a sheep or a steer, they were never denied. Going round singing was also a platform for asking the elders of the fire stick a permission to be circumcised. They were also looking for strength before they set out for gum collection journey in search for *silalei* (*Boswellia Hidebrandtii* gum). After some weeks they were stopped by the elders of the fire stick. On coming back from gum collection journey, all parents with boys to be circumcised were settled in the manyatta known as *Lorora*. When temporary houses were completed boys led by warriors went to collect sticks for bows and arrows. On coming back, they had sheep and goats slaughtered and roasted for them.

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<sup>118</sup>Lemees Lenaisulaa (2017)

<sup>119</sup>Lesurunka Lenkaaka (2017)

On the day of the circumcision, the boys were sent to fetch water from Lake Kisima.<sup>120</sup> The water was mixed with milk from the cow and used to wet the head hair of initiates when shaving before they were circumcised then the remaining water was poured onto the initiates during circumcision. For every initiate, there must be a hide preferably from a steer which the initiates sit on during circumcision. There were also goats' skins known *algeseni* some weeks before the circumcision. The mothers of the initiates wore the dried and decorated skins of the goats when milking the cows that had calved for the first time whose milk was mixed with water poured onto the boys during circumcision process. For some families, a male sheep was slaughtered some hours to circumcision to get the skin on which the initiate sat on (*lkiteuwenet*) during circumcision on top of the steer's hide. Part of the sheep meat went to the circumciser. Payment of the circumciser was a female sheep or a goat. The initiates were fed with blood mixed with milk (*saroi*) for a week there after; every family slaughtered an oily sheep. Meat was separated from the bones. It was fried then given to the initiates to eat. Oil was also extracted from the meat was cooked thoroughly then given to every initiates to drink.<sup>121</sup> Sponsors prepared the attires for the initiates that included headgear made of ostrich quills, weaved palm leaves round the head where the initiates attached the birds they killed, using bows and arrowheads with round tips covered with *silalei* gum the initiates had collected then initiates went round the villages in groups and they were given livestock to eat. On coming out of the seclusion every initiate slaughtered a steer. The sponsors got their share of the meat. The graduated Morans to warrior hood got meat from right side of the slaughtered steers while the elders took similar meat of the left side of the slaughtered steers. Women, uncircumcised boys, girls, children and visitors got their share each. After some months the elders made an arrangement for the new warriors to go to the bush in groups of four to seven to eat meat so that they could grow well and become strong. Five big fatty steers were eaten continuously. The first two steers were referred to as of the faeces. The third steer was referred to as of the blood. The fourth steer increased meat in the bodies of the Morans. The fifth steer made Morans became emotional overwhelmed by extra ordinary shivering and fists. Moran ship passed three stages before they became elders. The stages included the naming ceremony which was the biggest, the killing of the bull and the occasion of the milk of the leaves. In the three stages each and every Moran slaughtered a steer.

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<sup>120</sup>Kalel Lemuruka (2017)

<sup>121</sup>Jerre Leparashao (2018)

The Samburu marriage involved a lot of resources.<sup>122</sup> The bride was provided with a new cloak (lkila), a leather skirt made of skin (legesana), new beads known as Mporro around her neck, new earrings called suritiai, beads around her head and new shoes made of skin by her family. She was also provided with three calabashes. One was called Malla yonkoriong filled with milk (calabash carried on the back). Another was known as Ibolboli. It was a small gourd filled with oil extracted from rikoret meat (steer slaughtered during wedding ceremony). The third calabash was called naililorri filled with milk given to the bride on the way to husband home. The resources provided by bridegroom family included the dowry; (eight livestock).The mother of the bride took the lion share. She got a calving cow and one sheep. The father of the bride took only one heifer. The brothers of the bride father took other heifers while two of distant relatives of the bride's father took a calf and a sheep. Many resources were also involved in the death of a mature person who had a family, children and had died at home. When a person was in critical condition and was seen that he or she could die any time, the person was shaved.<sup>123</sup>The person who did the shaving was given a female sheep or a goat. When the person had died, the right leg was adjusted to the right position. The person who adjusted the leg was given a female sheep or a goat. The ground where the dead person was buried was marked before it was dug. The person who marked the ground got a heifer. If the dead person was a man the livestock mentioned above were provided by the first born son of the dead. If the dead were a woman the animals were provided by the last born son of the dead. If the dead was a man, who had many wives the first born son of the first wife provided the animals. When a person had died the married sons of the dead slaughtered a sheep each. The oil was extracted from the slaughtered animals; was given to the dying or the dead person. The milk was also given to the dead person saying; that was oil and milk from so and so (names of the sons) starting from the eldest to the youngest son. It was only male children who gave oil to the dying or dead and carried out rituals surrounding the death of parents amongst the Samburu. Before the dead was taken to the grave the dead was wrapped in a new cloak prepared for the purpose. The dead personal properties he or she wore were withdrawn. The dead were again wrapped in a hide on top of the cloak preferably of a steer that was slaughtered and not that had died of a disease then downed to the grave.

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<sup>122</sup>Nkaimerri Leshakwet (2018)

<sup>123</sup>Lesopia Leaduma (2018)

The bereaved family mourned for some months. <sup>124</sup>The family members could not engage in marriage, circumcision and age set rituals. After the mourning period sons of the dead person would look for a rightful old man in the community who would carry the meat of the male goat (scape goat) that had to be slaughtered. The old man looked for his one assistant. The castrated male goat was provided by the last born son if the dead were a woman and by the first born son if the dead were a man. The male goat was taken out of the home early in the morning by the sons of the dead and their male children if present say a kilometer South or North of the settlement. The male goat handed over to the old man and his assistant. The goat slaughtered and skinned. Fire carried by the sons of the dead was lit. Fatty parts were dropped into the fire then sons of the dead with their male children if present basked in the smell around the fire. They were not allowed to eat meat from the goat. When the old man had completed skinning, he gave one leg to his assistant. The family members of the dead and the old man company dispersed at the same time and none was allowed to look back till they reach their homes.

## **2.7 Plants used by the Samburu**

Samburu had elaborate plant knowledge before such knowledge was subjected to decline and control through barbaric Forest and Witch Craft Acts during colonialism. <sup>125</sup>The plants were used as food to people to supplement livestock products, fodder for livestock, and medicine for both people and livestock, used for religious and industrial purposes. In the rangelands, timing and distribution of plants' nutrients were highly variable. The variability was due to rainfall, different soils types, different plant species and different stages of the plant growth cycle. The Samburu pastoralists used that variability to their advantage to maximize the productivity of their herds and as food supplement for people. In the rangeland, the skill combined the mobility which enabled pastoral herds to track and exploit unpredictable concentration of nutrients in the dry land. <sup>126</sup>Pastoralism in that regard outperformed sedentary animals. If a critical research is not conducted now the said plant knowledge will have disappeared from oral sources soon. From the written sources; the writers focused only on the Samburu ethno medicines for example Elliot *Traditional medicine and concept of Healing Amongst the Samburu Pastoralist of Kenya, Concept of Health and Deases Amongst*

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<sup>124</sup>Longotorio Leparachao (2018)

<sup>125</sup>Dodson R.G, *Geology of South Horr Area Geological Survey of Kenya* Report No 60 Survey of Kenya Nairobi 1963, P.27

<sup>126</sup>Sato,S *How the East Africa Pastoral Nomads Especially the Rendille Respond to the Encroaching Market Economy* The East Africa Study Monograph Institute of History and Anthropology Tsukuba City University Japan 1997 p 123

*the Ariaal Rendille Herbal Medicine* and R.W.Bussmann; *Ethno botany of the Samburu of Mt. Ngiri South Turkana*. These writers deserved rewards for their accomplishments but it is high time for researchers, institutions and scholars to allocate more resources on the detailed studies of the food plants.

Lekadaa maintained that the Samburu, who lived in lowland for example in Samburu North and Marsabit, depended upon a root tuber known as Njasi to supplement their diet during food crisis.<sup>127</sup> It looked like a sweet potato. Inside it was brown when ripen. It was eaten raw and sometimes it was roasted. Sanatei (*Cassia Longiracemosa*) was another root tuber that the Samburu depended upon for decades. It looked like sweet a potato. It was cooked and eaten. It was found in Ndooto and Ngiri Mountains. Larakash was another root tuber depended upon for food by the Samburu in hard times to supplement their diet. It was dug out; the skin was scrapped off like an animal. It had a liver and a heart that were cooked then eaten. It was found in Ndooto Mountain. Nanyon was a root tuber that also looked like a potato. It was a reliable wild food. It was dugout and eaten raw. It was found only in the lowland of Ldonyio Mara Mountain.<sup>128</sup> Lmonto was another root tuber food found in the Samburu country. It looked like a potato. It was dug out and eaten raw. It was found in Lesidai Pura and Lesiolo in Samburu West.<sup>129</sup> Losira was a root tuber that was depended upon by the Samburu in hard times. It was dug out and eaten raw or roasted then eaten. It looked like a potato. It was found only in a place known as Learoni west of Loosuk location in Samburu Central. The plant was depended upon by the past generation who lived in the region. Lpulei was a tree found only on the slopes of Ndooto Mountain. The trees produced fruits that had long been used by the Samburu to manufacture oil. To extract oil from the fruit was an uphill task. It was cooked from evening till morning the following day. It was cooked again till a fatty substance was formed there after taken to the shade to cool in a tin container. When cooled a hole was made on the substance. A liquid substance came out which was cooked again till no more fatty substance was seen. It was taken to the shade to cool. The oil came to the top layer and it was ready for use. The fatty substance that remained behind was used as fat to smear the bodies. It cured diseases like arthritis. Lkinoi fruits (*Lannea alofa*)

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<sup>127</sup>Nkuten Lekadaa (2018)

<sup>128</sup>Lkitosian Leshiipi (2017)

<sup>129</sup>Keswe Lewarges (2017)

were collected in dry season and eaten to supplement livestock food. <sup>130</sup>They were found in plenty in Wamba, Ndooto and Ngiro Mountain. <sup>131</sup>In Marsabit, Sumalilei, Lama and Loka fruits were depended upon for survival in the time of food crisis. Lama and Loka were processed to produce oil. Napingei/Loisiashi was a root tuber. <sup>132</sup>It was found in lowland of Lkerei and Ereer in Samburu East. <sup>133</sup>It was dug out in dry season by the Samburu pastoralists then fed to cattle. It Saved hunger stricken cattle in 1959 prolong drought. Lopitara and Lodwa Poro were shrubs found in Nkaroni, Kipsing and Taleh regions of Samburu and Isiolo County. When cattle fed on those shrubs, milk and blood became bitter and smelly consequently, all external parasites on livestock that included ticks, lice amongst others died and dropped

**2.8 Plants as Medicine and Other Uses**The Samburu attribute most illness to the effects of polluted food and contact with the sick. Treatment involves herbal purgatives to clean the patients. <sup>134</sup>Plants were used to treat wounds, health changes brought about by malaria, internal disorder, parasites, sexually transmitted diseases, skin problems, burns, wounds and fractures associated with the daily dangers of the livestock keeping. Plants medicine for people and animals included leaves, seeds, roots, flowers, gums and barks. Lmugutan was a tree found in the lowlands areas of Samburu East. The medicine extracted from roots by boiling then used to treat worms for both people and animals. <sup>135</sup>Lekadaa observed that Lparaa was a tree found in the hills and plateaus in the lowlands. Its milk was used to treat cancer diseases cases for human beings and Lmongoi for animals. Lngalaiyoi (Cisscus) was a shrub found in the lowlands areas for example Nkaroni plains. Roots were boiled to extract medicine. The medicine was used to restore sight. <sup>136</sup>Lgilai orok (vepris eugeniifolia) was a tree found in the Ngare Narok River valley in Lorroki Plateau. Medicine was extracted from its roots and leaves used to treat malaria and yellow fever. Keswe maintained that Imakukuti (clerodendrum myricoides) was a tree found in the highlands in Lorroki forests. <sup>137</sup>The medicine was extracted from its roots. The roots were boiled and soaked in water, milk, oil and blood to extract medicine that was used to relief bones pain, headache and treat chronic

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<sup>130</sup>Lmolweya Lekukuton (2017)

<sup>131</sup>Lemees Lenaisulaa (2017)

<sup>132</sup>Sirekon Lepulier (2017)

<sup>133</sup>Lesurunka Lenkaaka (2017)

<sup>134</sup>Letiyan Lesuyai (2017)

<sup>135</sup>Nkuten Lekadaa (2017)

<sup>136</sup>Fratkin, E.M, *Traditional medicine and concept of Healing Among Samburu Pastoralists of Kenya* Journal Ethno biology Department of Anthropology Northampton USA 1999, p 72

<sup>137</sup>Keswe Lewarges (2017)

gonorrhoea. Seketet (*Myrsine africana*) was a tree that was found in the highlands especially in Lorroki Plateau. Its seeds were crushed to extract medicine. After crushing, the Seketet could be boiled in water, milk and oil. It was used to cure cough and pneumonia for people and livestock. People who were wounded were given to drink. When boiled in oil, it was poured to wounds. Losesiai (*Osyris abyssinica*) was a tree found in Lorroki forests. The barks were boiled in milk then given to children to immunize them against children diseases.<sup>138</sup> Losesiai was also used to treat udder diseases of the cattle. There were trees in the highlands that were highly valued. No religious ceremony could be conducted without them. When burnt they produced good smell. They were: Ltarakwai (cedar leaves), Lngeriyo (olive leaves), Lkukulai (*Rhamnus staddo* leaves) and Lgilai (*Vebris eugenifolia* leaves). In the lowlands Leramo Lelenkeju maintained that the trees that were used for religious purposes were; silapani (*Cordia sinensis*) sushai, (*Barleria spinisepala*) Lgweita, siteti (*Grewia bicolor*) and silalei (*Boswellia Hildebrandtii*). Silapani and sushai leaves were burnt to produce good smell when making sacrifices.

Seki was used to make religious sticks/stuffs used by the Samburu traditional priests known as Laisi and Laibons when presiding over traditional ceremonies, blessings and curses.<sup>139</sup> The trees used for witchcraft were; Lokumeki, Logildia and Leparmunyio (*Toddalia asiatica*). Lokumeki was found in both highlands and lowlands. It was used by Laibons in witchcraft to destabilize enemies. The barks were tied in knots consequently, the enemy would relax, lose senses and direction. Logildia was a tree found in the highlands especially in Lorroki forests. Its dry branches were used in cursing enemies and thieves. Lmorijoi (*Acokanthera longiflora*) was found only in Lorroki Plateau.<sup>140</sup> It was used to make poison used on arrows. The traditional poison industry was located at Noonkukula in Seketet. Forest resources were controlled, managed and maintained by the Samburu tradition.<sup>141</sup> The rules were enforced and maintained by the council of elders through the imposition of isolation, fines, physical force and forced migration. The elders ensured a sustainable use of trees, herbs and shrubs. The traditional system management of conserving forest resources was characterized by religious manifestations and culture. Some parts of the forests were set aside as sacred groves. The plants in such areas were excluded from access by unwarranted groups. The

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<sup>138</sup>Lkitosian Leshiipi (2017)

<sup>139</sup>Leramo Lelenkeju (2017)

<sup>140</sup>Keswe Lewarges (2017)

<sup>141</sup>Lerawan Loldepe (2017)

trees under which the Samburu male initiates slaughtered animals during their graduation to moranhood after seclusion were never cut. Trees where burial sites were dug beneath were not allowed to be cut. The medicine men ensured a sustainable exploitation of the medicinal species. The Samburu collected deadwood for firewood and practiced selective maintenance of the valued species for medicinal plants. The forest management was under the supervision of the family, clan and community.

## **2.9 Exploitation of Wild Life Resources**

Wild life was considered as resources by the pastoral communities.<sup>142</sup> It was never viewed by the pastoralists as competitors. Their aesthetic value was highly appreciated (Saitoti, 1978, Bell, 1987). That made wild life to be tolerated by pastoral communities throughout history. The Samburu pursued pastoral mode of life.<sup>143</sup> Hunting was done occasionally to scare away or kill animals that molested settlements by killing livestock or causing damages to waterholes.<sup>144</sup> In Samburu there were numerous elephants, rhinos, lions, buffaloes, giraffes, kudus (greater and lesser) Grevy's and common zebras, leopards, waterbucks, Oryx, impalas, Grant and Thomson's' gazelles, elands and ostrich amongst others. Exploitation of wild life resources by the Samburu was not for commercial reasons.<sup>145</sup> The resources were utilized for nutritional values, aesthetic reasons, religious values, cultural uses, industrial demand, and body parts for medicinal value. The Samburu hunted wild animals for food in the time of food crisis. They hunted wild animals that have similarities with livestock for example those that chewed dung and had their hoofs divided into two however, not all wild animals that had their hoofs divided into two were eaten.

No Samburu had ever eaten wild pigs and warthogs despite the fact that they have their hoofs divided into two.<sup>146</sup> The culture forbids eating them with reason that they have teats on the chest just like cats and dogs. The culture also prohibited eating of any bird, reptiles, and amphibians and insects except honey from bees. Fish was not eaten because of the smell it has but no cultural effects would follow the person who had eaten it. Eating of elephants,

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<sup>142</sup>Enghoff, M, "Wildlife Conservation Ecological Strategies and Pastoral Communities" www.nomadicpeoplesinfop100, 1990

<sup>143</sup>.Fumugalli,C.T, *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-cultural Processes Amongst the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1900-1975* State University of New York at Buffalo 1977.p 201

<sup>144</sup>GPD/390WEB

<sup>145</sup>G.J.G.M.S.& Caleb *Assessment of Traditional Methods Used by the Samburu Community in Human Wildlife Conflict Management*, International Journal of Humanity and Social Sciences Vol 13 No 11 Department of Environmental planning and Management Kenyatta University 2013p295.

<sup>146</sup>Loiture Lanyasunya (2017)

rhino, zebras and porcupines was totally forbidden.<sup>147</sup>The reason as to why elephants and rhinos were not eaten was that they have colours similar to that of the donkeys. The other reason as to why elephant was not eaten was that it has similarities with human beings as the elephant trunk was likened to human hand. Those who ate elephant meat and sold elephant tusks in the past were seen becoming rich very fast but within a short while, the wealth got lost then followed by extremes poverty. The reason given was such that the elephant stretched its trunk when feeding. It also shrunk the trunk when putting food into its mouth. The quick wealth the person got was compared to the stretching of the elephant trunk when it was feeding itself while the quick loss of the wealth was likened to swift shrinking of the elephant trunk when putting food into its mouth. Domestic animals killed by the elephants were not eaten.<sup>148</sup>The reason as to why the Samburu did not eat zebras was that zebras like donkeys, have a black mark on front legs on the side that faces the chest (black symbolizes bad luck).The family of the person who had eaten zebra would be as small as that mark, poor and eventually vanished. When a rhino had released its dung, it crushed, dispersed and scattered all over the place. The families of the Samburu who ate rhinos were known to have been scattered to different directions and got assimilated to other tribes. The domestic animals killed by rhinos were not eaten. The families of those who ate porcupines were rarely seen in public. They were stricken by extreme poverty and eventually they were vanquished. Some Samburu clans maintained a special totemic relationship with potentially dangerous animals such as lions, elephants, rhinos and snakes.

On the aesthetic value of wildlife resources, the Samburu Morans made ivory earplugs from elephants' tusks. The <sup>149</sup>Samburu Laibons were known for wearing an ivory fingering that symbolized their social status. Samburu ritual leaders wore elephant tail tips (lenyok) on their necks. Beads were known to have been made from ostrich eggs. Elephant tusks were used by a few old people as bangles. On cultural values, in marriage ceremony the bridegrooms tied a piece of the lion skin (munken) below the knees. During circumcision ceremonies male parents of the initiates also wore pieces of lion skin below their knees. Greater kudu horns were used for blowing as a mean of communication during communal activities and on alerts occasions. Headgear made from the ostrich feathers and skins of killed birds were used by the

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<sup>147</sup>John Lesyiokono (2017)

<sup>148</sup>Lerawan Loldepe (2017)

<sup>149</sup>Enghoff, M *Wildlife Conservation Ecological Strategies and Pastoral Communities* www.nomadicpeople.info, 1990 p 100

Samburu initiates under seclusion. On religious use of the wildlife resources, some wild animals predicted rainfall for example when a male ostrich roared like a lion heavy rainfall fell. Elephant tusks were used by some families as protective medicine from witches. The tusks were carved into required shapes then worn around the necks as beads. Elephant's tusks were carried by families of the Samburu traditional priests/Laisi such that when a baby boy was born, he was made to lick or place his lips on, face and right hand together with poisonous arrows. Some Laisi families used rhino horn instead of elephant tusks for the same purpose.<sup>150</sup> Tips of the buffalo right horn were used by the Samburu Laibons to paint faces of the Morans with a white substance known as mpagas in a blessing ceremony and when the Morans were going for raids. In circumstances where a lion had killed a domestic animal, the animal could be eaten except by pregnant women. Bones of dikdik were carved and tied on the children necks as protective medicine from acts of witches. The bones were also used by pregnant women who had experienced still births and by those who had given birth to twins. On the industrial uses, buffalos 'horns and elephant tusks were carved by a few craft men then sold to old rich men who used as tobacco containers. Buffaloes and rhino skins were used to make shields. The bones of dikdik were used as needles. Finally wild life resources were used for medicinal values. A rhino body part was used to cure women barrenness and chronic pneumonia. Skin of wild pig was roasted then mixed with water to cure a disease referred to as mporoto. Skin of a giraffe was roasted into ashes mixed with water that was used to relief chest pain for people.

## 2.10 Traditional Industries

Pastoralists needed iron weapons to protect themselves, acquire food, stock and land from others. Contrary to David Hume (c1711-1776 A.D.), "That Africans had no indigenous manufacturers no art and no Science" the Samburu manufactured all that they required. They had a well-developed work of art. In science, they used plants and wild life resources to cure all disease.<sup>151</sup> According to Lenoalpukot Letikirich who practices the smith profession, he stated that the profession began with the first Samburu to appear on earth.<sup>152</sup> That first Samburu was known as Lepiile. Lepiile and all others who joined the smithy profession used

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<sup>150</sup>Fratkin, E *The Samburu Laibon's Sorcery and the death of Theodore Powys in Colonial Kenya Journal* Eastern African Studies Department of Anthropology Smith College Northampton USA 2015 p49

<sup>151</sup>Harrison *History Heritage and Pastoral Industry* University of New South Wales press Sydney Australia 2004, pp. 1-40

<sup>152</sup>Lenoalpukot Letikirich (2018)

black iron ore to manufacture iron products. The iron ore was in plenty in Samburu at Barsaloi, Lkerei and Laisamis. The ore was washed and sieved to separate the grains of iron from the sediments. It was melted and processed to make weapons and tools of various sizes. Products manufactured in the smithy that consisted of a shelter with a thatched roof but no walls.<sup>153</sup>The weapons manufactured included spears, arrowheads and traditional knives. The iron tools manufactured included adzes, chisels, awls, clamps hammers, tongs, cold chisels and axes. The ornaments manufactured included chains of various sizes, rings and coiled ornaments worn on the ankles, wrists, and knees. The stones used to place tools on when hammering were obtained from Noontoto in Lorroki and Lkerei in lowland. The trees that were used to produce charcoal used to melt and heat the iron ore and the tools were obtained from cedar in Lorroki region and Ibili in lowland. The requirements to enter the black smith profession were such that one must seek permission from Lepiile family. The journey started by working the bellows and move to make small items that did not need a lot of skills. The permit was accompanied by the ceremony that involved the slaughtering of a sheep. The apprentice was blessed then given the hammer that was smeared with oil of the slaughtered sheep. The trainee gave an elder from Lepiile family who conducted the ceremony a female goat or a sheep.

On the woodcraft industry, the articles manufactured required skills.<sup>154</sup>The articles manufactured included walking sticks, handles for knives, swords, spear shafts, wood for arrow points, beehives, water trout and calabashes.<sup>155</sup>The trees used to manufacture wooden calabashes included; Ibolorio (in the highlands) loichimi, lemalasi, loiborienkaek, loitukutuk, lekurra, lkisirko and Ingorooshi (in the lowlands).Amongst the Samburu, it was women who manufactured calabashes.<sup>156</sup>Siito Letiila lived in a village known as Ntashata. She and others went to a place they called Louwa Onyokie (Red Hill) in Malasso Valley. The tree found there was called Loishimi. The reason why they went there was that trees from that place when used to make calabashes never cracked. The trees were fallen down. They were cut into portable sizes and carried to the villages. They were left for some days for the water content to go down. When time came for making containers, women from the village gathered under a big tree in the middle of the manyatta to make the containers. It was a school of its kind. Each woman made containers for herself. In the process of making the items, when one went

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<sup>153</sup> KNA GP 572. 8964622 Lab

<sup>154</sup> Labaru Lelenkeju (2017)

<sup>155</sup> Kalel Lemuruka (2018)

<sup>156</sup> Siito Letiila (2018)

wrong, she got corrected on the spot by others who were more experienced. The calabashes were later painted black using fermented blood and charcoal then left to dry thereafter they were attached with leather straps handles then cleaned using burning olive firewood and then used. The tools that were used were; lorisie (chisel), lalem (knife), panka, axe, saasaa (metal sun paper), animal ribs and fire. Nkaimerri Lasakwel maintained that it was women who made ropes from skins, hides and plant fibers.<sup>157</sup> The skins and hides were cut into required sizes. Four strings ropes were preferred and were used to make ropes that were in turn used to carry firewood, tether animals and hang luggage amongst other uses. With plants fibers, the plant used was known ndupai found only in lowland. The leaves were heaped. A hole known as luma was dug. The collected leaves were put into the hole then covered with soils. A big fire was lit over the heap then left for three days thereafter it was uncovered. The strings were separated from the residue. The strings were processed into ropes. Others were used to make mats known as Soot used to cover houses. Pots were used in carrying, storages and cooking. The Samburu appeared to have relied on their Dorobo neighbours for cooking pots. Amongst the Samburu decoration consisted of twisted impressions. The Samburu had pots that had two handles. Buyers of pots travelled long distances to get pots. Nkaiserri stated that Dorobo made pots and sold to Samburu. Those Dorobo lived in Opiroi, Naiborkeju and Noomotio. She recalled one man by the name Lentayia who lived in Opiroi. There existed a market where the Dorobo and the Samburu met. It was Samburu women who went to the market where they met with the Dorobo. On Dorobo side, both men and women went to the market. The Samburu had ghee, skins, hides and milk while the Dorobo had pots, honey and stools. The two groups exchanged the goods at the market place.

## **2.11 The Structure of the Samburu Traditional Labour**

Labour is physical exertion directed to the supply of material wants of the community (Oxford English Dictionary, 1971:1554). Samburu traditional labour was based on self-recruitment, family labour, joint herding labour, communal and burrowed labour.<sup>158</sup> The division of labour in dry season strained labour force to its extremes. On the self-recruitment, women were in charge of houses. They collected firewood and cook for the families. Girls assisted their mothers in the house hold chores. Girls under circumcision were trained in the

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<sup>157</sup>Nkaimerri Lasakwel(2018)

<sup>158</sup>KNA GP 331.6996 SPE

adult responsibilities by women. Women do milk the cows in the morning and in the evening. They fetched water using donkeys and their backs. They made households utensils that included bowls and milking jugs amongst others. Women prepared skins and hides then made leather products.<sup>159</sup> When the Samburu people were on the move, each woman was responsible for moving her hut and rebuilding it. On family- labour, a family should have at least one adult male, one adult female, one fully grown boy and two smaller girls or boys. In the training of the family labour each man took his boys with him when herding cattle. He taught them the technique of animals' husbandry.

Achieving labour self-sufficiency was a foreign thing in pre-colonial labour amongst the Samburu. What was stressed was cooperation.<sup>160</sup> Such was reinforced through the use of the following proverbs that one finger cannot kill a louse. Even those families blessed with many children sought assistance to tender their herds from children of their neighbours who were more skilled than theirs.<sup>161</sup> The Samburu also emphasized that belonging to a camp obliges one to participate in the joint labour cores. The family labour work force was increased through marriage and reproduction. The family expansion was meant to alleviating labour shortages. In order to alleviate labour shortage, Samburu men took second wives. It was meant to access to skilled, responsible loyal worker. The wives could take turns in fencing, herding, cleaning pen, cutting branches for household stock. Paul Spencer notion that the Samburu accumulated and kept numerous herds of cattle in order to be able to marry many wives is contentious (Spencer, 1965:3). The accumulation of the livestock by the Samburu made perfect and reasonable sense. It was the most important form of saving. The herds acted as a bank from which resources could be withdrawn to satisfy certain urgent needs for example purchasing grain in times of food scarcity. The larger the herd one had or possessed the more he was able to cope with emergencies without seriously depleting the size of the herd. The other reason was that the Samburu lived in a hostile environment where in the past they were the most horrible victims of nature. They were attacked frequently by human neighbours, beasts, insects, and diseases and in the process; masses losses of lives were encountered.<sup>162</sup> They needed people to keep the continuation of the society as well as those who would defend their families, clans and community from internal and external aggression. There has been a frequently pronounced lamentation amongst the Samburu that; a small

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<sup>159</sup>Spencer, P. *The Samburu Gerontocracy* Taylor & Francis Group London 1965 pp. 1-20, 140

<sup>160</sup>Lenoolpukot Letikirich (2018)

<sup>161</sup>Leuwiyia Lekukuton (2017)

<sup>162</sup>Lerawan Loldepe (2017)

family that was bullied, oppressed, beaten, killed and dominated by a big family (*nkang kini naar nkang kitok*). Families among the Samburu burrowed workers to their families.<sup>163</sup> Burrowed labour was done with an anticipation of receiving something in return. The work could have been contractual arrangement or fixed assignment. Means of repayment was negotiated. Amongst the Samburu, it was in the forms of small stock, cow, cloth, shoes or ochre. The type of work expected was discussed. The quality of a burrowed boy was that he knew how to count animals, find good grass for the herds, knew when livestock were satisfied, prevent problems before they occurred and should the animal got lost he should be responsible to return to the camp to report and seek help as well as knowing where the exact place the animal was seen lastly. The girl should exhibit the above plus the following; Knew how to make the house tidy, clean calabashes, air the mats without being prompted, ensured constant supply of firewood, water to the house and knew how to make ropes and built houses. Concerning communal labour, it was provided in the camp or base. Labour was provided in part time in the care of herds. Herds of different owners were jointly tended to reduce all workers needed.

## **2.12 Samburu Pre-colonial Trade**

Trade is a process of buying and selling.<sup>164</sup> Pre-colonial trade was a process of exchanging items for items. It was a process of exchanging stock for stock and items. The Samburu traded amongst themselves. They also traded with surrounding communities. The forms of exchange were purely barter trade in local and external markets. In pre-colonial trade there were no middle men a character that was central to European markets operation. Traditional food market was slanted towards distribution not profit making. It was an exchange with representative of other ecological zones that included; herdsman, agriculturalists, hunters and gatherers.<sup>165</sup> The main items of the trade amongst the Samburu were males of the stock. The steers were in high demands.<sup>166</sup> They were required for marriages, bush meat eating, ritual ceremonies and slaughtering for the sick or wounded people. Castrated males of goats and sheep were required for the same purpose. The biggest steer was exchanged with four calves. The second biggest steer was sold for three calves or a heifer and one calf. The third was exchanged with two calves or one heifer. For the small stock, the biggest was exchanged with one calf or three goats or sheep of which one must be a male. The second biggest was

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<sup>163</sup>KNA GP 306.0899676

<sup>164</sup><https://www.dictionary.com/browse/trade>.

<sup>165</sup> KNA GP.380 1410967627

<sup>166</sup>Lemuson Lesuruai (2017)

exchanged with two goats or sheep and one of the sheep or goat must be a male. The other was exchanged with one female goat or a sheep. Donkey amongst the Samburu was exchanged with one calf.<sup>167</sup>When that calf matured, it could not be slaughtered in ritual ceremonies because, it was considered like one had slaughtered a donkey which was a taboo amongst the Samburu. Pets amongst the Samburu for example dogs and cats were never sold. The Samburu also had specialists who treated diseases like cancer, diabetes and all other illnesses.<sup>168</sup>There were also those specialists who repaired the broken bones. They were paid for their services depending on the conditions of the patients. The diviner who had treated a mad person and brought him or her back to normal was paid for the service as per the agreement between him and the relative of the patient. There had been weapons exchange and adoption by the Samburu from other communities that included Borana, Maasai, Meru, Nandi, Pokot and Turkana.<sup>169</sup>That influence came about as a result of friendly and mutually profitable exchange between the Samburu and its neighbours. The imported elements or types assumed new and distinctively Samburu characteristics of forms, names and use. The four big types of the Samburu spears that included; Mperesurua, Mperesoro, Nyatum and Ngereni qualified to be called Mpere ellashe (spear of the Calf). For one to be able to get one of those spears, he must pay a calf.

Waller and Neal Sobania advocated that Pastoralists were never confronted with external markets relations prior to colonialism (Waller & Sobania 1994).Such generalization was baseless and rumor monger. By 1880 both Arabs traders and Somali merchants were trading with the Samburu.<sup>170</sup>Dark pink Venetian beads found their way into Samburu. The dark pink glass bead formed part of the traditional Samburu married women's beads. The Samburu called the beads mporros. How that bead came all the way from Venice to Northern Kenya and Samburu in particular was one of the world's great mysteries. There was a catalogue card of Venetian glass in the British Museum gathered by a Dutch Jewish Merchant known as Moses Levin. He began trading in beads in 1830. The British acquired the catalogue in 1863. Such dark pink glass beads from Levin catalogue became part of tribal tradition in Samburu bead industry. This finding therefore; from now onwards, dismisses the notion that the pastoralists were never confronted by external trade prior to the dawn of colonialism. Merians

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<sup>167</sup>Lekimir Lesyiokono (2017)

<sup>168</sup>Letiyan Lesuyai (2017)

<sup>169</sup>Larick,R, "Historical Development in Samburu Weapons Technology" Institute of African Studies University of Nairobi Seminar Paper No 163 1984, pp 8-21.

<sup>170</sup> Susan *Kenya Past and Present*, Kenya Museum Society Council Nairobi Issue 31 2000 p.44

were reported to have led a trade expedition to Samburu (R. Larick, 1984:16). The trade items were pastoral and agricultural products.<sup>171</sup> Lekorpita also stated that the Samburu engaged in trade with the Borana from Ethiopia who were pastoralists. He maintained that Samburu cattle were wiped out by the 1890 ecological disasters including his fathers' cattle. His father was of the Lterito age set (1895-1900) and he took refuge amongst the Elmolo. He reported that 17 Lterito Samburu elders who lived around Lake Turkana region bought cattle from Ethiopian Borana in their bid to replenish their cattle. 12 goats or sheep were exchanged with one cow. His father bought a heifer and a bull.

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<sup>171</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita {2018}

### **2.13 Summary**

The Samburu is a Maa-speaking Community consisting of nine clans. It originated from Egypt. The origin of nomadic pastoralism in this study is based on Archaeology and Mythical Theories. Nomadic pastoralism among the Samburu is deeply rooted in all aspects of life and it will not come to end soon. Samburu land tenures existed and were explicit. Roguish environmental conditions changed the Samburu southern movement from around Lake Baringo to northern trek that took them to southern Ethiopia. Samburu Morans were organized in five divisions to fit the security interest of the community. The Samburu allotted much more resources to ceremonies surrounding the birth, circumcision, marriage and the death. The Samburu used plants for; food, medicines and religious purposes. The Samburu in the past had well established structures that maintained sustainable use and control of forest resources. Samburu used wild life resources for; aesthetic, nutritional, religious, cultural and medicinal values. They also hunted some wild animals for food during food crisis. The Samburu never used wild life resources for commercial reasons. The Samburu had well established cultural mechanism of wild life conservation. The Samburu traditional industries revolved around iron, wood, leather and mats production. The Samburu traditional labour was based on; family, joint, communal and burrowed labour. Samburu traditional labour stressed the value of cooperation. The forms of the Samburu traditional trade were barter trade slanted towards distribution. The Samburu were confronted by external trade prior to the dawn of colonialism.

## CHAPTER THREE

### DECADES OF SUFFERING AND MISERY IN SAMBURU c1885-1897

#### 3.1 Overview

This chapter describes the forms of the ecological disasters that rocked East Africa region. It discusses the Samburu conceptualization of the ecological disasters. It identifies the places the Samburu inhabited when ecological disasters struck. It explains when the ecological disasters disrupted and ruined the backbone of the Samburu livelihood. It traces the origin, the spread, the socio-economic and political impacts of the ecological disasters and the subsequent wars that occurred in the wake of the disasters. It defined and identifies the significance of mobility and cultural identities as survival strategies.

**3.2 The Samburu View on Disasters** Lekorpita maintained that the Samburu view of the ecological disasters was based on long observation of the historical trends.<sup>172</sup> The trends occurred in cyclic pattern such that they occurred when the third age sets were circumcised. Whenever the third age set was circumcised and had become Morans it marked the beginning of a tragic period for the community. The Samburu referred to the period as Nkuaarie yooltompon (the season of robbers) or Nkuaarie yielouoru ngiro (season of hyenas). It means the season of the lawlessness, immorality, thieves, selfishness, deaths, robbers and the period when hyenas feasted on people. The Samburu therefore; knew the time the disasters would hit them. The only thing that they did not know was the magnitude and the form of the disaster that would hit them. The weakness of the community was that they did not prepare themselves in advance to mitigate and contain the disasters. They have a proverb that says 'Meirisharoi ntagule ya Nkai'. It means that the arm of God cannot be stopped by people. They called those major disasters Mutai.<sup>173</sup> Mutai is Samburu word that means getting wiped out or finished. For any disaster to qualify to be called Mutai it must be characterized by war, diseases for both livestock and human beings prolong meteorological droughts and famine. The Samburu viewed Mutai as God wish to punish people for their pride and wrongs.

The 1890 Mutai or ecological disasters occurred when the Samburu population had increased tremendously after the previous disasters. They were occupying northern parts of the present

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<sup>172</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

<sup>173</sup>Ntupa Leparkumoi (2017)

day Samburu, Marsabit and Southern Ethiopia. The places they inhabited in North of Marsabit include; Kokoi (the present day kokai), Eliret, the present day Sabarre which they referred to as Sere yalkaria (River of red earth), Marti Oto (Oto Plateau) and Lpurra Leangatatau (the plain of heifer). The places inhabited in Ethiopia included Kaalam southern and eastern shores of the Lake Stephanie (Mpasso Naibor). Mutai occurred when an age set known as Lmarikon became Morans. That disaster was referred to as Natamieki Kimencho (that when Kimencho was eaten). It meant that when an old woman known as Kimencho was eaten by some destitutes boys from Longeli clan of the Samburu. Other ecological disasters which preceded that of the 1890 remembered by the Samburu were Nokomilo and Raaltualan. It was assumed that someone struck by Nokomilo never becomes satisfied no matter the amount of food given to the person. Whenever a Samburu child asked for more food other than the amount given, the mothers kept asking them if they were struck by the Nokomilo. Raaltualan is Samburu word that means the fallen cowbells. It means there was a disaster that decimated all cattle such that there was no a single cow left behind to carry a cowbell around its neck.

The 1890 ecological disasters rocked the Samburu throughout the period when Lmarikon were Morans till when Lterito were circumcised probably in 1895-1900.<sup>174</sup> When Lterito were warriors the Samburu livelihood had become better though demographically, they Samburu were few following 1890 Mutai (disasters). In 1912 Lmirisho age set was circumcised. The Samburu had become rich. In 1921, Lkileku age set was circumcised. They were the third age set, the sons of Lmarikon and considered to be the age set of ecological disasters. During their warrior hood tenure the Samburu community again was at unrest with the new order that was the white man authority.<sup>175</sup> There was a war that involved Lkileku Morans of the Lorokishu and Lpusikishu clans and more seriously Lkileku Morans were involved in warfare against white settlers in Laikipia who alienated the Samburu grazing lands. There was also during that period the deportation of the Samburu Laiboni known as Nkaldaiya Lesiaita Leaduma by colonial government on the allegation that he incited the Lkileku Morans against the Government. When Lmekuri and Lkimaniki age sets were circumcised in 1936 and 1946, life had changed in Samburu as there was a peaceful period in Samburu till when an age set known as Lkishili was circumcised in 1962. They were the sons of Lkileku age set, the third

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<sup>174</sup>Jerre Leparachao (2017)

<sup>175</sup>Lkipari Lenaola (2018)

age set and the age set of the disasters. During their tenure as Morans, there were wars between the Samburu and its neighbours especially the Turkana and the Somali. During that time also, there was Shifta war which was experienced in Samburu District when Somali tried to force the Samburu to join the war. The Somali also raided cattle from Samburu to finance the Shifta war. Prolonged droughts and famines were also experienced in Samburu during the period.

### **3.3 Origin and Commencement of the Ecological Disasters in Samburu**

Ecological disasters were viewed on the basis of political and socio-economic systems of the societies<sup>176</sup>. On historical development of the ecological disasters that transpired upon the Samburu, the disasters struck in 1885<sup>177</sup>. The disasters were known to have caused crisis migration of the majority of the Samburu to the south. The disasters came in the form of; pleuro-pneumonia/Lopipid, Rinderpest, small pox, dysentery, cholera, meteorological droughts, famine, typhus, influenza, bronchitis and wars<sup>178</sup>. Pleuro-pneumonia was known as Lkipei in Samburu language.<sup>179</sup> It was contagious disease. It was caused by micro-organism known as *Enterococcus mycosis*. It affected cattle in Arid and Semi-arid areas. It was characterized by difficulty in breathing. The affected animals faced the direction the wind was blowing from. The lungs of the affected animals got rotten. The thoracic cavity got filled with spurs. The corpse of the affected animals had an erotic stench. The disease was linked to European imperialism as it was unknown to East and Central Africa prior to 1860. The disease reached South Africa when a European farmer imported an infested Friesian bull from Holland through Mosel Bay in 1880. In two years' time, 200,000 cattle succumbed to the menace in South Africa. In 1861, a white man trader, introduced the disease in Matabele land in Southern Zimbabwe and by 1880, it had reached the pastoral communities to north of Equator. There existed a disease the Samburu referred to as Lopipid. It was also mentioned in (P.Waweru. 2006:120).It was not elaborated and made clear. The connotation of the word lopidpid means a characteristic of a cow infected by the pleuro-pneumonia. The characteristic was that the affected animal tries to face the direction the wind was blowing from. Lopipid

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<sup>176</sup>Paul, A. "*Kenya Natural Disasters Profile*" A paper prepared by United Nation Development program Nairobi 2000, pp. 24-25

<sup>177</sup>John Lesiekono (2017)

<sup>178</sup>Astrid,M. *Natural Disasters Drought and Epidemics In pre-colonial Sudanic Africa the Medieval History Journal* 2007 pp. 209-236

<sup>179</sup>Kjekshus,H. *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History* James Currey London 1977 pp122-131

was a Samburu word that means twisting round.<sup>180</sup> Lkipi/pleuro-pneumonia as remembered by those Samburu living in Marsabit was a horrific cattle disease. It was a catastrophic and it could not be compared to any other cattle disease in history. Leaduma of Lkipiku c1840-1850 age set also known as Kosheke who was also a Samburu Laibon of that time, had over four hundred heads of cattle. Their settlement was in Oto Plateau also known as Lpurra Leangata ya Tauo (the plain of heifer). The cattle were taken out for grazing very early in the morning as usual. When the cattle seemed to have grazed and had become satisfied, they went to take a rest in the shades as usual as dictated by weather condition of that region. Unfortunately, they all never woke up. They all died in the shades instantly. That was the real situation on the ground that faced the Samburu. People were terrified and seized by fear.

When (Kjekshus, 1996:131) demonstrated that more than 95 percent of the pastoralist cattle perished as a result of ecological disasters, the Samburu losses could be over 99 percent. Leaduma family took refuge amongst the Rendille and abandon cattle economy.<sup>181</sup> The family resorted to camel keeping. Only about ten families of the whole Lorokishu clan were left with a few cattle ranging from one to ten cattle. They included; Lesoipa, Lerno (kulupo Imongi), Letitiya, Lenarum, Lengalai, Lekoiyan, Lelegwe, Lemeitaron, Leleruk, Loosenke, Lemalasia and Lelemeuwa with one male calf. I got that information from my father when he was life.<sup>182</sup> This was also confirmed by Lekorpita whose father of Lterito age set took refuge amongst the Elmolo of the Lake Turkana<sup>183</sup>.

Rinderpest was caused by a virus. It was a contagious disease of the ruminants and swine. It was characterized by diarrhoea, nasal and lacrimal discharge and by ulceration of the mucus membrane of the mouth. It attacked cattle and wild game such as buffalo Elands amongst others. Ulcers in mucus membrane caused havoc among the Samburu. Rinderpest by then was a new disease. Rinderpest entered East Africa from three entry points. It came via Ethiopia, Somalia and via Sudan. The disease was connected to European warfare (Kjekshus, 1996:127). It was a European machination (Rhese 1910:140). In East Africa, two big powerful pastoral tribes were feared and targeted. They were Galla/Oromo who were by then 800,000 and the Maasai who were 500,000. The European machination annihilated 450,000 Maasai. Lord Lugard celebrated that the Rinderpest favoured the British enterprises as the

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<sup>180</sup>Lenchododo Lalbalanga (2017)

<sup>181</sup>Lenchododo Lalbalanga (2017)

<sup>182</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

<sup>183</sup>Kjekshus,H. *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History* James Currey London1966 p129

powerful and warlike pastoral tribes had their prides been humbled (Kjekshus, 1977:131). First outbreak was reported in Somalia in 1889, following introduction of cattle from India for provisions of Italian army during its first expedition against Abyssinia.<sup>184</sup> It was from Ethiopia that it spread to the rest of East Africa in 1890. From the Sudan entry, it infected cattle during the British campaign of 1884-1885. It was introduced by animals purchased from Russia (Mettam, 1937:22). Proximity of the Samburu country to the entry points such as Sudan, Ethiopia and Somali meant that Samburu and their cattle must have suffered more devastation than those of neighbouring communities to the South. It came to them in the midst of the famine. It attacked and wiped out the Samburu herds. Some Samburu lived around Mpasso Naibor (Lake Stefanie). The notion raised by (Waweru, 2006:120) that the disease was severe to Samburu cattle since they were clustered in North Orr for fearing the Turkana and Laikipiak was baseless and rumor since the Samburu never at one time left Ngiro, Ndooto and Marsabit Mountains. He never reported a single raid on Samburu by the Turkana and Laikipia in North Orr.

The Samburu lived alongside Laikipiak whom they referred to as Maasai of the highlands (Lmaasai Lekeperr) and the Samburu were referred to by the Laikipiak as Maasai of the Lowland (Lmaasai Lolpurkiel).<sup>185</sup> A Samburu could choose to live amongst the Laikipiak and a Laikipiak could choose to live amongst the Samburu for example Letooyia, Leaduma, Lesasuyian and many other families of Laikipiak chose to live among the Samburu. Such was also noted in (Gufu Oba, 2017:69) when Samburu formed alliance with Laikipiak and waged war against communities living in Ethiopia. The famous Samburu hero known as Lenaasakalai of the Ltarigirig age set c1865-1880 was killed in Opiroi region about 12 kilometers from Maralal when the Samburu raided the Laikipiak manyattas in Lorroki Plateau around where Maralal town is located today. The fate of Lenaasakalai came as a result of his girlfriend criticism that he was praised for nothing since Lenaasakalai family had a few cattle despite his heroism. When the Samburu raided Laikipiak from Lorroki Plateau they passed through Loidongo the main path to East from Maralal. When the raiders reached Opiroi, the hero told the rest of the Morans no one of them would get even a single cow.<sup>186</sup> Laikipia Morans were still following them very closely. The Morans were disappointed. They decided unanimously to leave Lenaasakalai alone to be killed. One of his best friend whom he called

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<sup>184</sup> Longotorio Leparachao (2018)

<sup>185</sup> Longotorio Leparachao (2018)

<sup>186</sup> Ntupa Leparakumoi (2017)

Nkiyeou, refused to leave him. The Laikipiak reinforcement (Nkutungat) caught up with them. The friend was killed immediately. It took Laikipiak the whole day fighting Lenaasakalai alone. They retreated for some time. They gave one Dorobo known as Lesororua an assignment. That Lesororua family is still living amongst the Samburu at a place known as Baawa. The Laikipia advised Lesororua to take an ambush so that as they fight against Lenaasakalai he should take an ambush then shoot him with a poisonous arrow. He took the task and did as advised. Later the hero was overcome by the poison. Laikipiak were able to kill him. Lenaasakalai was from Lpusikishu clan Loisilale sub clan of the Samburu. That demonstrated the Samburu never feared Laikipiak or Turkana. There was an epic that describes the Samburu and Laikipiak struggle over the resources and domination in the region. The epic was self-praising song sang after successful raid by the Samburu Morans on the Laikipia. The Samburu Morans were of Lkipiku age set from Lorokishu clans led by Lenato and Lemuna. They raided the Laikipia manyattas near Wamba at a place known as Suaari<sup>187</sup>. The epic runs as follows:

**Solo: Hooyooyo,**

**Chorus: Hoo hoo.**

The solo and the chorus repeated after three lines:

*Lallala kutuk oeuwo, Loo lmesiga lolpurkel*

***Hooyo***

One with wide mouth came from desert, crying for assistant

*Nolotu ebaki lkiyio richata, Nebakita nchonito enkutuk*

***Hooyoo***

tears run from eyes to lips, and to heels

*Otipika nkangang longuyan Matudumu longoi*

***Hooyoo***

he was shouting with noise, that made them to take up shields

*Nadumu nanu naitengeishio, naiba Nkishu neibungi*

***Hooyoo***

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<sup>187</sup> Kipeeko Lesoipa (2018)

they took up weapons, that which make them irritated and hate enemies who had taken the Samburu Cattle

*Kodo sunyai loloidongo, eibungaki ndirikanyi yang erreno*

**Hooyoo**

the sand of a place known as Loidongo became red with blood, when cattle of Lerno family were taken

*Kodo logiri onya, Ngiron taulo yankan yoolornyan*

**Hooyoo**

the place where donkeys belonging to Laikipiak known as Lornyany grazed near the settlement also turned red

*Emingamaa ltilodo, lolornyant tosuari*

**Hooyoo**

do not respond to wood pecker, (Laikipiak) also

Known as Lornyany of a place known as Suaari

*Kishonget nchira momuto, meti nkata naaku aikuye*

**Hooyoo**

Let a Laikipiak village cry the whole day, as it will never be falsehoods

*Kemanirr murto eingur lmaeg, talalelai letualla*

**Hooyoo**

the cattle turned to look at calves as they climbed a raised ground known as Tualla

*Meidimu lkechiroi nkewat, tanaiperere naliyo*

**Hooyoo**

the black white sided steer hardly carried its fore limbs

as they crossed flat wilderness

*Tanaa keikodi ltaleta, neishori Karasha nkiteng*

**Hooyoo**

if observation ground could be praised, place known as Karasha deserved cattle rewards

*Ninye etidira lmara toki, loonturere epedei*

**Hooyoo**

where a coward Lornyany Moran known as Lmara toki, had climbed to watch as they take their cattle

*Kouwon edungi nchoribany, Yoo ntibasi elekaiyor,*

**Hooyoo**

the skirts of the widows of Lekaiyor, family would

Continue to be cut.

The song described an event where Laikipiak raided the Samburu. The Samburu Nkutungat (reinforcement) caught up with them as soon as they reached their settlement in Suaari region. The Samburu raided them, recovered their cattle and took their cattle. They killed many Laikipiak in Suaari and Loidongo.

Small pox disease was widely remembered amongst the Samburu. It attacked children and adults. It was described in (P.Waweru 2006:126). It was true that the most affected age set was Ltarigirig who were circumcised in 1865. By the time the disease struck in 1885, they were married and had many children.<sup>188</sup>The name small pox was known to the Samburu as Nkeeya Mara. It could not be mentioned in the presence of Samburu old men and women. They beat children whenever they mentioned the name of the disease. They referred to it as Mangantita (enemy). Our family was also affected. My own grandfather was from Lmarikon age set. In their family, they were three. Two were Lmarikon and their elder brother was Ltarigirig age set. The small pox almost wiped out the family of their brother who was of Ltarigirig age set. It was two children that were left to the family. The two contracted the disease and became blind. I saw with my own eyes one who was from Lmiricho age set. He was a blind man. Their description of the small pox was different from the small pox described in the books. The disease cut off people's limbs, ears, noses, fingers and toes. When people were sick, they did not feel the heat of the fire therefore; the disease according to their description was leprosy.<sup>189</sup>The disease was introduced to the Maasai through caravan from the coast (Fischer, 1884:189). The disease was referred to as the white illnesses. It was associated with the European, (Johnston, 1886:303). Richard Burton maintained that small pox was the most dangerous epidemic that swept like a storm of death over the land, (Burton, 1860: 11:318). It was the caravan transport that was the major factor in spreading the Small Pox throughout the country (Kjekshus, 1996:135). Cholera, disease among the Samburu claimed many lives. The cholera disease amongst the Samburu was reported by James Christie a medical Doctor in Tanzania in 1870 when he reported that caravans traders who went to Samburu country, contracted cholera. He added that out of one hundred and fifty (150), in the party that started in Laikipia, only seven reached the coast.

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<sup>188</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

<sup>189</sup>Kjekshus, H. (1996) *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History* James Currey London 1996, p135

Another war involving the Samburu in Ethiopia was noted in (Mungeam, 1966:43). The War also led to weakening of the Samburu demographically. <sup>190</sup>Mungeam maintained that an army of the Samburu Morans marched to Ethiopia in 1897 to raid for Borana cattle. They were reported to have reached an escarpment dividing the Galbo (Gabbra) from the Borana grazing grounds. The Samburu were reported to have been flocked by herding Borana on lower slopes. The same war was noted in (Waweru 2006:126). Both claimed the Samburu warriors were seized by fear. They advocated that no single Samburu returned home alive. They claimed the Samburu from then onwards, ceased raids in the north. My grandfather with his brother and other Morans rolled down the escarpment and returned home alive. Kipeeko Lesoipa's father my informant in this research was in the party he was of Lmarikon age set. It was true that over ninety per cent of the Morans lost their lives. <sup>191</sup>The war affected only Morans from Lorokoshu clan. <sup>192</sup>It was true that war was an institutionalized behaviour (Gufu Oba, 2017:28) as the decision of the tribal warriors to go for war was supported by ritual, magical powers of the Laibons and rewards for participation in livestock booty. Probably the Samburu had ceased raids in the North since the region was militarizing quickly with modern guns and the disasters had weakened them demographically.

The description of the Samburu involvement in the war in Ethiopia in 1897 by Mungeam and Peter Waweru was exaggerated and had several omissions. It was based on shallow research findings and low opinion on the community. The Samburu seemed to know better the root cause and losses of that war. <sup>193</sup>All started with one Moran known as Loonkishu Surai. He committed adultery with a woman married to Letukei family. While he was with the woman at night in her house, the girlfriend to the Moran came to the house of the woman without being noticed. The girl found the spears of the Moran on the top of the woman's house. It was reported that the girl got information from one Moran who was never identified. She took the two spears to the house she was sleeping in. After the Moran had entertained himself, in that same night he went out thinking that he was not noticed by anybody. He searched for his spears but he could not find them. He went to the house where the girl was sleeping in. On looking round, he saw his spears. He then asked the girl the person who took his spears to the

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<sup>190</sup>Mungeam,C, *British Rule in Kenya 1895-1920* Oxford University Press London 1966 P 43

<sup>191</sup>Kipeeko Lesoipa (2018)

<sup>192</sup>Oba,G, *Herder warfare* White Horse press Cambridgeshire UK,2017 p 28

<sup>193</sup> Lenchododo Lalbalanga(2017)

house. The girl answered that it was she who took the spears from the house of the woman the Moran was having an affair with. Loonkishu Suruai consequently; blew the horn early in the morning convened for a meeting for all Morans. He explained to them what had happened. They discussed the matter for some days. The Morans became ashamed and felt their self-esteem had gone down as a result of what had happened to the Moran. They reached to a conclusion that the only way they could restore their lost esteem was to raid for cattle from Borana country at a place known as Tarar. The place was known to have only one narrow passage such that when blocked there would be no way in or out. The Borana from that place were known to have very good cattle.

There was one widely spoken steer whose horns reached to its tail such that it was described as the steer that excretes its dungs on its horn (arotoki mou).<sup>194</sup>The Morans thought that if they could bring that steer to their country or manyattas to be seen by their parents and girlfriends, their esteem could have been raised because all previous raids had failed to bring that widely known steer to the Samburu country. The Morans agreed on the matter unanimously thereafter, called on the elders and explained what had happened and their intention because going for raids amongst the Samburu must have elders' blessings. In the meeting, the Morans explained to the elders what had happened. In addition, the Morans described to the elders about their intention. Two elders were known to have been key players in the meeting and contributed a lot in the meeting. They were Murruka Lemalasia of Lkipiku age set and Parasian Leleruk of the Lkiteku age set. Murruka was a parent of Lmarikon age set who were the Morans by then and had prepared to go for war in Tarar region in Ethiopia. He alone had ten Morans. Murruka was opposed to the idea of going for raid.<sup>195</sup>Parasian was an elder of the fire stick (Lpiroi) to the Lmarikon Morans. Morans persuaded Parasian who had powers of the fire stick to let or not let warriors go for the raids. The Morans in the meeting tried as much as they could, to use a persuasive language to convince the elders to allow them to go for the raid. The Morans informed the elders that the only thing that could make them feels free was to go for that raid. One elder was reported to have told the Morans that they could as well all be engaged in adultery so that the notion that committing adultery lowers the Morans self-esteem would be dismissed. The discussion took three days due opposition from Murruka and others.

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<sup>194</sup>Lewiya Lekukuton (2017)

<sup>195</sup>Ali Leleruk (2017)

Parasian at long last accepted the Morans proposal after the Morans had laid spears on his head several times. Placing spears on elders' heads was a symbol of kind pleading and submission to elders' authority. The elders were opposed to the raid for various reasons. Murruka was a parent who would be affected directly if warriors got killed in the battle. Tarar was known to be a very difficult terrain mountainous region with only one passage in and out such that when blocked by the enemies there would be no way out. It was also known that the warriors did not explore and scan the area properly but were only prompted by frustration. Finally the warriors were granted permission. Murruka was still remembered amongst the Lorokishu clan for his parable speaking of two hands. One hand was that bare hand that pulls thorny branches. <sup>196</sup>He regretted for permission given to the Morans and compared himself with a bare hand that pulled dangerous thorny trees branches because the hand would be obviously wounded by the thorns. The second hand was that which pulled the thorny tree branches using a protective device known as Lkonchoor. Murruka likened Parasian to the second hand that pulled thorny tree branches using protective long stick (Lkonchoor). The hand would not be easily harmed by the thorns. It meant Parasian would not be affected directly if the warriors got killed in the battle. He would not have a feeling like that of the parent. The lamenting words Murruka used were: "ooi siake nkaina nanya nkukua, onaiyetu to lkonchoor".

The final word to the Morans before they set out for the journey came from Laibon Leaduma known as Kosheke of the Lkiteku age set. Lorokishu manyatta was located at a place they called Lpurra Leangatta tauo. The prophet was remembered to have told warriors that they would find a human being in Tarar that was a half male and a half female. They were ordered to kill the human being but they should not make an attempt to take things worn by the being (Napi). The person was said to have been wearing many glittering things on the body around the neck, in the ears, around the hands, legs and waist. They were also told that they should not touch small straps of a skin tied to the tree they would find as they approached the Borana villages. Unfortunately, they untied the pieces of the skin from the tree and threw them away. The Morans seemed to be over confident and full of pride. The Morans were also told not to bring the steer to the Samburu country. They were advised to kill the steer and leave without eating its meat. The Morans set out for the long awaited raid. They journeyed in the difficult terrains and reached Borana manyattas. They raided the Borana manyattas killed several

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<sup>196</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

people whose numbers could not be established. They even found that strange being of which they killed but unfortunately; they were attracted by the glittering medals worn by the strange being. They took the medals and hoped to bring them home. The Morans also spared the steer that excretes its horn with its dung. They made an attempt to bring it home so that it could be seen by people. On returning back, with cattle in thousands, singing praising songs, the Samburu found the passage was blocked. They were let into the passage thereafter it was blocked from the top and also from down. The war was fought vigorously. There were losses from both sides. Many Borana or the Oromo whom the Samburu referred to as black Borana came for reinforcement of their kinsmen. The Samburu seemed to have been outnumbered by their enemies. The Borana set up what they referred to as Raap. It was a war strategy of the Borana that some kilometers away from battle field, they prepared food such that when the fighters became tired and hungry, they went to eat food, therefore they fought in shifts. It was said that they fought for long hours and the Samburu were finally overcome.

They lost the victory to the Borana or Oromo for that matter. Probably they lost ninety percent of the Morans. Lalbalanga family had nine warriors. Only one returned. Others who returned included my grandfather with his elder brother (Lalarati), Lesoipa, Bubuka Lemartile, Lekukuton.<sup>197</sup>Ladoruaek Lekurshian died on the way before reaching the manyatta as a result of wounds he sustained in the battle. Fortunately all Murruka's Morans returned home alive. When they arrived home, their father was shocked as to why all his warriors returned alive while all other families were crying. He was remembered to have said that there would be tragic moment awaiting his family. That was realized when the so called small pox hit Murruka family. The disease wiped out the entire family including Murruka himself. It was realized later that only one person survived when ecological disasters were over. The survivor was said to have left for the forest at night and later became a shepherd of those Samburu families that had settled amongst the Rendille. From what had happened to Murruka's family, it seemed small pox came after the war described by (Mungeam, 1966:43). Besides not heeding to the advice of the elders and Laiboni which led to their defeat, there was another version that caused their downfall.<sup>198</sup> There was a curse pronounced by the Rendille Katailan clan. There was dispute over water point. It was agreed that the Rendille should not water their camels on a certain water point. It happened that they brought their camels to the disputed water point. Lorokishu Morans of the Lmarikon age set

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<sup>197</sup>Lmolweya Lekukton (2017)

<sup>198</sup>Lewiya Lekukuton (2017)

killed one Moran of the Rendille Katailan clan of the Lesoopile family and wounded one from Lekaila family both were from families of Rendille traditional priests known as Laisi. The Rendille cursed the Lorokishu Morans but Lesumpeesha who was a Rendille Chief (Laigwanani) tried to intervene and asked the Rendille to abandon the idea and forgive the Morans.

When Rendille camels arrived home in the evening a camel bull belonging to Lesumpeesha fell down and got broken in the Legs and the jaws consequently; the Rendille Chief stopped his intervention efforts of averting curse to the Samburu Morans. When the Moran set out for the raid, the Rendille Laisi cut a tree known as Ldumei and threw at the foot prints of the Morans who had left for the raid in Tarar. In addition, they came to the Lorokishu Naapo without being noted and speared the ground. The curse is still following the Lorokishu clan up to date. For every age set that was circumcised, there has been one person that had his reproductive organ (genitals) cut off and taken by the Borana. There was war praising song that accompanied a successful raid in Ethiopia by the Samburu meaning the Samburu raided the Borana or Oromo for cattle several times.<sup>199</sup>Such war was also noted (G.Oba 2017:69) that Maasai invaded the Borana Oromo country in Dirre. They crushed the Borana and took their cattle. Alliance of Samburu (Korre), Laikipiak and Rendille reported to have invaded the Borana. The epic was sung to me by my father when he was alive.<sup>200</sup>It was confirmed by Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita. It was sung as follows:

**Solo: Hooyooyo,**

**Chorus: Hoo hoo:**

The solo and the chorus repeated after three lines:

*Keti Ldonyio le Tarar ntaua, netii Tire (Dirre) uwanata*

*Hooyoo*

there were heifers on top of Tarar Mountain and there were also beneath Tire/Dirre heights

*. Kanyor nanu Konito, Matijinga sikiria,*

*Hooyoo*

I liked a Moran known as Konito, till my old age

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<sup>199</sup>Gufu Oba 2017) *Herder warfare* White Horse press Cambridge Shire UK p 69

<sup>200</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

*Kearie ltungana norupa, Nearie neijulujula,*

*Hooyoo*

He killed people in high ground; he killed people in low lying ground

*Nearie ltungana nelepo, Nearie neisuto nkariak*

**Hooyoo**

he killed people where there was water, he killed them where there was no water

*. Nolusoki Lekasote, Loonkishu dirikanyi,*

*Hooyoo*

much more praise goes to a hero known as Lekasote,, of the brown cattle

*Ninye otipika rosio naidurra Nkishu naapuo Mankale,*

**Hooyoo**

he caused chaos to those on exodus. the cattle that were moving to a place known as Mankale

*Nodung dukana parkiji Yotujulo sang lempere,*

**Hooyoo**

he crossed the Dukana (plain) in the broad day light, when the blade of his spear had turned red (bloodish)

*Noshumaki nkishu nauwankoyo Loipangi loonkokiidong*

**Hooyoo**

he drove cattle along a climbing lane, that was enclosed by trees known as nkokidong

*Neiliep alo Ldonyioirobi, Ntoki nateiya loitiko,*

**Hooyoo**

he climbed up and went to cold Mountain (Marsabit,)when his outlook had changed to look like a zebra

*Nolo loitiko Karare, Metisiri lngateti*

**Hooyoo**

The zebra like human figure went to a place known as Karare, where they were painted with chalks like substance

The song described successful raids in Tarar and Dirre mountains. Two heroes, Konito and Kasote were praised for their contributions that made the raids successful. They were praised

for killing enemies in highlands and lowlands driving cattle to Marsabit (Karare) where those who killed enemies were adored and painted with white substance called mpagas<sup>201</sup>.

It was true that during and after ecological disasters before the Samburu recover fully from the menace, the Samburu neighbours who were also their rival took the opportunity to attack and capture them for adoption. The Turkana for example attacked the Samburu settlement near the place known today as Merrille in Marsabit County. Two families from Lorokishu clan were reported to have been among them. There were two Ltarigirig families of Lemartile family and many of Leparkumoi family. The whole village was decimated except one survivor who came out later to tell the story. All adult men were killed. Some children and women were captured and taken for adoption. He saw his father being killed when the Turkana raided their home. He was captured with his sisters, some of his father's wives, cousins and other villagers. When they reached Turkana country, they were given out to various Turkana families. He himself was given to a barren Turkana woman for adoption. He grew up in the family till he became an adult. When they were looking after herds, he was provoked by Turkana young man who was of his age mate. He was angered consequently; he killed the man and took a refuge amongst the Lchamus. He later left Baringo and came to Samburu. He was circumcised as Lmirisho age set probably (1912). He was a father to Ntupa Leparkumoi my informant in this research.

Another war was reported of enemies thought to be Turkana who attacked one Samburu family. Fortunately; they could not kill the family members as they were seen before they struck. <sup>202</sup>The people escaped. The incidence occurred in the desert between Ndotto and Marsabit. The man the owner of the family that was attacked had three wives. One wife came from a family of the Samburu Dorobo background. Another wife came from a Samburu family of the pastoralist background and another from a Samburu black smith family background. The three wives had sons of the same age. Their father was an old man who could not follow herds taken. The three boys followed the enemies who had taken their cattle. After several kilometers, they came across a bird known as bee teller (nchochoroi). The boy from the wife who came from the Samburu family of the Dorobo background told the other boys that they should follow the bird that would tell them the whereabouts of the bees so that they could eat honey in order to gain strength and be able to follow the taken herds. He was

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<sup>201</sup>Ntupa Leparkumoi (2017)

<sup>202</sup>Lekimir Lesiekono (2017)

not listened to. He left his brothers and followed the bird alone. The two boys left walked for many miles following the foot prints of their cattle till they reached a deserted village. The boy from the Samburu family of black smith background asked the other boy that they should enter that deserted settlement and look for an iron rode that they could use to make an arrow that the Samburu used to tap the blood from alive animals so that in case they succeed in recovering their cattle, they would use it to tap blood from the cattle so that they would not die of hunger. The boy did not agree with him. They parted and the boy was left roaming in the deserted settlement. The boy from the Samburu family of the pastoralist background went for it alone. He proceeded in a tiresome difficult journey that took him to unknown destination. After several kilometers, he caught up with the enemies. He observed the movement of the enemies and organized himself well on how he would go for it alone. He cut down tree branches then dragged them on the ground ran very first towards the enemies. The enemies were terrified. They thought that they were followed by many enemies consequently; they took up their heels and ran as fast as their legs could carry them. They left the herds they had taken. The boy recovered all the cattle alone. He returned them back home and narrated what happened. He was applauded, treasured and blessed by his father. The two wars I described above showed that the ecological disasters that fell upon the Samburu community had really affected and shattered the Samburu traditional institutions for example the warrior hood because the defense known as Nkutungat (reinforcement) was not seen following the cattle taken. It was the boy from the family that was attacked who recovered their cattle alone.

### **3.4 Impacts of Ecological Disasters**

The nineteenth century ecological disaster affected people economically, socially and politically.<sup>203</sup>Economically, almost all cattle were wiped out. Unfavourable climatic conditions resulted in mass destruction of cattle that also resulted in ruins of thousands of the Samburu in that case. The herds that were scattered over large stretches of lands perished within a few days. Ecological disaster broke the economic backbone of the prosperous and advanced Samburu. Many cattle owners were left with none. The loss of cattle by the Samburu led them to the world of the dead. The people were distressed and starved. What remained of their bodies was bones covered by the skins. The traditional economy was shattered. The situation initiated the breakdown of the ecological balance. People were

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<sup>203</sup>Illiffe, J. *The African Poor* Cambridge University Press New York,1987 p 79

forced to abandon their villages and left for bush.<sup>204</sup> People collected berries and roots. Men hunted and ate forbidden wild animals. The livestock resources were totally depleted. Many extended families were known to have been extinct such that no even a single family member survived. Lekorpita stated that there were extended Samburu families that had over hundred members and were totally wiped out. They included; Lemotoyan, Lerikai and Lebarnot to mention just a few.<sup>205</sup> Many families had only one survivor for example Letooyia and Lemurruka amongst others. Lekorpita maintained that his father, Leatoro and Lokirik found refuge amongst the Elmolo where food from the water in the form of fish and Hippos saved the lives of their devastated families. Mortality rate was ferociously high amongst the infected people due to illness as victims lacked stamina to fight infection. Although the number of deaths was difficult to established, the number of the survivors of all clans, was less than the number of one clan members before the disasters struck. Leaduma Laiboni (prophet) had over four hundred cattle but none was left. Murruka's family of the Lorokishu clan had over thirty family members but there was only one survivor. Lalkailepi family also of the Lorokishu clan was known to have over forty family members but there were only four survivors.

On the social effects of the ecological disasters, many families became broken and separated when people abandon homes and left for bushed. Some families' relationship became strengthened as some family members saved lives of their relatives and their closest associates.<sup>206</sup> Families were divided into two as they took refuge amongst other communities that included; Rendille, Elmolo, Dassanetch, Turkana, Borana, Dorobo (Lanat) and Maasai. There were those Samburu who decided to remain. Those who took refuge amongst the Rendille for example Leaduma family of the Laiboni, resorted to keeping goats and camels. Others were destitute children who became vagrants in Rendille country. They lived by sneaking into Rendille kraals at night and milked the camels and goat for themselves. When the Rendille captured them, they were burnt alive.<sup>207</sup> There were those who took refuge among the Dassanetch. Leparachao family of the Lorokishu clan had two men of Lkiteku age set who took refuge among the Dassanetch of the River Omo valley. Longotorio maintained that they went with remnants members of their families who survived the disasters. It was also remembered that Lemeitaron of Lkiteku age set of the Lorokishu clan had seven sons.

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<sup>204</sup> Illiffe, J. *The African Poor* Cambridge University Press, Redwood Burn Ltd London 1987 p 65

<sup>205</sup> Nkongu Nanyokie (2018)

<sup>206</sup> Sobania, N. *Disasters and Recovery* Texas University College USA, 1987 P 2

<sup>207</sup> Longotorio Leparachao (2018)

He took refuge amongst the Dassanetch. It was only one of seven sons who remained in Samburu after he had refused to accompany his father. Other families that were known to have taken refuge amongst the Dassanetch included: Leswaakeri of the Lmasula clan, Letoto family of the Lorokishu clan and Lesaluluga family of the Lorokishu clan. The members of Lesaluluga family living amongst the Dassanetch and those in Samburu still communicate up to date. They kept visiting each other.

Many Samburu families sought and found refuge amongst the Turkana.<sup>208</sup> They included; Leleshipan family of the Lorokishu clan, Loluwerrikoi's family also of Lorokishu clan and Lepoora family also of Lorokishu clan. Others were Lenyakopiro family of the Lukumae clan and Leparmarai family of the Lpusikishu clan. Leparmarai also known as Siogsiog led some Lpusikishu families to take a refuge amongst the Turkana. Siogsiog was a famous Samburu warrior of the Ltarigirig age set who was only second to Lenaasakalai, who was killed by the Laikipia. He was Laigwanani of the Morans (Chief). He was circumcised probably in 1865. While in Turkana, he became a Chief. There was a prolong drought in Turkana land that resulted in shortage of water. He led Turkana thirsty and traumatized population with their stock to a place in the Sugutta valley where there was permanent water source. The place came to be known as Leparmarai up to date. Leparmarai later returned to Samburu with many Turkana during the circumcision period of the Lmirisho age set in 1910-12.<sup>209</sup> The Samburu families that took refuge amongst the Dorobo (Lanat) who lived along the Uwaso Ngiro River valley included: Lerinkato, Loiuwatuwat/Letinina, Lemabakini, Leuwao and Lemuna/father of Lkilekui. When the situation worsened, probably the families resorted to eating the wild animals that the culture prohibited that included; rhinos, elephants, zebra and others. Some families took refuge amongst the Maasai for example Lemoisieny family and one member of the Lesoipa family sought and found refuge amongst the Maasai. Many Lkungwaan families of the Lorokishu clan about two villages took refuge amongst the Gabbra/Borana. Some families came back to Samburu when ecological disasters were over. Some of the Samburu families that took refuge in Turkana came back later. Those that took refuge amongst the Dassanetch, a few came back to Samburu again. Many of those who settled amongst the Rendille came back to Samburu when the disasters were over. Those Samburu who took refuge amongst the Borana and the Gabbra land never came back. All

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<sup>208</sup>Lesopia Leaduma(2018)

<sup>209</sup>Ntupa Leparkumoi (2017)

those who took refuge amongst the Dorobo, came back when the problems were over. Those who sought refuge in Maasai land never came back to Samburu.

Those Samburu who did not take refuge in foreign land were burdened by numerous problems.<sup>210</sup> There emerged a terror group known as Njartimi/Ltompon. Such was also captured in (Kjekshus 1996:131). Intertribal raiding escalated. People left villages for bush on assumption that devils took over their old quarters. Unburied bodies were left laying all over. The young men mostly from Lmarikon age set were the Morans by then. The word Njartimi means dwells in forest. Those few families left with a few livestock became the targets of robbers. The order and peaceful coexistence left the society. The elders and warrior hood institutions were shattered by disasters. Instead of organizing for raids to attack the rival communities, the Morans organized themselves and began to rob those Samburu families that were weakened demographically by the disasters for example Letooyia family of the Lorokishu clan living among the Lngwesi clan was robbed.<sup>211</sup> The family was robbed off its goats. A few were recovered later by Lorokishu warriors who ran to rescue the helpless family. The remaining family members were three destitute boys and one old woman known as Napiliyo. The small pox later took away the lives of the two boys again. The terror group also robbed of the following Lorokishu Ltarigirig off their stock, Lerno, (Kulupo Imongi), Letitiya and Lemeitaron. Lemeitaron was a big boy. The Lorokishu Morans retaliated by attacking one Lpusikishu family known as Lekatero. They took cattle and distributed to the robbed members of their clan. The group adapted robbery as their survival strategy or way of life.<sup>212</sup> They attacked a man known as Leariwala. He was known to have moved from Ndotto Mountain to Otto to join his brother who lived amongst the Lngwesi clan. Leariwala had many goats that included fatty male goats. The gang asked to be given a goat to eat but he turned down their demand. He was known for his strength and bravery. It was known that no one Moran could fight him. It was agreed by the gang that included Morans from Lnyaparae clan the Leariwala clan that they would trick to capture him then hit him with several clubs to weaken him so that they could take some of his best male goats. It was Lerantilei who was known for his strength reported to have tricked and captured Learriwala. Unfortunately; Leariwala was captured and clubbed to death by Lngwesi Morans who were the majority in the gang. The event became political factor that divided the two Samburu clans. Initially,

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<sup>210</sup>Jerre Lerachao (2017)

<sup>211</sup>Ntupa Leparkumoi (2017)

<sup>212</sup>Lemuson Lesuruai (2017)

Lngwesi and Lnyaparae clans had common ritual ceremony of slaughtering the steer that marked the beginning of new age set but following the brutal senseless killing of the Leariwala the two clans became separated. On political impacts of the ecological disasters, the disasters undermined the established authority and status structures of the community. The events altered political contacts between people, (Kjekshus, 1996:126). The situation led to political disruption of the functions of the elders' institution. The warrior hood institution which was the defense organ of the community was shattered. It turned against the community that it was supposed to defend as was seen in Leariwala case. Struggle for survival became source of antagonism and conflicts.

### **3.5 Recovery and Survival Strategies**

Mobility was a strategy used by nomadic pastoralists all over the world to cope with ecological challenges.<sup>213</sup> It was an activity to avoid insects, diseases, rival groups and scarcity of resources. It was used to reduce competition with other groups and to avoid authorities. It was a unique arrangement of ecological, political and economic factors that determined the pattern of movement of each pastoral group and the specific movements of each independent herd owner within every pastoral society.<sup>214</sup> Mobility was the Main strategy adapted by the Samburu pastoralists for their survival in the face of the ecological disasters. Traditional pastoralism life style permits survival even in the face of the severe disasters by moving regularly to new food and water sources.<sup>215</sup> Those who survived the wrath of the ecological disasters depended upon mobility in one way or another. Those who lived in lowland joined those residing in the mountains. Mountainous forests were known to the Samburu as a refuge during ecological disasters because not all trees and rivers in the dense highlands forests could dry up. There were also plenty of edible root tubers and fruits in the mountain forest that people depended upon. In the process of mobility the Samburu exploited their country unique ecosystem to the maximum before the imperial interference of the British Colonial State. They had what was described as “trimodal rainfall pattern” of the rain seasons<sup>216</sup>. When low land country was in dry season in August, Samburu moved their cattle to Lorroki Highlands while it was experiencing wettest period of the year. The Samburu called that rain

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<sup>213</sup>Hudson, D *Nomadic Pastoralism* Department of Anthropology State University of New York Barmington New York City, 1980 p 18

<sup>214</sup>Mariam, A.G. *Commission on Nomadic People* Number 29 Addis Ababa pp 199110-20

<sup>215</sup>Lemirr Lesyiokono (2017)

<sup>216</sup>Fumagalli, C.T *An Evaluation of Development Projects Among East African Pastoralists* A Journal of African Studies Review Vol 21 No 3 Cambridge University 1978 Press p 52

season, Lorikine. During October and November, the Samburu from Lorroki Plateau moved their herds to Eastern side of the District where there was rain and grass. The Samburu called that rain season Ltumuren. They called April –May rain season Lngerngerrua and May-June was known as Nkakwai. No colonial design in the form of grazing scheme or ranch could ever give to Samburu the same advantage as that traditional pattern of exploitation. Mobility also took them to the places of plenty that were not affected by the disasters.<sup>217</sup> Mobility was characterized by movement of livestock from one place to another for the purpose of using the diversification of the flora without degrading the environment. Mobility therefore, assured to the Samburu an access to scattered pastoral resources and averted diseases and conflicts.

The other survival strategy used over the years was splitting the herds. <sup>218</sup>It was meant to ensure that it spread the risks of livestock losses during ecological disasters. The stock was divided into different categories that included goats, sheep, cattle and camels. The Samburu families that had camels and goats during ecological disasters survived. The other survival strategy was eating habit and adaptation. <sup>219</sup>Majority of the Samburu population abandon the manyatta after eating all skins and hides that were household beddings. Some left for bush while others for unknown destinations. People depended on wild food. Some resorted to have eaten wild animals which the customs prohibited as the situation moved from bad to worst. They lived and depended upon wild fruits, seeds and wild roots. The Samburu also used socio-cultural mechanism as a survival strategy. The Samburu were governed by the obligations. Resources, work and food were shared (Haaland, 1979). Meat has names. Whenever an animal was slaughtered, there was a meat for Moran, elders, women, boys and girls. <sup>220</sup>For the Samburu, if a stranger drops in at meal time, the meal would be shared. The poor could go anywhere in Samburu land and expect to be fed. Helping one another was cultural deal and an obligation amongst the Samburu. Those who lost animals due to epidemic or raid could continue begging animals from relatives from hut to hut and he or she was not considered as a beggar. One could ask for an animal to slaughter from neighbours when a wife had given birth. During weddings animals like fatty male sheep or a steer were given to the person marrying and the debt was paid later. When a person became critically

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<sup>217</sup>Letiyan Lesuyai (2017)

<sup>218</sup>Gebre and Bosco *Climate Change and Pastoralism Traditional Coping Mechanism and Conflicts in the Horn of Africa* Institute for peace and Security Studies Addis Ababa University, 2012 p 2

<sup>219</sup>Ali Leleruk (2017)

<sup>220</sup>Longotorio Leparachao (2018)

sick owner could ask for an animal to slaughter for the sick in order to give the sick soup or oil if the sick had died. A person who fails to comply with elders' verdict must slaughter a bullock for the whole community as a fine.

There was wide spectrum of pastoral modes of life.<sup>221</sup> Some included and integrated a constant and substantial exchange of goods and services with the neighbouring sedentary societies. Since the beginning of the British administration, it was reported in the political records accounts that trade took place between the Samburu and the neighbouring agricultural groups and other pastoral nomads such as Meru and Somali. Most of the trade was reported to have existed therefore it was carried out between the Samburu and the Somali.<sup>222</sup>The Samburu were getting cattle in exchange for sheep and goats after their cattle were reported to have suffered losses during the great disaster of the 1890. Lekorpita could remember his father narration. He was of the Lterito age set. He with others took refuge amongst the Elmolo. Eleven Lterito elders bought cattle by exchanging with goats and sheep from Borana from Ethiopia. 12 goats or sheep were exchanged with one heifer. Lekorpita's father bought heifers and a bull from the Borana. Lekorpita maintained that some Samburu raided the Turkana and got cattle. The Samburu were known to have traded also with the Meru community prior to the onset of colonialism. The Samburu exchanged livestock products such as ghee, hides and skins for tobacco, flour cereals and legumes with Meru.

Concerning the role of the tribe or clan as a survival strategy, <sup>223</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie advocated that clan and one's age set are equal to God<sup>224</sup>Tribe is a politically recognizable unit of the unspecified size and function. Tribe oftenly appeared to be organized in a way that was more appropriate into a state structure. Some states were reported to have been founded and conquered by the tribes (Rosenfeld, 1965, Spooner, 1969, Wood, 1976). Tribe emerged as a unit of organization and a mean of classifying people in the twentieth century. It came to mean a political means of defining population. It is an autonomous territorial unit. It is a useful for envisaging the operation of blood feud and territorial conflict in some societies. Tribe has a criteria residence and economic cooperation where individuals are members of

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<sup>221</sup>Larick,R "Historical Development in Samburu weapons Technology" Institute of African Studies University of Nairobi Seminar Paper No 163 1984, pp 8-21

<sup>222</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

<sup>223</sup> Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

<sup>224</sup>Cribb, R *Nomads in Archaeology*, Cambridge University press Cambridge Hong Kong Color craft Ltd.1991 pp.52-62

the lineage. They recognized themselves for having common descent. <sup>225</sup>The individuals therefore, crystalized around a powerful individuals who in this regard were individuals left with livestock resources. Those who had their livestock wiped out by the disaster depended upon their kins for survivals. The lineage units got organized in a manner that defended themselves from internal and external aggression. The person of a certain descent became attached to people of another descent through marriage. The person comes to be known as having the same descent as those whom he was attached amongst the Rendille and the Maasai where he or she got refuge during the ecological disasters. The tribe as a territorial system has security of access to a particular set of resources that maintained a network of relationships. Tribal lineages acted and provided stable systems of organization for those with no stable territorial framework. There was the seasonal allocation of the pasture owned or held as common territory to sections of tribes depending on the relative needs of the livestock. Tribe could assign or re-assign pasture land as reward.

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<sup>225</sup>Sirekon Lepulier (2017)

### **3.6 Summary**

The 19<sup>th</sup> ecological disasters that rocked the Eastern Africa region were European machinations designed to destabilize and weaken the strong prosperous communities so as to open up the region for colonization and control of resources. The disasters rocked the Samburu in the form of diseases, prolonged drought, famine, insects' invasion and wars. The Samburu viewed the ecological disasters in cyclic view. The disasters brought about crisis migration that made many people and families to lose Samburu identity as they took refuge in the neighbouring communities. The ecological disasters brought about economic, social, political and demographics crisis. They also caused the breakdown of the ecological balance. Many families were extinct. The disasters brought bad relationship. Traditional institutions were shattered. Mobility was a survival strategy that saved many lives. Mobility also assisted the Samburu pastoralists to secure access to the best pasture that was not affected by the disasters. Splitting the herd was a survival strategy used by the Samburu to survive the odd face of the ecological disasters. The eating habit was also a strategy the Samburu used during ecological disasters to save many hunger stricken families. Socio-cultural mechanism was also another strategy.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ESTABLISHMENT OF COLONIALISM AMONG THE SAMBURU c1895-1919

#### 4.1 Overview

This chapter explains the meaning of Colonialism, Imperialism and the outcome of Industrial Revolution. It identifies factors that prompted Colonialism and establishment of East Africa protectorate in 1895. It traces the Samburu early contact with the British the places they inhabited and the Samburu eviction from Laikipia in 1921. This chapter dismisses the propagated notion that the Samburu embraced Colonialism because they could not defend themselves. It describes the nature of the English land tenure systems, the standard of their economic policies that ruined and replaced the Samburu traditional tenure systems of subsistence production. It discusses the efforts of some protectorate officials of making the East Africa Protectorate a White Man Enclave. It describes briefly the negative impacts of colonial policies of land alienation on the Samburu. It highlights racism, ignorance, prejudices and deception on agreements leveled against the pastoral Maa-people. It describes the nature, brutalities, excessiveness, abuse and impacts of the colonial labour on the Samburu and their response. It discusses the rationale for the imposition of taxes on the Samburu that culminated in bloody tragedy.

#### 4.2 Arrival of Colonialism

Colonialism is the direct and overall domination of one country by another on the basis of the State being in the hands of a foreign power. It took place in 1800-1960. Colonialism was a product of another phenomenon called imperialism.<sup>226</sup> It entailed an encounter between African Continent and Europe. The word Imperialism originated from Latin word *imperium* meaning a supreme power that which pertaining to empire specifically the imperial Rome. Imperialism is a policy of extending the control or authority over foreign entities. It is a policy by Government to increase its size by forcing through war or influence through politics. Colonialism came to Africa as a result of changes in the modes of production in Europe. It was as a result of the Industrial Revolution.<sup>227</sup> The word industrialization originated from a letter dated 6<sup>th</sup> July, 1799 written by France envoy Louis of Guilanme. He was

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<sup>226</sup>Colonialism African Student Resource html

<sup>227</sup>Ocheni and Basil, "Analysis of Colonialism and its Impacts in Africa" CS Canada Cross Cultural Communication www-cs Canada-net 2012 p 46

announcing that France had entered a race to industrialization. Industrialization therefore, means any activity man engages in for gain. It is a totality of changes in economic, social and political systems. In 1850 the advancement in the industries went faster than the progress in the agriculture<sup>228</sup>. It became hard for agriculture to satisfy the demands for raw materials required in the industries; it therefore became necessary for European powers to look for an alternative. Globally, the insistent of economic expansionism was a reality that could be translated into actual facts of colonial expansions. As a result of advancement in technology, new products were produced at faster rate than the population could dispose of. Africa with huge population was considered to constitute a ready market. In addition, as a result of low wages paid to workers who worked in industries, there was an accumulation profit by the industrialists at faster rate than they could invest back in their home countries. It was during that process of investment of the surplus capital that the Imperialism emerged. To sum it up, there was economic crisis in Europe as described by the passage below:

“By the end of 1870, conscious of a shrinking and all finite globe, the apparent satiation of existing markets, the temporary absence of new opportunities for sale and enumeratives overseas investment and the evolution of a new map of Africa, embodying some determinate interior content, had conspired to present the Africa as the world last untapped reservoir of market resources and possible investment opportunities. This image developed precisely at the moment when the growth of the technology confidence was encouraging the benefit that political control and economic exploitation of the interior had at least become realistic operation; within five years or so of the development of this image, the scramble for Africa had begun”. (Fage and Oliver, 1997:103)

It became necessary for the European nations to make a conscious decisive decision and policies to alleviate the economic crisis in Europe and the way to do it was to gaze towards Africa that was considered to possess the required raw materials for industries in Europe. Helving Helldorf advocated that Berlin Conference in 1884-1885 institutionalized Imperialism<sup>229</sup>. To secure the supply of raw materials and to open a new export market, the struggle for colonies occurred under the motto, “who goes there first?” as described by the passage below:

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<sup>228</sup>John, R. *The Labouring Classes in Early Industrial England 1700-1850* University of Southampton England 1986 p 5

<sup>229</sup>Helldorf. H. *Dry Land Pastoral water and Land Management in Northern Kenya* Master Thesis Submitted to Swedish University of Agriculture and Science Upsala Sweden 2010p 18

“For nearly six century now, Western Europe and its Diaspora have been disturbing the peace of the world. Enlightened, through their Renaissance by the learning of the Ancient Mediterranean, armed with the gun, the making of whose powder he had learned from the Chinese firecrackers; equip in their ships with, Lateen sails, astrolabe and nautical compasses, all invented by the Chinese and transmitted by the Arabs; fortified in aggressive spirit by an arrogant, messianic Christianity of the popish and protestant varieties; and motivated by the lure of enriching plunder, white hordes have sailed from western Europe homelands to explore, assault, loot, occupy, rule and exploit the rest of the world. And even now, the fury of their expansionism assault upon the rest has not abated.” (Chinweizu, 1978:3)

In June 1895, East Africa protectorate was announced and established<sup>230</sup>. The establishment of East Africa Protectorate was inevitable due to prevailing circumstances. East African communities were not partisans to the deal except the Sultan of Zanzibar. The rationale for establishing the East African Protectorate was to pacify the war torn tribes, protect the waters of River Nile, open the productivity of the Uganda rich resources as well as open up the fertile highlands to the settlers.<sup>231</sup> It was decided that East Africa protectorate would become a settled Colony thus it was necessary to introduce land tenure systems similar to those existing in Britain so that European settlers could be motivated to settle in Kenya and invest their financial resources without restraint.

### **4.3 Colonization amongst the Samburu**

The Samburu were known with other names before the onset of colonialism.<sup>232</sup> They were known by the Turkana and the Boran as Korre. The Maasai and the Laikipiak knew them as Loibor kineji (of the white goats). The area the Samburu occupied in the North was known for its difficult terrains, aridity, banditry, abundance of game and the area was said to have been inhabited by war like proclivities of its nomadic population. Contrary to (Peter Waweru Ph.D. Thesis, 2006:57) notion that Geoffrey Archer established a police post on the Northern bank of the Uaso Ngiro River in 1909 and named Archer’s post and he was the first British foot hold in Northern Frontier District and Samburu territory in particular was not well thought. It was baseless. He had already justified that the border of Samburu country was

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<sup>230</sup>Rutten, M.M.E. *Selling Wealth to Buy Poverty the Process of the Individualization of Landownership Among the Maasai Pastoralists of Kajiado District Kenya 1890-1990* Verlag breitanbach Germany,2017, p 171

<sup>231</sup>Ghassoul,B. *The Ins and Outs ofNationalism in Kenya From Early Contact to Confrontation 1800-1990* Thesis Submitted to Faculty of Letters Languages and Arts University of Oran Algeria,2010 p 78

<sup>232</sup>Lamphear,J. *The People of the Grey Bull the Origin and Expansion of the Turkana* the Journal of African History Vol 29 No1 Cambridge University Press <http://www.jist-or-org/stable/182237>,1988

River Uwaso Ngiro.<sup>233</sup> Northern Frontier District was defined by agreement with Ethiopia in 1907.

In 1850, Johann Ludwig Kraft mention a number of tribes within the Maa speaking territories that included: <sup>234</sup>Pokot (Suk), Laikipiak, Uasin Gishu, Lchamus, Loiborkineji and Lngwesi. A medical Doctor known as James Christie who worked in Tanzania in 1870 reported on the Cholera disease amongst the Samburu. He reported that caravan traders who went to Samburu country contracted Cholera. He added that out of the hundred and fifty in the party that started in Laikipia, only seven reached the Coast. In 1873, an account of a missionary Charles New reported about Burkineji (the Samburu) who lived north of Mount Kenya. He also noted the Samburu living near Marsabit who kept cattle and horses. Other sources about the Samburu and the area they occupied came from explorers and hunters.<sup>235</sup> Count Samuel Teleki passed Samburu country and reached Lake Turkana from South together with Ludwig Von Hohnel the second in command in their 1887-1888 exploration journeys. <sup>236</sup>In addition, Chanler W.A.in 1892-1893 explored Uaso Ngiro passed through the Samburu Country and reported the presence of the Samburu in the region. <sup>237</sup>In 1897, Delamere the elephant hunter who later came to be called Lord Delamere a famous settler entered the Korre (Samburu) country from the East and encamped at Marsabit for some weeks. Arthur Newman an elephant hunter noted the Samburu refugees amongst the Elmolo of the Lake Turkana and the Dassanetch of the Omo Valley in Southern Ethiopia in 1896.

From the oral sources, there was an explorer who met the Samburu Morans of the Lterito age set led by Leleruk and Lelemoyog. The explorer was probably Lord Delamere.<sup>238</sup> Leleruk later became the first Samburu Colonial Chief. The white man confirmed that the Samburu Morans of the Lterito age set out for a journey to raid for cattle from the Boran in the North. The people the Morans came across according to their description of the strangers were in the three groups. There were those carrying the luggage that they referred to as Sirkon (potters).

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<sup>233</sup>.Rutten,M.M.E. *Selling Wealth to Buy Poverty the Process of Individualization of Landownership Among the Maasai Pastoralists of Kajiado District of Kenya 1890-1990* Verlag breitenbach Germany,2017 p 174

<sup>234</sup>Jennings,C. *Parakuyo Identity and History c1830-1926* Dissertation presented to the Faculty of graduate of the University of Texas at Austin,2005 p 39

<sup>235</sup>KNA MAC 923-942

<sup>236</sup>Fratkin,E.M. *Ariaal Pastoralists of Kenya Studying Pastoralism, Drought and Development in Arid Lands* Second Edition Pearson Education Inc Smith College USA,2004 p 47

<sup>237</sup>.Fratkin,E.M. *Ariaal Pastoralists of Kenya Studying Pastoralism, Drought and Development In Ari Lands* second Edition Pearson Education publishers Smith College USA,2004 P 49

<sup>238</sup>Longotorio Leparachao (2018)

There were others that were not carrying the luggage and moving close to the white man. The white man carried something that looked like curved piece of wood probably a gun. The Samburu later realized that there was Maasai translator. The Samburu wondered what the white was. The Samburu and the strangers were observing each other from far. Many Samburu Morans were of the opinion that they should leave the strangers alone. One Moran known as Leleruk decided that he would not go back and tell the elders plain lies about the strangers instead, he chose to go towards the strangers in order to be exact. He wanted to identify, talk to them and know who they were so that he could tell the elders a full account of the Strangers. As Leleruk moved towards the strangers, his friend Lelemoyog followed as the rest of the Morans observed them some kilometers away.

As the two Morans moved towards the strangers, the white man also moved towards the Morans. The white man rose up the gun and the Samburu Morans stood. The white man rose up the gun for the second time and dropped it down symbolizing peace. The white man demonstrated to the Samburu Morans in sign language to drop down their spears. The Samburu planted their spears. The Morans and the white stranger moved towards each other without weapons. As the Morans moved close to the strangers Lelemoyog stood some metres away as Leleruk moved to meet the strangers. The white man moved forward and shook hands with Leleruk. The Maasai translator was called on to translate the talk. Lelemoyog also came fore and greeted the white man. While they were talking the rest of the Morans were called on. Leleruk and Lelemoyog called on the rest of the Morans who were observing the events some kilometers away. The white man asked the Samburu Morans about their mission in the wilderness through a Maasai translator as to where they were going, where their settlement was. The Morans told the white man that they were going for raids in the Boran country. The white man told the Samburu that act of raiding was bad. The Samburu Morans came from Marsabit (Karare). The Morans were told that raiding and killing was bad as well as their life style. The Morans were told that as few as they could see the strangers, they- the strangers could kill all the Morans if they wish. The Morans asked the strangers how they could kill them. The Morans were told that they would be shown how but before they were shown, they were asked what they could eat amongst the wild animals that were grazing around them in thousands.

They answered that they could eat gazelles, Oryx, Giraffes and elands. The white men party sprayed the wild animals with the gun fire and gunned down many animals. Many animals

were killed within a few minutes as they were confused by the sound of the gun. Some ran towards the people shooting them. The Morans were astonished by the mighty power of the gun. The white Man Company had white cotton clothes which they gave to the Morans. Leleruk, Lelemoyog sat close to the white man as the rest of the white man party and the Morans sat together as they waited for the meat to be roasted. They ate together. The whites advised the Samburu to go back home. They promised the Samburu that they would come back later. The event marked the beginning of the cordial relationship or the friendship that existed between the Samburu and the British. The white man party continued with their journey in the North as the Samburu Moran went back to their settlement.<sup>239</sup> Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita stated that Leleruk name was called Murrianka. He recalled that Leleruk (Murrianka) first born son of the Lmekuri age set initiated in 1936 was called Sarkaal probably the broken English word Sir Carl or Salkel. He was told by the white man they met while on their way to raiding the Borana to give his son that name.

When British protectorate was declared over the company territories in 1895 between the coast and Naivasha, conditions were set in 1902 under which land could be alienated to white settlers<sup>240</sup>. Lomuruti/Rumuruti, Archers Post and Marsabit administrative centres were opened in the country inhabited by the Samburu<sup>241</sup>. Fratkin advocated that the Samburu gave up Laikipia plains to white settlers in 1934 in exchange for Lorroki Plateau<sup>242</sup>. The places they occupied in Laikipia West included: Lomuruti the present day Rumuruti, Lngaruai the present day Ngarua. Lngaruai is a Samburu word meaning a big well. <sup>243</sup>Lkiparit Lenaola upheld that Lorokishu Lkileku age set were circumcised in Lngaruai the present day Ngarua in Laikipia West in 1921. The place was remembered as important permanent source of water. The place was also known for receiving a reliable rainfall especially between June and September. Other places the Samburu inhabited in Laikipia West were; Lkisim/Lare Orok meaning black well, Nampairr, Marrgwe, Chiro/Lare loloiborkishu, Lonyek (springs). To the South East, the Samburu inhabited the present day Timau. <sup>244</sup>Timau is a Samburu word

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<sup>239</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

<sup>240</sup> Report: Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1937 P 4

<sup>241</sup>Fratkin, E.M. *“Concept of Health and Disease Among the Ariaal Rendille”* Herbal Medicine, Retual Curing and Modern Health Care in A Pastoral Community in Northern Kenya Unpublished Manuscript C/O 1901 Walnut ST Philadelphia pa 1903 USA EMP University of Nairobi Institute of African Studies Library, 1980 p142

<sup>242</sup>Fratkin, E.M. *Ariaal Pastoralists of Kenya, Drought and Development in Arid Lands* second Edition Pearson Education Inc Smith College USA, 2004 P27

<sup>243</sup>Lkiparit Lenaola (2018)

<sup>244</sup>James Lekarkarr (2018)

*Ntim yaalmao* meaning the forest of twins. Around Timao was a plain they referred to as Angata yopore. They inhabited around Nanyuki. Other areas were; Sukutan, Mpalaglag, Lpingwan amongst others. The Samburu experienced British domination when they came into contact in Laikipia Plateau. They were evicted forcefully from Laikipia Plateau by the Colony Government to give room for settlers' establishment in 1921.

British objective in bringing Northern Frontier District under control was for the security reasons of the protectorate and Colony from threats posed by Abyssinian outlaws and West movement of the Somali tribes.<sup>245</sup> The British also wanted to stop the proliferation of small arms in the region. The notion raised (Waweru, 2006:56) that the appearance of the British from South was a relief to the Samburu for coming under the protection of the British. He also advocated that the Samburu were later used by the British as mercenaries against the tribes that resisted the British. He said it was a relief for the Samburu in the sense that they were attacked from North by the Turkana and Abyssinian outlaws since they could not defend themselves because the Samburu were demographically inferior following the nineteenth century ecological disasters is a mere gossip. To Peter Waweru, the Turkana appeared to be resistors and Samburu were collaborators.<sup>246</sup> The Turkana raided the Samburu villages in Baragoi plains in 1914 and killed over three hundred Samburu when Lmirisho were Morans. The Samburu all over the country met and organized for a major retaliation against the Turkana<sup>247</sup>.<sup>248</sup> They were stopped and told to wait by the protectorate administration. In 1915; the British pacification expedition joined by the Samburu Morans struck the Turkana killing over four hundred and confiscated livestock in thousands to make the Turkana pay for their wrong. The Samburu unlike the Kikuyu never invited the British to their country. They never signed any agreement with the British.<sup>249</sup> The Samburu assisted the needy British in the First World War. The British required assistance from Samburu. Shirley Cooke advocated that the Samburu provided thousands of livestock to British at concessionary prices during the First World War<sup>250</sup>. The Samburu were reported to have

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<sup>245</sup> Simpson, G.L. *Frontier Banditry and the Colonial Decision Making Process* the International Journal of African Historical Studies Vol 29 No 2 Boston University USA, 1996 PP 279, 288-280

<sup>246</sup> Fratkin, E.M. *Ariial Pastoralists of Kenya Studying Pastoralism Drought and Development in Arid Lands* second edition Pearson Education Smith College USA, 2004 p 49

<sup>247</sup> Longotario Leparashao (2018)

<sup>248</sup> Jerre Leparashao (2018).

<sup>249</sup> Fratkin, E.M. *Ariial Pastoralist of Kenya Studying Pastoralism Drought and Development in Arid Lands* Pearson Education Inc second Edition Smith College Northampton USA 2004P 49

<sup>250</sup> Duder and Simpson *Land and Murder in Colonial Kenya The Leroghi Land dispute and the Powys Murder case* The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History University of Victoria UK, 2008 P 446

captured three Italian hostages who escaped from British prison and handed them over to the K.A.R.<sup>251</sup>. The Samburu posed resistance against the alienation of their grazing land. The kikuyu reported in *A Century of Christianity In Uganda 1877-1977* by Tom Tume that Chief Karuri welcomed missionaries to Kikuyu land and gave them land. The Kikuyu elders of Mbaria Egoi clan went to mission at Kaiga and requested missionaries to be sent to their territories so that the missionaries could help them to keep off the Maasai. The Kikuyu chiefs; Kaure and Medune invited colonial administration to their country.<sup>252</sup> Chief Waiyaki Wa Hinga signed a treaty with Colonial administration in 1886 (Frederick Lugard).<sup>253</sup> Samburu living Eastern shore of Lake Turkana reported seeing Ethiopian brigands at water point in the North of Kulal. Two Samburu manyattas were reported to have been raided by forty Tigreans outlaws. It was reported that Llewellyn was unable to overtake the outlaws. The Rendille and Samburu warriors fought and chased the raiders on their own. Whenever Samburu cattle were raided the Samburu fought to the bitter ends no matter the cost. When the British appeared from the South they never raided the Samburu for cattle and that was why the Samburu did not resist the British in the first phase of African resistance in 1890-1910. It was true that the Samburu suffered demographically, socially, politically and economically in the 1890 ecological disasters. There was no community in Kenya in that time that was safe and could not be attacked because it could defend itself or it was superior in numbers from its hostile and aggressive neighbours. The Samburu lived and defended themselves, their cattle and the grazing land from the aggressive neighbours as the Samburu Morans of the Lterito age set confronted the Akamba by Lterito age set in Uwaso Ngiro River valley.

The Samburu have been ready to defend their grazing lands, livestock and themselves at all times. Their spirit for defense never faded at any one time. They in history never left Mt Ngiro, Ndotto mountain, Mt Kulal and Marsabit. These regions are closed to the Turkana and the Abyssinians. The Samburu also had their traditional allies who were the Rendille. Whenever the Samburu required the reinforcement, the Rendille have always been available<sup>254</sup>. The assertion by Peter Waweru was proven wrong when Lterito age set the first age set that was circumcised after the nineteenth century ecological disasters (1895) fought

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<sup>251</sup>KNA DC/MRL/1/1/1 Samburu Notes For Monthly report May 1936

<sup>252</sup>Ghassoul, B. *The Ins and Outs of Nationalism in Kenya from Early Contact to Confrontation 1800-1960* Thesis Submitted to the Department of Anglo-Saxon Languages for the Degree of Doctorate in African Civilization University of Oran Algeria, 2010 p 48

<sup>253</sup>Simpson, G.L. *Frontier Banditry and Colonial Decision Making Process* The International Journal of African Historical Studies Vol 29 No 2 Boston University African Study Centre, 1996 pp 292, 299

<sup>254</sup>Jerre Leparashao (2017)

with the Akamba in Uaso Ngiro region probably the present day Isiolo. In their first attack the Akamba attacked the Samburu isolated settlement or village known as Ntarge and went without being noticed. What were discovered of the village later were ruins of the haunted houses. No single person escaped from the village. They were either killed or some killed and others captured and taken for adoption. It was believed that Akamba slaughtered men and took away livestock, children and young women. In the second attack, the Akamba raiders attacked the Samburu villages took thousands of livestock, girls and young women towards the Akamba country. The survivors of that second raid called for reinforcement from other villages. Many Morans or reinforcements were from Lngwesi, Longeli, Lpusikishu, a few Lorokishu and Rendille. Loimisi clan turned down the call for Nkutungat (reinforcement). They claimed they would celebrate the naming festival known as Lmugiet (naming ceremony). Other Samburu maintained that Loimisi feared the Akamba who were said to have dangerous poisonous arrows and the claim of festival was just a scapegoat. The Samburu Nkutungat (reinforcement) followed the Akamba raiders till they caught up with them at a place known as Uaso Nagut (deep river) in the evening. The Akamba camped near the river bank for the night. The Samburu wanted to begin attacking their enemies at night but they feared for the lives of the Samburu captives who were subjected to fear and raped. The Samburu could hear Akamba songs praising themselves for the success. They could also smell roasted meat as the Akamba slaughtered livestock to get food.

The Samburu organized how they would attack the enemies. They agreed that they would attack very early in the morning. They scanned the area and discovered that the river was deep and flowing in full swing. They realized that it was only possible to cross the river at one crossing point. They planned they would begin to attack the enemies very early in the morning as soon as they crossed the deep river.<sup>255</sup> The Samburu organized that as soon as Akamba crossed the river they would block the passage. Fortunately, it rained that night until dawn. The Akamba removed the strings of their bows and inserted them into nkidongi (arrowheads containers) so that they would not be rained on and become wetted. As soon as the Akamba crossed the river, the Samburu blocked the passage then began attacking from front and sides. They began attacking them from front as Lelemoyog and Lesasuyan Morans had told the rest of the Morans that they should begin attacking the enemies when they had

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<sup>255</sup>Lemuson Lesuruai (2017)

heard them opened their war bells. Every individual Samburu in the reinforcement had killed not less than three enemies.

Some Morans were able to kill four enemies. Over hundreds were reported to have drowned when they tried to escape but they found the crossing passage had been blocked. One Akamba was captured. He was known as Lenaruko whose family is still found among Lorokishu clan of the Samburu.<sup>256</sup> He reported that the songs the Akamba were singing. He said that the song said the eyes of the Akamba Morans were like that of the lion and the eyes of the Samburu Morans were like liquid faeces of the women. All Samburu captives were rescued. The Samburu lost three Morans in the battle.<sup>257</sup> The Samburu were reported to have been problematic to the Colonial Government. The suggested solutions were carefully thought-out policy, propaganda, education and close administration. The Samburu had never been anxious to receive protection from the British. The British required much assistance from the Samburu as the Samburu had livestock for food<sup>258</sup>. The British also required bases in Samburu country to provide security for their premises in the South and not security of the Samburu. The British exhibited respect to the Samburu when they asked elders to show them the where about of their traditional boundaries of which they showed. The British administration was willing to befriend the natives who were familiar with the terrains of the Northern Frontier District and in that regard, they found the Samburu were suitable for the jobs.<sup>259</sup> Those Samburu traditional boundaries were followed when the white administration drew the boundaries of the Samburu District which became political boundaries of the Samburu District. The boundary that marked the edges of the Samburu District seemed to be alive and fresh in Samburu oral traditions. The Samburu delegation was led by a prominent and respected Samburu elder known as Lesuyai. The boundary itself was known as Lesuiyai boundary.<sup>260</sup> He was of the Lmarikon age set. Lesuiyai was well conversant and informed of the difficult terrain of the Sugutta Valley and with the Samburu traditional boundaries to the South and West. The boundary bordered Turkana to the West, Baringo to the South West,

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<sup>256</sup>Lesopia Leaduma (2018)

<sup>257</sup> African Standard Wednesday May 31, 1939

<sup>258</sup>Duder and Simpson *Land and Murder in Colonial Kenya the Leroghi Land Dispute and Powys Murder Case* the Journal of Imperial Common Wealth History High Point University North Carolina USA, 2008 p 446

<sup>259</sup>Fratkin, E.M. "Concept of Health and Diseases Among the Ariaal Rendille" Herbal Medicine, Retual curing and Modern Health Care in A Pastoral Community in Northern Kenya Unpublished Manuscript C/O 1901, Walnut ST Philadelphia pa USA EMF University of Nairobi Institute of African Studies Library, 1908 p142

<sup>260</sup>Ntupa Leparkumoi (2018)

Nyeri to the South and Meru to the South East. The boundaries were drawn in the presence of the Samburu, Turkana, Baringo and Meru D.Cs.

#### **4.4 British Land Tenure Systems and Economic Policies**

British administration introduced exclusionary land tenures systems.<sup>261</sup> The systems were based on English imperial law. The land was divided into three categories that included: the crown land, private or free hold and the lease holds. The land that cannot be proven to have original owner was recorded as the crown land. The crown land was a land that belongs to the queen.<sup>262</sup> In 1915, Crown land Ordinance was conferred and came to be termed as “Crown Land”. In the Commission of East Africa Protectorate and later in the Governor, the Crown land was defined widely to cover all land in East Africa Protectorate including land under occupation of the indigenous population. Grants of such crown land were made available to settlers to be held under individual tenure. In practice as court cases revealed, the indigenous people were tenants at the will of the crown. There were revocations by the colonial authorities of the agreements for example the Maasai agreements of 1904 and 1911 (Hughes 2006:115). The freehold was a land which was bought and on which the owner had to pay the tax. Lease holds was a land that was rented on a yearly basis. The policy that governed freeholds accords an individual, primary control and primary access rights to land. It De-emphasized corporative sharing of the access rights to land as in pastoralist regimes systems instead; it emphasized privatization of land ownership for the purpose of introducing and developing free enterprise systems.<sup>263</sup> It was a situation where an individual has a registered title to a specified portion of land and another individual may lease it or have the right to pass through that land or collect some materials. The implementation of such English exclusionary land tenure systems on pastoral tenure systems was done through the so called national legislation imposed on the customary tenure regimes. That made Samburu to lose grazing land in Laikipia Plateau. British considered the customary tenure measures to be inconsistency with development, modernization western civilization and technology therefore; their policy was to visualize the eventual disappearance of the traditional tenure systems through declaring all land to be crown.

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<sup>261</sup>Veit, P. *History of Land Conflicts In Kenya* World Institute Focus on Land In Africa @gmail.com,2007 p3

<sup>262</sup>Ghassoul, B. *The Ins and outs of Nationalism in Kenya* from Early Contact to Confrontation 1800-1960 Thesis Submitted to the Department of Anglo-Saxon Languages for the Degree of Doctorate in African Civilization University of Oran Algeria, 2010 p 78

<sup>263</sup>Rutten, M.M.E. *Selling Wealth to Buy Poverty the Process of the Individualization of Ownership Among the Maasai Pastoralists of Kajiado District Kenya* 1890-1990 Verlag breitenbach Germany, 2017 p 181

“Civilization preached is not the Knowledge of kind that was to enable him (African) to take his place in the world economic struggle on equal terms with the white man the missionary education was meant to demote and down grade them (Curry 1933:120).”

Sir Charles Eliot and Sir Soddler amongst other white men were determined to establish Colonial systems that were perpetual with the British standards and values. The policies were formulated primarily in terms of the needs of the metropolis on firm control of existing resources whether natural or artificial (Jeffries, 1972:1). The tenures and laws reflected the attitudes and prejudices of those who made and interpret it.<sup>264</sup>The colonial state discriminated against the pastoralists. Pastoralists were fenced out of their grazing land (Ochieng and Maxon, 1992:97).<sup>265</sup>The Colonial Government instituted land tenures regimes that alienated pastoralists land and restricted their movement. Dominance required a net transfer of resources from Kenyan to British sectors. Kenya sector was reduced to an underdeveloped labour reservoir for the British sector (Brett, 1978:211). The large sufficient subsistence economy of the Samburu tribe was brought into exchange economy of the dominant power. In 1897, British declared all ‘the waste and unoccupied land’<sup>266</sup>in East Africa protectorate to be crown. In 1899 British administration declared all land occupied or unoccupied to be under the imperial power simply by reason of jurisdiction. Waste land and unoccupied land accrued to Her Majesty by the virtue of Her right to protectorate. Her Majesty might if she pleased, declare unappropriated land to be crown land or make grant of them to individuals (Harlow & Chilver 1965:675).Contrary to the notion and recognition of the “waste land by the British authority”.<sup>267</sup>The tribal boundaries existed. The unoccupied or wasted land never existed. The so called “vacant land or waste land” by the white administration was a land that was set aside and reserved for firewood and grazing of livestock in dry season. It was also a land set aside for religious purposes.

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<sup>264</sup>Ochieng and Maxon *An Economic History of Kenya, East African*, Educational publisher’s ltd,1992 pp.17-33

<sup>265</sup> March, 3,( 2017/2018) *Saturday Nation* P 12- 23

<sup>266</sup>Veit,P. (2007) *History of Land Conflicts in Kenya* World Resources Institutes @Gmail,2007 p 3

<sup>267</sup>Ghassoul, B, the *Ins and Outs of Nationalism in Kenya 1800-1960*. A Thesis submitted to the Department of Anglo-Saxon Languages for the Degree of Doctorate in African Civilization University of Oran Algeria,2010 P 80

#### 4.5 White settlement, Land alienation and Creation of Reserves

Persuasive campaigns were conducted in United Kingdom and South Africa boasting the charms of Kenya good climate, free and cheap labour<sup>268</sup>. In less than no time white settlers began to pour into Kenya (Padmore 1936:101). Settlers started arriving in 1902. A moderate number of settlers among a few hobereaux (the land nobility) and others moved out of the UK and South Africa (Martin, 1985:45).The pioneers were Pop Blinks, Francis Scott, Ewart, S. Grogan and the most determined of all was Lord Delamere. He believed firmly that Kenya protectorate would be a white man enclave (commune) like Australia and New Zealand Dominion. Settlers came to Kenya not by right of the conquest as was the case in South Africa but by consent of the British administration. In 1903 Sir Charles Eliot who took over the administration of the East Africa protectorate from Arthur Hardingue in 1900 demarcated 160 and 480 acres for lease. <sup>269</sup> It was followed by leasing out of plots in the highlands ranging from 1000 to 10,000 acres which amount to half a penny per acre (Cornevin, 1975:299).The Settlers' agriculture entailed the dispossession of African lands. In 1902, Crown land Ordinance was drafted in Foreign Office. In 1902, British Government granted the East Africa Syndicate 1,300km<sup>2</sup> of land in the Rift Valley and the surrounding highlands to promote white settlement. Settlers with 1000 British pounds in assets could receive 1000 acres (4km<sup>2</sup>) for free. The 1902, land Ordinance stipulated that white settlers would take lease on 99 years. <sup>270</sup>Governor Henry Belfield passed a Bill in 1912 that allowed settlers to obtain a 999 years lease, (Maloba, 1993:26). The crown land Ordinance of 1915 increased the power of the Governor (Martin, 1983:44). The Governor could grant lease or otherwise alienate land on His Majesty's behave any crown land for any purpose and on any terms as he may think fit. Colonial Government endorsed the settlers' argument that any piece of land found suitable for European settlement be added to the highlands region whenever and anywhere available.

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<sup>268</sup>Rutten, M.M.E. *Selling Wealth to Buy Poverty the Process of the Individualization of Landownership Among the Maasai Pastoralists of Kajiado District of Kenya 1890-1990* Verlag breitenbach Germany,2017 p 174

<sup>269</sup>.Rutten,M.M.E. *Selling Wealth to Buy poverty the Process of Individualization of Landownership Among the Maasai Pastoralists of Kajiado District of Kenya 1890-1990* Verlag breitenbach Germany,2017 p 175

<sup>270</sup>Ghassoul,B. (2009) *The Ins and Outs of Nationalism in Kenya from Early Contacts to Confrontation 1800-1960* Ph.D. Thesis Submitted to the Department of Anglo-Saxon Languages University of Oran Algeria,2009 p44

Some communities for example the Maasai were tricked into signing treaties that drove them away. The 1904 Anglo- Maasai agreement led to Maasai migration.<sup>271</sup> Sir Donald Steward replaced Sir Charles Eliot in 1904. He signed British Maasai agreement with Lenana which left room for white settlement (Martin, 1983:44). The transfers of the pastoralists corresponded with the British policy of demarcating administrative areas along ethnic lines. Samburu existing traditional boundaries and the boundaries drawn previously marking the edges of the Samburu District were no longer recognized including their grazing rights but if a European wished to establish a new ranch or extend an existing one by encroaching on the Samburu area that was often permitted. The colonial administration centralized all those institutions that administered written law, prepared map and recognized the boundaries.<sup>272</sup> They regarded areas roamed by the Samburu pastoralists as belonging to the State. The Samburu grazing lands were removed from traditional tenure systems in order to provide Europeans colonists with land to establish commercial ranches, forests reserves and game parks. Pastoralists Samburu had difficulties with State orders that were drawn and decided without notification. The extension of the central power curbed the freedom of their nomadic life style. They found themselves confined in certain areas. The expropriation of the Samburu lands shown in the map on page 96 marked the separation of the Samburu from their means of subsistence an occurrence that threatened their survival. Having taken Laikipia through forceful eviction in 1921, the settlers continued to encroach onto the Samburu land<sup>273</sup>. They mounted pressure to alienate the Lorroki plateau.<sup>274</sup> Samburu claimed that settlers ranching in Laikipia took their pastures and reduced their trekking routes. The situation led to shrinking of their livestock holding areas. It made animals population competes with human space. Their subsistence production declined.<sup>275</sup> The Samburu main water sources in areas around Rumuruti and Lngaruai, Mpalaglaji and Uwaso areas became inaccessible due to privatization. They were locked out of their water sources by white settlers assisted by colony officials. The Samburu were disgruntled and felt threatened since anything that affected the life of the livestock affected totality of their livelihood directly.<sup>276</sup> Concerning the creation of

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<sup>271</sup>Hughes, L. *Moving the Maasai a Colonial Misadventure* Ph.D. Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Modern History University of Oxford, 2002 PP 3-28

<sup>272</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

<sup>273</sup>Fratkin, E.M. "the Concept of Health and Disease Among the Aerial Rendille" *Herbal Medicine Retual Curing and Unpublished Manuscript* C/O 1901 Walnut ST Philadelphia pa 1903 EMP University of Nairobi Institute of African Studies Library, 1980 p 142

<sup>274</sup>Ntupa Leparkumoi (2017)

<sup>275</sup>KNA BN/12/44

<sup>276</sup>Lkiparit Lenaola (2019)

reserves in the Samburu country, all began on 7<sup>th</sup>, April 1904 four months before the first Anglo-Maasai agreement was signed. Sir Charles Eliot was quoted:

‘I have no desire to protect the Maasaidom. It is a beastly, bloody system founded on the raiding and immorality, disastrous to both Maasai and their neighbours. The sooner it disappears and is unknown, except in the books of Anthropology the better;’<sup>277</sup> Sir Charles Eliot to Lord Lansdowne 11 April 1904. (Hughes 2002:1).

On the same note, Sir Donald Steward maintained that: “no country could be properly administered until the natives had been knocked down into the shape required (Mungeam, 1960:116).”<sup>278</sup> The colonial administration and their policies were inimical to pastoralism. They attributed pastoralists to overgrazing, desertification, ruins of pasture, aggravation of aridity, and they lacked economic differentiation and technology. Amongst the colonialists, there was stereotyping and fear of nomads of their imaginative genius, their fecklessness and impulsiveness and their quickness to retaliate<sup>279</sup>. They claimed that nomadism breeds outlaws dangerous spirit born of no doubt of strong traditional feeling combined with an unchanging natural environment, one that yields pressure of forces strong enough to disrupt the environment. The fluctuations of nomads reflect the ultimate strengthening and weakening of the central power. In regards to overgrazing and desertification, the range scientists argued that it is weather shocks rather than livestock population that determined range conditions (overgrazing). It meant that pastoralists were not using their resources at an unsustainable rate. The empirical studies showed that degradation of the grazing areas was not a serious concern, with exception of localized degradation near towns and water sources (McPeak, 2013). Some Colony Officials also suffered from ignorance and showed prejudices and the attitudes of racism. They were influenced by the values of the sedentary society.<sup>280</sup> They did not know that human culture was adapted to natural environment in which they have developed, shaped and influenced. It was proved beyond doubt that cultural beliefs, values, institutions, knowledge systems, language and practices manifest mutual relationship with the environment. The discernment of that link is frequently weaker in industrialized and urbanized society where people inhabited built environment and removed from a direct

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<sup>277</sup>Hughes, L. *Moving the Maasai a Colonial Misadventure* Ph.D. Dissertation Submitted to Faculty of Modern History University of Oxford, 2002 p 1

<sup>278</sup> IWGIA *African Commission on Human and People's Rights*, the Greenland National Museum & Archives Central Africa Republic, 2009 pp 1-60

<sup>279</sup> IWGIA *African Commission on Human and People's Rights* the Green and National Museum & Archives Central Africa Republic, 2009 pp 1-60

<sup>280</sup> Maffi and Woodley *the Bio cultural Diversity and Conservation*, Earth Scan London, 2010 p 4

dependence on the nature for their subsistence. Awareness of the link remains stronger in the indigenous or local communities that maintain direct ties to and immediate dependence on their natural environment. The natural world is pervasive in the indigenous societies and in this regard, the Samburu pastoralist. *The Annal School of thought advocated that you cannot understand the History of the people without understanding their environment.*

On 9<sup>th</sup> August, 1904 Maasai Laibon (Lenana) met Sir Donald Stewart, the then Commissioner for East Africa protectorate.<sup>281</sup> They discussed the question of land settlement for the Maasai. The outcome was to remove the Maasai people, with their flock and herds into a defined reservation away from railway line and the land that may be thrown open for the European settlement. The event divided the Community into a Northern Laikipia/Samburu and Southern Narok/Kajiado. In the 1911, Anglo-Maasai agreement the Maasai Chiefs again ceded the Northern reserve. The Northern reserve also included Lorroki Plateau. It was part of Northern reserve created by Colonial Government in 1905 to give room for the Maasai moved in order to free their original lands near the newly-completed Uganda Railway for the white settlement. Maasai were again driven out from Laikipia Plateau in 1911 and were moved to Southern reserves. Lorroki therefore; in view of the white settlers became unalienated Crown land. The Samburu who were forcefully evicted from Laikipia Plateau in 1921 and had settled in the Lorroki Plateau were assumed to be none existence in eyes of white settlers. They were never involved in the two Anglo-Maasai agreement or it was assumed that Lenana represented all Maa speakers. It was assumed that their exclusion would not have any impacts but the Samburu refused to move out of the so called Northern reserve the present day Lorroki Plateau their ancestral land where the first Samburu believed to have appeared.

The Maasai Laibons thought they were dealing with a gentle and honest supreme.<sup>282</sup> The state of mind and motive of the Laibons were therefore, understandable. They were trying to save their people. They respected modern medicine that could cure both the human and the livestock. Mr. Lekarkar a Purko Maasai whom I interviewed and lived in Samburu/Laikipia border at Loonkeuwan village argued that Lenana did not know the content of the

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<sup>281</sup>Duder and Simpson *Land and Murder in Colonia Kenya The Leroghi Land Dispute and the Powys Murder case* the Journal of Imperial and Common Wealth History University of Victoria USA, 1997 p 441

<sup>282</sup>Hughes, L. *Moving the Maasai A Colonial Misadvantage* A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Modern History St Antony College University of Oxford UK, 2002 P66

agreements. He maintained that Lenana was deceived to signing the Anglo-Maasai agreement. The event was captured by Lotte Hughes in her book entitled, '*Moving the Maasai*'.<sup>283</sup>The Maasai resisted the second moved by filing the case in the High Court of B.E.A. They were evicted by force at gun point. Lenana reported to have never signed 1911 Anglo-Maasai agreement.

The first proposal for the creation of reserves was tabled in Kenya for discussion in 1905. The Governor received go-head in 1915. Reserve was a land allocated to principle ethnic groups.<sup>284</sup>Africans reserves were created for each tribe. They were created with official boundaries. Each ethnic group was expected to live separately. Most African reserves were not fertile and under-privileged areas. Africans in reserves were expected by the Colonial Government to engage in subsistence production. It was the policy of the colonial Government to restrict the natives to those specially selected reserves. Shut up natives reserves were introduced in confined areas that hardly supported them. The land reserved for Africans use remained crown land and was always available for alienation any time.<sup>285</sup>The colonial Government policy for creating Northern Frontier District was to make predominantly pastoral and nomadic communities under control. There were reasons for instituting creation of reserves. The colonial Government intention to create reserves was to facilitate the divide and rule policy, disrupt traditional migratory movement, shattering the coming of age rituals like Unoto, introduction of the policy to settle Africans and interrupt other traditional patterns that went back to millennium. Creation of African reserves was meant to provide settlers with a convenient pool of cheap Kenyan labour<sup>286</sup>.At the same time, in an economy where there was a low population density and there was abundance of land available for herding, the dispossessed herder would avoid having to work for somebody else by moving to another land. That led to a need to develop different tools to secure labour. Continuous dispossession was chosen and became the tool of the choice to deprive the Samburu all means of survival. Kenya Order in Council of 1921 vested land reserved for use by the native tribes in the crown land and it became effective. All native rights vanished. Removal of the tribes from their land, confining them into congested reserves was confirmed

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<sup>283</sup> Hughes,L. *Moving the Maasai A Colonial Misadventure* Ph.D. Thesis Submitted to Faculty of Modern History University of Oxford UK,2002 pp 3-21

<sup>284</sup> KNA B/n/12/44

<sup>285</sup> GPR 390 WEB

<sup>286</sup>Ghassoul, B. *The Ins and Out of Nationalism in Kenya From Early Contacts to Confrontation 1800-1960* Thesis Submitted to Faculty of letters Languages and Arts University of Oran Algeria,2010 p 96

and their activities such as herding and grazing freely increased the degradation of lands.<sup>287</sup> In the reserves where the Samburu were engaged in subsistence production were faced by pressure resulting from high population growth on limited land. The situation led to the decline of productivity and massive soil erosion.

#### **4.6 Colonial Labour in Samburu**

Labour theory of surplus value maintained that the common end is what all men pursue.<sup>288</sup> All men pursue the production of the means to support living as well as the exchange of things produced. Markovitz advocated that defenseless African appeared just the right reservoir from which labour could be drawn from at minimum risk and cost (Markovitz 1970:22). The colonial labour policy in Kenya was meant to oblige the natives to become tenants.<sup>289</sup> One may expect policy in colonial territory to be created through generally applicable laws and directives. It was not the case during the period of the British East Africa protectorate and early years of Kenya Colony. Labour policy in British East Africa, was partly a question of legislation applied throughout the Colony. The policies<sup>290</sup> were dictated by needs of the metropolitan capital. The policies were based on capitalist system of production. Evanov advocated that colonial administration concentrated on the development of the European own capitalists 'economy (Evanov, 1979:37. The first objective of colonialism was political domination then the second was to make possible the exploitation of the colonized.

Decision making was a European affair whether the decisions were taken by District officials, inspired by more or less liberal concerns, or by metropolitan capitalists through the medium of the Imperial Government.<sup>291</sup> The decisions were beyond the control of Africans though the administration struggled to maintain the so called accommodation. There were distinctions between the two domains of employers that were private and public employers. The Government policy on recruitment of labourers for private employers was decided by the shifting fortunes of the struggle between settlers and their influence on local officials and London and their concern was to avoid expenses and parliamentary scandals. The

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<sup>287</sup>Congress Session 97 "*International Economic History*" Helsinki Finland August, 2006 pp 21-25

<sup>288</sup>Hunt, R.N.C. *Theory and Practice of Communism*, Penguins Books Baltimore Maryland USA, 1950 p 39

<sup>289</sup>Willis, J. *men on the spot' labour and the Colonial State in British East Africa*, The Journal of African Historical studies vol28 No1, Boston University African Study Centre, USA, 1995 pp 25-48

<sup>290</sup>Chinweizu, C.A. *The West and The rest of Us* Lagos Nok publishers Nigeria Ltd, 1978 p 49

<sup>291</sup>Salzmann, C. *Are Nomads Capable of Development and Decision*, Commission on Nomadic People, Department of Anthropology Sherbrook St W Montreal Quebec Canada, 1985 p148

accommodation could according to circumstances, leads either to brutal excess or to a considerable improvement of the impacts of the colonial law. <sup>292</sup>The legislation was sometimes enforced through the collection of tax and the pursuit and arrest of the contract-breakers.<sup>293</sup> In addition, there were the extra-legal or sometimes illegal measures that indirectly referred to as “encouragement” or administrative measures. Such relied on the exploitation of the fact that the limits of the powers of the officials or of any other European were not explained to the populace. The administration also exploited the fact that the populace was denied the knowledge of the law but they knew very well that European could punish disobedience quite brutally. The force relied on the willingness of the African accumulators appointed as Chiefs and headmen to bully the populace into signing contracts.

On the methods that were used to extract or withdraw labour from African, once contracts were signed the unfortunate native workers became subject to forms of local coercion laid down in the Master and Servant legislation<sup>294</sup>. The legislation made breach of contract a criminal offense. Local officials sometimes used force when circumstances allowed since the Colonial State existed in local terms.<sup>295</sup>The Chiefs were able to levy unpaid labour for the public work. They became labour recruiters for Government and private employers (Harlow & Chilver, 1965:349). Their functions included; tax levying, labour recruiting, maintenance of discipline, report crime, provision of sanitation, controlling cattle movement and reporting of the disloyalty cases to administration. The three labour markets in Kenya included the application of squatter, forced labour and migrant labour. <sup>296</sup>Squatter was referred to a version of wage employment where in place of money, permission was given to use of farm free of charge. Secondly, the forced labour. <sup>297</sup>It comprised the so called communal projects that included; road construction and work on private farms in a particular bush clearing. Thirdly, the setting up of migrant labour. The labourers worked on the farms only part of the year to earn money for specific purposes. The last two methods played a tremendously important role in the emergence of the wage labour. In 1908 in conference

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<sup>292</sup>Ghassoul, B. *The Ins and Outs of Nationalism in Kenya From Early Contact to Confrontation 1800-1960* Ph.D. Thesis submitted to Faculty of Letters Languages and Arts University of Oran Algeria, 2010 p 95

<sup>293</sup>East Africa Standard February 4<sup>th</sup> 1914

<sup>294</sup>Justin, W. *Men on the Spot Labour and the Colonial State in British East Africa The Mombasa Water Supply 1911-1917* International Journal of African Historical Studies Vol 28 No 1 Boston University African Studies Centre, 2019 Pp 44-47

<sup>295</sup>KNA BW1/1/576

<sup>296</sup><https://books.google.com/book?=&9966465236>

<sup>297</sup>KNA BW1/1/576

convened by Protectorate Government, J. Sadler the use of whip was advocated to be used to discipline the labourers (Harlow & Chilver 1965:279).

On the Native Registration Ordinance in 1915, it was enacted to decree forced labour<sup>298</sup>. Three years later in 1918, the Resident Native Ordinance forbade leasehold to native Kenyans. Squatting was regulated by Resident Native Ordinance of 1916 and applied in 1918. It compelled African squatters to work for their land lord for at least six months of the year (Martin, 1983:44). The issuance of the Kipande identity by way of Native Registration Ordinance was also introduced. Kipande was a card bearing a finger prints. It was imposed in the conformity with the Master and Servant law. It was issued by the Labour Department. The purpose of the issuance went beyond the need to identify the Kenyan. It was aimed at restricting the movement of the natives in their own country. It was also intended to tracking down those who broke their employment contract. In Samburu District there was pressure for extraction of labour from 1908-1925 expansion<sup>299</sup>. The Colony Officials therefore; began a massive public work. Pastoralists were considered to be slippery. At the centre of that struggle were the Chiefs who were referred to as the chosen instruments of the State control.

The Samburu had one headman known as Leleruk up to 1928. He was later referred to as Lentiol (of the gun). He was of the Lterito age set not Lmarikon as was referred in (Waweru, 2006:52). He rose to power or office of the headman as a result of courage he showed when Samburu Morans of Lterito age set were on their way to raiding the Borana. <sup>300</sup>Leleruk reported to have approached Lord Delamere with grass and Delamere also pulled up grass in response. The two approached one another and embraced. Leleruk was later recognized and rewarded with a headman ship and a gun by Lord Delamere. He became the first Samburu headman. Such raised prestige amongst his peer such that when the British established their rule among the Samburu. The elders prompted Leleruk to continue his relation with the strange men. Samburu District administration raised complaints about the ineffectiveness of the persons they had elevated to the position of Chiefs amongst the Samburu<sup>301</sup>. Chiefs were accused for unable to mobilize the people and resources for the development of the Colony

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<sup>298</sup>Ghassoul, B. *The Ins and outs of Nationalism in Kenya from Early Contacts to Confrontation 1800-1960* Ph.D Thesis submitted to Faculty of letters Languages and Arts University of Ora Algeria, 2010 pp 160-161

<sup>299</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1 Samburu District Annual Report 1925

<sup>300</sup>Fratkin, E.M. *Ariaal Pastoralists of Kenya Studying Pastoralism Drought in Arid Lands* second Edition Pearson Education Inc Smith College Northampton USA, 2004 p 49

<sup>301</sup>KNA DC/MRL/1/1/1 Monthly Intelligence Report Laikipia –Samburu 1940

economy as well as maintaining law and order in their areas of jurisdiction. <sup>302</sup>Captain E.N. Erskine of the first King African Rifle Officer appointed to administer the District after it was placed under military administration between 1921 and 1925 raised the issue. He described that the Samburu Chiefs and headmen were a collection of the most useless and spiritless tribal rulers he had ever had in his experience of fifteen years of the native tribes. They could neither control nor govern their villages.

The Samburu Chiefs and headmen did not seem to be interested in the roles that the British administration assigned them. Probably it was as a result of the nomadic life style that made it difficult for the centralized authority expressed in the Office of the Chief to operate. It was thought that their ineffectiveness emanated from the fact that there was little they could do without first consulting the council of elders meetings which they attended not as Chiefs but members who were at the same level with their peers. Independent actions by Chiefs or headmen could lead to banishment and eventually to pronouncement of the dreaded curse. Leleruk in 1915 was described in a report as acting consciously in his dealing with the Government and to the best of his ability and his attachment was without criticism. Such positive trait in the eyes of the administration was to the Samburu a weakness. As a result, District authority noted that his influence had suffered for appearing to do the bidding of his Masters. <sup>303</sup>By 1923, his position was found to be unsatisfactory and with no bit of authority. He was disposed in 1928.

The Samburu could not entrust matters pertaining to their pastoral economy especially grazing land to individuals. The Samburu Chiefs attended official meetings accompanied by elders from their respective clans. <sup>304</sup>To the Samburu, importance of any Chief or headman depended on how well he was able to articulate the interest of the community and grievances especially extension of the grazing lands as was the case of the traditional leader of the Morans (Laiguanani or chairman of the meetings of the Morans)<sup>305</sup>. That was why Lemantile was upset by the District administration over the loss of the community grazing land to European settlers in Laikipia. The Samburu headmen were reported to have been passing through alternative phases of being sorry for their people and considering themselves as

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<sup>302</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1 Samburu District Annual Report 1923

<sup>303</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1

<sup>304</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

<sup>305</sup>KNA BW1/1/576 Minutes of the meetings Held at Maralal on 29.3.39 and 30.3.39

complete villains. <sup>306</sup>Their attitudes seemed to have affected their inaction. The District administration wondered if there could be any prospect of better men. <sup>307</sup>Lepuiapui and Lekalja were in the opinion of the District administration as possible future headmen. It was an assumption of the District administration to show warriors, need to offer services to the Government and prepare them for future respond to the demands of the colonial labour markets. The officer in charge of Samburu District was of the opinion that the Government ought not to lose contact with these young and energetic men. The Samburu young men were not like the young stars of the agricultural communities where young men became responsive to schooling and wage labour.

According to administration views, the Samburu were not good for labour. They were noted for employing the Turkana who were destitute to herd their stock. <sup>308</sup>A gang of 60 Wameru under two headmen was brought to Samburu to assist in the construction of roads. They started repairing the road towards Wamba. They reached a point between Seya and Uaso River. They continued with the labour in Samburu for some time. <sup>309</sup> From oral sources, Lkileku age set Morans were arrested for committing murders and fighting between Lorokishu and Lpusikishu clans' warriors and were forced to construct Lomuruti/Rumuruti-Kisima road between 1923 and 1930. The other roads they constructed through forced labour conducted by Public Work Department (P.W.D.) which the Samburu referred to as Lopurdui included: Wamba-Ngilai road, Kisima-Wamba road, Maralal-Lodokejek, Lkiloriti-Bahawa, Maralal Opiroi-Barsaloi road amongst others. The Morans were taken by force to construct dams that included; Naisunyai dam, Nolturuka dam, Siampu dam, Murmamur dam, Nkaroni dam amongst others. The Morans were captured and taken to labour in the construction of crutches that were used for veterinary purposes. The Morans also worked in boreholes constructions in Parsilinka, Marti, Lorukoti and Kauwap near Ngiro Mountain.

The Samburu Lmekuri age set Morans were enlisted (1936-1946) into colonial army that was fighting with Italian in the Second World War in the northern parts of the Samburu District, in Ethiopia and in the Far East. They were also forced to construct roads and fought the invasion of locust probably in 1944. <sup>310</sup>They also remembered a man they called Tipan

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<sup>306</sup>KNA DC/MRL/1/1/1

<sup>307</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

<sup>308</sup>KNA DC/1/1 Samburu District Annual Report 1923

<sup>309</sup> Labaru Lelenkeju (2018).

<sup>310</sup>John Lesiokono (2017)

probably the white man in charge of Public Work Department in Samburu District. He was assisted by a kikuyu known as Daudi. The cost of labour force in Samburu was incurred by the community since in Lkileku time that was between 1921 and 1936; the Morans could not eat ugali or Githeri.<sup>311</sup> It was the community that was forced to make contribution in the form of bullocks to maintain the Morans up keep in the labour camps.<sup>312</sup> In the meeting held on 29-3-1939 at Kisima, one of the complaints the Samburu raised was that there should be no forced labour on road making and on other public work in the District without pay, food and clothes. When Lkileku age set considered to be noncompliant was forced to marry the Lmekuri age set was initiated in 1936. The age set entered Moranism without spears. The C.N.C. reported to have ordered the new age set to go for employment in European farms and in the Government. Many Moran spokesmen were reported to have been incorporated into District administration structures.

#### **4.7 The Imposition of Tax**

Taxes were introduced into protectorate in 1901. Colonial State imposed taxes on Africans for two reasons.<sup>313</sup> The first was that imposition of tax was a source of labour for industries, plantation in settlers' farms/ranches and Government sector. The second reason was that the Colonies were required to bear the cost of the personnel and administration. The policy was that whatever was spent for running the colony administration must be raised and generated locally. The payment of the tax was levied on the natives Kenyans forcefully. Africans in the Protectorate and Colony were compelled to work in the Colonial service, industries, plantations and settlers farms in order to earn currency that they could use to pay tax.<sup>314</sup> The taxation and its counterpart, low wages were employed to stimulate the flow of cheap labour out of the African reserves. Squatters in settlers' farms were forced to pay taxes at the point of a gun. Taxation was levied on squatters without reference to their revenue. Poll tax was increased from 12 to 16 shillings in 1921, (Harlow & Chilver, 1965:356).<sup>315</sup> The Tax imposition in the Northern Frontier District was effected in 1909 when Governor Percy Giouard became the Governor of the East Africa Protectorate. He gave name to the region

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<sup>311</sup>Lkiparit Lenaola (2018)

<sup>312</sup>KNA BW1/1/576

<sup>313</sup>Willis, J. *Men on the Spot Labour and Colonial State in British East Africa* the International Journal of African Historical Studies Vol 28 No 1 Boston University African Studies Centre, 1995 p38

<sup>314</sup>Ghassoul, B. *The Ins and outs of Nationalism in Kenya From Early Contact to Confrontation 1800-1960* Ph.D Thesis Submitted to Faculty of Letters Languages and Arts University of Oran Algeria, 2010 P 143

<sup>315</sup>Colony Annual Report *Kenya Colony and Protectorate* Printed and Published by His Majesty Stationery in London, 1937 p 7

and called it Northern Frontier District. The imposition of taxes to the region became the initial steps in the British attempts to articulate local economies to colonial capitalism. Taxation began officially in Northern Frontier Districts in 1911 when Government ordered the taxation in following areas; Wajir (Borana, Ajuran, Sakuye and Somali) Elwak (Garre) Moyale (Borana, Ajuran and Sakuye), North Horr (Gabbra), Marsabit (Rendille) and Archer's Post (Samburu). Tax was paid also as a sign to submission and as the price expected to paying for Pax Britannica. It was referred to as the sacrament of submission. On the payment procedures in the Northern Frontier Districts section 3 of the Northern Frontier Poll Tax Ordinance of 1930, empowered the Governor to order that the Poll Tax prescribed under section 4 shall be paid by the tribesmen of any tribe that was ordinarily a resident in the Northern Frontier District. A tax at recommended rate is payable on each hut (dwelling house) owned or occupied by the tax payer. The age of liability for payment of the Poll Tax was raised from 16 to 18 years by the native Hut and Poll Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, of 1936.<sup>316</sup> In the payment operation, Hut and Poll Tax was collected mainly by District Officers assisted by headmen. The taxpayer was given a receipt in the form of a hut and poll tax ticket for each tax paid. Payment was noted in the register of taxpayers.

When British administration established tax payment among the Samburu, the annual tribute ranged from two and half to three per cent of their mature stock. That was the tax collected during the war period of 1914-1918. The Samburu paid such tax for many years.<sup>317</sup> The tax was paid for protection. In the 1930 revenues were no longer collected in kind.<sup>318</sup> That was a way to force the Samburu to sell some of their stock in order to implementing the destocking policies and get more involved in a monetary economy. In 1930 each head of a Samburu family paid annually shs.10. In 1950, the African poll Tax per family head was raised to shs.17. And the A.D.C. tax was shs.15 per year.<sup>319</sup> The Samburu in the early 1950 with shs.17/- per year were paying one of the highest tax-rates of the whole Colony second only to the Maasai and to the four Districts of the Central Province that were paying sh 19/-, each and to the Nyanza Province paying sh. 18/-. The Tax-rates may be taken as an index of discrete wealth among different tribal groups. Impacts of British Authority on Samburu in regards to bureaucracies to regulate land alienation, creation of reserves, force labour, imposition of tax,

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<sup>316</sup> KNA DC/MRL/1/1 Monthly intelligent Report Laikipia-Samburu 1940

<sup>317</sup> KNA DC/MBT/7/6/1

<sup>318</sup> KNA/DC/MRL/1/1/1

<sup>319</sup> Fumagalli, C.T. *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-cultural Processes Among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1900-1975* a Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate of the University of New York at Buffalo, 1977 P 214

defense, issuance of Kipande, maintenance of law and order control of existing resources led the Samburu community to a state of hopelessness. Occupation of the country by K.A.F. became a bitter contention between the British authorities and the Samburu. It became obvious to the Samburu that the Colonial Government had been the guardian of the welfare of the white settlers. It protected their exclusive land holdings that generated tension.

Tax from oral sources maintained that shs.40/- was paid per hut. A month was set aside in the year for selling livestock so that the Samburu could pay tax. The sales included; one heifer for shs.50/-, sheep for shs.5 and one bullock for shs.60/-. There were extra bullocks to be given to Europeans. The Chiefs moved round the families to collect bullocks that must be availed and given out to Europeans in the sales day or market day. Mr. Lanyasunya of Lmekuri age set whom I interviewed maintained that tax was paid according to the number of cattle one had.<sup>320</sup> He added that two shilling was paid for tax for every cow owned by every Samburu house head. Tax evasion was very difficult since colonial administration had devised very effective system of collection and accountability. Tax payment in Samburu came to an end in a tragedy that came to be known as Wamba Massacre.<sup>321</sup>The Samburu referred to the event as *Peeri Ikiama* (when elders were butchered). There was man of Lkileku age set known as Lepursha. He was a former policeman who had either retired or resigned from the Colonial service. He was from Lpusikishu clan of the Samburu. He seemed to have been annoyed and disturbed by the tax payment. He was reported to have told the Samburu that as long as the Samburu continued to paying tax, he would never marry. He saw tax payment as punishment against the community. He appealed to the Samburu to reject taxpayment. In his bid to resist the tax payment; he went round the villages to speak against the tax payment. He was reported to have attracted many people to agree with his opinion. Chiefs were ordered to arrest him but the community seemed to have protected and shielded the man and he was never arrested.

The D.C. meeting was convened in Wamba Market in Samburu East to address the problem and explain to the community the Government policy on the tax payment. While the meeting was in progress, the askaris were ordered to arrest Lepursha who had become the community spokesman, annoyance and thorn in flesh for the Government. Chaos erupted as the elders stopped the soldiers from making arrest. They opened the fire to the armless elders. Over ten

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<sup>320</sup>Loiture Lanyasunya (2018)

<sup>321</sup>Ntoisa Leorkupa (2018)

Samburu elders were gunned down. The Lpusikishu clan elders who were the majority in the meeting lost about eight to ten elders. Other clans lost one to three for example Lorokishu clan lost one man known as Lenaitorono. Lenaino also from Lorokishu clan sustained bullet wound in the thigh. Over twenty Samburu sustained serious bullet wounds. Lepursha who was considered by the Government to be an inciter, ring leader and most wanted criminal escaped death narrowly. It was reported that one bullet hit his wallet and a lot of one shilling silver coins dropped all over the place where he ran to. Tax payment in Samburu culminated in the Wamba massacre. Tax payment therefore came to an end. Lepursha was also reported to have agreed to marry. He was given a girl to marry by Lgwesi clan of the Samburu and he married at a place known as Namanyara boo an area between Wamba and Archer's Post.

#### **4.8 Summary**

Colonialism came to Africa as a result of the demands of the Industrial Revolution in Europe that ignited the struggle over the acquisitions and possessions of territories in which raw materials could be extracted and shipped to Europe. Africa in the nineteenth century was considered to be the world last untapped reservoir of markets, resources and where investment opportunities beckoned. The British found easy penetration into the interior of East Africa due to the disunity amongst the tribes. East Africa protectorate was established in 1895 for the sole purpose of making it a settled Colony that would serve the economic and political interest of the metropolitan. Prior to the dawn of colonialism the Samburu came into contact with the British while inhabiting Marsabit, Samburu, Isiolo and Laikipia. The British Land tenure systems and economic policies were based on capitalist production envisioned to the eventual disappearance of the Samburu traditional tenures systems of pre-capitalist subsistence production. White settlers came to Kenya by the consent of the British administration not through conquest as the case with South Africa. The Anglo-Maasai agreement of 1911 led to the eviction of the Samburu from Laikipia Plateau. Land alienation, creation of native reserves, labour policies, imposition of tax and Native Registration Ordinance disrupted the Samburu subsistence production. Colonial labour policies in the protectorate and Colony exploited the labourers beyond the value of their labour in a scenario that led to impoverishment of the labourers. Tax payment was intended to maintain the upkeep of protectorate and Colony Government. In Samburu, tax payment culminated in a tragedy when the Samburu protested against the payment.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE DISPUTED LAND QUESTION c1921-1934

#### 5.1 Overview

It discusses briefly the situation the Samburu were in following their eviction from Laikipia Plateau in 1921 and their pending eviction from Lorroki Plateau. It describes the evidence the Samburu had on their possession of the Lorroki Plateau and Eastern region of the Sugutta River. It explains briefly the reasons the settlers had for their claim over possession of the Lorroki Plateau. It describes the mechanism used comparatively by the Samburu and the settlers on their claim over the possession of the Lorroki Plateau. It highlights the position taken by the Colony administration in charge of the Samburu, Laikipia and the Nairobi Government on the claims surrounding the possession of the Lorroki Plateau. It gives reasons that influenced the position held by the Colonial Office in London over the possession of the Lorroki Plateau. It discusses briefly the political events prevailing in Britain that favoured the Samburu possession of the Lorroki Plateau. It describes the evidence presented on the claims over the possession of the Lorroki Plateau before the Kenya Land Commission Session on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1933 at Kisima Boma by the Colony administration in charge of Samburu District, the settlers and the Samburu. It identifies the ground on which the Kenya Land Commission used to judge the claims on the possession of the Lorroki Plateau.

#### 5.2 The Struggle over Lorroki Plateau

For over twenty years between 1911 and 1934 the Samburu community lived in uncertainty since their forcefully eviction from Laikipia Plateau in 1921<sup>322,323</sup>. For any reasonable thinking, and the evidence I provided on the Samburu clans structure and corresponding clans in Maa-speaking communities there is no much difference between the Samburu, the Laikipiak, the Maasai, Lchamus, Parakuyo and many Dorobo living in Laikipia and Samburu except the geographical differences and bits of traditions<sup>324</sup>. Many reports in Colonial era generalized that the Samburu should not have lived in Laikipia Plateau because they were new arrivals and it was not their country. Following their eviction from Laikipia Plateau which was completed in 1921, the Samburu became disgruntled. In addition, firm action was

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<sup>322</sup>*Report of Kenya Land Commission September 1933* presented by the secretary of State for Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty His Majesty Stationery Office London 1934 p 226

<sup>323</sup>KNA PC/RVP6A/45/3

<sup>324</sup>*Report of the Kenya Land Commission 1933* presented by the Colonial Secretary of State for Colonies to parliament by Commands of His Majesty Majesty Stationery Office London 1934 p 227,229

taken to impose limits on their southern movement and that was why the K.A.R.<sup>325</sup> took over the administration of the Samburu District in 1921 in order to impose sanctions against their nomadic mobility. Kittermaster Castle Smith and Hodge fixed the Southern boundary between Samburu and Laikipia Plateau. The Samburu did not know whether they would be removed altogether from Lorroki Plateau or not. The Samburu did not know where their country begin or end.<sup>326</sup> They were not sure whether their Southern boundary was to Banybany in Laikipia Plateau or the Lorroki Escarpment. They also knew that the land alienated from them in Laikipia was almost empty and unused and preserved for future use by the white settlers.

The evidence the Samburu had for their claim over the ownership of Laikipia and Lorroki was that the older men of the community knew that there was a boundary that was drawn.<sup>327</sup> The Samburu delegation was led by their prominent elder known Lesuiyai. It could be Coryndon boundary on page 96 below or other line pending for future research. Lesuiyai was known to have been of Lmarikon age set probably initiated in 1880.<sup>328</sup> It was also known that there were Colonial administrative officials in charge of Samburu, Turkana, Baringo, Nyeri and Marsabit Districts when the boundaries separating the Districts were drawn. On the onset of the Colonization Process amongst the Samburu, a meeting of the elders from all Samburu clans was convened by the Colony administration in charge of Samburu District.<sup>329</sup> In the meeting, the Samburu District Colony officials required the Samburu to choose elders to represent the community in the exercise of drawing boundaries along the traditional boundaries separating Samburu District from Turkana to the North West, Baringo to the South West, Nyeri to the South, Meru to the South East and Marsabit to the East. The Samburu unanimously chose Lesuyai whom they trusted as their Spokesman and representative of the Samburu elders. The meeting and exercise of drawing the boundaries separating Samburu from Baringo and Turkana was held on the Eastern banks of the Sugutta River<sup>330</sup>. There were delegations from the three districts that consisted of elders from the three Districts and Colony Officials in charge of those districts. There was dispute over the boundary that separated Samburu from Turkana.<sup>331</sup> The Turkana claimed their possession of

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<sup>325</sup> KNA DC/MBT/7/6/1

<sup>326</sup> KNA /OP/EST/143

<sup>327</sup> Letiyan Lesuiyai (2018)

<sup>328</sup> Longotorio Leparachao (2018)

<sup>329</sup> KNA PC/RVP/6A/15/33

<sup>330</sup> KNA PC/RVP/6A/15/3

<sup>331</sup> Longotorio Leparachao (2018)

Nadume plain and Eastern banks of the Sugutta River. The Samburu on the other hand, claimed their possession of the same. On discovering that there was complaint from Turkana and Samburu over the boundary separating Turkana from Samburu, the Colony authority decided to probe and interrogate both the Turkana and the Samburu elders.<sup>332</sup> The Turkana elder was given a chance to prove the claim. Questions were put to him concerning the Turkana claim over their possession of Nadume and Eastern banks of the Sugutta River. The Turkana Spokesman was ordered to explain the meaning of the word Sugutta. The spokesman was reported to have answered that it meant the name of the river. He was also ordered to tell the meaning of the word Murrua Akiring. He answered that the meaning of the word Murrua Akiring meant the name of the Mountain overlooking them from the East.

A chance for the Samburu Spokesman (Lesuyai) also came. He was ordered to substantiate the meaning of the word Sugutta.<sup>333</sup> He explained that the word Sugutta meant bitter and salty water. He was reported to have said the Samburu gave Sugutta River that name because the water of the Sugutta River is bitter and souring. Soldiers were sent to the river to fetch the water. The Colonial Officials' in charge of Samburu and Turkana were said to have tasted the water and conceded with Samburu Spokesman argument. The water was said to have high salt contents and tasted as Lesuyai had stated. Lesuyai elaborated the meaning of the word Murua Akiring. He explained that word Murua meant the place people inhabited and left in the past. Furthermore, he explained that Akiring meant meat. He maintained that when the Samburu were the inhabitants of the place he was a Moran by then and the Morans used to eat meat in the stone cliffs beneath the Murua Akiring Mountain overlooking them to the East. Following the explanations and evidences given by both sides, the Colonial administration in charge of the two Districts walked and observed the places the Samburu Spokesman had pointed. On the place he claimed they lived in the past. The officials found many firestones, pieces of broken pots and calabashes meaning there lived a big settlement in the past therefore, they conceded with Lesuyai argument that the Samburu had lived there for some years before. The administration also went to the cliffs Lesuyai said they used to eat meat there. They discovered that there were bones presumed to be of cattle. Following the explanation submitted and the evidence they got, the colonial authorities declared officially that Sugutta River was the official boundary separating Samburu District from Turkana District and that the dispute was no more.

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<sup>332</sup> Jerre Leparachao (2018)

<sup>333</sup> Kipeeko Lesoipa (2018)

There were no disputes over the boundaries separating Samburu from the rest of the neighbouring Districts. The Colony authorities and the elders representing various communities continued with their exercise of the drawing boundaries separating various Districts along the existed traditional boundaries.<sup>334</sup>The Samburu District official boundaries were later manipulated and contracted to suit the economic interest of the Laikipia settlers and for political reasons best known to Colonial authorities. The Samburu Colonial political boundaries known to have been drawn were probably the so call Coryndon boundaries drawn in 1921 as shown by the map on page 102. It is not known whether it is the so called the Lesuyai boundary or not.<sup>335</sup>The Samburu District boundaries were known to have been contracted in the South bordering Laikipia, in the South East border with Isiolo, Meru and in the North East border with Marsabit.<sup>336</sup>The informants could remember the name of administrator who evicted them from Laikipia as Messrs. Hope Archer. When the Maasai were moved from Laikipia the Samburu were reported to have been occupying Laikipia and Lorroki plateaus. The Samburu had a weak political position to defend the possession over Lorroki Plateau<sup>337</sup>. They lacked direct participation in the drama. They had to rely on outsiders to advance their case for retaining the Lorroki Plateau. The strongest card they had was their numbers. The problem of moving half of the Samburu and their presumed sixty thousands cattle off Lorroki was the single greatest obstacle to their eviction.<sup>338</sup>Lorroki is two million acres (Duder & Simpson 2008:444).What made it attractive were its surroundings. It was free from tsetse fly that kill Samburu cattle and malaria that could kill Samburu children. The Samburu also saw Lorroki as their ancestral land where the first Samburu appeared on earth according to their Mythical Theory. Lorroki has plenty of waters and pastures. For the white settlers, after the eviction of the Maasai in 1911, the status of Lorroki became unalienated crown land. Lorroki for them was a “promised land<sup>339</sup>”. They imagined themselves as hiers to Maasai. Conflict was therefore; inevitable.

### 5.3 Settlers’ Claim over Lorroki Plateau in Kenya Legco

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<sup>334</sup>Lemirr Lesiokono (2017)

<sup>335</sup>KNA BN/12/44

<sup>336</sup>Lekimirr Lesiokono (2017)

<sup>337</sup>KNA Bw1/1/576

<sup>338</sup>Duder and Simpson *Land and Murder in Colonial Kenya the Leroghi Land Dispute and Powys Murder Case* The Journal of Imperial Common Wealth History High Point University North Carolona USA,2008 p 441

<sup>339</sup>KNA DC/MBT/7/6/1 Notes on Marsabit by Lt.Co.J.M.Llewellyn.1926-1928

The Samburu were accused to have crossed Kittermaster line in 1922, 1924 and 1928.<sup>340</sup> The situation flared up a stiff protest from Laikipia Farmers Association (L.F.A.).<sup>341</sup> The Government therefore; went ahead to impose the entire N.F.D. under a quarantine that continued without interruption throughout Colonial era. It went ahead and opened Lorroki for alienation. The first suggestion came in 1924 to open Lorroki for the settlers.<sup>342</sup> The proposal for eviction of the Samburu from Lorroki came from a letter to Kenya Land Commission (K.L.C.) from R. Berkeley Cole. He was a Laikipia representative in Legislative Council (Legco). He was one of the richest sheep farmers in the whole Colony. Settlers mounted claim over Lorroki on the ground that they were Maasai heirs, Samburu were recent arrivals, they were goatherds, their cattle had special immunity, they were low land people had acquired cattle late, inefficient cattle herders, unproductive for the colonial economy, that they did not pay tax and they called on the Government to discourage the Samburu from owning cattle as they might cease the practice of raising goats.<sup>343</sup> They claimed that leaving Lorroki in the hands of the Samburu meant large area of the potential productive land would lie fallow. They stated that in the settlers' hands the plateau would be of 'use to the country'. They proposed that the Samburu should be kept at least six miles north of the administrative boundary between them and the settlers. The Laikipia D.C. notified to Nairobi Government in 1924 that Laikipia alienated area had been an economic failure compared to 17000 thousand cattle the settlers had with 200,000 thousand cattle the Maasai had before their eviction.<sup>344</sup> The settlers used political influence to advance their demands. They exerted pressure on L.F.A. European Legco, acting Governor Sir Edward Denham and full Governor Sir Edward Grigg. In 1928, all elected European supported a motion in the Legco that all lands occupied by non-European in Kenya suitable for white settlement, should be alienated. It was T.J. O'shea who moved the motion. Lorroki was mention in the motion.

The Samburu had to rely on outsiders to advance their cases in order to retain Lorroki.<sup>345</sup> Major Luxford maintained that he found Lorroki crowded by the Samburu in 1922. His position was that there should be no more land taken from the Samburu unless Government could find another place for them. He maintained that the Samburu should not

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<sup>340</sup> KNA DC/SAM/1/1

<sup>341</sup> KNA BN/12/44

<sup>342</sup> Duder and Simpson *Land Murder in Colonial Kenya*, the Lorroki Land Dispute and Powy's murder case University of Victoria and High Point University North Carolina, 2008 pp.441-461

<sup>343</sup> KNA DC/MBT/7/6/1

<sup>344</sup> KNA/DC/MBT/7/6/1

<sup>345</sup> KNA DC/MBT/7/6/I

be moved to the North unless the Government would protect them from Abyssinians. Mr. Mahony Captain Officer in charge of Samburu requested that Southern boundary of Samburu Native reserve be extended to include Balaglagi. He noted the said places that they were located outside the boundary shown as Northern limits of the alienated land. He saw no reasons of denying the Samburu those places.<sup>346</sup> He stated that Sugutta Mugie, Banybany should be included in the Samburu reserve. The Laikipia D.C. on the other hands protested against the Samburu encroachment across the Kittermaster line and sided with the European. While at the same time Samburu D.C. defended the Samburu possession of the Lorroki Plateau. The field officers in the Northern Frontier District identified themselves with the interest of the people they were placed in authority. Noel Lytton D.C. Samburu stated that the white settlers wanted to push their settlement up to that of the Samburu. He denied that Lorroki was reserved for the whites. He further provided evidence that the Samburu had long owned cattle. He refused the contention that Samburu had refused to pay tax. He added that the Samburu were of more economic assets if some efforts was made to develop their potentials.

On the defense of the Samburu, field Officer Shirley Cook argued the Nairobi Government to extend Samburu boundaries rather than diminish.<sup>347</sup> Cook revealed that the Samburu supplied thousands of livestock at the concessionary prices during First World War<sup>348</sup>. He criticized the administration for failing to protect the Samburu and negligence because of its role in contributing to spread of the diseases among Samburu cattle<sup>349</sup>. He petitioned the Chief Native Commissioner, Gerald Maxwell to allow Supporters of the Samburu to present their case before the East Africa Ormsbt Gore Commission concerning the alienation of Samburu land. On the settlers' side Humpfrey Martin the Commissioner for lands was known to have been a prominent supporter of the white settlers claim. They were his clients in the colonial regime. It also turned out that Maxwell supported the settlers claim instead of defending the plight of the pastoral Samburu. The recommendation of Maxwell to the Commission echoed the settler position. In report, they repeated the false claim that the Samburu had only acquired cattle recently. They underestimated Samburu cattle at 70,000 head of cattle instead of the 110,000. They advanced the claim that since the Samburu were

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<sup>346</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1

<sup>347</sup>KNA BN/12/44

<sup>348</sup>Duder and Simpson *Land and Murder in Colonial Kenya The Leroghi Land Dispute and Powys Murder Case* The Journal of Imperial Common Wealth History High Point University North Carolina USA, 2008 p 448

<sup>349</sup>KNA DC/MBT/7/6/1 Notes on Marsabit Affairs

careless herders, reluctant traders, and idle natives and had useless stock, Lorroki therefore should be opened for white settlement and Samburu moved elsewhere<sup>350</sup>. Sir Robert Coryndon who was the Governor by then backed the settler claim over Lorroki possession but he died in 1925.

Concerning the eviction order, Sir Edward Grigg the Governor of the Colony visited Lorroki Plateau in a Company of Senior Commissioner N.F.D. (Mr. Butler), the Deputy Chief Native Commissioner (Mr. Wade), the Game Warden (Mr. Capt. Ritchie) Major Dutton, Mr. Follet and Mr. Colville.<sup>351</sup> They arrived at Lorroki on 7<sup>th</sup> December, 1927. They inspected a portion of Lorroki by car for two days. They left for Barsaloi via Rumuruti on 9<sup>th</sup> Dec, 1927. They arrived at Barsaloi without Mr. Wade and Major Dutton on 17<sup>th</sup> December, 1927. They proceeded by car on 18<sup>th</sup> to a point of 14 miles beyond Baragoi. They returned and spent a night at Baragoi. They reached Barsaloi on 19<sup>th</sup> December, 1927. They held a Baraza. His Excellency the Governor informed the Samburu that Lorroki Plateau was not their country and they must leave it. He added that Lorroki Plateau did not belong to them and never would it belong to them.<sup>352</sup> As if that was not enough, he added that the Samburu must get rid of their useless stock. Many things were said about the Samburu that surprised them and make them think that the whites did not consider them as human beings. Some senior Colony officials referred to Samburu as idle natives, the most primitive amongst the tribes with too much land for totally uneconomic use<sup>353</sup>. For example Maxwell was known to have shared the usual administrative prejudice against pastoral people. Maxwell, Martin and E.G. Harrison who was Kenya Colony Deputy Director of Agriculture produced a report in October, 1924 on the Question of the Samburu rights to Lorroki Plateau. The prejudice of the three towards pastoral people was reflected in their report.<sup>354</sup> They reported that the Samburu wanted cattle as a mean of living a life of “useless indolence and detachment from civilization as barbaric form of wealth and as currency for purchasing women.” (Duder, & Simpson, 2008:446). Humphrey Martin was Deputy Commissioner of lands, Gerald Maxwell was Chief Native Commissioner and Oscar Watskin was Deputy Chief Native Commissioner.

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<sup>350</sup> KNA DC/SAM/1/1 Annual Report 1923

<sup>351</sup> KNA DC/SAM/1/1 Annual Report on Official Visits 1927

<sup>352</sup> KNA PC/RVP/6A/45/3

<sup>353</sup> KNA DC/MBT/7/6/1 Marsabit Political Records by Sharpe January 1926- December 1928

<sup>354</sup> KNA DC/SAM/1/1

Sir Edward Grigg proposed the Plateau to be allocated to whites in blocks of fifty to a hundred thousand acres.<sup>355</sup> He advised that the Samburu could occupy Lorroki for three years while they disposed of their cattle and returned to a small stock. Sir Edward Grigg viewed the white settlers as his allies and he was also influenced by the attitudes of the senior officials like Maxwell and Martin. Northern Frontier officials had notified Sir Edward Grigg that there was no alternative grazing land for the Samburu. They noted that any shifting of the Population would be a disaster for both people and animals. The resistance caused headache to Sir Edward Grigg. The Samburu land question had to be decided and answered in London. In Grigg temporary solution he assigned the Samburu provisionally to Isiolo quarantine station in N.F.D. and forwarded his complete scheme to Colonial office in July 1929<sup>356</sup>. He argued in Support of moving the Samburu that Lorroki was promised to white settlers with assertion that Isiolo was “old area” of the Samburu.

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<sup>355</sup>KNA PC/RVP/6 A/45/3 Notes on Samburu 1900-1945

<sup>356</sup>Report of the *Kenya Land Commission 1933* presented by the Secretary of State for Colonies to Parliament by the Commands of His Majesty Majesty Stationary Office 1934 p 240



#### 5.4 Samburu Land Question in London

It turned out to be a reality that the Samburu land question would be decided in London and not in Kenya. <sup>357</sup>Officials in London received their first report on Lorroki in 1925. They therefore; were not impressed by the Settlers' arguments. Officials in London were willing to be guided by the advice of the "men on the spot". London made it clear that it would not allow any attempt to make the Samburu give up their cattle<sup>358</sup>. The officials in London instead directed the acting Governor Edward Denham to examine how the Colony Government might assist the Samburu through better animals' husbandry and developing their dairy<sup>359</sup>. It turned out that the reluctance by Colonial Office to give to unqualified support to Nairobi Government in the Lorroki case was as a result of the influence of the anti-settler or humanitarian lobby group in Britain and fear of possible parliamentary criticism. There were controversies over exploitation of the African labour through monthly circulars and over race-related issues. <sup>360</sup>There was also publication of Norman Leys' Kenya in 1924. It contained intellectual assault on white settlement in Kenya as morally and economically corrupt. The publication condemned the Maasai Momonyot move and the impending move of the Samburu would provide further fuel to anti-settler lobby. Whitehall was forced to issue two white papers concerning the Delamere exchange and Delamere lands purchases in order to dispel parliamentary criticism. The parliamentary interest was related to the Samburu and Lorroki Plateau. There were questions to parliamentarians from Liberal M.P. who was former justice of Kenya. He received reports from Kenya probably from Cook that a move of Samburu from Lorroki Plateau was contemplated. The parliament therefore, informed Nairobi Government and asked for full explanation. The parliament intervention became a brake on plan to evict the Samburu from Lorroki Plateau and give to white settlers. Nairobi had to account its actions to London.

A number of questions on Lorroki were asked in the House of common in July 1928. In addition, Lord Olivier a Labour Colonial expert in the House of Lords put down a motion condemning any proposal to move the Samburu from Lorroki Plateau. The Colonial Office in London telegraphed Grigg on the matter. The London authority enquired for information on

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<sup>357</sup>Duder and Simpson *Land and Murder in Colonial, Kenya* the Lorroki Land Dispute and the Powy's murder case. The Journal of Imperial Commonwealth History University of North Carolina USA, 1997 p 450

<sup>358</sup>KNA K 30650C Socio Cultural Profile Samburu

<sup>359</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1 Annual Report 1927

<sup>360</sup>Duder and Simpson *Land and Murder in Colonial Kenya The Leroghi Land Dispute and Powys' murder case* The Journal of Imperial and Common Wealth History High point University North Carolina USA, 2008 p449

moving the Samburu.<sup>361</sup> They wanted to know whether the Governor had visited Lorroki Plateau and had promised it to white settlers. Grigg answered that he explored the plateau and had found few Samburu on it. He claimed that the Samburu were a drain on Kenya's funds. He stated that he would allow the Samburu to stay on Lorroki Plateau until pasture and water available elsewhere was found. Olivier got satisfied with answer. Grigg policy was still left the door open for alienation or eviction of the Samburu. Sir Edward Grigg faced another irremovable obstacle in the form of the election of the Labour Government in 1929. New Secretary of State for Colony was Sidney. After his elevation to the House of Lords, he came to be called Lord Passfield. Passfield's term in the Office marked an end to Grigg's political relationship with London. Officials in the Colonial office were preparing to approve Grigg's selection of Isiolo as an alternative land for the Samburu.<sup>362</sup> Lord Passfield withheld the approval until information had been received. The report on the area to be given to the Samburu was found to be utterly inadequate to the needs of the Samburu.<sup>363</sup> Isiolo D.C. H.E. Baker estimated that the Samburu would lose 41000 cattle if moved off Lorroki Plateau. Sir Edward Grigg therefore; due to the prevailing political climate decided not to raise another controversial issue. He dropped Lorroki issue from political agenda. In 1931, Dr. T. Drummond Shield, the Labour under Secretary of the State for Colonies instructed his officials to show the papers on Lorroki to William McGregor Ross one of the most prominent British critics of the British Colonial Policy in Kenya<sup>364</sup>. Ross therefore; declared that he was suspicious of the entire Lorroki question. With such notable polemicist the Labour Party then exhibited strong opposition against any move of the Samburu from Lorroki Plateau.<sup>365</sup> What remained was Sir Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission's Chairman however to give the final verdict to settler ambition.

### **5.5 Sir Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission's At Kisima Boma**

The Commission was appointed in April 1932 on the recommendation of the joint selected Committee on Closer Union in East Africa.<sup>366</sup> The Committee spent nine months hearing, collecting, gathering information and evidence on the land crisis in the Colony. It heard 736

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<sup>361</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1 Annual Report 1927 Official Visits

<sup>362</sup>KNAPC/RVP/6A/45/3

<sup>363</sup>Report of the *Kenya Land Commission September 1933* presented by the Secretary of State for Colonies to Parliament by the Commands of His Majesty Majesty Stationery Office London 1934 p 233

<sup>364</sup>KNA PC/NFD 4/2/1 Samburu Land Question 1927

<sup>365</sup>KNA MINI.S.L/1/45 The Status of Samburu Land

<sup>366</sup>Duder and Simpson *Land and Murder in Colonial Kenya the Leroghi Dispute and Powy's Murder Case* Journal of Imperial Common Wealth History High Point University North Carolina USA, 2008 p 445

witnesses, received 507 memoranda and produced a report of six hundred pages backed by publication of three volumes of evidence. One of the burning or contentious issues was the settler claim to Lorroki. The Carter Kenya Land Commission arrived in Samburu at Kisima Boma on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1933. Eleven Samburu gave evidence on their possession over the Lorroki Plateau before the Commission.<sup>367</sup> The Samburu were known and understood by the British as difficult tribe truculent in manner and have speech of menacing character. The Commission found that there was no Samburu Native Reserve that had been declared.<sup>368</sup> It heard that the Samburu had inhabited the Plateau known as the Lorroki Plateau in the Northern Laikipia, in addition to the very much larger area (over 4000,000 acres) to the North and East of which they occupied for a much longer period.

On the claim of the Samburu over Lorroki Plateau as their ancestral land, it was considered both from the historical aspect and from the point of view of their present and potential needs as regards to grazing<sup>369</sup>. In that regard the account of the following relevant questions were asked as follows: who the Samburu were? How they came to be in the areas they were then occupying? What was their population and that of their livestock? The extent and the character of the Land they were occupying? And the degree of that land adequacy and suitability to their requirements? The claims and objections of other interests and points issue? The defense of the Samburu came from a memorandum prepared by Mr. H.E Bader. He was District Officer in Charge of the Samburu between June, 1928, and January 1931. He came to know the tribe after he had carefully studied their history.<sup>370</sup> Mr. Bader was of the opinion that the Samburu came of the same stock as the Maasai, but Mr. Colville who claimed that he knew the latter tribe (the Maasai) well was on the entire disagreement with Mr. Bader opinion. Colville maintained that the two tribes were distantly related if at all they were related and quoted the difference in the clan names in the support of his views.<sup>371</sup> The settler argued that the Samburu were new comers to Lorroki. The settlers contented that keeping of the many cattle by the Samburu degraded environment. They argued that the Samburu warriors violated the border restriction by grazing their cattle in Laikipia District Lands.

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<sup>367</sup>KNA PC/RVP/6A/45/3

<sup>368</sup>*Report of the Lenya Land Commission September 1933* Presented by the Secretary of State for Colonies to Parliament by Commands of His Majesty, His Majesty Stationary Office London pp 220-240

<sup>369</sup>KNA MINI.S.L/1/45 The Status of Samburu Land

<sup>370</sup>KNA K30650C Socio Cultural Profile Samburu

<sup>371</sup>KNA K 30650C Socio Cultural Profile Samburu

In the consideration of the Commission it was agreed that the Samburu and the Maasai were closely related<sup>372</sup>. One of the clan names was found to be the same (Lukumae). Their physical characteristics and Languages were similar. Their habits and customs approximate very clear. The Samburu in that regard had genuine fear grounded in the fact that the settlers wanted to take all of the Lorroki and expel them to the drier regions near Isiolo<sup>373</sup>. Mr. Raymond Hook in his memorandum advocated that the Samburu and the Maasai were closely related and that was the opinion of the Administration officers who knew both tribes but the difference between them occurred many years ago. They were widely separated and the Samburu had probably become fused with other tribes. The history of the Samburu tribe was also narrated by Lenana, the late Paramount Chief of the Maasai to Mr. Tate.<sup>374</sup> It was recorded by Mr. Tate who was the former Provincial Commissioner. Lenana maintained that many years ago in the time of Mbatiany the father of Lenana that the Laikipiak Maasai pastured their herds all over the grass country to the west and north-west of Kenya. A time of the drought reported to have occurred and burnt-up plains which became insufficient for pasturing so many cattle and goats died consequently; migration was decided upon. The Laikipiak migrated farther west over the country which was still known by the name Laikipiak. Some were reported to have reached Baringo country then to Eldama Ravine and Guaso/Uaso Nkishu country where they had to a great extent lost the individuality of their tribe and became more or less merged with the natives of that country. The El Burgo (Purko Maasai) settled in Angattabus and the Country South-east of it, while the Samburu Marched north to Uaso Ngiro stayed for many years until repeated raids drove them further north. Those people (the Samburu) were said to be Laikipiak originally and were called from the Maasai word ‘Samburubur’, meaning butterflies. It was found that there was no reason to suppose that the story of Lenana was not substantially correct as the problem of the Samburu had not at that time arisen. Some Europeans were said to have heard of the Samburu. Lenana was said to have had no possible reason for trying to mislead Mr. Tate.

From the evidence of the Samburu elders, it seemed that the Samburu and the Laikipiak Maasai at one time lived together on Lorroki therefore as a result of a quarrel the Laikipiak

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<sup>372</sup> Fumagalli C.T. *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-Cultural Processes Among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1900-1975* A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate of the State University of New York in Partial Fulfillment for the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1977 p 73

<sup>373</sup> KNA PC/RVP/6 A/45/3 Notes on Samburu Politics

<sup>374</sup> Report of the *Kenya Land Commission September 1933* presented by the Secretary of State for Colony to Parliament by Commands of His Majesty Majesty Stationery Office London 1934 p 227

attacked the Samburu and the latter were driven to El Barta and Ngiro.<sup>375</sup> One witness, a man of the apparent age of about 60, said that happened before he was born. In the later years when Laikipiak were annihilated it was believed that the Samburu had not returned to Lorroki as they were said to have not participated in the war.<sup>376</sup> The evidence from all was clear that the Samburu and Laikipiak Maasai were one section/clan. Lenana statement showed they were actually a part of the same people. From Mr. Bader account and other evidence, it was apparent that the Njems who inhabited the Country to the South of the Lake Baringo were of the same stock. The answers to questions as to how the Samburu came to be in the Country they were occupying by then. After they were defeated by the Laikipiak they remained in the North in Mt Ngiro, Marsabit and Elbarta in order to escape the internecine wars between the various Maasai sections.

Neumann in 1897 found the Samburu South of the Uaso Ngiro River near Lengishu (the then quarantine reserve near Isiolo<sup>377</sup>. Mr. Tate in his journey to Rendille in 1902 did not meet them until he reached Reti, much farther north, where they had gone after being raided by the Maasai and others. The Samburu appeared to have returned South again in 1904 and in 1909 their villages were found at Engare Ndare South of the Uaso Ngiro<sup>378</sup>. In the same year Captain Stigand found them along the foothills immediately North of the Lorroki Escarpment. In 1912 Messrs. Hope and Archer, found some of the Samburu across the Uaso Ngiro and in the process penetrating further Southwards. He moved them back with the intention of confining them to a recognized and naturally determined frontier. In 1915 they began to cross the river again and the movement escaped notice. In 1921, part of the Southern boundary of the tribe was regarded as fixed by the natural line of the river but it remained to complete the frontier by delimiting a line to the west of that natural boundary. In 1921 Mr. Kittermaster submitted a proposal to that end, and demarcated a boundary known thereafter as the Kittermaster Line. That Line was gazetted as one of the boundaries of the Northern Frontier Province in 1924. The Samburu from then remained in the occupation of the region to the north and east of it including Lorroki Plateau.<sup>379</sup> It was also reported in the meeting that

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<sup>375</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1

<sup>376</sup>Fratkin,E.M. *the Samburu Laibon's Sorcery and the Death of Theodore Powys* The Journal of Eastern African Studies Department of Anthropology Smyth College Northampton MA 01063 USA,2015 P45

<sup>377</sup>.Waweru, P.*Continuity and Change in Samburu Pastoralism 1909-1963* A Thesis Submitted to the Board of Post Graduate Egerton University in Partial Fulfilment for the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History,2006 p 38

<sup>378</sup>March 3<sup>rd</sup> 2018 the Saturday Nation p 23

<sup>379</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1

the officer in charge of the Northern Frontier Province had advocated a further extension of the Samburu country to the South for the purpose of including Sugutta Banybany and the Balaglaji River, but the Colonial Secretary, to whom the matter was referred to was reported to have humiliated in reply that ample accommodation of the Samburu had been provided by the then existing boundary agreed upon by the Messrs.' Kittermaster, Castle-Smith and Hodge therefore the approval was upheld.

The date of the Samburu re-occupation of the Lorroki Plateau was not certainly known.<sup>380</sup> An accounts on the matter was that a section of them occupied the area jointly with the Maasai before the latter were moved to the present day Maasai Reserve in 1911/1912, and it was on the record that Mr. Chamier, former District Commissioner, took tribute of 5,000 head of cattle from the El Masula section of the Samburu on the Lorroki in 1911.<sup>381</sup> The sole claim of the Samburu to the Plateau on historical grounds rests upon the fact that they occupied it some 60 years ago as a section of the Laikipiak Maasai or jointly with them, and the Commission could not admit, in view of all the circumstances that such a claim could be held to be either valid or conclusive.<sup>382</sup> The Commission judgment on Samburu claim over the possession of the Lorroki Plateau was to be based on the economic need and usage of the tribe on the Plateau therefore; the census of the people and stock on Lorroki was conducted by Mr. Bader in 1928 and his figures were as follows:

**Table 2: People and Stock Population**

Samburu		stock	
Stockowners-----	1,027	cattle ---	--- 62,314
Morans-----	763	sheep and goats ---	---49,318
Women-----	1,681	Donkeys	-----3,318
Boys ----	1,563	camels ---	--- 189
Girls ----	1,540		
<b>Total</b>	<b><u>6,574</u></b>	<b>Total</b>	<b><u>114,947</u></b>

**Source:** Report of the Kenya land commission September 1933 p.229.

<sup>380</sup>James Lekarkar

<sup>381</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1

<sup>382</sup>KNA MINI.S.L/1/45 The Status of Samburu Land No.LND.30/41A-3 of 30<sup>th</sup> March 1957 refers

The population figures were not in dispute and of the stock in reference to cattle, it was projected that about half the cattle possessed by the tribe were on Lorroki, and assuming that to be correct, it followed that the Samburu altogether then possessed some 120,000 head of cattle. A recent count and estimate was further carried out by the Veterinary Department. The result was given by the Chief Veterinary Officer in his v/1/169 of 29<sup>th</sup> April, 1933, as follows:

**Table 3: Samburu Stock Census, 1933**

Sections	Cattle			Sheep	Goats	Donkeys
	Males	Female	Calves			
Central	13,580	22,517	5,212	21,000	15,000	3,000
Southern	12,720	21,130	6,086	23,333	11,285	2,469
Northern	9,694	22,069	6,035	20,503	22,709	4,267
Total	35,994	65,716	17,333	64,836	48,994	9,736
Total cattle		...		... 119,043		
“ Sheep and Goats		...		... 113,830		
“ Donkeys		...		.... 9,736		
<b>Grand Total, Livestock</b>		.....		.... <b><u>242,609</u></b>		

**Source:** Report of the Kenya land commission September 1933 P.230

In addition, it was projected that there were some 10,000 head of cattle in the area to the East of the Matthews Range, where no census was carried out, and that would bring the total number of cattle in the District to 129,043. The evidence of the District Commissioner, Rumuruti and of the European farmers showed that the Samburu would make relatively little use of the Lorroki Plateau for their cattle, particularly of the higher parts, and that the census conducted by Mr. Bader in 1928 was unreliable. The independent recent count carried out by Major Luxford found only about 28,000 of Samburu cattle on the Lorroki Plateau. It was agreed that the official figures of the native owned cattle were not always very reliable, therefore, the counting of cattle owing to seasonal and other movements, was difficult matter. It was therefore; concluded that Mr. Bader's census in 1928 and that of the Veterinary Department in 1932/33 were almost accurate, and indicated the extent to which the Samburu

would make use of Lorroki as a grazing area<sup>383</sup>. The evidence of Mr. Stone the Provincial Commissioner, Northern Frontier District and of Mr. Cornell, District Commissioner in charge of Samburu. They saw large herds of cattle grazing in the high altitudes and extreme northern parts of the Lorroki Plateau. Good numbers of cattle were concentrated around Lake Kisima. It was contended that the Samburu were also referred to as Loibor Kineji (of the white goats) a word corrupted by early travellers into Burkineji.<sup>384</sup> It was clear from Von Hohnel's book that the Samburu possessed large numbers of cattle as far back as 1887, when Count Samwel Teleki met the Samburu on his journey to Lake Rudolf.<sup>385</sup> Names of two main clans of the Samburu indicated that they were cattle owners (Lorokishu and Lpusi kishu).

The Samburu elders were reported to have aired their view on defense of their grazing land to the Commission for example Lenankoisa from Lngwesi clan told the Commission that the first Samburu appeared at Kisima.<sup>386</sup> That was based on the Samburu mythical theory which advocates that the Samburu were dropped down from the sky onto Kisima. The elders asked the settlers to name that place they were holding the meeting of which it was reported that they could not.<sup>387</sup> The Samburu told the Commission that the place was known as Kisima. One of the elders in the meeting was known as Lekisima that was one of the Samburu family name meaning the family was founded there. The elders also asked the settlers to name the hills overlooking them to East but they could not name those hills known to the Samburu as Kirisia hills.<sup>388</sup> The Samburu told the Commission that one of the Samburu man seated amongst them was known as Lekirisia a name of one family of the Samburu. The settlers were asked to name one settler whose name was associated to a place in Samburu of which they could not. The Samburu told the settlers to concede that they were new arrivals and foreigners a question that made them to murmur and looked at each other. The Samburu told the Commission faces to face that they would not leave Lorroki Plateau let come what might. They told settlers and Colony Government that they could take Lorroki Plateau only after they had wiped them out including the Children. It was reported that when one settler stood up to talk the stool he sat on exploded with fire and wood scattered all over the place. The settlers were reported to have been overwhelmed by worries, fears and uncertainty. They looked at each other murmured and left the meeting before it came to an end.

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<sup>383</sup>KNA MINI S.L./1/45 The Status of Samburu Land 20<sup>th</sup> March 1957

<sup>384</sup>KNA K3065c Socio-Cultural Profile Samburu

<sup>385</sup>KNA GP/390/WEB

<sup>386</sup>Lkiparit Lenaola (2019)

<sup>387</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

<sup>388</sup>Jerre Leparashao (2018)

Lorroki Plateau, comprised highlands between the so-called Kittermaster and Coryndon lines. The Lorroki position of that latter line was uncertain<sup>389</sup>. It appeared to follow the foothills of the escarpment to the North. It encompassed; 870 square miles, of which only 300 square miles were said to have been suitable for European settlement, and 130 square miles were forested<sup>390</sup>. The description of 440 square miles was not established. It was considered that Lorroki Plateau or part of it was suitable for cattle and mixed farming and importantly for sheep. If it became available for European settlement, farms of 10,000, acres to 20,000 would be envisioned at first as economic units, and on that basis from 10 to 20 farms would be allotted. On the alternative areas for the Samburu, Government endeavoured to find some alternative areas for the Samburu cattle that were on the plateau as to where they could be accommodated without undue hardship to the Tribe. The suggested areas were southern part of the Northern Frontier Province, the region between the Kittermaster and Coryndon lines. The other area considered suitable was the extension of the settlement areas to the north. The unalienated crown land lying to the South of the Quarantine Reserve would be included in the new Samburu area. The Provincial Commissioner Northern Frontier Province suggested that in addition to Isiolo quarantine area of 450 square miles the other areas that could be allotted to the Samburu were, crown land situated in the North Nyeri District inhabited by a few hundred Dorobo and Four Farms in the North Nyeri District<sup>391</sup>. The Survey described the areas above as 540 square miles and 60 square miles respectively. <sup>392</sup>The proposals for extensions of the lands for the Samburu in substitution for the Lorroki plateau were examined by the committee consisting of Mr. C.O. Gilbert, Acting Surveyor General, Mr. L.E. Whitehouse of the Education Department and Captain Mulligan, a Veterinary Officer. The committee reported on 22<sup>nd</sup> February, 1930. Their ultimate conclusion was that they were unable to recommend that any or all of the areas contained within their terms of reference were sufficient to accommodate the number of cattle on the Lorroki Plateau

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<sup>389</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/4 Map of the Samburu Land Question

<sup>390</sup>KNA K 30650C Samburu Socio Cultural Profile

<sup>391</sup>KNA PC/RVP/6 A/45/3

<sup>392</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1

## 5.6 Summary

The Samburu are related to the Maasai, the Laikipiak, the Parakuyo and the Lchamus and to some extent the Rendille. The Samburu had a reasonable ground for claiming the ownership and rightful occupation of the Lorroki Plateau based on the Historical factors. The Samburu depended on the District Colony Officials to advance their case over their possession and occupation of the Lorroki Plateau while the white settlers and their supporters in the Colonial Government used political influence and economic power to stee their claim on the same. The Colony Officials in charge of Samburu District and Northern Frontier Province as well as Samburu elders presented the Samburu grievances before the Colony Government which supported the demands of the settlers of alienating the Lorroki Plateau from the Samburu to while settlers. Some Colony officials' in charge of Samburu District and Northern Frontier Province forwarded the Samburu plight to British Government in London. The British Government in London did not support the Nairobi Government's plan and intention to force the Samburu to give up cattle herding altogether and to meet the demands of the Laikipia settlers in order to avoid parliamentary criticism and anti-settler humanitarian lobby group criticism. The Government also was trying to avoid more criticism from publications like that of Norman Ley's. The election of Labour Government in Britain in 1929 brought to an end the settlers dream of occupying and possessing the Lorroki Plateau. On arriving in Samburu country at Kisima grounds on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1933, Sir Morris Carter the Chairman of the Kenya Land Commission listened to diverging views of the Samburu and the white settlers. On the plight of the Samburu, the Commissioned looked into the problem based on Historical aspect, prospect usefulness of the Plateau to the Samburu, the population of the Samburu and their cattle on the Plateau, the physical characteristics of the Plateau and the suitability of the Lorroki Plateau in regards to the needs of the Samburu.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE SAMBURU DEFENDED THE GRAZING LAND c1930-1936

#### 6.1 Overview

Under this chapter, it explains briefly ways the Samburu displayed resistance to their eviction from Lorroki Plateau by the Colony authorities. It identifies the Samburu clans accused of uniting to overturn the evidence against the murderers. It discusses briefly the atrocities committed against the Samburu by the Levy Force in 1935. It explains briefly the measures the Colony Government undertook to suppress the activities of the non-compliance Lkileku age set warriors. It describes briefly the circumstance under which Theodore Powys met his mysterious death in 1931. It analyses the identity of Kiberenge and his involvement in the arrest of the Samburu purported to have been implicated in the death of Theodore Powys. It outlines reasons that led to the arrest of the Lorokishu clan Warriors, the Laibon and deportation of the Samburu Laibon to the Kenya coast. It identifies the media propaganda the settlers and their proponents used to justify the alienation of the Lorroki Plateau to white settlers. It reveals crimes committed against the Samburu prisoners indicted in Powys murder. It describes briefly the court proceedings from 27<sup>th</sup> November and ruling on 4<sup>th</sup> December 1934 in which the accused Samburu Morans and Laibon were presented. It discusses briefly the origin of Laibon, their medicines and roles in the time of crises and warfare. It describes briefly the killing and cleaning ceremony amongst the Samburu in regards to the ceremony the Samburu Laibon was said to have performed over the warriors suspected to have murdered Powys. It reveals diverging views of settlers and Colony administration on the court verdict. It explains the settlers and Colony administration reaction to the recommendations of the Sir Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission on allotting the Samburu to Lorroki Plateau.

#### 6.2 Murders in Laikipia settlers Farms

The Samburu posed a stiff struggle against their eviction from Lorroki Plateau.<sup>393</sup> Leleruk the first Samburu headman was remembered to have told Sir Edwards Grigg face to face in the Baraza held at Barsaloi on 19<sup>th</sup>, December 1927 at Barsaloi that the Samburu would not leave Lorroki Plateau consequently; he was dismissed in 1928.<sup>394</sup> Between 1931 and 1933 Lkileku age set Morans of the Samburu began to take active role in the land dispute. They trespassed into Laikipia with cattle. A raid was reported to have been carried out on Major White's farm.

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<sup>393</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1 Annual Report 1927

<sup>394</sup>KNA BW1/1/1/576 Minutes of the Meeting held at the Secretariat on May 1939

On 31st October, 1928 Senior Commissioner Northern Frontier Province in exercise of powers delegated to him by Government Notice number 5/9 of 26<sup>th</sup> September 1928 imposed a collective fine of sh 1250 On the Samburu for failing to take on the tracks of 4 head of cattle stolen and traced into Kelele area.<sup>395</sup>In October, 1931 the mangled remains of Settler (Mr.T. Powys) were found and suspected to have been murdered by Lkileku Morans in a revenge for an impending eviction of the Samburu from Lorroki Plateau.

The removal of boundary posts surrounding the Kisima Veterinary Quarantine was also reported.<sup>396</sup>On 13<sup>th</sup> June 1933, two wakikuyu youth who were farm hands were killed at Wallace farm. Two farm herders were killed in Curry farm on 13<sup>th</sup> July 1933. The forest reserve boundaries pegs were removed by the Samburu. On 24<sup>th</sup> September, 1933 at Wallace Farm, three wakikuyu were reported to have been killed. Two wakikuyu were also reported to have been killed in Wallace farm on 27<sup>th</sup>, October, 1933 and one kikuyu killed in Tyndall farm on 31 October 1933. It was reported in December, 1933 that the herder was killed at Mr. Armstrong farm in Mugie area with no clues.<sup>397</sup>In 1933 alone, series of ten murders were reported on the outlying farms in Laikipia.<sup>398</sup>The Samburu Lkileku age set Morans were suspected to have been responsible. Between 1928 and 1934, thirty three (33) murders committed by the Samburu Morans were reported. The Samburu clans accused of combining to suppress the evidence of the series of those murders and were made to pay heavy price were; Lpusikishu, Lorokishu, Lukumae, Loimisi and Lngwesi. The Samburu Lkileku age set Morans engaged the Colony Authority with guerrilla warfare that was known as *anyaye malikoo* (the never told or secret murders)<sup>399</sup>.They resorted to singing the outlawed dance known as Sikampai.<sup>400</sup>Waller maintained that the killings by the Samburu on Laikipia settlers' farms were meant for boundary maintenance and driving away of the competing herds and herders. It was defending the country grazing land.

Following the lawlessness and the state of unrest in Samburu the Colonial Government dispatched the so called Levy force to the region in 1935.<sup>401</sup> It was agreed in the meeting held

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<sup>395</sup> KNA PC/RVP/6A/45/3 Note on Samburu Politics 1900-1945

<sup>396</sup> KNA DC/MRL/1/1/1

<sup>397</sup> KNA PC/RVP/6A/45/3

<sup>398</sup> DC/150/4/7/13

<sup>399</sup> KNA/BWI/1/576

<sup>400</sup> .Fratkin,, E.M. *The Samburu Laibon's Sorcery and the Death of Theodore Powys in Colonial Kenya* Journal of Eastern African Studies Department of Anthropology Smith College Northampton MA 01063 USA,2015 P 50

<sup>401</sup> ARC/MAA/2/5/74 unrest Rift Valley Province 1935-1940

on 3rd November, 1934 that special force comprising of K.A.R. Soldiers and police would be dispatched to Samburu.<sup>402</sup> The Levy Force comprised mostly of Kikuyu askaris intended by Colonial authority to punish the Samburu severely in revenge of their kinsmen murdered in Laikipia settlers' farms by the Samburu Morans. The Levy Force in two platoons accompanied by Senior Officials of the District administration was sent to Samburu District on 7<sup>th</sup> January 1935 instructed to enforce compliance and silence the dissenting Samburu, confiscate enough stock to meet payment of the collective fine cost of the force, reaffirm the Colonial authority in the region as well as disarmament<sup>403</sup>. The Levy Force was headed by a European Officer (Slatter) and expected to unleash terror on the community.<sup>404</sup> The force envisioned to damage every Samburu home.<sup>405</sup> The force struck at dawn such that as people woke up for their daily chores they found their manyattas swamped with soldiers. The force divided themselves into two. Some terrorized the residents in their search for Morans and girls. The Morans caught were subjected to mistreatments. They were forced to eat dung of cows, sheep and camels. They were forced to drink milk and eat meat in full view of women. Others had their beautiful plaited hair, precisely maintained with red ochre, forcefully plucked and cut. They were ordered to kneel down before ant-hills and push it hard with their heads so as to expand the excess energies they used to kill people. All arrested Morans were later taken to join road construction gangs working in the District.

The nubile girls were indicted of composing songs that prompted the Morans to commit murders.<sup>406</sup> They were thrust, thrashed and scornfully told to sing their sweet songs for the soldiers to see if the soldiers could become overjoyed as their Morans lovers. The other harms unleashed to the population included sexual violation suffered by the Samburu girls and women in the hands of the military men. Women and girls were raped by soldiers in gangs in the manyatta in full view of their parents, husbands and siblings. Many women were reported to have miscarried as a result of rape, whipping, tremor and other cruelties.<sup>407</sup> Daniel Lesampuri upheld that Samburu from Barsaloi and Seiya were killed. On the demilitarization

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<sup>402</sup> KNA PC/RVP/6A/17/1

<sup>403</sup> Waweru, P. *Continuity and Change History of Samburu 1895-1963* A thesis Submitted to the Board of Post Graduate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, 2006 p 148

<sup>404</sup> KNA DC/MRL/1/1/1 Samburu Monthly Intelligence Report April and August 1939

<sup>406</sup> Waweru, P. *Continuity and Change A History of the Samburu from 1895-1963* A thesis submitted to the School of Post Graduate of the Egerton University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, 2006 p168-172

<sup>407</sup> Daniel Lesampuri (2017)

process, head of each house was ordered to state the number of his sons in the warrior age set. If they were three for example he was expected to surrender six spears given that each Morans had two. If for instance an elder with four sons handed in five spears instead of eight spears, half of his cattle would be seized and taken to Government ground holding at Kisima. The other group of soldiers shot the fattest bulls, heifers and rams<sup>408</sup>. They forced the male residents or Morans apprehended to skin and roast the meat for the soldiers. Others took the best of the manyatta stock to another seized stock protected by other soldiers. The D.C. Mr. Brown reported that the grief seized the community. He contended that the amount of the stock confiscated by the force was notable to administration. The patrol reported to have attained 1,300 head of cattle, 4,250 goats and sheep and 450 donkeys.<sup>409</sup> Most of the animals were sold leading to imposed £900 fine being realized as surplus of £160 channeled to the expenses of the levy force. (Waweru, 2006:168). Collection of Spears rose from 1800 to 4,181 by June 1935. The Lkileku age set were forced to marry and settled down. The Government dissolved Samburu District and amalgamated it with Laikipia to create Laikipia-Samburu with Rumuruti as its District headquarters. The policy was meant to bringing Samburu to their knees and reduces the antagonism between the two Districts.

However, the hardline position assumed by the State against the Samburu did not stop the incidence of the spear bleeding.<sup>410</sup> The community was only mortified by the Levy force. In August 1935, new incidence of the murders by spears reported. The murders were directed to Turkana. Murders rose from December 1935 to 7 in February the Following year. The District Authority admitted that all measures had failed to bear Fruits. The State decided for another show of its mighty in the face of the renewed encounter to its supremacy. The Governor send off his C.N.C. to Maralal on 18<sup>th</sup> February, 1936 accompanied by contingent of the Colonial army under T.A. Slatter, the white Officer who had bullied the community previously. In the Baraza he addressed before releasing the force, the C.N.C. reported to have told the Samburu elders that Slater's instructions were to capture any one carrying spears. In the previous meetings and operation the elders took Government side and position but in that second meeting the elders came out strongly to defend their community in respect to the murders of the Turkana purportedly committed by the Samburu Morans. The meeting was said to be the remotest meeting ever between Colonial Officials and the Samburu during

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<sup>408</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

<sup>409</sup>KNA DC/MRL/1/1/1

<sup>410</sup>KNA BW /1/576 Annual Report Office of the Provincial Commissioner Rift Valley

Colonial period. They refused to cooperate with the administration. The Samburu elders told the C.N.C. that the said murders committed by the Samburu warriors could have been natural deaths or committed by neighbouring tribes<sup>411</sup>. One elder advocated that the murders could not be proven and Samburu would not surrender spears as long as their neighbours were not disarmed. C.N.C. <sup>412</sup>said the Government would force the Samburu to stop murdering. (Waweru, 2006:175). The task given to K.A.R. soldiers in 1936 was to force the elders to initiate structural changes in the warrior age-grade. It was to oversee the disassembling of the non-compliant Lkileku age set and their graduation into elder hood and the initiation of a new age set whose conduct would be administered by Colonial prescriptions than tradition.

The Lmekuri (new age set) was circumcised (1936) as Lkileku age set were forced to abandon Moranism. Lmekuri age set became the first in the history of the Samburu to enter warrior hood without spears. The new age set was required to go for employment in European farms or in Government. The C.N.C. made preparation with Laikipia farmers who wanted labour. Morans of each section chose their spokesmen who were approved by the D.C. and they took reports monthly to him. Some of them were finally incorporated into the District administration structures. The eating of the meat in the bush was banned as well as giving beads to maiden as rewards.<sup>413</sup> 348 Samburu Lmekuri age set Morans were reported to have been conscripted in K.A.R. that fought in the Second World War. <sup>414</sup>One Moran from Lelekong family of the Lorokishu clan was said to have been killed in the Second World War.

The military and policing functions of the traditional warrior hood were taken over by the colonial forces as observed by Paul Spencer who upheld that warrior hood institution served more than military purpose.<sup>415</sup> The Samburu blacksmith stopped melting iron ore and manufacturing spears for fearing the consequences as the anti-traditional weapons law was passed in 1934. The traditional functions of the iron industry were taken over by the modern steel processing industries. Joseph Aloysius Byrne of the Kenya Colony enforced the fine in the form of sh.18000/- on the following clans of the Samburu tribe in the following proportions for covering the deeds of their Morans as follows: Lpusikishu, Lorokishu,

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<sup>411</sup>Jerre Leparashao (2018)

<sup>412</sup>KNA BW1/576 The Samburu Unrest 14<sup>th</sup> May 1939

<sup>413</sup>Fratkin, E.M. *Ariaal Pastoralists of Kenya Studying Pastoralism, Drought and Development in Arid Land* Pearson Education Inc Smith College Northampton USA ,2004 P 48

<sup>414</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

<sup>415</sup>KNA GP572-8967622LAB

Lngwesi Sh. 4000/-, each while Lukumae and Loimisi was sh. 3000/- each. Sh. 5900/- compensation was paid to the next of kins of the following deceased persons in the proportion of sh. 590 for each of: Kakondi s/o Githeria, Amisi s/o Ngatia, Ngonjiri s/o Njoroge, Chege s/o Munter, Mwembai s/o Musei, Kinyanjui s/o Mudinani, Njoroge s/o Maina, Njoroge s/o Njama, Kanyoro s/o Njoroge, and Durumu s/o Kifutu<sup>416</sup>. Amongst the Kikuyu compensation for a human being was 100 goats. The balance shs.12100/- was paid to the general revenue of the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya. Tensions and worries were high because a word leaked that Kenya Land Commission envisioned excluding whites from Lorroki Plateau. Gilbert Colville pressed the administration to admit that Powys was murdered. Scott warned that there might be trouble if the already defiant Samburu were rewarded with more land. In principle, the Europeans used the Powys case to assert that the Samburu were dangerous and should be kept away from the settlers as well as to banishing them from Lorroki.

### **6.3 Powys Murder Connected to Samburu Refusal to Vacate the Lorroki Plateau**

Powys was 26 years old when he met his death under mysterious circumstances. He was said to have gone to examine some water within the farm.<sup>417</sup> He was riding on a white pony. At 8.a.m. on the 19<sup>th</sup> October, 1931 Mr. Powys gave some Kikuyu employees instructions to open a waterhole about two miles along the valley and stated he would inspect the work at 11 a.m. he left the camp between 8 a.m. and 11.a.m. and proceeded in the direction of some water trout about four miles along the valley. His movement was not known until about 11.00 a.m. When a Kikuyu working at the waterhole saw the rider less pony returning from direction of the Lpingwan plain, the pony was caught and taken to troughs. Search was organized by Kikuyu and Maasai employees till 6.P.m. but no success was made. On 20<sup>th</sup> October 1931, one Kikuyu employee rode to Mr. Rawson Shaw with the news who left once for search.

On 21th October 1931, a thorough search took place by aero plane and on the ground<sup>418</sup>. At about 2.30 p.m. a ground party led by Mr. Rutherford found the remains of Mr. Powys on the South slope of about three and half miles from the temporary homestead. On examining the ground, two well defined hoofmarks of the pony were found. A few yards in front, was a

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<sup>416</sup> African Standard Wednesday May 31<sup>st</sup> 1939

<sup>417</sup>AG/1/342 Collective Punishment Ordinance 1930 No.L.77/4/39/22

<sup>418</sup>KNA BW 1/1/576

bush where signs of wild animals had rested. A head of the hook marks was a mark on the dusty ground considered to have been caused by Mr. Powys falling from the pony. There was his hat. Nine yards away, were two boulders spotted with marks of dried blood while at the base was a mark where a pool of blood had existed. Between the rocks and the hat was track identified as that of a lion and nearby were indications of the recent presence of vultures. Scattered were deceased's clothing, five human ribs, two thigh bones, left foot in boot and three arm bones. On his shirt was found animal hair, believed to be that of a lion or hyena. The neck parts of the deceased's shirt and pullover were torn away and there was more blood on the chest of the shirt and pullover than other parts of the garments. The trousers were found intact except tear in one knee. Buttons were still fastened. There was a leather cartridge belt, containing 7 m.m. rifle cartridges in the belt loops of the trousers found fastened. The horse returned with lion's claw marks on its rump.<sup>419</sup> That led the police also to conclude that Powys' had died from a lion attack.

The signs suggested that the pony on seeing a lion suddenly stopped and threw the dead who got his neck broken or dumbfounded by the fall. The lion was thought to have carried him into the boulders killed and consumed him assisted by the vultures and hyenas. The Europeans agreed and confirmed their opinions in writing that Mr. Powy's death was due to mishap. The Inspector of Police, to whom the reference had been made, completed an inquest report that was submitted to the District Commissioner Rumuruti.<sup>420</sup> The death was considered to have been caused by the accident. The District Commissioner dispensed with a magisterial enquiry and accordingly endorsed the Police inquest file. The matter was therefore considered closed. On 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1931, Police investigating a different murder of a Kipsigis worker on Alex Armstrong were following tract to a Samburu Lorokishu village at a place known as Loongoben. The Samburu headman was known as Lekopieen. The Police were said to have been chased by Lkileku Morans from Loonkobon village. The Police were accompanied by a man known as Kiberenge. Kiberenge identity was not fully known to the writers who wrote the history of Samburu. In (Waweru, 2006:153), Kiberenge was identified as former K.A.R. soldier. He was also said to have been son of Lokambari (Lekamparish) of Kipsigis and Maasai parentage. His identification was questionable. In the online Journal of East African Studies volume 9 of 2015, Kiberenge was identified as a Kikuyu-Kipsigis and had lived with a Samburu widow of the Lekamparish family. Kodidi Leaduma stated that

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<sup>419</sup><http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2014.784828>.

<sup>420</sup>AG/1/342

Kiberenge was a Pokot who had a string instrument. He maintained that Kiberenge sang in different languages than theirs and no Samburu could understand.

On oral sources Ntupa Leparkumoi maintained that Kiberenge was a stranger who came from unknown and he came to live in Lorokishu village at Angata Lerai when Lkileku were Morans.<sup>421</sup> Kiberenge was a social man who was a Musician and played musical instruments. He attracted women. Kiberenge found an accommodation in the house of a widow married to Lekamparish man of the Lorokishu clan of the Samburu of the Lterito age set initiated in 1895. When Lekamparish died, he left behind a widow with children. She was known as Noolongoi. She was said to have come from the Tugen community the Samburu referred to as Lchapulel. The deceased Samburu man married the Woman in Baringo when he visited his relatives who lived amongst the Lchamus. When Kiberenge got an accommodation in the widow's house that he could communicate in Kalenjins language, he was said to have befriended her. Kiberenge was also known as Sinante by the Samburu meaning of the red eyes. Leaduma Laibon was known to have whispered to the elders and Lkileku Morans of his village many months before Kiberenge came that a 'stranger would come to live amongst them and if not killed on the way before arriving at the village, he the Laibon would be taken away from them'. Ntupa stated that the Laibon got the message from dreams. The matter was taken for granted because the people did not know the extent of the disaster the stranger would bring to the community. Killing during colonialism was also a crime liable to hanging. They only came to hate and disliked him when it was too late.

From what was said about Kiberenge origin and identity, he could have been an informer sent by the Colonial Government to investigate the activities of the Samburu Morans. He could have been also an intelligent agent sent by the Laikipia Farmers Association to spy for the settlers the activities of the Samburu Morans and the Laibon Leaduma. He could have been also someone captured when he was a child and taken to another community where he grew up and joined K.A.R. where he retired but he could not trace his origin. On 3<sup>rd</sup> December, 1931, Kiberenge told Alex Armstrong a settler and former employer of Kiberenge that two months earlier he saw six Samburu Morans who arrived at Loonkobon village carrying two spears each.<sup>422</sup> One was holding something large under his clothing. Kiberenge described overhearing the Morans talking inside Lekopien house as they explained how they came

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<sup>421</sup>Ntupa Leparkumoi (2018)

<sup>422</sup>KNA/PC/RVP.6A/17/1, Ref C.R.74/10/31

across a Whiteman riding a horse. The Whiteman demanded to see their passes since they were armed and were out of their District. The warriors told Lekopien that they speared the Whiteman (Powys) one in the chest, another in the side above the hip and a third in the back and pulled him off his horse. They also narrated how they had cut off the man's head, left arm, penis and testicles. They wiped the blood from their spears and covered the tracts. Lekopien was said to have made the warriors to swear to secrecy. He was said to have told the warriors to keep the head but to bury or discard the rest. That information came from a statement by Kiberenge to H.H. Trafford the District Commissioner, Laikipia.

According to Kiberenge testimony, Lekopien had realized that Kiberenge had heard their conversation and reported to have exclaimed 'we are all dead this man has seen and heard everything'!<sup>423</sup> Kiberenge also stated that he heard Lekopien talking to the Laibon Leaduma who was his neighbours kinsman who had advised him to offer Kiberenge five cattle to buy his silence. The police returned to Loonkobon village two times to investigate Kiberenge's claim but they could not find any trace of human head or any other evidence. In two months time after Powys' death a skull was found by two herders at Lpingwan. It was identified as Powys' head due to presence of a gold tooth. The fractured jaw confirmed the finding that the death was accidental. Kiberenge was therefore; arrested for making false claim a charge he confessed to. He was jailed for five months. Kiberenge was reported to have disappeared shortly after his release from prison. He could not be seen or traced again probably he was silenced by the warriors in question. The second investigation to Powys' death came from an incitement of the leading white settlers in Laikipia.<sup>424</sup> Lady Eleanor Cole in 1933 sent a letter to W.C. Bottomley the head of East Africa Department. In the letter, she claimed there was strong evidence that the Samburu witchdoctor was behind Powys' killing. She sought an audience with the Secretary of State for Colonies Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister who was not a champion of the settlers' cause. Philip Cunliffe-Lister was said to have taken a dim view of the settlers' attempts to manipulate Kenya's courts. He was reported to have told Lady Eleanor Cole to lodge complaint with Governor Byrne. Gilbert Colville was said to have been active on the trail of the Samburu culprits for the murder. He met with Colonial Secretary to drive his view that Powys' had been murdered by the Samburu.

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<sup>423</sup>AG/1/342

<sup>424</sup>Fratkin, E.M. *The Samburu Laibon's Sorcery and the Death of Theodore Powys in Colonial Kenya* Journal of Eastern African Studies Department Anthropology Smith College Northampton MA 01063 USA, 2015 PP 38-40

Two Dorobo were Labourers for Gilbert Colville. Leratia Ole Dorumet was an unofficial Dorobo headman mention to his boss the role of the Laibon in unsolved Powys' case and baffling disappearance of Kiberenge.<sup>425</sup> All Dorobo were satisfied that Powys was killed by the Samburu. Leratia claimed that Leaduma through his prophetic powers knew what people talked about. The report given by the Dorobo led to a cross-examination in November 1933 of a jailed Samburu warrior named Marire Lekada who was suspected of killing two farm workers. He was interrogated by the District Commissioner Laikipia H.H. Trafford and the Police Superintendent T.R.J. Ridgway and the influential Laikipia rancher Gilbert Colville. The Laikipia District authorities allowed Gilbert Colville to interrogate personally the Samburu prisoner. Legada told Gilbert Colville and Trafford that he had heard Lorokishu clan warriors singing that they had killed a Whiteman. He stated that the Samburu had kept quiet because they were afraid of the powers of the Laibon.<sup>426</sup> He claimed to have heard that the Laibon had performed a ceremony over the cut off head that would deter the administration's efforts to finding killers bragging that his power would turn the heart of the Government to water and cause them to abandon the investigation.

Orders were given to Rumuruti District Officer Mr. C.M.Deverell the Police Officer Mr. T.R.J. Ridgway to conduct new investigations which they began on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1933 at Kisima in Samburu area. The officers considered that no information would be acquired while the Laibon Ole Odume was still at large. In (Waweru 2006:159) Leaduma was reported to have said that "when they come for me and they lead me out of my manyatta in such away that I do not go over that heap of sheep droppings then you know you will never see me again." It was reported that when white askaris came, they carried him away. He did not go over the heap of sheep droppings but passed it by. According to Lesopia Leaduma of Lmekuri age set initiated in 1936, whom I interviewed he stated that Nkaldaiya Leaduma was the only child of his mother known as Siaita.<sup>427</sup> He maintained that Nkaldaiya dreams were powerful. He was known to have told the elders of his village that "if I will be taken out of my manyatta through cattle gate (Itim), I will be returned but if I will be taken out of my manyatta through sheep and goats' gate (Itim) I will not be returned back to Samburu soils". Nkaldaiya Leaduma therefore, was arrested on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1933. He was taken away

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<sup>425</sup>KNA AP/1/12/4 Statement by Vincent Glenday Rex vs Laibon Ole Odumu accused criminal case No 153 6<sup>th</sup> December 1933

<sup>426</sup>Statement by Marire Ole Legada to H.H.Trafford 2<sup>nd</sup> December, 1933 Rumuruti cr case NO 55/1932 KNA PC/RVP 6A/17/1

<sup>427</sup>Lesopia Leaduma (2018)

through sheep and goats' gate and never returned to Samburu again. The so called Witchcraft Ordinance was used to remove him to Meru and later deported to the coast for obstructing the information (Duder & Simpson, 2008:455).<sup>428</sup>The Officers collected a variety of testimonies from Samburu and Dorobo including several Lorokishu elders and girls. Administration removed Ole Oloigoben/Lekopien and Ole Lelelit for suppressing evidence on murders committed by their Morans.

The headman Lekopien himself came forward and blamed the warriors' action on the influence of the Laibon as did Ngaldaiya's brother Samanga Leaduma the father of Kodidi.<sup>429</sup> The testimonies were considered to be sufficient enough to cause for the arrest of six Samburu warriors and trial of five after one turned to be crown witness. Those that Kodidi Leaduma could remember included: Bari Leaduma, Lelangoi Lesoipa, Lemukamboi, Majero Lerono, Lesemeto and Loloibiala. They were all from Lorokishu clan. The police record showed seven as follows; Bari Leaduma, Lelangoi Lesoipa, Lerono Majero, Maritimi Lolobiala, Mbari Laigitile, Laiteti Lesori and Lepedibo Lesemeto. The last two offered king's evidence in exchange for a drop in charges. The list that Kiberenge forwarded to the Police before he was proven guilty included: Bari Leaduma, Majero Lerono, Lelangoi Lesoipa, Kiseger Lageteli and Latuman Lolobiala. All were from Lorokishu clan Lkileku age set Morans.<sup>430</sup>The Morans were reported to have been found with marks on them indicating that they murdered human beings other than members of their own tribe.

#### **6.4 The Exiled Samburu Prophet/Laibon**

Laibon is the anglicized spelling of Loiboni (singular) and Loibono (plural) from the word verb aibon (to predict).<sup>431</sup> Kodidi Leaduma claimed that he could remember very well when Nkaldaiya his uncle was arrested. He stated that he was the greatest Laibon they have ever had. One obvious reason why Leaduma was arrested was purely economical. It is quite obvious that behind every historical event there is an economic drive and in that regard, there was struggle over land between the white settlers and Samburu pastoralists. Powys' case was about contested rights to livestock grazing between the Samburu and Laikipia white settlers.

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<sup>428</sup>KNA/PC/RVP.6A/17 Statement by Marire Lekadaa to H.H.Trafford D.C. 25<sup>th</sup> November 1933 Rumuruti Crimal case No 53

<sup>429</sup>KNA BW/1/576 Re-Samburu February 11<sup>th</sup> 1936 Ref: 10.17./16/6

<sup>430</sup> KNA BW 1/1/576

<sup>431</sup>Fratkin, E.M. *Journal of East African Studies*, Department of Anthropology Smyth College Northampton MA01063 USA Correspondence Fratkin @ smyth edu,2014.pp 35-54

The other reason why Leaduma was arrested and deported was on political<sup>432</sup>. It was alleged that elders, Government Chiefs and leaders of the Morans went to Leaduma for consultations before major decisions of the community could be made. There was British Colonial administration attempt to limit the influence of the Laibon in the political activities opposing to Colonial rule. Powys' case also revealed political conflicts within and amongst the Samburu, the settlers and colonial administrative communities over authority and resources used.<sup>433</sup> It demonstrated how Laibons could emerge from position of absolute obscurity as diviners and healers to become influential prophets and political leaders in the period of crisis and conflicts amongst the Eastern African pastoral societies. Both the Laibons and the elders were checked by the colonial administration through political measures such as livestock fines and disarmament operation designed to punish the entire Samburu community. The Powys' case presented ability and inability of the colonial administrators to control the actions of the Samburu Laibon and satisfy the desires of the white settlers. The colonial authorities viewed him as dangerous dissident.

On 11<sup>th</sup> January, 1934 the East African Standard newspaper of the British community in Kenya fanned fears of brutal African warriors under the influence of their Laibon. The headline read; "The Samburu problem-a menace to white settlement".<sup>434</sup> The Standard described how unrest and thefts have escalated tribes to lawlessness. Whites carried arms as Samburu came down from Plateau to raid and murder. The article blamed tribal medicine men for supplying warriors with charms before spear-blooding expeditions were carried out. The settlers' voices found a mouthpiece in press in both East Africa and Britain. The Morning Post claimed that Powys was "the victim of savage tribal rite". The East Africa Standard claimed that the Samburu had used "lawlessness and murder to steal away the promised land from the settlers". The pro-settlers newspaper declared that Government was "depriving the young generation of the colonists of their birthright". The Daily Herald suggested that: "a European who had died after being gored by a rhino had first been speared by the Samburu".

Leaduma was arrested under Witchcraft Ordinance on the ground that no information about warriors' action would be obtained while the Laibon was still at Large, and deported under

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<sup>432</sup>KNA PC/RVP/6A/15/19 District Commissioner Laikipia-Samburu Ref No LND 16/15

<sup>433</sup>Duder and Simpson *Land and Murder in Colonial Kenya the Leroghi Land Dispute and the Powys' case* the Journal of Imperial and Common Wealth History University of Victoria USA, 1997 p 454

<sup>434</sup>East African Standard 5<sup>th</sup> February 1924

Deportation Ordinance. He was also arrested at instigation of the Laikipia white settlers who were disappointed by the strong case the Samburu presented in confidence before the Kenya Land Commission at Kisima Boma on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1933.<sup>435</sup> On the nature of the Witchcraft Ordinance, it was first enacted and (passed) in 1909. It was amended (revised) in 1918 and redrafted (rewritten) in 1925 to make it a criminal offence to claim to be witch or pretend to exercise or use any kind of supernatural power, witchcraft, sorcery or enchantment. In 1918, causing fear, annoyance or injury (in mind of a person or property) was added.<sup>436</sup> The Deportation Ordinance of 1923 did not require enquiry or proof. On 12<sup>th</sup> December, 1933 a deportation hearing of Leaduma was held in Nairobi. The said case was made by P.C. N.F.D. Vincent Glenday (Officer in charge of NFD).<sup>437</sup> He charged Leaduma with being a danger to law and order. In a written statement read at his deportation hearing in Nairobi. Nkaldaiya Leaduma denied any involvement with Powys' death or he had any significant ritual powers or authority. He stated that his accusation was malice (fitina) since he was not a full Samburu. He stated that his family originated from Laikipiak (Fratkin, 2008:20-21). He was not responsible for the actions of the Morans. He did not send warriors to fight. He stated that what was alleged was not from his clan. Powys' murder trial opened on 27 November, 1934 and ended 4<sup>th</sup> December 1934. Five Morans committed to Supreme Court at Nakuru were presented. They included: Lelonikero Leron, Merikuni Lopiala, Lelangoi Lesoipa, Parei Leaduma and Ngersgirr Lekalgitele.

I used to live in one village with Lelonikero Leron known as Nkopeliani when I was a primary school boy. While we were seated together with other elders and youth in the shade of a tree near our village during the day in 1987.<sup>438</sup> He was of Lkileku age set as well as my father was. He told us that they had a very difficult time that tormented them such that they would never forget. He warned us against crossing the Government especially the white Government. They were arrested, handcuffed and had their legs also cuffed. They were ferried to unknown destination which they came to realize later that it was known as Kapirondo probably Kavirondo. They were mistreated and tortured.<sup>439</sup> Thorns of iron were

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<sup>435</sup>Fratkin, E.M. *The Samburu Laibon's Sorcery and the death of Theodore Powys in Colonial Kenya* Journal of Eastern African Studies Department of Anthropology Smith College Southampton Routledge Taylor Francis Group MA 01063 USA, 2015 P 37

<sup>436</sup>Waller, R.D. *The Past and Present Society Witchcraft and Colonial Law in Kenya* Journal Bucknell University Press UK, 2003 P 266

<sup>437</sup>Statement by Vincent Glenday Rex vs. Laibon Ole Odumu accused criminal Case No 153 of 1933 6<sup>th</sup> December, 1933 KNA AP 1/12/4

<sup>438</sup>Kipeeko Lesoipa (2018)

<sup>439</sup>Ntupa Leparkumoi (2018)

put into the rooms they were locked in such that they could not sleep for three days. Iron nails were hammered into their finger nails. They had their reproductive males organs squeezed. He had one of his testicle castrated. All was done to make them admit that they had killed Powys an allegation that they denied. They were held for many years. He never revealed if they murdered Powys or not.

The evidence reiterated warriors (Laikitalak) from Lorokishu had set out on raid into Laikipia District came upon Powys murdered and brought home the body parts as trophies<sup>440</sup>. Lekopien the sacked headman testified that he had seen the Laibon Leaduma walked around the accused warriors waving the horn (i.e. ritual medicine). The reason was to ensure that the deed that had been committed would be concealed from the Government. The others who testified the same was Samanga Leaduma, the two Dorobo and Samburu girlfriends of the Morans. The defense attorney introduced one witness who was Laiboni himself possibly with an intention of diverting responsibility from the warriors. He was presented in brief and unremarkable testimony. Leaduma was brought from detention Camp at Kwale to give evidence at the trial. He gave evidence with dark flashing eyes and two mysterious trinkets fastened to his belt. He insisted that he had nothing to do with Powys' death and had not performed a ceremony with warriors and, had not seen a decapitated head. Such was reported in the East Africa Standard of 4<sup>th</sup> December 1934 'Laibon in Box'. The Samburu defendants denied any knowledge of the event. The judge found the Samburu defendants not guilty. <sup>441</sup>The crown case was found to be weak. Evidence was circumstantial and not supported by any material evidence or confession. Neither Powys' remain nor clothes showed evidence of spear wound. Physical evidence supported the inquest finding of the lion attack. Justice Gamble with his three Samburu assessors dismissed the testimonies of Lekopien, Samanga Leaduma, the Dorobo witnesses and that of girlfriends of the Morans and concluded all that was said were based on hearsay. He said the evidence could not warrant conviction. All the accused except the Laibon Leaduma were released.

### **6.5 The Laibons and their roles in the warfare**

Amongst the Maasai speakers, the Laibons laid claim to their authority in affirming direct descent from the apical ancestor nkidongi who was a boy with mystical powers adapted by

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<sup>440</sup>KNA PC/RVP/6 A/45/3 Notes on Samburu Politics 1900-1945

<sup>441</sup>Fratkin, E.M. *The Samburu Laibon Sorcery and the Death of Theodore Powys in Colonial Kenya* Journal of Eastern African Studies Department of Anthropology Smyth College Northampton MA 01063 USA, 2015 p 41

the members of the Laiser clan in which nkidongi lineage is found<sup>442</sup>. Amongst the Samburu they are found amongst the Lorokishu clan. <sup>443</sup>Laibons have inherited abilities to see unseen acts and predict dangers that included drought, warfare, Witchcraft and sorcery attack. Laibons made protective ritual medicines known in Samburu Ntasimi (singular) Ntasimi (plural). In Maasai it is known as Entalengoi (singular) and Entalengo (plural). The Laibons also made sorcery substances known in Maasai as Esitan (singular) Esitani (plural). The medicine in Samburu was known as Nkurupore (singular) Nkurupeta (plural). They were used to vanquish enemies and rivals. Laibons rose to great prominence among the Maasai and Samburu as war leaders for example Mbatiany among the Purko was credited with leading the Purko and Lkisongo Maasai in 1870 in vanquishing the Laikipiak an aggressive section that dominated central Kenya. The Maasai attributed the Purko victory to Mbatiany's mystical powers of divination and sorcery compared to those of his rival Koikoti of the Laikipiak. Amongst the Samburu, the Leaduma family of the Samburu Laibons traces its origin to a Laikipia Laibon known as Sharrar. <sup>444</sup>It was a boy known as Adumu who was the Father of Kosheke of Lkipiku age set initiated in 1837 and Kitaoi of Lkiteku age set who joined the Samburu clan of Lorokishu. The boy was found by Lorokishu Morans who were eating meat in the bush. Kosheke became the father of Samanga and Kitaoi became the Father of Nkaldaiya who became the Samburu great Laibon. Samanga was the Father of Kodidi while Nkaldaiya was the Father to Lopeel and Ledipen. It was Kodidi Leaduma who narrated a brief history of the family to Elliot Fratkin because the two sons of Nkaldaiya were still fearful of the Government upto date. They were also warned by the brothers of their mother known as Namanyara (Nkaldaiya first wife) not to make any comments concerning the arrest of their father.

Prior to colonial conquest and domination, Nkaldaiya Leaduma was known to have guided the Samburu. <sup>445</sup>There was a time the Samburu Lorokishu village was moving to North from Nanyuki and had to cross Uwaso Ngiro River to the North. The people found that the river was swollen to its banks. They waited on the river bank. Nkaldaiya himself crossed the river. He pointed at the flooding river with his black horn that was said to be containing ritual

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<sup>442</sup>Fratkin, E.M. *The Samburu Laibon's Sorcery and the Death of Theodore Powys in Colonial Kenya* Journal of Eastern African Studies Department of Anthropology Smith College Northampton Rut ledge Taylor Francis Group MA 01063 USA,2015 P 44-45

<sup>443</sup>KNA PC/RVP/17/1 Report by J. Byrne Brigadier-General to Major Sir Philip Cunliffe Lister Secretary of State for Colonies 24<sup>th</sup> February 1935

<sup>444</sup>Lesopia Leaduma (2018)

<sup>445</sup>Lesopia Leaduma (2018)

medicine then elders and Morans were instructed to assist in making people and stock cross the Uwaso River. The level of the water was high that it reached necks of the adult people yet no person or animal was drowned. My father was among the group and was a boy by then. Two Lpusikishu Lmirisho Morans who tried to cross the river at the same point some minutes later were drowned. That made people believed that their Laibon had real mystical powers over the nature. When the Samburu were living the present day Ngarua (Lngaruai) of Laikipia west, Nkaldaiya called on elders and Morans and told them that there were strangers coming to their area who did not seem to be enemies.<sup>446</sup> Lorokishu Lmirisho Morans were instructed to go and patrol the frontier to the west. The Morans were advised to try to talk to the strangers. When the Morans were scanning the area, they saw about thirty strangers. Some were women. They moved towards them. As they approach each other, the strangers took and raise green leaves.

When they tried to communicate, they discovered that they could communicate in similar language. It was realized that the strangers were Lchamus from Baringo. The Lchamus explained that they had heard from the Dorobo that the Samburu who had left them in Baringo many years ago had come back and were living around Ngelesha area. The Samburu Morans took them to their villages. Each Lchamus both men and women knew the families amongst the Samburu they were related to. They were given accommodation. Some families accommodated two while others one. The day that followed, the Lchamus were interrogated by the elders thereafter the Morans took Lchamus to other Samburu settlements where each found the Samburu family he or she was related to amongst the Samburu clans. When they had completed their mission, Lorokishu elders and the Laibon instructed the Morans to escort them near to their settlement. They went to Baringo with over eighty livestock. Some got cows others sheep and goats while others got donkeys. Lchamus were thankful and promise to come back to sing. After two months Lchamus Lmirisho Morans returned back to Samburu to sing. They came to sing in Lorokishu manyatta at Lngaruai. They sang for three days. They ate two big steers one given by the Samburu Laibon Nkaldaiya Leaduma and another was given by Nkinyanga Leparashao who was a Lorokishu Lmirisho Moran Laiguanani (Chief). Many other families gave out goats and sheep<sup>447</sup>. One dance they sang became popular amongst the Samburu that is called *Mparinkoi* from the word Baringo. It is still sung upto now in Samburu. The other prediction he made was on Lenarum Lemataayo's

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<sup>446</sup>Jerre Leparachao (2018)

<sup>447</sup>Jerre Leparachao (2018)

cattle (my grandfather) of the Lmarikon age set. <sup>448</sup>The family lived between the present Rumuruti and Ngarua in Laikipia. The Lpurko villages were located around the present day Olkalao, (Laankalao). Six Lpurko Morans took away Labarum's cattle while grazing in the bush away from the manyatta. They chased my father in an attempt to kill him. He was a boy by then and was looking after the cattle. After a tough chase the boy climbed the tree consequently; they left him and took away over fifty heads of cattle.

The Samburu Lorokishu Lmirisho Morans followed the rustlers. They caught up with them at Thomson falls the present day Nyahururu and killed two of them. Those killed were from Lekumojino and Letiren families. The rest ran away to save their lives. All cattle were recovered. My grandfather who was of the Lmarikon age set was accused at Rumuruti for not reporting the incidence to the Colonial Government authority. Such event occurred between 1912-1920. The case was reported to have lasted for three years. Nkaldaiya Leaduma was reported to have predicted that Labarum's cattle would be taken away by enemies but they would be recovered and there would be no fatalities on the Samburu side but on the enemy side. Amongst the Samburu, as stated by (Fratkin, 2014, 54), Ntasimi were constructive/protective and nkurupore were destructive medicine. The medicines were also made and used in the warfare. The Laibons were known to have advised warriors on how they could use it. It was upon the warriors to take it to the battles. It could be carried by the leading warriors in special containers such as cattle horn or large cowry shells, worn as amulets or placed on the foot prints on paths walked over by the enemies. The effects of the sorcery were to weaken and confuse the enemy.

Kodidi was a boy when Nkaldaiya his uncle was arrested and deported. He claimed to be the one who buried the head of a Whiteman as instructed by his uncle <sup>449</sup>. Kodidi maintained that Nkaldaiya advised warriors- Lkileku Morans who went for raids in Laikipia. He assisted them with divination. He advocated that Nkaldaiya seemed to be unhappy with whites who took away their Lands and cattle. He maintained that it was his uncle Nkaldaiya who ordered for the head of the White man so that he could make medicines out of it. He confirmed that it was Lorokishu warriors sent by Nkaldaiya who killed Powys in the day time. Lesopia Leaduma whom I interviewed confirmed that it was Lorokishu Lkileku warriors who were

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<sup>448</sup>Ntupa Leparkumoi (2018)

<sup>449</sup>Fratkin, E.M. *The Samburu Laibon's Sorcery and the Death of Theodore Powys in Colonial Kenya* Journal of Eastern African Studies Department of Anthropology Smith College Northampton MA 01063 USA, 2015 P 48

responsible for the Powys' death.<sup>450</sup> In addition, Lesopia Leaduma stated that three Morans went missing. They went to Laikipia and came across white man who greeted them. It was Lelangoi Lesoipa who killed the white man. He stated that Lenkala of Lpusikishu clan who confessed later that he had killed the white man was a mistaken identity. He knew Lenkala had killed a Government Chief in Meru. He stated that following the killing of Powys on 19<sup>th</sup> October in 1931, Morans from Lorokishu and Lpusikishu clan were arrested. My father was among those arrested. They were taken to labour camps. They were fed well. They were given permission to sing and dance. There was a spy amongst them known as Lemukampi. The task given to Lemukampi was to investigate the songs that were sung by the Morans to find out who was responsible for the killing of Powys and other murders committed in Laikipia. Unfortunately the Morans did not know they were investigated. The following song was sung by Lpusikishu Moran:

*Kore kimanu tenkoriong eldonyio, as they climbed the back of big mountain*

*Probably Mt Kenya*

*Nelimu lkoko nemanya lpashire, the cock revealed where the Meru lived*

*Lemunku lmeingopi oishoo lmotonyi nkiri, Lemunku (Moran) gave the vulture meat*

*Neisho nkiri elosipa neisho nesiomi, he gave both human and stock flesh*

*Aisho nkiri eloitore lpashire,*

*The Meru (Chief) He gave meat of the one who controls the Meru*

In the song; the Moran said that as they climb the back of the big mountain probably Mount Kenya, the cock revealed the Meru settlement. It was Lemunku (Moran name, also known as Lenkala) who gave flesh eating birds the meat. He gave them meat of one who controlled the Meru. After a short while Lenkala and another Moran from his clan were arrested. They confessed that they had killed a white man. They were hanged later. Lesopia maintained that Lorokishu Morans had sensed the danger therefore; they did not reveal committing murders in their songs.

## **6.6 Killing and Cleansing Amongst the Samburu**

It was a routine that when a Moran had killed an enemy, several Morans surround the enemy. It was the first Moran who wounded or the Moran whose spear hit the enemy first was credited for killing him. Once a man had killed a person in the battle (Larrabal), he must stop

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<sup>450</sup>Lesopia Leaduma (2018)

and step back. He could not continue in the battle. The killer later goes home singing war song known as *Merat* as follow:

*The mother of the enemy has cried,*

*My mother is happy,*

*Let the crow come down,*

*The crow eats flesh and removes eyes,*

*Let them come down to eat (celebrate),*

*Let the hawk (Kite) come down fast,*

*And if you think not true ask my friends (flesh eating birds).*

(Fratkin, 2015:47).

On reaching home the killer does not eat with the rest of the Morans for nine or seven days. Other people and Morans contributed small stock slaughtered for him to eat.<sup>451</sup> The killer could not use his hands to eat the meat but sharpened stick. He was not allowed to drink milk. He ate only meat and fatty parts cut into pieces without bones. He sometimes drank blood mixed with little milk. The killer lives in a selected hut with the testicles of the victim he had killed. He and other Morans sang *Merat* song every morning for seven or nine days. After a week or so, the killer was taken to a bush far away from the manyatta. A grey uncast rated male goat was slaughtered. The killer was bathed in the slaughtered goats' blood mixed with chyme the first stomach ruminal content (Moyog).<sup>452</sup> He was bathed by a Moran who had killed previously (oltungani otarishie). The killer thereafter could interact with people. After washing or cleansing ritual a piece of skin from the slaughtered goat was tied to the wrist of the killer and above his elbow on the right arm singular (*marlei*) plural (*marlen*). They were replaced with copper bracelets from the black smith later. Six incisions were made on the right forearm. Three high up and three low down. For no other reason could those marks be made except for killing a male enemy. The *Merat* purification ritual might have been the ceremony *Nkaldaiya* was said to have performed over the warriors. The *Merat* song was the basis for the song of vultures the *Lorokishu* warriors were heard singing. (Jon Holtzman and Bilinda Straight 2004) stated that the event described by Kiberenge was not true. In regards to answering questions on the ceremonies performed over the skull. They maintained that the Samburu were not known to have decapitated the heads of the slain enemies for trophies. Some clans for example the *Lorokishu* were known to have severed genitals of the bodies of the slain enemies and brought home the penis and testicles as evidence of

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<sup>451</sup>Kipeeko Lesoipa (2018)

<sup>452</sup>Fratkin, E.M. *the Samburu Laibon's Sorcery and the death of Theodore Powys in Colonial Kenya* Journal of Eastern African Studies Department of Anthropology Smith College Northampton MA 01063 USA 2015 P 47

killing<sup>453</sup>. Spencer stated that some Samburu followed the Rendille customs of cutting off genitals of the dead enemy.

Kodidi Leaduma interviewed by Fratkin. He stated that Laibons used the skulls of the slain enemies to marshal spiritual forces in the battle. Kodidi maintained that Purko Maasai fought Laikipiak. Laikipiak had a powerful Laibon called Lesemeto also known as Laringoi. Laringon were Maa-speakers vanquished by Laikipiak. They were reported to have been brave. His nkurupore was not easy to defeat. Laikipiak Laibon directed his warriors to tie two skulls of the slain enemies on a tree where wind could blow where they could bang each other and make noise. Every time these skulls crashed, enemy died. That was how Laringon were vanquished by Laikipiak. Kodidi added that Purko had a powerful Laibon that had only one eye known as Mbatiany who worked on defeating Laikipia. Mbatiany used the same formulae the Laikipiak used in defeating Laringon to defeat the Laikipiak. According to Lesoipa whom I interviewed, he concurred with Kodidi Leaduma argument that Mbatiany was a powerful Purko Laibon.<sup>454</sup> He stated that Laikipiak were aggressive, feared and brave warriors who fought against the Samburu, Pokot, Turkana, Borana, Kalenjins, Purko and all their neighbours. They were hated for their aggressive war like character. Lesoipa maintained that no single tribe of the Maa-speakers or any other single tribe could have defeated Laikipiak. Their bravery and courage was second to none. It was Mbatiany sorcery medicine power and reinforcement of the Lkisongo Maasai that led to their defeat. They were known to have vanquished other Maa-speakers known as Laringon. Laikipiak occupied and dominated the best grazing Land in the present day central Kenya. Mbatiany according to Lesoipa, whom I interviewed, was known to have told his Purko Maasai warriors to do four things.<sup>455</sup> They were told to kill a dikdik, dye a rogue wild buffalo, smear Laikipiak cattle with donkey's blood and steal stones of divination gourd of the Laikipiak Laibon. The first group of Morans were given medicine and dispatched for the mission. On their way, they killed dikdik. They scrapped off the skin. They entered the Laikipia manyatta at night and pinned down the skin in the middle of the Laikipiak manyatta in which their Laibon Koikoti lived. When they came back, the Purko Laibon called for a crucial meeting. He was known to have asked Purko warriors to give him courageous Morans who could dare to go towards a rogue

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<sup>453</sup>KNA PC/RVP 6A./17/1 the statement by Marire Olekakada to H.H.Trafford D.C. Laikipia on 25<sup>th</sup> November 1933 cr case No 55/1932

<sup>454</sup>Kipeeko Lesoipa (2018)

<sup>455</sup>Kipeeko Lesoipa (2018)

wild male buffalo and hold its horn. After thorough consultations, brave courageous warriors were finally founded. One Moran came fore and said he would take the buffalo by horns. Others were chosen to accompany him. The brave Moran was given medicine that was in the form of either powder or paint. He was instructed to smear the medicine onto the right horn of the beast. The Morans undertook the assignments they were given. They found the buffalo grazing alone in the wild. When the buffalo saw the Morans, it became docile and lay down. The Moran walked towards the beast. The Moran therefore; smeared the beast with the medicine onto its right horn as instructed by Mbatiany their Laibon.

The buffalo immediately after it was smeared with the medicines started running and jumping wildly. It ran in the direction of the Laikipiak country.<sup>456</sup> The Morans followed its footprint and it was said to have entered the Laikipiak manyatta in which their Laibon Koikoti lived in the broad day light. The buffalo was killed in the manyatta by the Laikipiak Morans and eaten. Donkey's blood was tapped from alive donkey. The blood was given to some Morans and instructed to enter the Laikipiak Manyatta at night. They were told to sprinkle the Laikipiak's cattle with the donkey's blood they were carrying. The Morans did as they were instructed. The fourth assignment given to the Purko Morans by their Laibon was that some Morans were instructed to enter the Laikipiak manyatta in the evening; they entered the manyatta when Laikipiak Laibon in the presence of his warriors was throwing down stones from his divination gourd. The Purko spies had entered the house the Laikipiak Laibon was carrying out his official traditional function. When the Laibon threw the first stones, the Purko Morans took some stones and disappeared immediately. When the Laibon threw stones for second time he realized through his divination power that the Purko were present and had taken his stones. He was shocked and terrified. Fear seized him.

The Purko and Lkisongo had completed preparing the ground for a full scale war. The Laikipiak manyatta was located where the present Lanet military barracks was located while that of the Purko was located some kilometres away at a place known as Ntapipi. Laikipiak planned that they would tie their strongest and bravest warrior (Loloshokwe) to two trees with the strongest leather straps ever. Tying him to two trees was necessary as it was thought that he could uproot one tree. They planned that they would release him to crush the enemies when many Purko and Lkisongo fighters had been killed and had become tired in the

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<sup>456</sup>Sobania,W.S. *Defeat and Dispersal of the Laikipiak and Their Neighbours in the 19<sup>th</sup> century* in Being Maasai ethnicity and identity East Africa James Currey London,1993 pp105-119

fighting. Unfortunately, for the Laikipiak their enemies had known their plan through the mystical powers of their Laibon Mbatiany. While the war was at its peak, Purko and Lkisongo strong fighter flanked right without being noticed by the Laikipiak and found the Laikipiak strong man guarded only by a few Morans. They killed him instantly because they found him tied to two trees and then he could not fight. The Laikipiak fighting force was wiped out. The Laikipiak power therefore, disintegrated leading to dispersal of the tribe. A few still live independently in Laikipia County. They are known as Lmomonyot.

From the settlers' point of view, the Government was too weak or unwilling to respond to insubordinate Samburu. The A.G. was accused of incompetence for entrusting the Powys' case to junior inexperienced law officers.<sup>457</sup> The Government was blamed for bringing Leaduma from detention to give evidence at the trial when it "knew" his presence would intimidate witnesses. The judge claimed that 'English criminal law imposes certain restrictions upon the conduct of prosecutions [and that the said law] should prosecute and not persecute'. Government officials explained they had already fined the Samburu. Sir Joseph Byrne described the "Samburu Unrest" as the most engaging issue in the Colony. Spears of the Lkileku age set were seized. The age set was dissolved and Morans were forced to marry. Collective punishment of £900 was imposed on Samburu in Lorroki for not controlling the Morans. Samburu District was incorporated into Rift Valley Province so that Samburu would be under the jurisdiction of the administration answerable to the white settlers of Laikipia. The local leadership was changed. The following Samburu headmen found to have sided with the community against the Government were immediately sacked before the outcome of the Sir Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission. They included: Lemondile from Lukumae clan, Leodip from Longeli clan, Lelemoyog from Lngwdesi clan and Leleruk sacked in 1928 for confronting Sir Edward Grigg at Barsaloi over Lorroki Plateau.

Leaduma was deported.<sup>458</sup> He was deported on 19<sup>th</sup> January, 1934 to Kwale in the Kenya coast, 400 miles from Samburu country.<sup>459</sup> On 15<sup>th</sup> February 1934 Sir Joseph Byrne signed the Deportation order of the Laibon Leaduma to Kwale in the Coast Province for the following

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<sup>457</sup>Duder and Simpson *Land and Murder in Colonial Kenya the Leroghi Land Dispute and the Powys' Murder case* the Journal of Imperial and Common Wealth History 25:3, 47 DOI:10.1080/03086539708583008 Routledge London, 1997

<sup>458</sup>Letter from P.C. Central Province to P.C. Rift Valley Province, 24<sup>th</sup> April 1941, KNA PC/RVP6A/17/23 Ref No Lo 23/1/11/127 Letter from P.C. Central Province to P.C. Rift Valley Province, 26<sup>th</sup> April 1946, KNA/RVP 6A/10/23 Ref No Lo.23/1/11/290

<sup>459</sup> KNA BW 1/1/576

reasons: Laibon was thought to be the instigator to a series of assaults that resulted in the murder of Kikuyu natives in Laikipia and Nanyuki. Secondly there was evidence to show that the Samburu tribe was afraid to give information bearing on the cases while the Laibon remained amongst them. Thirdly Laibon's power over the Samburu tribe was thought by the administrative officers concern to be such as to render investigation of the cases almost incredible. Fourthly it was in the opinion of the administrative officers concern; that for the interest of peace, order and good Governance the Laibon should be deported from his home to another place. The Samburu Laibon was deported by Government Deputy and Exco, minute No 56 meeting held at Government House Nairobi on 26<sup>th</sup> January, 1934 National Archives of the United Kingdom, Colonial office [CO]534/42. In 1939 he was transferred to Embu on the Eastern side of Mt Kenya where he died in 1946.

### **6.7 Verdict of the Sir Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission**

Sir Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission report was released in October 1934. The Carter verdict indorsed that the Kittermaster Line to be retained the way it was as one of the boundaries of the Northern Frontier province subject to any minor adjustments that the Government might consider necessary. All the land to the north and east of it, including the Lorroki Plateau, was reserved for native use and occupation for such a time as might be necessary.<sup>460</sup> The Commissions did not by then recommend the area to be declared Native Reserve for reasons on the subject of Northern Frontier Province stated in the Chapter V laid down at section 68 of the Crown Land Ordinance. In such areas African needs were given priority. The low population density made it undesirable for such large areas to be reserved exclusively for use by individual tribes. The creation of Native reserves might interfere with mining operations and the tribes in question had not established a sufficient claim to the land on historical or economic ground.<sup>461</sup> The commission recommended the boundary to be demarcated in such manner that there could be no mistake as to its whereabouts. The Commission advocated that there should be no leases on the Lorroki to non-natives except for such purposes as were of direct benefit to the natives such as creameries with a reasonable amount of land for grazing purpose, provided that plots for purposes of administration, trading or social services should be allowed, and small plots for residential purposes not exceeding fifty acres.

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<sup>460</sup>KNA BN/12/44

<sup>461</sup>KNA MIN.S.L./1/45

Following Carter's ruling that reserved Lorroki Plateau to the Samburu, settler anger and bitterness exploded in October 1934 in the session of the Kenya Legco consequently; Byrne the Kenya's Governor declared the Samburu 'In a disturbed state'<sup>462</sup>. He sent police reinforcement into the District. Perhaps the Governor intention was to get men in the area not only to appease the Europeans but also to guard against the whites getting out of hand. The settlers sought audience with Byrne. The settlers warned of retaliatory measures. Whites from Laikipia and Thomson Falls drew up a Memorandum of allegations against the Samburu. Byrne met with three settlers leaders in early January 1935. The meeting did not turn out well. Eckstein said Sir Joseph Byrne was frosty and dismissed the three after half an hour interview. The settlers commanded for a Commission of inquiry to look into purported Government transgression and break downs of justices in the case of Kiberenge and the acquittal of the Samburu. The whites last Card to go over the Governor's head was that settlers appealed to sympathetic politicians in London. Sir Gifford Fox wrote to Sir Cunliffe-Lister a shocking letter.<sup>463</sup> The MP from the Conservative bastion of the Oxford shire called for investigation into 'natives' raping a white woman. Major-General Sir Alfred Knox in the House of Commons questioned the conducts and the trials of the Samburu Morans. The conservative MP asked if the Government intended to appoint a Commission of inquiry into the matter. Cunliffe-Lister refused to comment on judicial proceedings but promised to provide information on the case when he had received from Nairobi. Lady Eleanor Cole also used her influence while in London to meet with former Kenya Governor Sir Edward Grigg. She persuaded him to speak on settlers behave to Cunliffe-Lister. In late March final word from the secretary of State came in response to inquiry from Knox. Cunliffe-Lister wrote that the 'local Government spared no possible efforts to elicit the truth'. There was no case whatsoever for establishing further inquiries. The settlers and their supporters failed to have the case reopened.

## 6.8 Summary

The murders committed in the white settlers' farms in Laikipia by the Samburu Lkileku age set Morans and their defiance of Government orders depicted the Samburu resistance against eviction from Lorroki Plateau. The crimes of the Levy Force committed against the Samburu, the sacking of Chiefs after the session of Sir Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission, the

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<sup>462</sup>.Duder and Simpson *Land and Murder in Colonial Kenya The Leroghi Land Dispute and Powy's Murder Case* the Journal of Imperial Common Wealth History High Point University North Carolina USA, 2008 PP 457-458

<sup>463</sup>Daily Herald 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1935

arrest of the Samburu Morans, deportation of the Laibon and hanging of some Morans did not stop the Samburu from defending their possession and rightful occupation of the Lorroki Plateau. The Laikipia white settlers used the mysterious death of Theodore Powys to convince the Colony Government that the Samburu deserved eviction order from Lorroki Plateau. The unjust arrest, detention and deportation and accusations leveled against the Samburu Laibon, Lorokishu and Lpusikishu clans warriors was as a result of instigation by Laikipia white settlers to have Lorroki Plateau alienated from the Samburu and given to white settlers. The Samburu Laibon was deported for political and economic ground. The Laibons amongst the Maa-speakers played important role in ensuring for security to the people especially during crisis. The incision marks on the hands of the warriors who killed the enemies and the wearing of copper bracelets were symbols of recognition for heroism amongst the Samburu. The use of human skulls in the warfare as destructive medicines was meant to counter attack the enemy Sorcery medicine and demoralized rival enemies. In the outcome of the Sir Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission the Laikipia white settlers became the failures and the Samburu became the winners.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### IMPOSED PROJECTS OF DEVELOPMENT FOR UNDERDEVELOPMENT C1936-1961

#### 7.1 Overview

This chapter examines the background that prompted the Colonial State to grab and confiscate forests in the Samburu country. It outlines the forest conservation views of the colonial development specialists. It describes the designations of the colonial legal framework established to curtail and restrict the destruction of the forests by the perceived pastoral people. It identifies the confiscated gazetted forests in hectares in the Samburu country, the exploitation mechanism and the impacts of the grabbing on the Samburu pastoral subsistence production. It outlines reasons for the establishment of the grazing control, composition of the grazing control Committee and the destocking measures imposed on the Samburu. It analyses the unrest that followed the establishments of the grazing control projects in Samburu and Colony Government response to the Samburu determination to flouting all Government operations. It outlines efforts of the Government in ensuring for the success of the grazing projects and factors that contributed to the collapse, crumbling and fragmentation of the grazing projects in Samburu. It highlights the justification for the grabbing and turning of the Samburu pastoral land into Game parks. It describes the administrative official views and position of the Colony Government on the distinction between the pastoral people and the wild. It examines reasons for the Establishment of the Game Reserves in the Samburu in Colonial Era. It highlights the commercial aspect of the creation of the Game Parks and their Impacts on the Samburu. It identifies the diverging views of the Colony administration on the impacts of the wild life on the Samburu pastoral life. It examines the outcome of the Samburu reaction to the impacts of the wild life. It describes the characteristics and nature of the colonial trade and its impact on the Samburu traditional market centres, routes and traditional aspect of the Samburu cattle. It analyses the evolution and development of new trading market centres in Samburu in colonial period. It traces the date the trade in Samburu was officially declared monetized.

#### 7.2 The Creation of Forests in Samburu

Over the course of 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the global demands for tropical forests commodities increased considerably.<sup>464</sup>Commerce in forests products flourished. The European style of

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<sup>464</sup>[Africanhistory-oxfordre-com/view/10-1093//acrefore/.....acrefoe.978019027774-c.196](http://Africanhistory-oxfordre-com/view/10-1093//acrefore/.....acrefoe.978019027774-c.196).

forestry control and empire building, amalgamated in the final years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Europeans formed what they called modernization projects that called for ecological and social control of the forests. The power brokers in the European capitals confiscated thousands of hectares of indigenous people lands in Africa in a process that proved to be an extra ordinarily confusing to local life and to the foresters themselves in a scenario that became a site of bitter conflicts. As the battle played out, timber enterprises, reoriented labour patterns and sold the indigenous forests trees without providing any long term economic development. By the turn of 20<sup>th</sup> century Colonial Governments had gathered enough powers to survey and claim most of what was believed to be exploitable forests in Africa as justification for the land grab. <sup>465</sup>Foresters cited their own disputably limited scientific expertise arguing that indigenous people had threatened valuable timber resources with deforestation. The colonial development specialists created a model of Ecological History whose function combined population growth with their perceived backwardness in African systems contrary to ways Africa human communities managed Africa's various forests types as pastoral lands, sacred places, hunting ground and sanctuaries. As colonies consolidate their administrative powers, they brought into bureaucracies, forest officers. <sup>466</sup>Many were trained in Germany where forest science and management had a long history, or in British colonial settings like India or South Africa. <sup>467</sup>In addition, colonial Governments created Land Commissions in order to legalize confiscation that included both forested and potential forest lands in the interest of meeting the lumbering demands in the international markets. Their ideologies of control presented a decidedly secular view of forests value to their new possessions in Africa. Forestry Departments hired surveys to measure their estates. A justly uniform exploitation plan based on clearing out the indigenous forest and then planting of wood lots of fast growing exotic trees was also initiated. Foresters instilled an image of lands alienation by demarcating their estates property line with fast-growing trees like eucalyptus. In the process of alienating the forest land, Colonial administration stripped indigenous people of their usufruct rights. Forest Departments rebranded Africans people inhabited and depended in their forests for thousands of years as squatters. The act of forest confiscation set the stage for conflicts<sup>468</sup>. Land reservation also had ecological repercussions outside the forest reserves as people struggled to reorient pastoralists' life without firewood, timber,

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<sup>465</sup>KNA PC/RVP/6A/13/3

<sup>466</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

<sup>467</sup>*Report of the Kenya Land Commission September 1933* presented by the Secretary of State for Colonies to Parliament by the Command of His Majesty Majesty Stationery Office Land 1934 p 240

<sup>468</sup>KNA Bw 1/1/576

medicinal plants, weapons and meat the forests previously provided.<sup>469</sup> The Colonial Government continued to practice sustained yield forestry logging operations. Colonial administration created forests in the Kenya colony. The forests were classified into; reserved forests and protected forest. The reserved forests were those forests with valuable timbers. Such forests were closed such that pastoralists were locked out completely<sup>470</sup>. In regards to protected forests, some customary rights were granted but pastoralists' movements were severely restricted.

In 1902, East Africa Forestry Regulation was published<sup>471</sup>. It transferred management mandate of the forests to the Forest Department. The regulations were designed to curtail forest destruction by the perceived pastoral groups. The rules provided for the basis of the gazettement of the forests, outlined forest crimes and the penalties. The rules introduced compounding of offenses and authorized the issuing of licenses for permitted activities. In 1903, the Chief Conservator of the forests raised the need to demarcate the forests. Such demonstrated the rationale behind colonialists' intentions in conserving forests<sup>472</sup>. Their intentions were purely driven by economic needs of the metropolitan. Forests were seen as good investments besides their value climatically<sup>473</sup>. Major Ward pointed out that there was a growing demand for East Africa timbers. He was told in London that the demand for cedar and podo exceeded the supply.

Mr. Stone Provincial Commissioner Northern Frontier Province and Mr. Cornell the District Commissioner in charge of Samburu raised suggestions to Sir Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission at Kisima on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1933 on creation of Forests<sup>474</sup>. Kenya Land Commission recommended as a "package deal" that Lorroki Plateau be given to the Samburu for their use and occupation provided that Lorroki cedar forest be demarcated and declared Government Reserve to save cedars from the ruins by inhabitants<sup>475</sup>.<sup>476</sup> At the end of 1935, Lorroki Forest, an area of 282,200 acres, had already been demarcated and closed completely

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<sup>469</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

<sup>470</sup>Daniel Lesampuri (2018)

<sup>471</sup>KNA PC/RVP/6A/13/3

<sup>472</sup>KNA BN/12/44/Kirisia Forest Ref your s/p/ For .4/6 of 9/VII/56

<sup>473</sup>KNA PC/RVP/6A/13/3

<sup>474</sup>Carter, M. *the Report of Kenya Land Commission* presented by the Secretary of State for Colonies, His Majesty Stationary Office 1933 pp.231-240

<sup>475</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

<sup>476</sup>Fumagalli, C.T. *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-Cultural Processes Among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya, 1900-1975*, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1977.

for cattle grazing. In 1947 Samburu was constituted as a district in its own right. The first draft of the Samburu Forest policy was drawn up in Nairobi. The policy stressed the importance of forest areas for preserving and improving the existing trees and protective cover and from the point of view of water supply. The Chief Conservator of Forests from Nairobi elaborated and defined the policy regarding the Lorroki Forest. According to the policy the Samburu had “no right in a legal sense” to Lorroki Forest since all Samburu District was Crown Land therefore; Lorroki Forest was Crown Forest. He added that grazing and all other forms of uses of the forests by the inhabitants were entirely of secondary importance. In April 1947 in connection with the first modest attempt at grazing control in the low country, the Matthews Ranges, although not demarcated as yet, was completely closed for grazing. Forest demarcation around Matthews Ranges and Uargess was completed in April in 1948. In 1949, in connection with the preliminary survey of Ndotto, the Samburu headmen and elders of Elbarta were shown the forest boundaries. The last Samburu forest to be demarcated was Mt. Ngiro, the dearest and the most sacred forest to the Samburu. It is the place where they celebrate the ceremony of the beginning of a new age-set, and where the Samburu always start the circumcision cycle.<sup>477</sup> The first time that the Samburu District Commissioner visited Mt. Ngiro was in 1936. He declared in amazement that the magnificent Mount Ngiro Forests was second to no other forest in Kenya. He realized that the Samburu had been traditionally practicing satisfactory control of the forest and the grazing. He also discovered that the Samburu moved up Mt Ngiro with cattle and then descended at certain periods of the year. They vacated from the top of the mountain as soon as the rains fell and returned during the dry season. Nature itself played an important role in the protection of the Ngiro forest. When mists were down (generally from 3 to 5 months a year) the Samburu and their cattle were not able to withstand the Cold weather, therefore, by custom, Mt. Ngiro remained closed for about 7 months of the year. On the basis of the facts above, the District Commissioner clearly stated that after demarcation of the Ngiro Forest that there should be “as little interference as possible with the Samburu customs”. He stated that no rules would be introduced without consultation and consideration of the local customs.

On April, 17, 1956, a Forest Working Plan was designed for all the Samburu Forests. The number of the animals allowed into the forests in dry season was defined, and no goats were

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<sup>477</sup>Fumagalli, C.T. *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-Cultural Processes Among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1900-1975* A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the State University of New York in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1977 p 197

allowed into the forests. In forests some permanent inhabitants of the Dorobo descentry were permitted to keep a limited number of cattle. In addition, when the Rendille, water points dried up they were permitted to make use of watering points inside the Ndotto forest boundary. The responsibilities of fire protection on both Matthews and Ndotto fell on the permanent residents. Mt. Ngiro was opened only during the dry season for a limited number of Samburu grazers who were residents of the area<sup>478</sup>. On 27<sup>th</sup> February, 1957 an unprecedented change came from the Divisional Forester of Thomson's Falls that Mt. Ngiro Forest had to be kept closed as long as possible every year. Whereas opening of other forests was the concern of both the District Commissioner and the District Forester. Mt Ngiro forest could only be opened after the approval of the Divisional Forester of the Thomson's fall. In addition on Mt. Ngiro grazing could only be allowed on the flat land around the boundary and on the very lowest parts of the slopes. The top of Mt. Ngiro was reserved solely for the Samburu ceremonies and, on no account would unrestricted grazing be allowed there, except in an emergency. In 1959 Samburu District Commissioner, was frequently faced with persistent, authoritarian, and bias policies of the Forest Department consequently; he commented very strongly: 'The outlook of the Forest Department continues to be somewhat vital, and they tend to look on anything which is behind a so-called forest line, as a sacred grove in which only they are allowed to worship' (Fumagalli, 1977:200). The estimated forest area falling under special policy rules in Samburu by 1935 was 282200 acres on Lorroki.<sup>479</sup> By 1954, the total forest area estimated was 1,076,856 acres (4356km<sup>2</sup>). Gazetted Forests in the Samburu District covered 325,000 hectares of the land as follows: Lorroki/Kirisia forest reserve 90,880 hectares, Matthews Ranges forest reserve 92,680 hectares, Ndotto Range forest reserve 96,040 hectares and Mt. Ngiro forest reserve 45,400 hectares. Timber exploitation in Samburu was 89.461 cumetres that fetched shs.3, 414/- a year. Fuel wood; very little was sold. Charcoal burning fetched sh.108. Poles: A total of 3610 running meters were sold at sh.627/-.<sup>480</sup> It was reported that Samburu forests under Mr. C.N. Elliot the Assistance Conservator of Forest did well. The saw mills were reported to have done well due to contract given to the Military to extract wooden for railways sleepers.

Daniel Lesampuri upheld that contracts to process timbers in Samburu forests were given to an Arab businessman known as Bhola who felled trees for timbers at Timiyoi in Kirisia hills.

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<sup>478</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

<sup>479</sup>Etemesi, J.K. *Samburu District Annual Report* for the year,1984 p.22

<sup>480</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

The Samburu were prevented from entering forests that provided them with valuable forage for their cattle<sup>481</sup>. Settlers and colonists saw the Samburu as dangerous to the forests and deserved to be subjected to severe restrictions. The Samburu movement into the forest was regulated. They were issued with permits for entry after they had paid the required amount of money. Timing of their entry and departure was specified. Issuing of permits was accompanied by troubles and harassments, punishments when rules were disobeyed. Many people ended up in imprisonment. Some were accused for taking just a tooth brush from trees in forested areas. Others were trespassers who visited their relatives in the East and vice versa. When found to have overstayed in the forests they were levied with heavy fines and sometimes imprisoned. The impact of forest Acts amongst the Samburu became a combative issue. The customary grazing rights were lost<sup>482</sup>. It led to loss of grazing land as well as valuable water sources which in turn led to overgrazing in the existing land. It led to meager fodder that in turn caused loss of livestock productivity. Such forced the Samburu herdsmen to keep increasing the number of cattle to make up losses. The lands the Samburu were confined to do not get time to regrow. The overgrazing therefore; led to land degradation. The existing stock was fed with whatever grazing that was available. The stock numbers decreased drastically. There were increase cases of stock trespasses into the gazetted forests. There was overgrazing in the gazetted forests and the death in masses of the Samburu cattle in 1959 drought demonstrated grazing crisis in the Samburu native reserve.

### **7.3 Colonial Policies of Grazing Control**

Following the recommendation of the Kenya Land Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Morris Carter in 1934 that introduced new structural changes for land use and management in the colony, grazing control, grazing schemes and squeeze grazing were eventually established amongst the Samburu<sup>483, 484</sup>. Sir Joseph Byrne the Colony Governor commented that the tenure for Lorroki would not be similar to tenures of land in Native Reserves. He stated that he would impose conditions to prevent overgrazing and overstocking.<sup>485</sup> The projects were intended to turn on reduction of livestock numbers, diseases control and creation of livestock markets through British finance, demonstrating the

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<sup>481</sup>Gradestack.com/CBSE...pastoralists.in../colonial Rule../19220-3855-3408-Study-w-t

<sup>482</sup>John Lesiokono (2018)

<sup>483</sup>*Report of the Kenya Land September 1933* presented by the Secretary of State for Colonies to Colonies by the Commands of His Majesty Majesty Stationery Office Land 1934 p 240

<sup>484</sup>KNA PC/RVP/6A/45/3

<sup>485</sup>Mwangi and Elinor *A Centenary of Institutions and Ecology in East Africa Rangelands* Linking Institutional Robustness with Ecology of Resilience of Kenya Maasailand, University of Oran, 2009 pp 220-206

improvement of the stock breeding practices and conducting experiment in pasture improvement but the overall rationale for creating grazing schemes was to disrupt and curtail nomadic mobility. The establishment became an object of conflicts between the Samburu and Colony Government. Each grazing scheme was to be administered by a District Livestock Officer with assistance of a grazing committee comprising 12 elders responsible for the enforcement of regulations.<sup>486</sup>The Livestock Officers acted under Special District Ordinance and bylaws that conferred broad powers up on them.

They determined who could graze the livestock, the name, and the number of livestock each could graze, the amount of grazing fees, where they could graze and determine the enforcement of fines on violators of the set regulations. The bylaws did not provide for an appeal against a livestock officers' decision. John Lesyiokono maintained that colonial authority divided and separated the Samburu clans and settled them in different locations on Lorroki Plateau.<sup>487</sup>They were settled in various grazing blocks for example his clan of Lmasula was settled at Leder.<sup>488</sup> He could remember Lorokishu being settled at a place known as Loiragai. He added that areas were closed for grazing for six months. Sometimes they were closed for three months. He could remember people stealing grass from closed grazing blocks and they were arrested. They were released after paying sh.50/-. There were people who guarded closed grazing blocks and forests. They were known as *Ljajuusi* (intelligent).<sup>489</sup>The cattle in Lorroki Grazing schemes were branded with a letter J. The Provincial Commissioner Rift Valley Province Mr. Welby informed the Samburu that stock on Lorroki would be limited to 40,000 cattle. In 1938, Colonial administration introduced the de-stocking policy of grazing schemes amongst the Samburu after two weeks of lecturing on the ideologies and returns of the destocking policies. No progress was made since the preliminary work broke down in January 1939. The Samburu seemed to have not been pleased by grazing control measures imposed by the administration.

The time of grazing control in Lorroki Plateau was marked by the years of murders and unrest in Samburu. In 1936 the Acting Provincial Commissioner Rift Valley reported in the meeting held on February 12<sup>th</sup> at 9.30.A.M. at Government House Nairobi five murders were

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<sup>486</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

<sup>487</sup>J. Ngaato Lesyiokono (2017)

<sup>488</sup>KNA MINI.S.L/1/45

<sup>489</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2 Political in General

committed by the Samburu Morans.<sup>490</sup> On 17<sup>th</sup> May 1938 a Somali was reported to have been killed by the Samburu at Loonkishu in Isiolo and 811 cattle were taken<sup>491</sup>. Two native children were reported to have been murdered at Mugododo. An elderly Turkana was reported to have been murdered by the Samburu at Sigira. It was also reported that two Turkana children were murdered at Kauro. It was also reported that a child herding goats was murdered by the Samburu at Nadume. A Suk was also reported to have been murdered by the Samburu on Suk Laikipia border. In 1945 a murder said to have been committed by the Samburu was reported in Northern Laikipia. In January 1939, 600 Samburu men were reported to have attended meeting at Kisima ground. Government headmen and Dorobo were not allowed into the meeting. Lemondile was reported to have sent two Samburu to Nairobi with sh.800/- to consult a lawyer. One of the two was Sinorian Lengolia. The Samburu were reported again to have held a meeting on 27<sup>th</sup> March, 1939 on their own and Chiefs/headmen were not allowed into the meeting. Cull-branding project led to serious unrest in 1939.<sup>492</sup> In the meeting with the administration the Samburu raised their demands and issued threats to Colonial Government<sup>493</sup>. Lemondile was reported to have said there was no need any more to respect the Colony Government, boundaries, take notice of the Veterinary Quarantine, respect the forest reserve boundaries and the Samburu did not need the service of the Stock Inspector any more. The Government in response, called for a meeting held on 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1939. Those attended included: J.G. Hopkins the Provincial Commissioner, Rift Valley Province K.M. Cowles the D.C. Laikipia, Chiefs, elders of the Samburu tribe and the Lkileku Morans. The Samburu raised complaints that included: end of branding cattle as destocking strategy, abolition of the Lorroki grazing control, the eradication of the Veterinary Quarantine at Kisima, permission to graze goats on Lorroki Plateau, opening for the Samburu the Crown Land between Rumuruti and Samburu. The Samburu complained that they had lost their country that was theirs in the past (Laikipia Plateau). The Samburu also demanded the removal of the Veterinary Department from Samburu country. They demanded for the dismissal of all the Government Headmen in Samburu District. They also demanded there should be no Force Labour on road making and other public work in Samburu District. The P.C. answered the Samburu in regards to public work that in accordance with Local Native Council Standard resolution No 7, Forced Labour was a requirement in the Public Service. Lemondile the richest Samburu former headman was reported to have raised more demands

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<sup>490</sup>KNA PC/RVP/6A/43/3 Notes on Samburu politics

<sup>491</sup>DC/ISO/4/7/13

<sup>492</sup>African Standard Wednesday May 31, 1939

<sup>493</sup>KNA BW/1/576

that included: that the Morans be given their spears and allowed to carry as they used to do in the past.<sup>494</sup> He demanded that there should be no more further attempts to destock the Samburu cattle. He complained that the Wadorobo were occupying an area known as Merti that was a Samburu country.

Lemondile stated that the badge worn by the Samburu headmen of the time was of no significance but it only prevented them from being murdered. He did not recognize the existence of administration in the Samburu District. He maintained that the Government of the time was unfit to control the Samburu. He added that the Europeans settlers occupying the boundary between Samburu and Laikipia were stealing Samburu grazing land. Lelelit former Samburu headman quoted to have said:<sup>495</sup> “we would rather our stock were left to die than have quarantine and grazing control”. When told to present the grievances before the District Commissioner, Lemondile answered that the D.C. did not exist. He said that he would administer the Samburu country himself. He declared that the Samburu would not pay tax. He also claimed that he was the king of the Samburu and he be allowed to choose his Lukumae clan headmen.<sup>496</sup> He upheld that he was tired of waiting the Government reply. Lemondile maintained that the Government could confiscate the Samburu cattle but if the Samburu demands were not met he would move the whole Samburu tribe to Italian territory. He sent a delegation to Nairobi Government that presented the Samburu grievances before the Colony Government. They included: Singore Lengolian, Nyamalo Lesiamito, Lebaragui Lekarsia, Ewatan Lelendu and Kiabas Leshakwet.

The Government in response was reported to have held another crucial meeting on 17<sup>th</sup> May 1939.<sup>497</sup> Those present in the meeting were Mr. Harragin- Acting Chief Native Secretary, Mr. S.H. la Fontaine- Acting Chief Native Commissioner, Mr. R.C.A. Cavendish- Commissioner of Police, Mr. J.G. Hopkins- Acting Provincial Commissioner, Rift Valley Province and Mr. T.R.J. Ridgway-Superintendent of the Police Nakuru. Mr., Ridgway informed the meeting the position of the Samburu that if their demands were not met, the Samburu would be out of control. Lemondile was noted to be the Samburu ringleader. He was reported to have encamped near roadside waiting for the answers to the Samburu demands. He was reported to have threatened that the Samburu would resort to a wholesale stock thieving and spear

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<sup>494</sup>KNA BW 1/1/576 The Samburu Unrest F.ADM.14/5/1/111/130

<sup>495</sup>KNA BW1/1/576

<sup>496</sup>KNA DC/MRL/1/1/1 Samburu Intelligence Report April 1939

<sup>497</sup>KNA BW 1/576 Minutes of the Meeting Held at the Secretariat on 17<sup>th</sup> May, 1939

bleeding of which the safety of the European farms on the border between Samburu and Laikipia District would be affected. It was reported that 26 Samburu manyattas comprising of ten thousand cattle had moved to Mugododo in defiance of the administration order. Lemondile was said to be restless in his attitudes towards Government and administrative Officers in the District and Provincial level. Government through the Commissioner of the Police Nairobi recommended immediate action to be taken against Lemondile under cap.61 of the laws of Kenya.<sup>498</sup>In 1940, Colony administration continued to strengthen the grazing measures by means of periodic counting of the stock as well as fining those who exceeded their quotas. In the first five years of grazing control on Lorroki, the Samburu ignored the grazing measures put in place by Colony administration. In 1943 allocation of grazing permits on Lorroki were completed. 39500 heads of cattle were branded with Lorroki brand.<sup>499</sup>The branding was reported to have been unpopular for the majority of the Samburu. Police patrols were sent out frequently to impose the rules and apprehend the offenders of grazing laws who were prosecuted and if not arrested, their cattle were confiscated until they surrender to the authority. Sentences for the offenders were increased. The criminal cases reported in 1945 alone were 834. The convicts were mainly nonpayment of grazing fees and disobedience of Government headmen in regard to order in grazing. In 1945, Honorable Chief Native Commissioner Col. Merchant and Honorable Acting Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Hamilton-Ross visited Samburu District from 20<sup>th</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> September. They held a series of Baraza at Sugutta Marmar, Ngaruai, Kisima, Kirimon, Wamba, Baragoi, Napung and back to Maralal. In the Baraza, the entire question of grazing control was discussed in low and high country. The decisions reached in those Baraza were recorded in District Commission's VET.23/11.vol.11 of 14.10.1945 in which lines of future policy were set.

The limitation of the number of the stock on Lorroki Plateau remained a combative issue requiring a careful attention.<sup>500</sup>The requests received from K.A.R. serving askaris asking for permits had their requests turned down. The same demands were made by the Samburu to have balance of their permit branded "J". Following those demands and applications by the askaris, the District Officer investigated the whole position of the Lorroki permit. It was resolved that there was need to reducing the sufficient head of stock on the existing permits to make adequate allowance for calves, donkeys and allow some room for the returning askaris.

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<sup>498</sup>Fumagalli, C.T. *a diachronic Study of Change and Socio-cultural Processes amongst the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya, 1900-1975* State University of New York at Buffalo Springs.,1977 Pp184-193

<sup>499</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

<sup>500</sup>KNA PC/RVP/6A/45/3

The proposal met with a serious opposition but after several Baraza that were held the opposition was overcome and the cut in permits accepted. The issue of the Lorroki revised grazing permits was completed early in the year 1946.<sup>501</sup> The main job that remained was enforcement of the grazing rules and quotas. Various grazing offences were reported as followed; low country cattle grazed on Lorroki, grazing on closed areas by some people from Lorroki and unbranded cattle grazing on Lorroki. Headmen and elders reported to have remained silence when reports of grazing offences were committed under their eyes. Several Lorroki permits were cancelled for serious offences but that did not seem to have effects on the volume of the offences. Another short coming was that sufficient time could not be spent on the proper checking of the individual permits. The grazing Guards and tribal police could not be relied upon for their important work. The grazing committee held regular meetings. Members received a small remuneration for controlling grazing in their sectional areas<sup>502</sup>. The Lorroki Scheme holds 42000 stock units assessed and thought to have 352,000 acres and grazing fees was sh.3/-p.a. The grazing committee recommended that the 239 grazing blocks on Lorroki to be reduced to 50 blocks on Lorroki in order to; ease control and enable regular 4:4 rotation to be practiced over nearly the whole scheme. It proposed to remove various unnecessary restrictions that served to irritate the Samburu and relief the stock holders who were compelled by the system to graze in the tsetse fly infested areas. In 1950, new grazing control rules for Lorroki were imposed that superseded the 1936 rules by the Samburu District Commissioner. The new Grazing Committee consisted of: DC, DLO, Forester and GW. Grazing control on Lorroki was allowed to limited number of the stock on a permit issued by the District Commissioner. Grazing control therefore; came under close supervision of Assistant Agriculture Officer and District Commissioner.<sup>503</sup> In 1947, Senior Agricultural officer, Mr. Oates reported that the policy of closing areas led to too great concentration of the stock on the opened areas consequently, greater deterioration of those areas. He reported that Lorroki should carry 40,000 head of stock without it being necessary to close areas. He noted that it was a problem that was not solved. He reported that there were more than 40,000 head of cattle in Lorroki Plateau. In 1950, the British administration prepared for an expansion of the grazing schemes that covered the whole District. The detail of that preparation was contained in ‘Memorandum on Problems, Policy and Planning for Agriculture in Native areas.’

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<sup>501</sup>DC/SAM/1/3 Samburu District Annual Report 1949

<sup>502</sup>KNA/SAM/1/4

<sup>503</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/4

To avoid overgrazing in the vicinity of permanent water sources, the policy recommended the construction of additional permanent water points in the forms of dams and boreholes<sup>504</sup>. The following dams were constructed: Poror 3000,000 gals by soil conservation Unit, Lemisigi, 22,000,000 gals by conservation Unit, Morijo 1000,000 gals by A.D.C. Tractor Unit and Two small forest water holes by A.D.C. Tractor Unit<sup>505</sup>. A series of useful small concrete wall were built at Nkare Narok. In 1956, Loosuk springs were improved by concrete troughs. Section lines were cut by Moran labour organized by grazing committee of elders. The borehole in Amaya yielded 3,600 gallons in 10 hours pumping. Loudon dam between Kisima and Maralal was completed and held water for about 4 months despite poor rains. A small dam was also built on the Legas near Maralal but did not fill. Windmill operated borehole was installed. By 1953, the District was supplied with 9 boreholes equally distributed in the three District Divisions. By 1956 Lorroki had 13 dams.

Closed area was extended to Wamba Division.<sup>506</sup> In November, 1945 an area on the West slopes of the Mathews Range, from Wamba to Loosikiriachi was closed for grazing. That served as an experiment for grazing in the low country. It operated under the instructions and advice of the Honourable Chief Native Commissioner when he visited Wamba in September 1946. Elders in that regard were issued with orders to their sections to move away from the reserve grazing ground. Wamba River Valley was also closed to all stock in order to reviving the failing water supply. The vegetation recovered in October and November in 1946 but water did not return by the end of the year. It showed improvement at the end of the year 1946. Grazing control projects in the East were expanded the “the grazing control was restructured into grazing schemes” it was introduced in 1956 to Lorroki and expanded to include North and Eastern Samburu. The policy concerned with bringing gradually large areas of the District under controlled grazing till eventually the whole District was under control. The excess stock was squeezed out into uncontrolled areas that became small and crowded. The policy was known as “squeeze policy” The policy reached its peak in 1957-1961. In 1958, Wamba group of schemes continued to prosper.<sup>507</sup> Wamba had higher rainfall

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<sup>504</sup>Fratkin, .E.M. “*African Study*” Review Vol 144 No 3 Paper by Africa Association, Department of Anthropology at Smyth College Northampton Massachusset USA,2001 PP 1-25

<sup>505</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

<sup>506</sup>Fumagalli, C.T. *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-cultural Processes among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1 900-1975* a Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate school of the State University of New York USA in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of Doctor Philosophy, 1977 p 185.

<sup>507</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/4

than other schemes in the region. It enjoyed the benefits of piped water. It flourished with its operations. There were; 1500, cattle in 20,000 acres. In Wamba two sub-surface dams were made and were useful. Grazing fee was sh.3/-p.a. Rotation was 4: 4. Wamba in 1960 had 18,000 stock units with 28,000 acres. With its higher rainfall, it was the most successful in the low country. On the challenges that faced Wamba Grazing Scheme, there was drop of water 3 miles up the Wamba. The scheme experienced shortage of water for four months. It became impossible to work on 4:4 month rotation. Wamba pipe line became disappointment. Its cost rose from £500 to £8000. Its delivery dropped in dry season to 70 gals an hour. The 4 of the tanks dug by A.D.C. Tractor unit, remained dry. Two dams that filled up also were silt up. Fencing was erected to fence out wild animals. Elephant smashed the fences. Seya grazing controlled was opened in the East slopes of the Lorroki in 1958. Seya quarantine was enforced for the retention of cattle for 6 months instead of the normal four months. Seya borehole at Barsilinga, Seya scheme was well supplied with water. It was a popular scheme awaited by many people to join. It held 10,000 stock units in 130,000 acres. Grazing fee was sh.3/-p.a. Rotation was 4:4. Seya in 1960 was able to keep almost to its proper 4:4 Rotation except the Barsilinga block that could not open in September for having not received rain. Karapach was added to Seya scheme in November. There were therefore, 11,500 stock units in 152000 acres. Grazing fees was sh.2/-p.a. Seya grazing scheme was also faced by challenges. There had been trespassers and drought of two consecutive years. It severely damaged the scheme which was regarded promising in the beginning.

Ngarone grazing scheme was opened on 1<sup>st</sup> September, 1959<sup>508</sup>. It had good grass cover but no water. It consisted of 4 blocks strips excised from the Seya and Wamba Schemes. Ngarone grazing control consisted of 2 blocks, north of the road Maralal-Wamba. The Southern blocks had sufficient water, but no enough grass. Two dams and two tanks were constructed in January in 1960 in the Northern blocks. A good and well placed sub-surfaced dam was constructed at the junction of the four blocks. Consideration was given to altering the block boundaries so as to make 4 long narrow parallel blocks each well grassed in the North and well watered in the South. Ngarone in 1960 had 8000 stock units and 224000 acres. Fee was sh.2/-p.a. Through the initiatives of the Samburu elders, the Nyobe area, 44,000 acres of grazing was added to the Ngarone to improve the stock acreage rotation. 2 dams and 2 tanks were constructed by the S.S.D. during the year. In November 1960, Seya and Ngarone

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<sup>508</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/4

schemes were combined to form a single 4:4 schemes known as Barsilinga with 19500 stock units 276000 acres, fees was sh.2/- p.a. On the challenges that had faced Ngarone grazing scheme, it had never had a fair chance. Greater part of it had no rain besides heavy local storms that had burst two new dams. Lbaa Oibor was another grazing control in Wamba Division. It opened at the end of the year in 1960. It had 5000 stock units on 96,000 acres based on the Paraka pipeline. It intended to expand in 1961 to 7000 stock units on 140,000 acres. Two dams were constructed. Two tanks were also constructed and pipe from Uarges was installed. The grazing did well than the low country average as the area under the Mountain got more rain that year.

On grazing schemes in Samburu North, Merti Plateau was closed for grazing.<sup>509</sup>Merti was Elbarta group of schemes.<sup>510</sup>It had 4000 stock units on 70,000 acres. A fee was sh.1/-p.a. The scheme struggled throughout the year to sustain its operation. The new Sharda dam enabled the Northern half to be used. The scheme expanded to include Nderende and Laimorok early in 1961. It had 15,000 acres holding 7,600 stock units. It was heavily trespassed by the Turkana reported over western boundaries that were remote and inaccessible. 3 dams were constructed by S.S.D. Before the above projects were completed, the seasonal rotation was practiced.<sup>511</sup>The area looked stony but the scheme was popular as the sparse grass had a high food value and the cattle were fit. The area was hardly hit by the drought that year .Kowop Grazing Scheme was opened. In its opening it suffered severely from drought. A new dam was constructed at Soit Ilpeieni that was shared with Elbarta sub-surface dam. It was constructed at Lariokodo. When the water projects were filled, they enabled the inhabitants to devise an appropriate rotation instead of one based on Kowop. In Kowop Scheme, there were 4600 stock units in 85000 acres. The area stock population doubled in the course of the year. Grazing fees was sh.1/-p.a. The scheme had hard time in the year.

There was no grass or water in the Southern (Luatani block).Elbarta grazing scheme opened late due to imposition of the quarantine that was on 1<sup>st</sup> June 1959. It was an easy year as there was a good grazing and enough water despite a prolong drought. There was enough water in the first block known as Koitikal till end of August. The stocks were moved to Ndotto for 4

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<sup>509</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

<sup>510</sup>DC/SAM/3/3 Leroghi grazing Schemes Control 1935

<sup>511</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

months. There were 12000 stock units in 280,000 acres. Grazing fees was sh.1/-p.a. Rotation was hoped to be 4:4. The soil conservation service constructed 5 dams and 1 tank, the A.D.C. constructed 2 tanks and 5 sub-surface dams. There was a hole excavated by the D.O. against the advice of water experts who visited Elbarta. The hole was known as chambers' Folly. Fortunately the hole caught and retained water much better than many of the approved tanks. Elbarta scheme proper block rotation could not be maintained. Chambers' Folly held water and filled with showers. Tangar was opened shortly 4 square miles from Baragoi trading center but it was closed again. In order to reinforce and implement grazing schemes projects in the District, new grazing guards out posts were built at Longutuki, Merti and Seketet making them add upto 13 in total<sup>512</sup>. The strict regulations concerned with permit, fees, branding, grazing, watering stock in the blocks and use of boreholes.<sup>513</sup> The grazing schemes projects did not do well in the low country due to the shortage of water, control of stock numbers, bareness of the land and inefficient erratic rainfall and the scarcity of the staff to supervise the schemes. There were also a great number of wild animals. By 1961 one third of the District was covered by grazing schemes. There was a persistence prolong drought in Samburu District for two years between 1959 and 1961. There was a continuous addition of other areas to existing schemes conspired to undermine functioning of the controlled areas. The conditions accelerated the total breakdown of the grazing schemes. There was more trespassing from uncontrolled areas into the schemes. The scheme-permit holders accepted into their herds unbranded cattle from outsiders despite the disease risks or severe penalties connected with such action. More people entered the schemes illegally to join friends and relatives to escape conditions that developed in outer-scheme areas. The administration became isolated. Chiefs and headmen sided with those ignoring scheme regulations. They defied penalties imposed for breaking rules. Grazing guards were unable to impose the penalties due to trespassing. Confiscations for trespassing into the schemes were high. 2000 cattle were reported to have been confiscated. By 1961, well over 100,000 Samburu cattle perished in the prolong drought and several scores of thousands of small stock had also died of famine. The situation led to collapse and crumbling of the grazing schemes projects in Samburu District. It was a time of ecological crisis as people were pushed to the point of no return by the senseless grazing restrictions and battery of Ordinances. In addition, Samburu

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<sup>512</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/4

<sup>513</sup>Fumagalli C.T. *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-Cultural Processes Among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1900-1975* A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the State University of New York in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1977 p 191

elders representatives of all clans resorted to vital measure of curse to whoever supported formation and maintenance of grazing schemes projects in the whole district. Colony Government submitted to the destiny of the grazing schemes projects to the elders who consistently voted the project out and that marked the end of grazing schemes project in the District.

#### **7.4 Game Parks in Samburu**

Colonialists changed land use in pastoralists' areas to suit to the needs of the economic policies of metropolitan.<sup>514</sup>The Imperial Government deliberately created game parks in pastoral land in order to render them landless so that pastoralists could seek employment from colonial settings (Sobania, 1991). It was a process of land confiscation meant to induce pastoralists to become squatters.<sup>515</sup>Game Parks were established in the early years of the 1900.<sup>516</sup>The parks were created on the grazing land belonging to the Maasai and the Samburu pastoralists. The Colony Officials felt that pastoralists did not trade nor did they eat agricultural products (Knowles and Collets, 1989) therefore; that served as justification for turning the Samburu pastoral land into Game parks. In colonial period pastoralists were viewed as nature and nature was seen as wilderness. The dichotomy between nature and culture lies at the root of the Western Civilization that needs to be understood as central to ideologies behind the creation of Parks in the pastoral land. Other words equated with Western Civilization were: progress, modernization, Europeanization, industrialization, innovation, development, domination and alienation from ones' own culture, arbitrary control and disruption of the Samburu traditional institutions, alienation of land, creation of grazing schemes, and confiscation of the Samburu forests, confiscation of the Samburu cattle as well as ruining of the Samburu Nomadic Pastoral subsistence. It meant civilized people have to live outside wildlife areas. Pastoralists were not seen as fully cultured but standing in as somewhat undefined space between natures and cultured/civilized. That is still the view of the pastoralists by the whites and some African Governments even today as we speak

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<sup>514</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/4

<sup>515</sup>Fumagalli, C.T.. *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-cultural Processes Among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1900-1975* A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the State University of York in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,1977 p 202

<sup>516</sup>Esther and Ostrom *A century of Institutions and Ecology in East Africa's Rangelands Linking Institutional Robustness with Ecological Resilience of Kenya Maasailand* Kennedy school of Government and the University Centre for Environment Harvard University 503A Rubenstein Building 79 JFK Street Cambridge MA 02138 USA E.mail esther Mwangi @ kjg.harvard.edu,2009 p 203

(Schlee, 1989).<sup>517</sup>The institutions of the pastoral societies were analyzed in the vacuum of time and space. Their system of production was not explained in regional and historical perspective. The pastoral people were described in terms of obsession with livestock and their numbers. Other kinds of pastoral production and food strategies were explained as temporal deviation from the norms of pure pastoralism. Nomadic Pastoralism was described as cultural commitment and not just as food production strategy. Those ideas flourished in administrative dealings of the Samburu pastoral people and development of wildlife conservations.

Creation of Game Reserves in the Samburu country was ironical way of protecting wild life from hunting as the prominent whites were known for engaging in mass anyhowly senseless shooting of the wild life<sup>518</sup>. Among those who engaged in hunting safari expeditions included America president and Princess Elizabeth who became a queen of England while on a visit to Aberdare National Park in 1952. Official interest in the protection of the Kenya's wild life and its resources went hand in hands with emergence of the British Imperial rule in 1890. Western travellers arrived in the created British East Africa protectorate to undertake huge hunting safaris that resulted in the whole sale slaughter of wildlife<sup>519</sup>. The British administration wanted a protected land so that they could continue their big game hunting safaris while the locals would act as guides, porters and servants.<sup>520</sup>Hunting safaris were used to attract tourists and white settlers as an enterprise that provided source of revenue for the Kenya Colony (Sanford, 1919, Eliot1905). Wild life hunting and nature walk were used as tools for attraction in many advertisements appearing in English magazines. Following the formal declaration of the British East Africa Protectorate in 1895 the protectorate Government, issued a declaration to set up wild life Game Reserves. The Northern Game Reserves was allocated 38300 square miles as shown by the map below<sup>521</sup>. The Northern Game Reserve was created in 1902 and it stretched from Marsabit to L. Baringo<sup>522</sup>. In 1945,

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<sup>517</sup>Enghof, M. "wildlife Conservation Ecology Strategies and Pastoral Communities" 1990 pp 25-27  
www.nomadic people-info,

<sup>518</sup>Hohnel, L. *The Lake Rudolf Region its Discovery and Subsequent Exploration 1888-1909* Journal of Royal African Society Vol 37 No 146 Oxford University Press UK, 2019 P 27

<sup>519</sup>KNA PC/NFD/1/9/1

<sup>520</sup>KNA/DC/SAM/1/4

<sup>521</sup>Fumagalli, C.T. *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-Cultural Processes Among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1900-1975* A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the State University of New York in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1977 p 203

<sup>522</sup>KNA PC/NFD/19/1

the British East Africa Colony passed the National Park Ordinances that paved the way for the establishment of more protected areas. It provided the ground on which the Game Department took over the control of the protected areas. Samburu country was part of the Northern Game Reserve.<sup>523</sup> It was set up to maintain a reservoir of all species of wild animals to compensate the reduction that took place in other parts of the Colony. The problem of wild animals' human conflicts was not taken into consideration by the white administration. The situation was bound to produce open conflicts with human interest in terms of damages resulting from game due to competition for available grazing. All other areas of Samburu District not included in the Game Reserves were controlled by the Game Department. There were several 'Game Sanctuaries' for example at Maralal, Muramur, Nkare Narok, Laviokorok and Darus (Fumagalli, 1977:201). The entire Samburu territory therefore was turned into one game sanctuary. The Samburu were to share land with the game. There were enactments of laws to protect the game under traditional pastoralism.<sup>524</sup> On the commercial aspect of the game animals in Samburu, there was hiring of A.D.C. camels and horses that fetched sh.8/- per camel and sh.15/- per horse to hunting safaris parties where A.D.C. by condition of their controlled areas issued permits.<sup>525</sup> The tourists were not allowed to take any vehicle off the main road. They were supposed to hunt and move to the camp on foot or horse back. The first horse-camel safari set off just before the end of 1960. It was contracted to pay the African District Council about sh.8000/- a month. In 1961, game trade was one of the main sources of the African District Council income.

The animals and human conflicts generated a lot of heat in the District.<sup>526</sup> 18 people were reported to have been killed and 13 were wounded in 1957. The Samburu felt that the Game Department should stop zebra in controlled schemes from eating out and finishing the grass, stop elephants from damaging dams and demanded immediate compensation of human deaths and injuries caused by wild animals.<sup>527</sup> In 1961 the chairman of council for Game Committee announced that if a Samburu Moran kill a rhino, he would pay a heavy fine and a term in jail but if a rhino kill a Samburu, his/her family would get nothing. The problem of

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<sup>523</sup> <http://about.jstor.org/terms>

<sup>525</sup> KNA DC/MRL/1/1/1

<sup>526</sup> KNA DC/SAM/1/4

game among the Samburu reached enormous proportion when the problem acquired serious implication both psychological and administrative as a result of extension of the grazing control. “There can be no justification for shooting out of an area to allow scrub cattle of no economic value the More easily to overgraze it (Fumagalli, 1977:204).” Rift Valley Provincial Commissioner sent a letter to Samburu District Commissioner concerning stock and game policy in Samburu.<sup>528</sup>The P.C. acknowledged Samburu complaints in regards to elephants damaging sources of water. Game reported to have competed with Samburu stock for grazing and invading areas closed for resting. The P.C. felt that there was no justification for reducing the number of elephants in order to allow an increase in Samburu uneconomic stock. The P.C. maintained that game was valuable for the colony. He wanted more areas to be set apart with total priority for the game to provide game viewing facilities. In response in 1957, Samburu District Commissioner argued strongly that it was impossible to set up grazing schemes and to keep large herds of wild game at the same time<sup>529</sup>. The situation gave rise to unprecedented clash of interest between the Samburu and the administration on one hand and the National Parks Authority on the other. The DC argued that human needs had to come before those of the wild game. The game experts were seen as fanatics therefore the Samburu D.C. could not argue with them. In 1959, the Colony administration wrote a sessional paper entitled “A Game Policy for Kenya”. The paper recognized the importance of game as tourist attraction and as necessary for the economy of the country. In the paper, it argued that game preservation was a duty the Government of Kenya and the people of Kenya owe to posterity and to the world. It stated that Government could not accept any responsibility for the activities of the game animals and would not make any compensation for the damages caused by the game. In 1959, Samburu District Commissioner in Memorandum on Game Policy Samburu argued that Samburu District had a large number of wild animals competing for grazing with cattle with no profit coming to the Samburu since traditionally, they did not pursue hunting. He noted that the money obtained from game-preservation was spent on the more developed parts of the colony where game was annihilated.<sup>530</sup>The Government refused compensation to the families of the Samburu killed by the game yet the Samburu felt it was the responsibility of the Government to compensate the families of those killed by the game. “The British policies in Kenya Colony were a chain

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<sup>528</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/4

<sup>529</sup>Fumagalli, C.T. *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-Cultural Processes Among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1900-1975* A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the State University of New York in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy p,1977 189

<sup>530</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/4

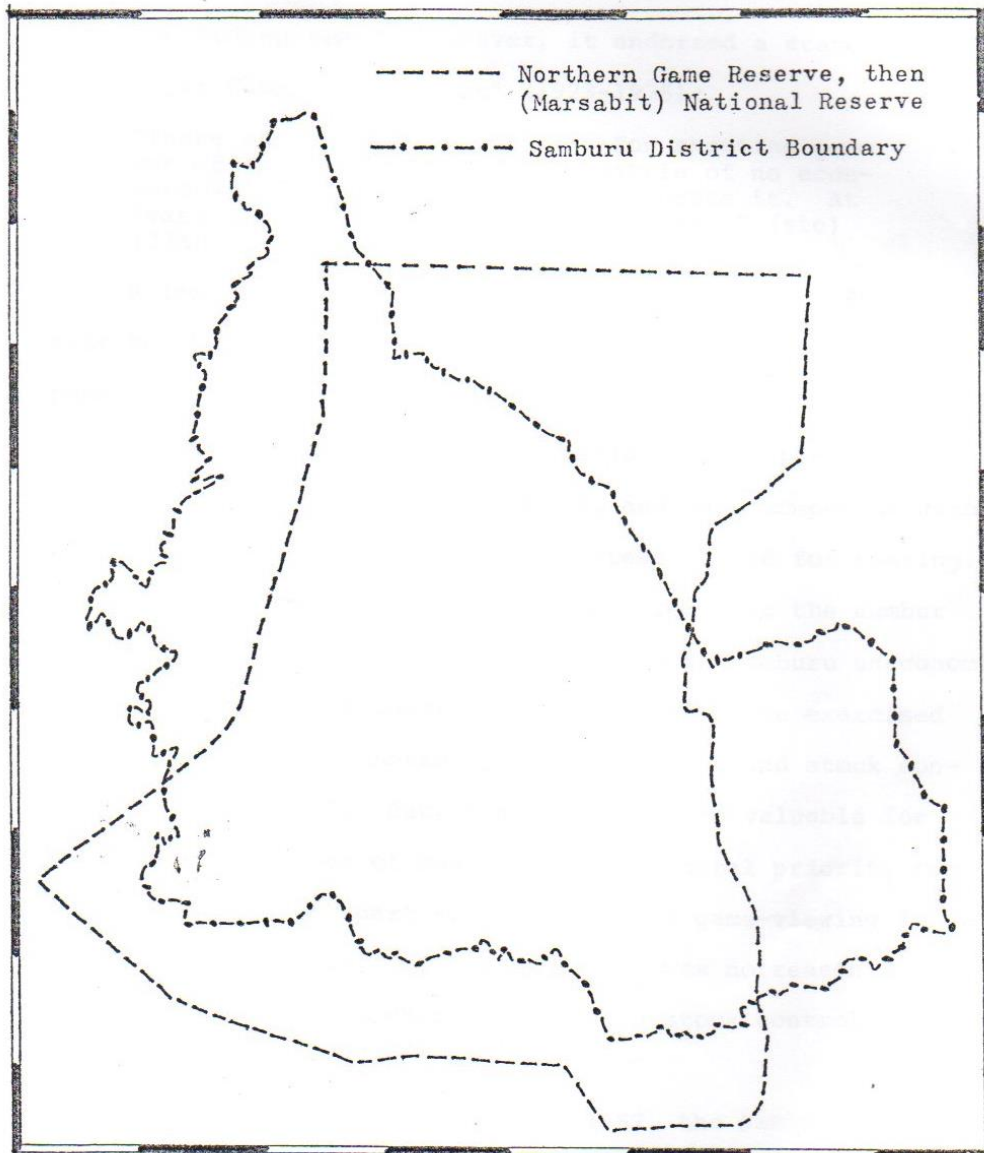
of irresponsibility (Mungeam, 1966:27).” The D.C. revealed that the preservation of the game was for the sole benefit of the white man. The impact had deleterious psychological effect on Samburu morale and on their attitudes towards the Government. The D.C. raised a complaint to Provincial Commissioner Rift Valley Province on the shabby and bias treatment Samburu had received from the Government in regards to wild game. He noted that no justice was done to the Samburu claims and complaints.<sup>531</sup>It became difficult to persuade the Samburu to accept grazing control when wild game killed 25 Samburu every year and wounded many. The forest, grazing and wild life policies were drawn externally then imposed on the community. On the onset of the projects in 1938-1939 the Samburu elders rejected the proposals. The administration went ahead to imposed the projects without their approval.

The Samburu became distrustful, discontented and more obstructive than other pastoral tribes. They trespassed south of Uaso Ngiro. They moved large number of cattle into Nyeri. Lkileku Morans had adopted warrior dress in order to wage war against the Colony authority. They wore shukas and put red paints on their heads that was a war dress. It was reported that if action was not urgently taken, it would be impossible to re-establish administration control that had virtually broken down. John Lawrence Harvey Webster District Officer Samburu reported that the Samburu had threatened to discontinue their Allegiance to Government in connection to their demands presented to the Honourable Provincial Commissioner Rift Valley Province. The Samburu challenged the authority that abused power. Grazing schemes project became a total failure.<sup>532</sup>The Samburu refused to limit livestock numbers. The grazing schemes did not fence out wild animals. ((Esther Mwangi & Elinor Ostrom, 2004:202-206). The Samburu took an open attitude against the Government and its alien policies. The compensation of the people killed by wild game was eventually accepted by the Colony Government after constant struggle. The Colony Government retained forest control but special permits to certain individuals were stopped.

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<sup>531</sup>Fumagalli, C.T. *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-Cultural Processes Among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1900-1975* A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the State University of New in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,1977 p 206

<sup>532</sup>Kipeeko Lesoipa (2018)



Map 20: Northern Game Reserve and, then, Marsabit National Reserve  
(after Kenya Government 1933:241)

**Figure 4: Northern Game Reserves and then, Marsabit National Reserve (After Kenya Government 1933:241)**

**Source:** Source: A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-Cultural Processes among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1900 – 1975, p.203

**7.5 Trade and Evolution of Trading Centres in Samburu during Colonial Period**

Concerning the nature of the colonial trade and market patterns, colonialists distorted the satisfaction of the local needs of the trade in terms of food production and other requirements

in preference to production and satisfaction of the foreign needs<sup>533</sup>. Colonialism made African trade to be mainly export and import oriented. <sup>534</sup>It articulated or integrated African trade and economy prematurely into the world market and international trade. <sup>535</sup>There was a total distortion of transport, provision of social amenities and patterns of urbanization. Before the onset of colonialism, market centres and routes were established based on local needs. Colonialists changed the original or traditional marketing centres to new market centres. It rendered traditional trade market centres irrelevant. The situation led to gradual decay or death of original marketing centers .Currency became another effective instrumental strategy used by the colonialists to take direct control and political administration of the African territories. <sup>536</sup>Colonialists monetized the African economy in order to integrate it into the international trade. The currencies introduced were those used by colonialists in their home countries. The British trade policy in Kenya maintained racial monopoly over the key developmental resources. The Colony Government created a new system by transforming food production from local consumption into cash-crop production for export orienting resources towards the British international system of trade. <sup>537</sup>It introduced bureaucracy compatible with British metropolitan and firm transformation of the Kenya's pre-capitalist production to capitalist system of economic production. The system was responsive to capitalism norms and standards that were characterized by the private enterprises. The system aimed at exploitation of the profit oriented domination that required a net transfer of resources from Kenya to the British sectors. Free trade was rarely permitted. The British introduced an element into the Samburu pastoral life style.<sup>538</sup>The new aspect was a commercial aspect of keeping cattle. They changed the traditional value of cattle and life style of the Samburu livestock keepers. The aspect of commercializing pastoralism was to be understood in the light of market orientation based on profit making. The Samburu were able to sell some of their cattle to pay taxes and bought some cattle to replace those lost in the drought unlike in the past whereby cattle replacement was done through raiding<sup>539</sup>.

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<sup>533</sup>Ghassoul,B. *Ins and Outs of Nationalism in Kenya From Early Contacts to Confrontation 1800-1960* Thesis Submitted to the Department of Anglo-Saxon Languages in Candidature for the Degree of Doctorate in African Civilization University of Oran Algeria,2010 p 38

<sup>534</sup>Sato, S. *How the East African Nomads Especially the Rendille Respond to the Encroaching Market Economy* African Study Monograph Institute of History and Anthropology Tsukuba University Japan,1997 p 122

<sup>535</sup>Helge, K.*Ecology Control and Economic Development in East Africa History* James Curry London,1966 pp 80-110

<sup>536</sup>Chinweizu, C.O. *The West and the Rest of Us* Lagos Nok publishers Ltd Nigeria,1978 p 50

<sup>537</sup>Mellisa, L. *Transition from Subsistence to Monetary* A Master Thesis submitted to University of Agder Kristiansand.2009 p 18

<sup>538</sup>Ochieng,W.R. *Themes in Kenyan History* General Printers ltd Nairobi,1990 p36

<sup>539</sup>Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita (2018)

Kalel Lemuruka stated that there was copper trade between the Samburu and some outsiders when Lmekuri were Morans. <sup>540</sup>The traders arrived at Samburu villages in large numbers riding horses. The horses were carrying boxes filled with copper wires. The Samburu sold calves, goats and sheep and got currency they referred to as rupees. It was rupees that were used to buy the copper wires. The Samburu called the outsiders Lpanyaa. Presumably the word Lpanyaa was mistaken with the word Banyan. The large numbers were probably the caravan traders. The traders also sold beads to the Samburu. She maintained that there was another trade that came from Marsabit direction transacted by people the Samburu called Ltujo. Ltujo were people with long beard and covered their heads. The traders rode horses and mules. They sold beads to Samburu known to the Samburu as soomi and pirpidi. The trade was barter. Sheep and goats were exchanged with soomi. <sup>541</sup>The traders the Samburu referred to as Ltujo were probably the Somali or Arabs. The Samburu engaged in trade with neighbouring communities that included; the Meru and the Somali. <sup>542</sup>The trade between the Samburu and the Meru flourished in 1917. The Meru were closest Samburu neighbours and sedentary agriculturalists south of the Samburu District<sup>543</sup>. There was exchange of flour sold to the Samburu by the Meru. There was also a small scale trade in tobacco, pangas and blankets carried on. <sup>544</sup>In their trade with outsiders, the Samburu gave out sheep, goats, hides and skins and occasionally, donkeys in exchange for tobacco, maize meal, pangas and blankets. The trade between the Samburu and Meru continued till 1917 when District Commissioner of Meru stopped the trade. The District Commissioner of Meru was afraid that the trade would affect flour supplies in the District. The trade that was carried out between the Samburu and the Somali was that the Samburu exchanged sheep and goats for cattle. Currency in the form of rupees was also used. That trade between the Samburu and the Somali reached climax in 1923 when the colonial government intervened and stopped it completely<sup>545</sup>. The Colonial Government got worried over the small stock left in Samburu that would supply the needs of the administration and its employees.

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<sup>540</sup>Kalel Lemuruka (2018)

<sup>541</sup>Fumagalli, C.T. *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-Cultural Processes Among The Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1900-1975* A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate of the State University of New York in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1977 p 208

<sup>542</sup>Spencer, P. *The Samburu Gerontocracy* Precip Group London, 1965 p 108

<sup>543</sup>KNA K30650C

<sup>544</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1

<sup>545</sup>KNA PC/RVP/1/9/1

The first shops ever established in Samburu District were opened in 1910 at Archers Post in close proximity to the Government Station<sup>546</sup>. In 1921, the Samburu District Headquarters was moved from Archers post to Barsaloi consequently; four shops were opened at Barsaloi. The owners of the four shops/dukas were: Mohamed Noti his agent was Yusuf Mohamed, next was Awale Gulaid Isaak his agents were Mohamed Bulhan and Nur Alali, the third was Hassan Jama Isaak and his agent was Hussein Egeh while the fourth was Shebell Mohamed Isaak agent was Warsama Yusuf. The Somali traders were required to leave the District permanently at the end of July 1924. They were subjected to rules.<sup>547</sup> They were not allowed to trade away from administrative centres unless accompanied by an askari in charge.<sup>548</sup> The prices were regulated monthly. Natives who brought goats took them to the Market so that all dukas and members of the boma could purchase on an equal footing. The dukas were not allowed to sell at one price to askaris and at another to the natives of the district. In order to prevent cheating, a list was posted in each Duka. Natives on application could obtain the services of the interpreter and a responsible askari who could read the price list. The shopkeepers license was at sh.30/- for the Somali and sh.300/- for the Indian. The officer in charge could temporarily close or wholly dismiss any one or all of the dukas as he thought fit. By 1927 the trade in Samburu was confined to Barsaloi, Baragoi, Laraga and Maralal. Barsaloi was the only fixed trading center<sup>549</sup>. By the end of the year that was 1927; Barter trade was abolished in Samburu. It was estimated in August that there was not more than £50/- amount in the whole of the Samburu. The exports of the District during 1927 were as follows;

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<sup>546</sup>Fumagalli, C.T. *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-Cultural Processes Among The Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya `1900-1975* A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate School of the State University of New York in Partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1977 p 209

<sup>547</sup>KNA/A/NFD/1/9/1

<sup>548</sup>KNA PC/NFD/1/9/1

<sup>549</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/1

**Table 4: 1927 Livestock Sales**

Sheep	4025
Ewes	645
Goats	55
Donkeys	385
Camels	4
Hide	1166 frasilas
Goats skins	150
Ghee (Samburu)	96 Tins

**Source:** KNA DC/SAM/1/1

Until the 1930, the major British concern for the Samburu was that their herds had to be large enough to supply the British administration personnel. The Samburu pastoralists were not allowed to enter markets in white areas. The prices offered for the Samburu cattle were different from those accessible for European ranchers. The justification was that the production costs for Europeans were higher than for the Samburu. Traders were allowed to safaris in the District provided that they took nothing other than cash<sup>550</sup>.<sup>551</sup> On the advent of motor transport a large hide trade was started. Efforts were initiated to stimulate expeditions amongst the buyers so that the Samburu could obtain good prices. The export of the female goats by the Samburu was discouraged.<sup>552</sup> Traders were not allowed to buy ewes out of the district. The Somali continued to monopolize both the itinerant (wandering) trade of animals' trophies that included; ivory and rhino horns and the shop business. In Samburu District the shops were distributed in five trading centres that included: Maralal, Kisima, Barsaloi, Baragoi and Archer's Post. 11 shops were owned by the Somali and 6 by Indians. In addition, the Colony administration issued 5 stock- trading licenses and 62 itinerant hawker licenses. In 1936, the itinerant trade was stopped as the Government saw it as it was completely in the hands of the Somali traders whom in the words of the District Commissioner that it could not run straight but cheated and the Government probed into rhino horns.<sup>553</sup> In 1942, 2693 cattle were sold during the year for sh. 33/- each. In 1943 and 1944 were bad years due to drought

<sup>550</sup>KNA PC/NFD/1/9/1

<sup>551</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

<sup>552</sup>KNA PC/NFD/1/9/1

<sup>553</sup>Fumagalli, C.T *A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-Cultural Processes Among The Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya 1900-1975* A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the State University of New York in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1977 p 210

and locust invasion. The situation increased the demand for food leading to importation of maize-meal. There was also increase of export of hides and skins. In 1952 sale quotas for cattle to slaughter machine at Archers Posts were set at 9,600. Cattle were sold in quotas. In 1952, sales were fixed 800 a month for Lorroki, 240 for Baragoi and 360 for Wamba. By 1956, it processed 15,000 bovins units per year. In 1953, Samburu Ranch was established in the Southern parts of the District<sup>554</sup>. It provided further outlet for immature stock sold by the Samburu. Samburu Ranch bought and sold the stock. In the last two months of 1957, it sold 732 cattle to Laikipia Ranch Company. It bought 806 in 1957 at an average price of sh.123/-. 455 heads of steers were sold during the year. 300 at an average price of £17-46 sold to K.M.C. In March the following year it sold 150 at an average price of £17-18 in October. 5 were sold to Samburu District Commissioner at sh.200/- a head.<sup>555</sup> The stock prices did well in the course of the year except cattle held at Tinka when delivered to the Ranch as they went down as a result of the infection from the fly.

## 7.6 Summary

Colonial Government created forests in Samburu in order to conform to the economic needs of the metropolitan and requirements of capitalist system of separating people from possessing resources. The classification of forests into preserved and protected was based on the value of timbers in those forests. The management of forests was reinforced through the designation of regulations, creation of forest departments as well as demarcation of forests boundaries. The gazetted forests in the Samburu country included: Kirisia, Matthew Range, Ndotto and Ngiro Mountains. There was a systematic exploitation of the forests resources by Colony Government. Grazing control projects were systematically established to curtail the Samburu mobility, ease the control of the perceived wandering tribe, separate the Samburu from possessing the unchecked livestock resources and destock the so called primitive accumulation of their livestock. To reinforce the grazing control projects in Samburu the Colony Government established grazing Committees, designed rules, set up water projects in grazing blocks and established camps for grazing guards. From the beginning the Samburu resisted the establishment of the grazing control projects and expressed their discontent by committing murders, launching complaints, holding of illegal meeting and flouting the Government orders.

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<sup>554</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/4

<sup>555</sup>KNA DC/SAM/1/2

The grazing control projects failed in Samburu mainly due to persistence rejection of the projects by majority of the Samburu, exclusive nature of the colonial policies and climatological dry spells. The Colony Government imposed the creation of Game Parks in the Samburu grazing land as the Samburu were considered uncultured, to maintain a reservoir of all species of wild life to compensate reduction that took place in the Colony, to foster tourist industry for the economic gain of the Protectorate and Colony and to attract white settlers to Kenya Colony. The Colony Government condoned a systematic whole sale hunting of wild life in a process known as hunting Safaris expeditions for economic reasons. Maintenance of Game Parks was reinforced through enactments of the National Parks Ordances, establishments of the Game Department, protection of wildlife under traditional pastoralism and instituting of the Game Committees. The imposed sharing of land with wild animals resulted in the loss of human lives, invasion of the Grazing Schemes by wild animals and damage of water projects by wild animals. The Colony Government valued wild life more than lives of the Samburu. The Samburu killed by wild animals were eventually compensated after long antagonistic struggle between the Samburu and the Colony Government. The colonial trade was bent to satisfy the metropolitan economic needs. It rendered the pre-colonial trade market centres irrelevant. Colonial trade was capitalistic system characterized by the profit oriented domination. There was no fare trade exchange. The trade that flourished between the Samburu and its neighbours was closely supervised and controlled firmly by the Colony Government. The newly evolved trading market centres in colonial era were: Archers Post, Barsaloi, Baragoi, Laraga and Maralal. The monetization of the Samburu economy came into effects in 1927.

**SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

**8.1 Summary**

The Samburu are Maa-speaking people consisting of nine clans. They trace their origin from Egypt. The nomadic pastoralism is deeply rooted in all aspects of their lives. Their land tenures existed, real and were disrupted by colonists. Their resilience are interlinked to those of their environment. Ecological disasters that rocked the Samburu in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were colonial machination intended to weaken the Samburu and other communities in order to open up the region for colonization processes. The disasters resulted in crisis migration as well as economic, social, political and demographic crisis and the breakdown of the ecological balance.

The root cause of colonialism was a dire demand for raw materials for industries in Britain and Europe. The British land tenure systems based on English Law replaced the Samburu traditional land tenure system. The Samburu were evicted from Laikipia Plateau and there was unsuccessful attempt to evict them from Lorroki Plateau. The Samburu claim over the possession of the Lorroki Plateau was based on historical factors, usefulness of the plateau to the Samburu, their population and that of their cattle, physical characteristics of the plateau and suitability of the plateau in regards to their use.

The murders committed by the Lkileku age set Moran depicted the Samburu refusal to vacate the Lorroki Plateau. The sacking of Chiefs, the arrest of Lorrokishu clan Lkileku age set Moran over the murders in settlers' farms in Laikipia and the deportation and detention without trial of the Laibon did not stop the Samburu from defending their possession and occupation of the Lorroki Plateau. Colonial Government created forests. Game Parks, grazing Scheme project, introduced colonial trade in new market centres were intended to conform to the economic needs of the metropolitan and requirements of capitalist system of separating people from possessing their resources. The policies were bent to satisfy the metropolitan needs.

**8.2 Conclusion**

The Samburu are Maa-speakers related to other Nilotic speaking communities that still live in the East of middle Nile River in Sudan. The Samburu are deeply attached to cattle, land and the environment in which they lived as depicted by their creation myth and refusal efforts to vacate the Lorroki Plateau. The Samburu subsistence production depended on nomadic pastoralism and their environment for many years therefore; pastoralism will not come to an end soon. The Samburu traditional land tenures systems existed, real and disrupted by colonists. They were determined and shaped by their immediate environment. The Samburu survival in the past depended on the organization of the traditional institutions of the elders councils, the Morans, the Laibons, the priests, the medicine men, the Black Smith, other diviners and the clan structure especially when threatened by the environment and human neighbours. Livestock resources amongst the Samburu were used in all life occasions and beyond. The Samburu knowledge on the use of plants in the range land for livestock outperformed the sedentary animals. The elaborate plant knowledge the Samburu had in the past was battered and is on the threshold of vanishing. The Samburu conserved and protected wild life in the past because they considered them as potential resources required when occasions demanded. Traditional industries, labour and pre-colonial trade were required to serve the security, economic and social needs of the community. The nineteenth century ecological disasters that rocked the East African region emanated from inhumane acts of a few individuals of the European descent who intended to polarize the population and dominate use of the resources in the region. The disasters were also accelerated by the pastoralists' life style as well as limited resources in the region. The present inferior numbers of the Samburu resulted from the impacts of the nineteenth century ecological disasters that ruined all aspects of their lives. Mobility is natural response to stimulus. It is not pastoralist a character as people all over the world are still migrating to where they feel they are secure. It is high time for the Samburu pastoralist to diversify their livelihood and economies and cease dependency on nomadic pastoralism alone.

Land alienation, creation of reserves, forced labour, forced taxation and introduction of Kipande systems were mechanism used by the Protectorate Government and Colonial State to erode, disrupt and dissolve the Samburu self-sufficient subsistence production. The contention by the white settlers that the Samburu were incapable of exploiting the resources in Lorroki Plateau reflects the attitudes and contradiction of the capitalists and the capitalist system. The murders conducted by the Samburu Lkileku age set Morans in white settlers'

farms in Laikipia and defiance of Government orders reflected that the Samburu nomadic pastoralism was on the threshold of breakdown. The connection of murder of the Theodore Powys to the Samburu refusal to vacate the Lorroki Plateau was white settlers' maneuvers to incite the Colony Government against the Samburu. The detention without trial of the Samburu Laibon Nkaldaiya Leaduma was purely based on economic and political reasons. Laibons amongst the Maa-speakers including the Samburu played importance role in ensuring security to their people. Killing and cleansing amongst the Samburu had influence of the Borana and Rendille customs.

The colonists' pronouncement of forests; grazing, wild life and trade policies of socio-cultural, political and economic transformation of the Samburu had profound impacts on the Samburu environmental knowledge, livelihood and local lives. The changes entailed exploitation of traditional resources. The impacts of policies were characterized by displacement, outmigration, impoverishment, induced assimilation, loss of culture, acculturation to dominant way of life. The decision making process was shifted from local to centralized system of the Imperial Government. The failure of the Grazing Schemes projects was as a result of unfair arbitrary performance of the Colony administration. The policies were externally imposed and highly centralized. Community participation was nonexistence. There was almost no communication between the pastoral Samburu and the Imperial Government. There was Colony staff conflicts, poor feedback on the performance and inadequate measurement of performance. The Samburu tended to challenge the authority that abused power. The success and failure of the grazing schemes project in Samburu during the colonial epoch finds interpretation from range scientists.<sup>556</sup> McPeak maintained that it is weather conditions of a place that determined the progress of the grazing project and not the number of animals except on places near the water sources and near towns. The progress made in Lorroki was as a result of weather conditions and the failure in lowland grazing scheme was also dictated by the weather conditions of a place. This study is unique as it depicted the Samburu as winners and the white settlers and Colony Government as failures and crying fowls over the possession of Lorroki Plateau when Kenya Land Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Morris Carter reserved Lorroki Plateau for the Samburu. The study also argues the Samburu to diversify their livelihood, revisit traditional tenure systems and vary their eating habits in order to able to cope with the challenges of today. The study is also unique in the sense that it depicted the Samburu traditional institutions as presumed

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enemies and targets of colonial Government that acted in the interest of and as agent of Laikipia white settlers as evidenced by Sir Donald Steward words that; “no country could be properly administered until the natives had been knocked down into the shaped require (Mungeam, 1960:116)”.

### **8.3 Recommendation**

There is an urgent need for a research on the Samburu traditional knowledge of the plant use and possibility of domesticating the rare food and medicinal plants that are on the verge of extinction where they used to grow wildly. This study examined traditional use of wild life resources as well as conservation mechanism in pre-colonial epoch however, more traditional use of wild life resources and conservation methods including totems accompanying conservation techniques are pending for future research. There is a critical need to re-examine and research on language similarities between the Samburu and other communities in the East Africa, Eastern Africa and Africa as such is not given the required attention in this study. There is need to review pastoralism in different dimensions in order to give answers to questions as to why nomadic pastoralism has continued to flourish in the face of the so called modernism and progress. There is a critical need for a research on ways the Governments should allocate more resources in terms of budgetary allocations to research on tenure systems that are suitable for pastoralists' livelihood instead of condemning and branding pastoralists as: law breakers, thieves, illegal grazers and bandits who invade private lands.

The Samburu oral tradition is on the verge of disappearance yet it is a rich source of valuable history. Thorough detailed research on this is urgently required to reconstruct a complete Samburu history of the past. This study depicted Lesuyai of the Lmarikon age set as the key player in the drawing of the first political boundaries of the Samburu District to the West and to the South however, elders accompanied him in that exercise and the Samburu District colonial administration that supervised the demarcation and the drawing of the said boundaries including the minutes of the meeting held in Sugutta River valley remained for future research. There is need to investigate ways Colonial Government used tax revenues to develop public utilities. The availability of the Norman Leys publication of 1924 in its original form would be of the great assistance for future research. In the Sir Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission 1933 report on the Samburu chapter, the claims of the Samburu elders who presented their views over their rightful occupation of the Lorroki Plateau contained in three volumes supporting the report would also be of a great help for a more

detailed future research. There is a critical need for more research on Kavirondo Prison files to find out cells conditions and details of the Samburu Lkileku age set Morans accused of murdering Theodore Powys. There is also need to look into and research on memorandum of allegation against the Samburu prepared by the white settlers forwarded to Sir Joseph Byrne the Governor of East Africa Protectorate in response to Sir Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission verdict that reserved Lorroki Plateau to the Samburu.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Informants

Name of interviewee	Sex	Age	Occupation	Location	Age set	Date interviewed
Lkiparit Lenaola	M	115	The oldest in County	Poros	Lkileku	1-4-2019
Loiture Lanyasunya	M	100	Elder	Malasso	Lmekuri	22-12-2017
Lesopia Leaduma	M	98	Game ranger	Tinga	Lmekuri	17-10-2018
John Lesiokono	M	93	Colonial Inspector of Police	Ngari	Lmekuri	20-11-2018
Nkuten Lekadaa	M	93	Medicine man	Ndotto	Lkimaniki	21-11-2017
Kipeeko Lesoipa	M	87	Elder	Tinga	Lkimaniki	17-10-2018
Longotorio Leparachao	M	90	Moran Chief	Tinga	Lkimaniki	16-10-2018
Nkaimerri Lasakwel	F	90	Bead Specialist	Baawa	Lmirisho	30-7-2918
Lerawan Loldepe	M	89	Herdsman	Malasso	Lkimaniki	1-11-2017
Ali Leleruk	M	87	Former Counselor	Karare	Lkimaniki	14-10-2017
Lmowon Learka	M	87	Stars observer	Ngilai	Lkishili	17-10-2017
Daniel Lesampuri	M	85	Medicine man	Wamba	Lkimaniki	18-10-2017
Ntupa Leparkumoi	M	83	Herdsman	Loosuk	Lkimaniki	5-10-2017
Nkongu Nanyokie Lekorpita	M	83	Herdsman	Loosuk	Lkimaniki	2-8-2018
Leado Leparachao	M	82	Former colonial	Tinga	Lkimaniki	16-10-2018

			Policeman			
Sirekon Lepulier	M	81	Camel herdsman and craftsman	Wamba	Lkimaniki	17-10-2017
Kalel Lemuruka	F	80	Beads and ritual ceremonies specialists	Loosuk	Lmekuri	17-10-2018
Lemuson Lesuruai	M	77	Herdsman	Ledero	Lkimaniki	5-10-2017
Lesuiye Lewarges	M	77	medicine man	Malasso	Lkishili	2-11-2017
Lkitosian Leshiipi	M	75	Herdsman	Malasso	Lkishili	2-11-2017
Lekarkar	M	75	Elder	Loiting	Lkishili	5-4-2018
Letiyan Lesuyai	M	73	Herdsman		Lkishili	2-11-2017
Lesurunka Lenkaaka	M	71	Herdsman	Ngilai in Wamba	Lkishili	17-10-2017
Leramo Lelenkeju	M	70	Herdsman	Wamba	Lkishili	18-10-2017
Siito Letiila	F	68	Traditional Birth assistant	Malasso	Lkimaniki	30-7-2018
Lekimirr Lesiokono	M	65	Elder	Ngilai	Lkishili	17-10-2017
Ntoisa Leorkupa	M	65	Herdsman	Wamba	Lkishili	18-10-2017
Labaru Lelenkeju	M	64	Herdsman	Wamba	Lkishili	18-10-2017
Lenoolpukot Letikirich	M	63	Spears Specialists	Loosuk	Lkuroro	7-11-2018
Lenchododo Lalbalanga	M	59	Morans Spokesman	Karare Marsabit	Lkuroro	14-10-2017
Lmolweya Lekukuton	M	58	Herdsman	Karare Marsabit	Lkuroro	14-10-2017

Leuwiyia Lekukuton	M	53	Herdsman	Karare Marsabit	Lkuroro	14-10-2017
Lemees Lenaisulaa	M	50	Herdsman	Ngilai Wamba	Lkuroro	17-10-2017
Lolpus Leakono	M	46	Herdsman	Karare Marsabit	Lkuroro	14-10-2017
Simon Kabirer	M	40	Flower employee	Baringo		16-12-2018

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**Appendix II: Samburu Age Sets**

<b>NAME OF THE AGE SET</b>	<b>DATE OF INITIATION</b>
Lkipilash	1679
Ratanya	1694
Lwantaro	1709
Saganya	1739
Lngerejon	1753
Lmeishiopo	1781
Lkuruka	1795
Lpetaal	1809
Lkipayang	1820-1830
Lkipiku	1840-1850
Lkiteku	1850-1860
Ltarigirig	1965
Lmarikon	1880
Lterito	1895-1900
Lmirisho	1912
Lkileku	1921
Lmekuri	1936
Lkimaniki	1946
Lkishili	1961
Lkuroro	1976
Lmowoli	1990
Lkishami	2005
Lkumwatu	2019

### **Appendix III: The Interview Schedule**

Interviewees were requested to respond to questions honestly and comprehensively without fear and exaggeration. Their identity and responses treated with utmost confidentiality.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
SEX \_\_\_\_\_  
AGE \_\_\_\_\_  
OCCUPATION \_\_\_\_\_  
AGE SET \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE \_\_\_\_\_

### **QUESTIONS**

#### **To old people:**

1. Where Samburu originated from?
2. What resources were vital for the survival of the community in pre-colonial period?

#### **To medicine men:**

3. What diseases attacked people and livestock in the past?
4. What were the curative measures?

#### **To craft men, women and blacksmith:**

5. What products did they make and which raw materials did they use?
6. Where did they learn the Skills?

#### **To prophets/Diviners/elders:**

7. Which communities were their rivals in the past?
- s8. How did they win in the wars against them and why they some time lose the wars?

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Admission Number: AM11/14379/15 Name : LENARUM, TUBLA PAUL  
 Level of study: 1 Prog. of Study.: B.A  
 FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIE.

Date of Admission: / / Date of Graduation: CONTINUING

Course Code	Course Description	Academic Hours	Grade
HIST 701	History and Theory I	60.00	B
HIST 702	History and Theory II	60.00	A
HIST 703	Historical Methods I	60.00	B
HIST 704	Historical Methods II	60.00	B
HIST 705	Historiography I	60.00	B
HIST 706	Historiography II	60.00	A
HIST 707	Seminar in Kenyan History I	30.00	C
HIST 708	Seminar in Kenyan History II	30.00	C
HIST 711	Area Studies I: History of Christianity	45.00	B
HIST 712	Area Studies II: History of Islam	45.00	A

Averages :>| Current...: 66.03%, | Cumulative...: 66.03%

Recommendation: PROCEED TO LEVEL TWO OF STUDY

Legend:

A - (70% - 100%) - Excellent (60% - 69%) - V. Good  
 C - (50% - 59%) - Good Pass  
 E - (below 50%) - Fail Audited + Retake \* Missing Marks  
 CT Credit Transfer

Signed ( )

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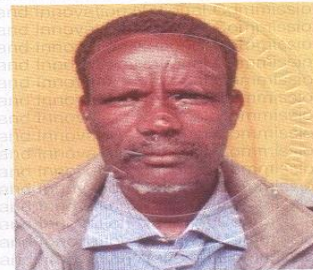
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**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:** Permit No : NACOSTI/P/17/58930/19445  
**MR. TUBLA PAUL LENARUM** Date Of Issue : 10th October, 2017  
**of EGERTON UNIVERSITY, 212-20600** Fee Received :Ksh 1000  
**MARAL, has been permitted to conduct**  
**research in Isiolo , Laikipia , Marsabit ,**  
**Samburu Counties**

**on the topic: THE STRUGGLE OVER**  
**RESOURCES BETWEEN SAMBURU**  
**PASTORALISTS AND BRITISH COLONIAL**  
**STATE 1850 - 1961**

**for the period ending:**  
**9th October, 2018**




Applicant's  
 Signature



Director General  
 National Commission for Science,  
 Technology & Innovation

## Appendix IV: Research Publication

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#### Abstract

This study examines the resources vital for the survival of the Samburu pastoral people in pre-colonial Kenya and their use. The study covers the period from 1895 to 1961. The study discussed the Samburu traditional land tenures systems and exploitation of resources. It examined Samburu subsistence production. This study used two theories to achieve the set objectives. It utilised Carl Marx's theory of political economy, which postulates that it is common ends that govern human relations. It is economic structure also referred to as substructure that provides the basis for the society on which the superstructure is built upon. The constituents of the superstructure are found on the analysis to reflect the interest of the dominant class. The study also uses Articulation theory of producing modes of production as advanced by Lonsdale and Bruce. Articulation theory is relevant to the study as it links the Samburu pastoralist pre-capitalist subsistence system of production to British Colonial State capitalist system of production. This study used both primary and secondary sources. The method selected to carry out this study was qualitative research method. The semi-structured questions were used in the interview. Data was analysed, categorized according to topics and subtopics. It was interpreted, written down and finally presented. The research findings will contribute to the historiography of pastoralism in Kenya.

**Key terms:** Colonise, nomadism, overgrazing, pastoralism, resource.