TRANSFORMATION OF WHITE SETTLER AGRICULTURE IN COLONIAL KENYA: THE CASE OF MOLO, NAKURU DISTRICT, 1904-1963

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A Thesis Submitted to the Board of Postgraduate Studies in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts in History of Egerton University

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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

Declaration

This thesis is my own original work and has not been presented for examination in any other institution.

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AM11/14473/15

Recommendation

This research proposal has been submitted for examination with our approval as the University supervisors.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, Peter Njuguna and Mary Waithira.

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ABSTRACT

The study examined the transformation of white settler agriculture in the Molo area during the colonial period. Settler farming was an important aspect of the colonial economy in Kenya. Settler farming in Molo area was introduced due to a combination of economic and geographical factors. The study first discussed the origin of European settlement in Molo in the early colonial period up to 1918. The study further examined agricultural changes in the inter-war period (1919-1938) in Molo. An assessment of the organisation of settler agriculture in Molo from 1939 to 1951 was made. Finally, an analysis of the changes that took place in white settler agriculture in Molo from 1952 to independence was carried out. The study period commences in 1904 when land alienation for white settlement in Molo started. It was also in 1904 that the first settlers, Major Webb and Jasper Abraham, settled in Mariashoni and Kweresoi (Kuresoi) in Molo area respectively. Settler dominance in Molo was essentially a consequence of discriminatory economic policies adopted by the colonial state. The white settlers aimed to make strides in agricultural production because of their cumulative experiences, availability of infrastructure, capital and government support. This study was guided by Colonial Capitalism Theory. The theory posits that the colonial mode of capitalist production was dependent upon the colonial state in all major areas of economic growth. The theory also helped to explain the various forms of state support that the colonial government offered to the white settlers to make settler agriculture successful. Data was collected from informants through oral interviews and from the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi. Informants were identified through purposive sampling and snowball sampling. A total of eighty informants were interviewed. Secondary sources such as books, journals and newspapers were also used. Data was analysed historically, thematically and logically. The research findings show that the success of white settler agriculture in Molo was attributed to the support that white settlers received from the colonial government. For the whole programme to work, African agriculture was neglected and received no support. Africans were compelled to work for the white settlers. Finally, data has been presented in a qualitative form which is descriptive in nature. The study has thus helped fill the knowledge gap in agricultural history.

LIST OF ABREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

AAO	Agricultural Advances Ordinance
ALDEV	African Land Development
APSB	Agricultural Provision and Settlement Board
CAAB	Central Agricultural Advances Board
CCO	Cattle Cleansing Ordinance
CDB	Commodity Distribution Board
CLO	Crown Land Ordinance
DA	Department of Agriculture
EAC	Egerton Agricultural College
EASB	European Agricultural Settlement Board
FWW	First World War
GAWU	General Agricultural Workers' Union
GD	Great Depression
KAR	King's African Rifles
KFA	Kenya Farmers Association
KNFU	Kenya National Farmers Union
LCO	Legislative Council Order
LPR	Lumbwa Pass Rules
NDC	Nakuru District Council
NEO	Native Employment Ordinance
NRO	Native Registration Ordinance
OI	Oral Interviews
Rs	Rupees
RVP	Rift Valley Province
SBMC	Supply Board Meat Control
SCHB	Settlers Controlled Highland Board
SWW	Second World War
WBP	Wheat Breeding Programme
WW I	World War One
WW II	World War Two
WO	Wheat Ordinance

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Kiswahili Terms	
Askari	Security Officer
Baraza	A meeting
Boma	Homestead
Fitina	Malice
Jembe	Hoe
Kikapu	Basket
Kipande	Passbook
Mzungu	White person
Ngombe za Ulaya	Grade Cattle
Nyapara	Supervisor
Rungu	Knobkerry

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

In 1895 Kenya was declared a British protectorate. The first regulation of the East Africa Protectorate was published as early as 1897 by Her Majesty's Court of East Africa, which was later renamed the High Court of East Africa. However, little land alienation took place until after the construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria. The construction of the railway started in May 1896, reached Nairobi in 1899 and eventually the shores of Lake Victoria in December 1901. The British government felt that if farming was encouraged in Kenya, it would help pay for the territory's administration and also keeping the railway busy.[1] The cool climate and absence of population over large areas of the highlands also encouraged European settlement. Settlement in Kenya was mainly achieved through the efforts of the newly appointed High Commissioner, Sir Charles Eliot, and a few newly arrived settlers. Eliot's dream for the new territory was that it would be developed as a 'white man's country'.[2]

Molo was a thick forest, inhabited by a sparse population of the hunting and honey collecting Okiek. The cool climate and ample rainfall made the area amenable to white settlement and encouraged rapid settlement. In 1903, free grants of land were offered to white settlers in Molo. Although the 640-acres arable land blocks were taken up quickly, the 5,000-acres ranches were not. However, the settlers who occupied the 640-acres blocks later moved to Londiani before they had even cleared the land for farming. In 1904, more white settlers arrived in Molo area, particularly from South Africa and Britain. Another significant allotment of land was made. The first settlers started by cultivating large tracks of land in Kweresoi (Kuresoi), Mariashoni and later in Turi area.[3]

Before the introduction of colonial rule in Kenya, the Okiek were the indigenous people living in Molo. According to Towett, the Okiek form a minority group among the Kalenjin. The Okiek were mostly hunters and gatherers who inhabited the forested area of the Mau forest. Apart from hunting wild animals and birds for food, the Okiek also gathered plant food and honey.[4] The pastoral

[1] S. Kenyanchui, 'European Settler Agriculture' in W, Ochieng and R, Maxon, (eds), *An Economic History of Kenya* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Limited, 1992), pp. 111-128.
[2] M. Maloba, *MauMau and Kenya* (Nairobi, East African Educational Publishers, 1993), p. 288.
[3] A. Curtis, *Memories of Kenya: Stories from Pioneers* (Evans Brothers Limited, 1986), p. 28.
[4] J. Towett, *Okiek land cases and Historical Influence 1902-2004* (Nairobi: Okiek Welfare Council, 2004), p. 24.

Maasai had come grazing in Molo and their cattle died due to unknown diseases. The Maasai named the place Molo, meaning a 'curse'.[5] With the arrival of white settlers in Molo, the traditional system of agriculture began to change. New crop varieties, livestock breeds and improved tools revolutionised agriculture in Molo. The cross-breeding of zebu with Ayrshire, Jersey and Freshian improved the pedigree and as a result, milk production increased. However, these changes had negative effects on the indigenous groups in Molo. Africans were pushed out of their land, hired as labourers and paid taxes, all of which aimed at making settler agriculture successful.

By 1905, Mariashoni, Turi and Matumaini areas of Molo had become reserved solely for white settler farmers. The Africans were confined to the reserves. Economic interests were racially defined from an early stage, involving a conflict over land and labour between the white settlers and the Okiek. The land alienated for the white settlers was carved out of the most fertile areas and close to the railway.[6] Intervention by the state on behalf of the settlers' was decisive, with differing views over policy implementation not detracting from the active collaboration between colonial officials and settlers representatives.[7]

By the First World War, farmland in Molo remained rather distinct blocks separated by forest reserves. Later Molo area turned to be a well-established settler community famous for sheep farming (Molo lamb).[8] Curtis argues that it took several years of trial and error, plus quite incredible losses, to establish staple sheep farming in Molo. Later on, Major Webb and Stanton acquired merino sheep from Australia and New Zealand which were crossbred with the local Maasai sheep. The settlers aimed to introduce a pedigree sire to use on the indigenous animals to get the better size and quality breed.[9] However, the settlers met with mixed fortunes. The Molo sheep were resistant to diseases and were more marketable as compared to the local Maasai sheep.[10]

An early decision was taken by the colonial governments to stimulate white settler agriculture as the basis of change. The colonial state set measures providing the legal conditions necessary for

[5] P. Muiru, *The Social, Cultural and Economic of Ethnic Violence in Molo 1968-2008* (M.A Thesis, Kenyatta University), p. 13.
[6] J. Lewis, *Empire State-building: War and Welfare in Kenya, 1925-1952* (Athens; Ohio University Press, 2000), p. 393.
[7] N. Best, *Happy Valley: The story of the English in Kenya* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1970), p. 51.
[8] W. Morgan, 'White Highlands of Kenya' *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 129, No. 2, 1963, pp. 140-155.
[9] Curtis, *Memories of Kenya*, p. 29.
[10] W. Powys, *The Story of Sheep Farming in Kenya* (Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1969), p.19.

the establishment of the estates and some of the economic conditions to ensure productivity. Due to unknown environmental conditions and financial challenges, large scale farming had failed to progress. According to Lewis, barley farming in Molo gave the settlers higher returns. Less labour was required as mechanisation had replaced human labour. Stanton ventured in pyrethrum farming before the outbreak of the Second World War. Pyrethrum was well adapted to the climatic conditions in the area and did not require a lot of chemical inputs. Stanton quickly acquired labour from the squatters and their children. However, Stanton faced the challenge of drying the flowers since he relied on artificial drying.[11] Settler agriculture in Molo was mixed farming that is both livestock keeping and crop production. Throughout the colonial period, settler farming gradually improved from rudimental farming tools to improved farming equipment, improved seeds and seedlings, use of fertilisers and availability of labour to work on the farms.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

One important aspect of Kenya's history during the colonial era was the process of agrarian transformation in areas of white settlement. Molo area, in particular, experienced many agricultural changes. Factors such as the introduction of new crops and new animal breeds, as well as new technologies and innovations, contributed to this transformation. These changes were the subject of the study. The study thus examined the transformation of settler agriculture in Molo area from 1904 to 1963.

1.3 Research Objectives

The broad objective of this study was to examine transformation of settler agriculture in Molo during the colonial period, while the specific objectives were:

i. To discuss the origin of European settlement in Molo in the early colonial period up to 1918.
ii. To account for changes in settler agriculture in the inter-war period, 1919-1938.
iii. To assess the organisation of settler agriculture in Molo from 1939-1951.
iv. To analyse the changes in settler agriculture in Molo from 1952 to 1963.

1.4 Research Questions

i. How was European settlement in Molo organized in the early colonial period?
ii. What changes did settler agriculture in Molo experience during the inter-war period?

[11] Lewis, *Empire State-building*, p. 393.

iii. How was settler agriculture in Molo organised from 1939-1951?

iv. What changes did settler agriculture in Molo experience from 1952-1963?

1.5 Justification for the Study

The study examined the nature of settler agriculture during the colonial period. Molo area provided a case study of the change that society may experience when brought into contact with a colonially created economy. The study on the transformation of settler agriculture in Molo area from 1904 to 1963 helped add knowledge in agricultural history. The study helped derive insights from this experience which may be useful in meeting the immediate pressures in present day Kenya for agricultural growth. Even though the essential conditions of anyone historical experience can never be exactly replicated, the past provides much valuable guidance in the determination of development schemes, programmes and policies. The study of the colonial transformation of settler agriculture in Molo is a significant source of information for scholars who are interested in agricultural studies of rural Kenya. Hence, the current study has contributed relevant knowledge in the field of economic history from 1904 to 1963.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study covered the period 1904-1963. The study commenced in 1904, the year when land alienation for white settlers in Molo started. It was in 1904 when the first white settlers settled in Molo. The first white settlers were Major Webb and Jaspher Abraham. The study ended in 1963 when Kenya attained her independence and white settlement generally came to an end. The study was confined to Molo area. It principally focused on the transformation of settler agriculture during the colonial period in Molo. The researcher faced the challenge of distortion and variation of information in personal re-correction. However, these challenges were solved through corroboration of information obtained from the Kenya National Archives and the information from the oral interviews.

1.7 Definition of Terms

Agricultural Transformation This refers to changes over time in farming practice. The change can be caused by factors such as new agricultural technology, improved machinery, hybrid seeds etc. aiming for higher productivity

Alienation It refers to as situation whereby a piece of land is sold or transferred from one individual to another. This involved the natives being pushed out of their ancestral

land and the white settlers occupying and conducting agricultural activities on the land.

Legislation Enacting of laws by a legislative body through the law making process. This involved laws and regulations supporting settler agriculture in Kenya in order to make it successful.

Squatter This refers to Africans who were allowed to live in the white settlers' farms and in return worked for the white settlers. The aim of having squatters was to obtain adequate and cheap labour.

Quarantine A period of time during which animals suspected of carrying a contagious disease is detained under enforced isolation to prevent the disease from spreading.

White Settlers Immigrants who settled in Molo as a result of European expansion in their home countries. They were given land to practice agriculture.

1.8 Literature Review

1.8.1 Introduction

This part presents a review of literature on the organisation and the transformation of white settler agriculture in Kenya as a whole and Molo in particular. It gives a clear outline of works done by other scholars regarding to white settler agriculture. In reviewing the literature, gaps in the existing literature were revealed.

1.8.2 Early European Settlement in Kenya

The origin of European settlement in Kenya evolved from an imperial concept of private enterprise. By the turn of the 19th Century, the British Foreign Office, which was in charge of the East Africa Protectorate was already complaining about the imperial grant-in-aid used for running the administration of the territory and executing punitive military expeditions.[12] According to Kenyanchui, European settlement was necessitated by the Uganda Railway whose construction and maintenance cost it could help pay for. Europeans regarded uninhabited land as "no man's land" and therefore available for settlement and exploitation by European settler farmers.[13] Lipscomb argues that since Kenya had no known valuable natural resources to exploit to recover the investment which had been made on the railway by 1901, settler farming was thus to be

[12] W. Cone and J. Lipscomb, *The History of Kenya Agriculture* (Nairobi: University Press Africa, 1972), p. 56.
[13] Kenyanchui, 'European Settler Agriculture', p. 18.

encouraged. Therefore, European settlers would farm the idle land along the railway to compensate for the investment.[14]

Settler agriculture was introduced as a result of economic, political and geographical factors. The Kenya-Uganda Railway had opened up the country to the outside world.[15] The European settlers, would generate incomes that would pay for both the cost of investment in the railway and its maintenance. European agriculture would also generate revenue for supporting the colonial administration. This idea of generating revenue became the justification for Europeans settlerdom in colonial Kenya. As a result of British colonialism, the British government assumed full ownership over all land in the colony. Thus customary land tenure was disregarded and the legislation that followed hardly incorporated customary laws. From the start, land laws were designed to serve the interests of white settlers, who were expected to support the Uganda Railway infrastructure.[16]

The period 1985-1923 according to Wigley, constituted the formulative years in the evolution of settler agriculture. It was a period of land alienation and experimentation in agriculture. Crops such as coffee, wheat, cotton and maize were planted. Sisal, coffee and maize were more successful. Wheat, flax, rubber and livestock rearing proved unsuccessful by 1914. The white settlers were given official support and they were confident of creating a 'white man's country.' The wealthy ones set up high standards in farming and living.[17] However, farming was inefficient in the early days in the colony. The settlers lacked capital and technology, as well as labour. The white settlers were also frustrated by price fluctuations, particularly before the First World War.

The period before and during the First World War was characterized by the introduction of new crops such as cocoa beans and English potatoes. The agricultural profitability continued throughout the First World War despite war conditions and the fact that some farms reverted to the bush as their owners went to war. The period after the First World War was characterized by rapid economic advance. Farmers were making profits; profits generated further investments; and investment generated further increases in income. A period of sustained growth begun.[18]

[14] E. Huxley, *White Man's Country,* pp. 110-115.
[15] Cone and Lipscomb, *The History of Kenya Agriculture,* p. 56.
[16] D. Wolff, *Britain and Kenya 1870-1930* (Nairobi: Trans-Africa Publishers, 1974), p. 113.
[17] C. Wigley, "Kenya: The Patterns of Economic Life 1902-1945", in V. Harlow and A. Chilver, *History of East Africa* (London: Heineman, 1965), p.237.
[18] Kenyanchui, 'European Settler Agriculture,' p. 19.

European farming in Molo during this early period was rudimental, with scattered pioneers being land occupiers rather than farmers. Many settlers were essentially subsistence cultivators. A number of settlers arriving in Molo were not concerned with the local planting season which led to the failure of some planted crops. Powys was interested in developing mixed farming but he did not have enough resources. By 1914, with the help of Mark Call, Gerry Alexander owned close to fifteen thousand sheep which included some purebred merinos. However, Gerry began to find the size of the flock unmanageable since the sheep market was not good at that time. Gerry ended up opening his butchery in Lower Molo.[19] However, Powys fails to show how settlers such as Rutherford ventured into large scale wheat and barley farming. Much of the work by Powys concentrates on sheep farming and marketing.

1.8.3 European Agriculture in the Inter-War Period

Until 1914, European agriculture could hardly be said to have prospered. Many of the immigrant farmers had little capital with them and were unable to develop the farm they obtained adequately. Others found the environment too hostile to their attempts to introduce European crops and cattle into the heart of Africa. Only such tropical crops as sisal and coffee were successfully established as money makers by the outbreak of the war, but even with these, production had not reached significant levels.[20]

In 1915, the Crown Lands Ordinance (CLO) and the Native Registration Ordinance (NRO) were passed and this marked considerable settler achievements in respect of both land and labour policy. The formation of the Kenya Farmers Association (KFA) in 1919 paved the way for a movement that became only apparent in the 1920s, namely settler drive, supported by the state, to control the internal market of key commodities and cushion themselves against the vagaries of international commodity fluctuations. By the 1920s, the settler estate sector had emerged as an important pillar of Kenya's economy under the enormous resources allotted to it.[21]

However, according to Zeleza, despite the immense and indeed over-generous support from the colonial state, settler agriculture was a textbook case of terminal inefficiency. Commentary of the wastefulness and unproductivity of settler production lies in the fact that all the land occupied by settlers in 1920, only 5.6% of the total acreage was under cultivation. Thus by 1920, Kenya was

[19] Powys, *The Story of Sheep Farming in Kenya,* p.19.
[20] I. Spencer, *Settler Dominance: Agricultural Production and the Second World War in Kenya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 83.
[21] W. Ochieng, *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980* (Nairobi: Evans Brother Kenya Limited, 1989), p. 259.

only a settler colony in name; in reality it was an economy sustained by peasant production which generated a surplus to provide revenue for the state so that it could pay for administration, subsidize settler production, and bear the costs for the maintenance and reproduction of the labour force.[22] Maxon disagrees with Zeleza and asserts that throughout the 1920s, European agriculture held pride of place in Kenya. African production of crops, a significant factor in exports before the war, shrank. Following the post-war slump, white settler agriculture achieved a more stable footing after 1922. Nevertheless, the colony continued to be a country of large farms with a lot of fallow land. For most European farmers, the most important crop of the 1920s was maize. The output of maize and wheat multiplied.[23]

The period 1923-1930 marked the decisive years of European agriculture. Between 1923 and 1929, the economy was stable and steady, marked by the expansion of railway branches. Feeder-roads to the railway were constructed to facilitate transportation of European agricultural products. Thus the transport costs for the settlers were reduced. Despite agricultural improvements and changes, European farming remained amateurish and some settlers regarded the Kenya Highlands as 'happy hunting grounds'.[24]

In the interwar period, Powys cattle and sheep farming in Molo performed very well. Powys had 200 acres under cultivation. The road connecting Molo and Nakuru town was well built. The all-weather road to the railway station in Molo township helped settlers to rail off barley cheaply. Railway rates on the exports of maize and wheat almost exclusively exported by the settler were low, and items geared for settler production such as agricultural implements, breeding stock and commercial seeds were exempted from customs duties. Colonial state policies on road-building were not different either. In the European settled areas roads were built and maintained by the Rural District Councils, which were entirely and generously financed by the state.[25]

The colonial state, through the Department of Agriculture (DA), provided extension services almost exclusively to the white settlers during this period. According to Wolff, the department provided white settler farmers with equipment, seeds, seedlings and stud animals. It published articles and disseminated information on agricultural research to help them improve their farming.

[22] T. Zeleza, 'The Colonial Labour System in Kenya', in Ochieng and Maxon, (eds), *An Economic History of Kenya* (Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers, 1992), p.77.
[23] R. Maxon, *East Africa: An Introductory History* (Morgantown, 1986), p.75.
[24] Kenyanchui, 'European Settler Agriculture,' p. 18.
[25] Spencer, *Settler Dominance,* p.83.

The department also established demonstration farms and supervised, graded and certified settler crops for export. The department in conjunction with the settlers and imperial authorities in London decided on what crops were to be grown. [26] White settlers in Molo had field trips to Njoro Plant Breeding Station once in every three months. Brochures and magazines were printed by the District Agricultural Officer and the veterinary officer. The leaflets mostly informed about what had happened in the entire district. This included, an outbreak of both crop and animal diseases, prices for crops and output of crops in various areas in the district.[27]

In 1926, a sheep disease known as 'blue tongue', and which very little was known about, broke out and killed old merinos and lambs. Hill-Williams suffered animal loss but hoped to make fortunes later. The agricultural officers in Molo did little to help but promised to carry on extensive research about the disease. In 1930, Gerry Alexender was numbered among the best sheep farmers in the colony. On the other hand, the average yields of Powys maize harvest were 7200 bags of wheat per acres, 180 bags of barley per care. Mechanisation held out the possibility of greater returns and less hassle.[28] However, this joy was short-lived as the effects of the Great Depression began to be felt when almost everything the farmers produce dropped in value and almost to vanishing point and creditors began to press for repayment of their loans.[29]

The Great Depression (GD) according to Zeleza, brought to an end the speculative spree. Many settler farmers sank into bankruptcy. In 1930, the government passed the Agricultural Advances Ordinance (AAO), which made provision for finances to the settlers at the initial planting and harvesting period. On a more permanent basis, the government established a land bank in 1931. Using their land as collateral, white settlers could borrow money from the land bank and in this way sustain production without the danger of being declared bankrupt or having their property seized by less tolerant financial lenders. In the aftermath of the depression, the financial structure in Kenya was drastically overhauled. Settler farming was also able to expand because the settlers were able to get credit from British commercial and merchant banks established in the country.[30]

Several problems were experienced in the years 1930-1939. First, there was a locust invasion in 1928. Secondly, there was a slump in the prices of coffee, maize and sisal. For example, the prices

[26] Wolff, *Britain and Kenya 1870-1930*, p. 109.
[27] Lewis, *Empire State-building,* p. 394.
[28] Ibid, p. 395.
[29] Powys, *The Story of Sheep Farming in Kenya.* p. 21.
[30] Zeleza, 'The colonial labour system in Kenya.' p. 80.

of coffee dropped by over a half while those of sisal and maize dropped by more than two-thirds. Thirdly, drought struck from 1928 to 1934. Fourthly, there was the world economic depression of 1929-1930. The effects of the world depression lingered in Kenya until 1939. These problems discouraged the settlers from investing in agriculture. Many settlers were indebted. In 1931, cattle rearing among settlers became very popular. About ten per cent of the total land was under crop production only and about forty percent was both cropped and stocked with livestock.[31]

Between 1931 and 1934, the colony was struck by a particularly devastating drought. By 1935, the repeated occurrences of drought throughout East Africa had sparked a fear that the region was becoming arid. Some farmers invested in the cultivation of pyrethrum from 1935 because it needed little capital expenditure.[32] Pyrethrum became popular in areas with an altitude of over 6,000 feet above sea level. During the same period, coffee and sisal yielded some profits to settlers who cultivated them. The problems experienced by Europeans settlers according to Anderson fueled the politics of racial superiority and segregation. The settlers succeeded in having the highlands legalized for their residence and use in 1932. In 1934, the Carter Commission defined the highlands as Europeans settlement and stopped further land alienation to other races.[33]

1.8.4 Impact of World War II on Settler Agriculture

The settlers were shaken by the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. Some enlisted in the war, but a large number remained in their farms. The emphasis on agriculture during the war was on the cultivation of grains such as wheat and maize to meet war needs. The Department of Agriculture laid down policy guidelines on research and extension services to settler-farmers. Little progress was made since there were no funds to pay for the implementation of these guidelines. But by 1942 the government began to offer credits or loans to settlers for the improvement of their production. The white settlers were also asked to emphasize mechanisation to increase productivity, and the government moved in to control prices in a bid to stimulate productivity further.[34]

European agriculture, on the other hand, enjoyed its most prosperous period in the 1940s. The Second World War provided market opportunities for settler farmers to thrive and expand. During

[31] D. Anderson, 'Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography and Drought: The Colonial State and Soil Conservation in East Africa during the 1930s,' *African Affairs* Vol. 83, No. 332, (1984), p. 401.
[32] Ibid, p. 406.
[33] Kenyanchui, 'European Settler Agriculture,' p.18.
[34] Spencer, *Settler Dominance*, p. 83.

the war, settlers achieved preponderant influence on the statutory boards and committees which controlled agricultural and marketing policy. The government had made its contributions to the imperial war effort. There was a significant rise in the demand for agricultural and tropical good to be used by the far-flung imperial army and for domestic consumption in Britain. The colonial state turned to settlers to provide most of the food and cash crops needed on the world market. The board that supervised this wartime production was the Agricultural Provision and Settlement Board (APSB). These favourable terms naturally led to prosperity in the settler enterprise in Kenya. Settler agriculture relied on extraordinarily favourable economic and labour terms guaranteed by the state. Settler agriculture prospered by operating under no risks whatsoever.[35]

The years from the Second World War to independence were marked by recovery and growth in European settler agriculture. The settler population was boosted by an influx of British ex-soldiers who had served in the Second World War. The Europeans Agricultural Settlement Board (EASB) was created in 1946 to assist these ex-soldiers to settle in Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu.[36] The last phase of European agriculture was characterized by an increment in plantation crops but a drop in the yields. The cultivable land rose but without commensurate productivity. Partly to explain the low productivity was government control of prices and exports. The most outstanding characteristic feature in the phase was agricultural planning. The settlers planned and built irrigation dams, roads, fences and building and formed co-operatives. The outbreak of Mau Mau in 1952 interfered with planned development. However, the emergency accelerated the government's implementation of the dual policy in which both Europeans and Africans interests received similar attention.

For some settlers, however, the war period was a time of excitement and possibility. Cobb was a settler who had 3,000 acres of land in Molo at the beginning of the century only to lose it during the First World War and have it repossessed in Second World War. Cobb carried out cotton farming, but unfortunately, it failed. This was due to the change in currency rates from one rupee commanding one shilling and four pence to a florin.[37] By the mid-1950s, the cultivation of cash crops such as coffee, tea and pyrethrum was opened to the Africans. Naturally, the white settlers resented this, as they viewed it as competition. The colonial development and welfare research fund grant was sought to step up investigations on sheep farming. Farmers and sheep committee

[35] Wunyambari, *MauMau and Kenya*, p. 288.
[36] Best, *Happy Valley*, p. 51.
[37] Powys, *The Story of Sheep Farming in Kenya*, p. 33.

to the Kenya National Farmers Union (KNFU) took a much closer interest in sheep. Twenty sheep from Njoro, Molo, Uasin Gishu, and Trans Nzoia. Despite the developments, however, the settlers made strides in agricultural production because of their accumulated experience, availability of facilities, capital and government support. By 1960 the use of ox-drawn plough had been largely replaced by tractors.[38]

1.8.5 Impact of African Unrest on Settler Agriculture

Post World War II era saw a retreat of colonial powers who had large war debts to pay and re build costs at home. Many Kikuyu involved in the Mau Mau revolt felt the primary goal of the insurgency was to recover land under white settlers. Political, religious and educational reforms were focused towards de-legitimizing the Mau Mau revolt. Widespread detention, collective punishment, confessions and mass identification programs were implemented.[39] Given that one of the primary roots of Mau Mau was the squatters system and land ownership, one of the problems the white settlers faced was that of inadequate agricultural labour in the White Highland Farms. Most settlers encountered losses during this time. Most of the African labourers were conscious of the need to fight for their land and neglected their duties in the farms. Crops that were ripe for harvest were left in the farms and destroyed by the rains.[40]

Africans were becoming more conscious of their status as squatters. However, the control on the number of sheep and acreage allowed was on the increase. An African farmer and his family would be allowed to live on a white settler's farm but in a separate area. The squatters were permitted to raise crops and graze a limited number of livestock in exchange for work performed for the settler. The Kikuyu who comprised the bulk of resident labourers in the area invariably cultivated as large areas as they could irrespective of the maximum average that they agree to be attested. There was a conflict between white settlers and Africans. Intervention by the colonial state on the settler's behalf was decisive, with a differing view over policy implementation.[41]

After 1952, oath-taking ceremonies intensified, information about Mau Mau was scanty after a tour of Kenya African Union leaders in the Nakuru. There was mysterious disappearance of witnesses. To deal with the politically perilous situation, the entire Nakuru District was declared a

[38] Best, *Happy Valley*, p. 55.
[39] Maloba, *Mau Mau and Kenya*, p.137.
[40] Ibid, pp. 140-141.
[41] T. Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Limited, 1987), pp. 8-10.

special District and enhanced power accorded to the administrative officer in charge. In spite of deterrent sentences to the Mau Mau members, the movement continued to spread. However, outrages against the non-Africans population were absent. A state of Emergency was declared in October 1952. Troops and police were drafted into the district and the majority of prominent Mau Mau into prominent suspects arrested under detention orders. For a while there were no repercussions locally, the show of force and the degree of surprise achieved having a stunning effect upon the lesser adherents of the movement.[42]

Kikuyu traditionally used verbal oaths, often coupled with physical acts of various kinds, to signal a change in status or responsibilities or to socially show one's loyalty to the ethnic group or family group. Traditionally, oath-taking by Kikuyu men were relatively benign and did not involve any form of violence. They were simply a method by which tribal loyalty was reaffirmed. By the time the Kenyan emergency was declared in 1952, the leaders of the Mau Mau movement had incorporated increasingly violent oaths to ensure the loyalty of their followers.[43]

Rosberg and Nottingham argue that oath-taking in many societies is both a sacred and social event. Most oaths serve similar purposes but may take on very different outward appearances. In most societies, oaths incorporate symbols related to the supreme values of these societies. In oath-taking, the individual binds himself or herself to the organisation and the larger obligations of the group. During the Kenyan emergency, there were different grades and oaths administered by the Mau Mau to influence and reap desired results from their followers. Those of the lower grade were less violent and those of higher grades involved increasing acts of violence and depravity.[44]

1.9 Theoretical Framework

This study employed the colonial capitalism theory. This theory was formulated by Van Zwaneneberg. The colonial mode of capitalist production was dependent upon the imperial state in all major areas of economic growth for instance, finance, banking, trade, markets, technology, science, personnel, education and in the political and administrative mechanism. In Kenya, the politically powerful landed oligarchy from Britain used their influence with the imperial

[42] D. Throup, *Africans and Agricultural Production in Colonial Kenya: Myth of War as a Watershed* (London: Cambridge, 1985), p. 8.
[43] Maloba, *Mau Mau and Kenya*, p.139.
[44] G. Rosberg and J. Nottingham, *The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya* (New York: Meridian Books Publishers, 1970), p. 244.

government to ensure that it should be they who mobilised capital to initiate new techniques in agriculture.[45]

This theory further argues that the white settlers were offered access to African land by the colonial state, which failed to provide sufficient wage labour or finance capital. The colonial government in Kenya passed a great deal of legislation which supported the needs of the settler farmers to develop capital. The period between the First World War in Kenya and the Second World War was characterised by a constant struggle between the white settler and the Africans people. Adequate financial accumulation, adequate for capital accumulation, could only occur through the extraction of a productive surplus from the labour of the African people. Myint argues that the plantation mode of production failed to become the leading sector due to the cheap labour policy, which restricted technological innovation because it was the dominant sector. The plantation sector of the economy required cheap labour to accumulate surplus value which was the prerequisite for technical innovation.[46]

Due to the lack of voluntary labour, a series of taxes and laws were used to force the native population to provide services to white farmers. The alienation of African land and the restrictions imposed on natives as to what they were allowed to grow on land neighbouring white settlements ensured they would not be able to maintain viable livelihoods unless they resorted to working for the settlers. A hut tax was introduced in 1902 as a mechanism for raising government revenue as well as a way of inducing Africans to work for white settlers. In 1908, a poll tax charged on all Africans over the age of 16 years was introduced.

However, labour shortages persisted and use of forced labour during the First World War was enacted. In 1920, the colonial state came up with the Native Registration Ordinance (NRO) which enabled it to control African labour by forcing all African males, aged 16 years and above to carry *Kipande* (passbook) which showed the address of the bearer his employer, as well as his wages.[47] The colonial state played a fundamental role on settlers' behalf by appropriating African land, confiscating livestock, introducing taxation to Africans, building railway and other transport

[45] V. Zwanenberg, *Colonial Capitalism and Labour in Kenya* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1975), p. 39.
[46] H. Myint, *The Economies of Developing Countries* (Hutchingson Publishers, 1967), p. 23.
[47] Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau*, pp. 131-134.

networks and creating forced labour, marketing and financial structures highly favourable to the white settlers.[48]

However, this theory had weaknesses as it failed to show the characteristic of the colonial pattern of development in an export economy. These colonial patterns which either developed largely economically, underdeveloped hinterland. The export economy develops in the first place because the established theory and the practical needs of the invading country happen to coincide. The theory demands a positive balance of payments and as there is no internal market, it is necessary to develop products which can be exported. Levin argued that it is that the poverty of the underdeveloped world was due to this process, which starves the domestic economy of cash, and limits the opportunities for profitable investment.[49]

Further criticism of the theory argued that the development of the export sector was understood to be closely related to the underdevelopment of the indigenous sector. In a broad sense, the economic underdevelopment of the indigenous sector was a precondition for the growth of the settler economy and the existence of the white settlers provided a market for a part of the indigenous economy.[50]

However, this criticism needed to be modified as it did not show the relation between the capitalist and pre-capitalist sectors. The theory was helpful to the study as it showed that a portion of Kenya's indigenous economy benefited from the economic opportunities presented by the demands of the white settler farmer economy. In this case, the evidence strongly indicated that development among the large white settler farm included major developments among the local African economies. Hence this theory helped understand the form and the mode of capitalist production, which was determined by the colonial state.

1.10 Methodology

1.10.1 Area of the Study

Molo is located in Nakuru county and formerly Nakuru District. The term Molo was derived from a Maasai word meaning a curse. It was alleged that a group of Maasai decided to settle in Molo contrary to the wishes of their kinsmen and their livestock died. Molo bordered Mau forest. During

[48] W. Ochieng, *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980* (Nairobi: Evans Brother Kenya Limited, 1989), p. 259.
[49] J. Levin, *The Export Economies: Their Pattern of Development in Historical Perspective* (Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1960), pp. 38-39.
[50] Zwanenberg, *Colonial Capitalism and Labour in Kenya*, pp. 204-205.

the colonial period, the area was part of the white highlands. During the colonial period, Molo was the area that constitutes currently of Molo sub-county which is administratively divided into Molo, Turi, Elburgon and Mariashoni. The study is confined to Molo area formerly Molo Division. According to 2009 National census, Molo's population numbered to 140,584 people.[51] The map on page 18 shows the area of the study.

1.10.2 Research Design

The study employed a historical research design. Historical research design involves synthesis as well as internal and external criticism of primary and secondary sources. According to Ogunniyi, historical research is a systematic examination of the past to understand the present and plan for the future. [52] This research design was selected in that it helped the researcher integrate the different components of the study coherently and logically. This ensured that the researcher effectively addressed the research problem. The purpose of a historical research design was to collect, verify and synthesize evidence from the past to establish facts. Data was gathered from written sources and oral descriptions of the past events and a detailed description of how agricultural activities took place in Molo was noted.

MAP OF THE STUDY AREA

[51] Republic of Kenya, Nakuru County Development Plan. (Nairobi: Government printers, 2013)
[52] M. Ogunniyi, *Understanding Research in the Social Sciences* (Ibadan: The University Press, 1992), p. 40.

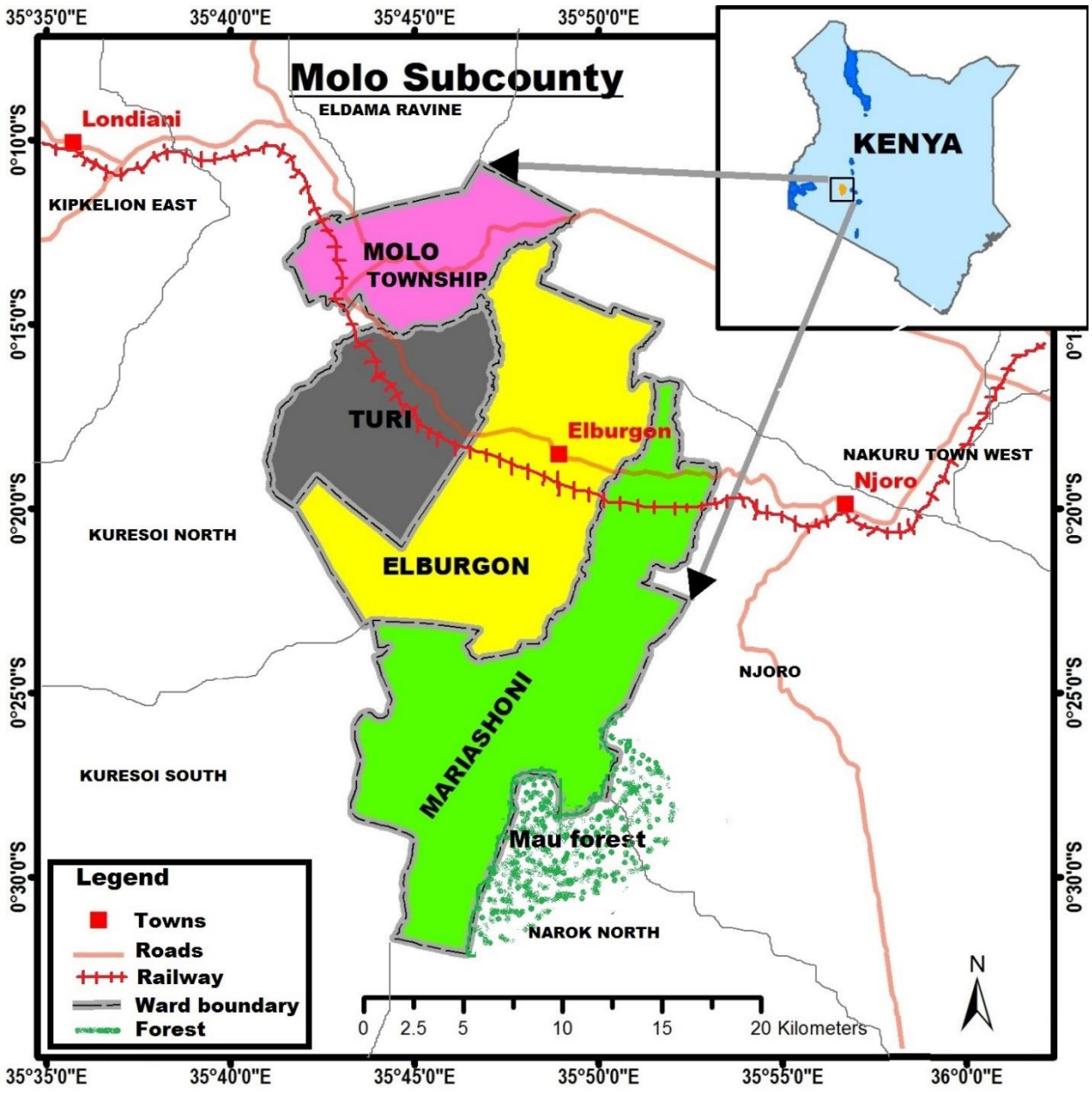

Figure 3.1: Map of Molo area

Source: Nakuru District Development Plan, 1997-2001.

1.10.3 Data Collection

Primary sources were used as they consisted of the original date. Official records such as District annual reports and agricultural reports were used. These documents provided historical data on land tenure and land policies, taxation, markets, agricultural policies and the types of crops that were grown in the Molo area. Secondary sources such as books, journal articles and conference papers were also consulted. These sources helped the researcher to broaden the research by providing background information, analyses and various perspectives beyond what the primary sources provided. Secondary sources helped inform the researcher of what other scholars had written about. The secondary sources were also used to support ideas and to cross-check with the information from the primary sources. They provided vital background for the research.

1.10.4 Data Collection Instruments

The research relied on interview schedule. Vansina notes that oral information forms a vast pool that encompasses the whole of inherited culture.[53] The oral interview involved informants identified through purposive sampling technique. The informants selected through the purposive sampling technique were knowledgeable people who could give the information required. Hence interviewed informants recommended others who were knowledgeable about the agricultural transformation of settler agriculture in Molo to the researcher. The interviews were guided by a set of questions constructed by the researcher. Informants who could not communicate in either English or Kiswahili were allowed to converse in any other language. Such interviews were recorded using a tape recorder and later with the assistant of a member of the community who understood the local dialect, the information was translated to English.

1.10.5 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

The study utilised the non-probability sampling method which comprised of purposive sampling snowball sampling. The aim of sampling during the research according to Cohen, is to draw a representative sample from the population so that the results of the sample study can then be generalized back to the population.[54] Snowball sampling was appropriate for this research in that not the entire population in the study area was in a position to give the information required. Snowball technique was applied when one individual was identified and in return, identified another potential informant. The study interviewed eighty informants who were knowledgeable

[53] J. Vansina, *Oral Traditional: A Study in Historical Methodology* (Chicago: Trans Wright Aldine, 1995), p. 56.
[54] L. Cohen, *Research Methods in Education* (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 24.

about the transformation of white settler agriculture in Molo. This included twenty-five from Elburgon, twenty from Mariashoni, fifteen from Turi and twenty from Molo township. This was done in order to ensure that there was an informant from every village. The advantage of snowballing sampling is that it helps the researcher to reach population that may be difficult to capture through other sampling methods. This is because not every person in Molo is knowledgeable about the agricultural transformation of settler agriculture in the area. However, the snowballing technique faced a challenge that it provided the researcher with little control over the sampling methods. This was because in most cases, one respondent referred the researcher to the next respondent, some of whom were not residing in Molo area. The researcher interviewed all the informants despite their geographical location. This included the residents of Mariashoni, Molo, Turi and Elburgon. The unit of the investigation were individuals who were knowledgeable with the Agricultural transformation of settler agriculture in Molo.

1.10.6 Data Analysis, Interpretation and Presentation

The historical method was used in analyzing and interpreting data. The use of historical methods notes Garragham, leads to knowledge that is uniquely historical. This method involved the analysis and explanation of harnessed data both historically, logically and thematically.[55] Primary and secondary data collected for the study was analysed in relation to research objectives. The data collected was qualitative. The past events, experiences and developments were subjected to a critical process of investigation. Evidence was weighed very carefully and the validity of sources was established. To minimize the impact of subjectivity, sources were subjected to historical criticism for corroboration of the different data obtained. Research findings, interpretation and presentation on the transformation of settler agriculture in Molo area were categorized in themes. Data was presented in a narrative form, which is descriptive in nature.

1.10.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations were very important for the research as they helped prevent the fabrication of falsification of data, thereby, promoting the pursuit of knowledge and truth, which was the primary goal of research. Ethical behaviour was also critical for collaborative work because it encouraged an environment of trust, accountability and mutual respect between the researcher and informant. During the interview, the researcher adhered to the confidentiality of information. This

[55] G. Garragham, *A Guide to Historical Method* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1946), p. 27.

helped construct a level of trust between the different participants in the study area. Some informants were not comfortable giving out information. At this point, a compromise was made. Informants were informed by the researcher about the importance of the study. A trustworthy relationship was built with the interviewees by clarifying that the research was meant for academic purposes and not any other motive. In this way, expectations were managed easily. Another ethical consideration was obtaining information with the consent of the interviewee. In some cases, while carrying out qualitative research, it became a bit difficult to convince the informants about the aim of the study. Another ethical consideration was to seek for a research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation.

CHAPTER TWO

SETTLER AGRICULTURE IN MOLO UP TO 1918

2.1 Overview

This chapter traces the early settlement of European settlers in Kenya in general and in narrows Molo in particular. White settler farms were carved out of the most fertile areas. Africans were not allowed to settle in the White Highlands but were restricted to African reserves though some offered their labour to white settler farms. The chapter will also analyse the technology that was used by the white settlers and the various challenges they encountered in the early years of colonial rule. It also examines crop production and animal rearing by white farmers in Molo in the early stages of European settlement.

2.2 Origin of White Settlement in Kenya

The nineteenth-century marked the imposition of European colonial rule throughout Africa, a process which was endorsed by the 1884 Berlin Conference. In East Africa, Britain and Germany initially annexed territory through the agency of charted trading companies. William MacKinnon's Imperial British East Africa Company established a presence in British East Africa while Karl Peter's German East Africa Company occupied German East Africa. The purpose of these ventures was to make a profit as the companies were keen to promote the imperial interests of their respective countries. When the Imperial British East Africa Company proved too undercapitalized to promote the ambitions of its directors, the British government formally assumed control in 1895.[1]

European settlement in Africa was as a result of European invasion coupled with economic needs, and search for prestige and strategic advantages lying behind this intrusion. European intrusion could not have lasted without the back up of white settlers. Settlement in colonial Kenya represented the central aspect that sought to generate revenues and to secure a stable financial subsidy for the new protectorate of East Africa. European settlement started as mere contemplation made by Sir Johnstone Harry, the special commissioner of Uganda, who was impressed by the agricultural potential of the Kenyan highlands and called for its people by the European settlers.[2] The British government decided to launch the construction of the railway in 1896.[3] The railway

[1] J. Galbraith, *MacKinnon and East Africa, 1878-1895: A study in the New Imperial* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 227-239.
[2] Ochieng, *Pre-Colonial History of Gusii*. p. 144.
[3] Throup, *Economic and Social Origins of Mau Mau,* p. 111.

project was initiated during the commissionership of Sir Arthur Hardinge but continued after his departure in 1900 to reach Port Florence (Kisumu) in 1901. Hardinge successor, Sir Charles Eliot was faced with a problem to counter financial shortages to finance the railway project. Suggestions were raised that the only way this problem could be solved was by the imposition of taxes on Africans.[4]

European travellers were venturing inland and reporting on the considerable agricultural potential of the Kenya highlands. Harry Johnstone who transversed the Rift Valley in 1899 remarked that the highlands were 'admirably suited for as a white man's country.[5] Such sentiments won support from Charles Eliot, who, as a commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate, was an outspoken advocate of the European settlement and Colonial Land Legislation. The 1897 land regulations had authorized the issue of certificates of occupancy valid for ninety-nine years.[6] In 1901, the East Africa (Lands) Order in Council empowered the commissioner to grant or lease Crown land subject to foreign office approval, a development which left the terms of disposal to local discretion.[7] This order was superseded by the 1902 Crown Lands Ordinance (CLO), which legalised the private sale of land under 99 years lease.[8] The administration of the Rift Valley and Western Highlands was transferred from Uganda to the East Africa Protectorate in 1902, bringing up the recently completed Uganda Railway under one governing authority.[9] In order to prepare an adequate atmosphere for settlement, Eliot issued the Crown Land Ordinance in 1902. The essence of this ordinance was that all unoccupied land belonged to the Crown and that it could be sold or leased for 99 years instead of 21 years as in the 1897 Land Regulation Act.[10] The 1902 Land Ordinance was issued with the hope of encouraging white settlement through the alienation of crown land to European settlers either through sale or by granting 99 years lease.[11]

[4] T. Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau 1905-1963* (Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers, 1987), p. 103.
[5] G. Mungeam, *Report by His Majesty's Special Commissioner on the Protectorate of Uganda, Kenya Select Historical Documents 1884-1923* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1978), pp. 320-321.
[6] D. Kydd, *Land Marks: A Review of European Settlement in British East Africa and a Personal Account of Land Transfer Schemes in Kenya, 1960-1976* (Kenya National Archives Microfilm), p. 3.
[7] J. Lonsdale and B. Bruce, 'Coping with the contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1895-1914' *Journal of African History, No 20* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 495-496.
[8] Y. Ghai and J. Mcauslan, *Public Law and Political Change in Kenya* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 25-26.
[9] G. Bennett, *Kenya: A Political History, The Colonial period* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 63.
[10] Ochieng, *A Pre-Colonial History of the Gusii of Western Kenya. p. 17.*
[11] A. Kajumulu, *Land Information Service in Kenya: United Nations Centre for Human Settlement Habitat* (Nairobi; Macmillan Publishers, 2001), p. 7.

According to Stoler, the arrival of European women and children in a colony generally occurred to try and bring a balance among the racial categories in the colony. Acquired gradually and over time, Europeans would come to consider Kenya as their home and affective attachments to Kenya would follow.[12] In Kenya, moral panic for fear of sexual violence erupted several times amongst European colonials during the early colonial era.[13] David Anderson suggests that the 'black perils' were related to settlers' anxieties over retaining control and racial purity while being surrounded by and depended on African employment. The aspect of racial purity was rendered more important because the presence of women and children in the colony was a prerequisite for a stable, permanent residence for the Europeans. [14]

The law officers interpreted African land rights, whereby land was communally owned, in terms of actual occupation only. *De facto* ownership over the land was, therefore, asserted by the crown, which subsequently reserved the right to alienate land at will. On this basis, Eliot proceeded to make generous land grants to concessionaire interests, of which one of 100,000 acres between Njoro and Molo was awarded to Lord Delamere and was probably the most publicised.[15] The European population remained small, however, with wealthy and influential individuals retaining vast acres of undeveloped farmland for speculative purposes. Subsequently, the establishment of a European farming community proved problematic and settler spokesmen continued to promote the idea of closer settlement. In 1905, the East Africa Protectorate was transferred from Foreign Office to Colonial Office supervision. This measure encouraged the settlers to posture as expatriate Britons and local officials continued to agree with their demands. A frequent European complaint concerned the desirability of official compulsion of cheap African labour. One result of settler pressure was the 1906 Master and Servants Ordinance, specifically promulgated to punish reluctant farmworkers.[16]

In January 1902, twenty-two settlers had met in Nairobi and formed a society to promote European immigration. Charging that Indian immigration was not in European interests, the society petitioned Eliot, the protectorate commissioner over the issue. The latter promptly recommended

[12] Anderson, *Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography and Drought,* p.23.
[13] L. Stoler, 'Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th Century Colonial Cultures' *American Ethnologist, 16(4),* 1989, pp. 634-660.
[14] Anderson, *Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography and Drought,* p.23.
[15] E. Huxley, *White Man's Country,* Vol 2 (London: Macmillan, 1935), p. 104.
[16] Ghai and Mcauslan. *Public Law and Political change,* p. 83.

to the Foreign Office that Indians be excluded from the highlands.[17] Eliot never bothered to conceal his rejection for Indians. According to him:

> They are keenly alive to the advantage of acquiring the valuable property. I therefore as the commissioner of the protectorate discouraged all acquisition of land by Indians in the Highlands, except in the vicinity of the town.[18]

Europeans insisted on racial safeguards due to the fear of Indian commercial competition. Construction of the Uganda Railway had encouraged Indian traders to venture inland. Fanning out across the highlands, they eventually established a virtual monopoly of the retail trade in the countryside and became prosperous urban businessmen, rapidly purchasing most municipal plots.[19] During the first decade of the twentieth century, efforts were made by the colonial government to promoted white settlement in Kenya for instance, issuing free grants of land. Government handling of land and labour problems reflected settler pressure which prompted the appointment of a land committee in 1905 and a Labour Commission in 1912.[20]

The colonial government recommended that the protectorate should be self-sufficient financially. It was in this line that the Colonial Office supported Sir Charles Eliot's policy of encouraging settler immigration to boost agricultural production. The policy aimed at attracting private capital for development and investment in the protectorate. The colonial state encouraged settler agriculture in various ways. The alienated land was mainly carved out of the most productive areas and located within reach of the railway. This was because the colonial state wanted to boost settler agriculture by providing it with a good network of infrastructure. When Sir Percy Girouard took over as the governor in 1909, it was not surprising that he saw the future economic development of the country chiefly in terms of European agricultural production. Girouard expected the settler population to contribute 20% of the £273,000 total revenue estimated for the financial year 1910-1911. The Dual Policy, which was to characterize Kenya's agricultural development throughout the colonial period, had thus been initiated. What was significant about the policy was the greater attention which the colonial state gave to the settler sector compared to African production.[21] To

[17] R. Gregory, *India and East Africa: A History of Race Relations within the British Empire 1890-1939* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 72.
[18] E. Eliot, *The East Africa Protectorate* (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1966), p. 176.
[19] Gregory, *India and East Africa,* pp. 61-62.
[20] G. Mungeam, *British Rule in Kenya, 1895-1912,* p. 275.
[21] Mungeam, *British Rule in Kenya,* p. 220.

achieve the foregoing, the African population had to be made to work for the settlers, for any solution would create insuperable problems by making white men work much harder than they were accustomed to do in other parts of Africa which were equally open to settlers.[22] Africans were also required to pay taxes. The first tax to be imposed on the residents of the East Africa Protectorate was the Hut Tax and that started in January 1902; the tax had already been adopted by German East Africa. Lord Lansdowne, the Colonial Secretary, sanctioned the levying of a tax not exceeding two rupees upon every African dwelling. Taxation was introduced to finance the administration of the colony. Taxation was also used as a mechanism for forcing Africans into wage labour.[23]

Dual Policy was an economic policy which was aimed to begin the long chain of development, leading to a transformation of African agriculture and the economy as a whole. The policy aimed at encouraging men to seek wage employment within and outside the reserve. Mr. L.S Armery noted that Dual Policy was:

> A policy which recognizes settler trusteeship towards the native population-whom the settlers found on the spot and whom it was their duty to bring toward and develop in every possible way-but also settler trusteeship to humanity at large for the fullest development of the territories and towards those in particular of settlers own race who had undertaken the task of helping forward that development.[24]

2.3 Early White Settlers in Molo up to 1918

Kenny argues that the description by British explorers and photographs from the construction of the railway between Mombasa and Lake Victoria which cuts through Molo suggests that Molo area had already attracted African settlement before the colonial rule. There were open grass fields on the gently rolling hills that were surrounded by patches of forest. With ample rains, swamps and several streams passing through, Molo area was fertile because of good soils and a steady supply of water, but still the area was not farmed to any significant extent before the colonial period.[25]

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[22] E. Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa: The politics of Economic Change, 1919-1939* (Nairobi: East Africa Publishers, 1973), p. 169.

[23] M. Ross, *Kenya from within: A Short Political History* (Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1968), p. 145.

[24] E. Huxley, *White Man's Country* (London: William Lewis Printers Limited, 1970), p. 193.

[25] M. Kenny, 'Mirror in the Forest: The Okiek Hunter-Gatherers as an Image of the Other,' *African Journal of the International African Institute,* 51(1) 1981, pp. 477-480.

Holte argues that at first when Africans noted the presence of the white man in Molo, they got concerned since they had heard of white settlers in Njoro who had been given the land that previously belonged to Africans. Chiefs assured them that the white men were there to monitor the activities of the Uganda Railway and not to take away African land. However, by mid-1904, land alienation had already started in parts of Mariashoni and Turi.[26] Molo was all but thick forest including Bamboo inhabited by small bands of the hunting and honey collecting Okiek. The cool climate (2,500 metres above sea level) and ample rainfall encouraged rapid settlement. In 1903, free grants of land were offered in Molo by the commissioner Charles Eliot, but although potentially arable land of 640-acres blocks was taken up, ranches of 5,000 acres in Molo were not yet taken. The settlers who occupied the 640-acres block later moved to Londiani, having not engaged in farming or cleared their land. A trickle of settlers, many of South African and British origin, arrived in 1904 and another major allotment of land was made. The first settlers started by cultivating large areas of land in Kweresoi (Kuresoi), Mariashoni and later Turi area[27]

In April 1904, Major Webb and Jaspher Abraham were allocated 5,000 acres of land each. In September 1904, Dr G. Atkinson and Mr. E.C Atkinson were granted farmland in Turi. Each of the two was granted 2,000 acres that ran along the railway line. However, instead of engaging in agricultural activities they turned to sawmilling and opened Equator Sawmills in Turi in 1904. This was due to the availability of full grown trees that produced good timber which could be sold in Nairobi. The Africans were lucky to secure jobs in the timber factory as labourers.[28] Ewart Grogan was also allotted land in the swampy areas of Turi. Grogan was one of the settlers who continuously appealed for help from the government as he was very passionate about farming. His farm land was approximately 40 kilometres from Turi centre. However, with few agricultural supervisors in the entire Nakuru District, Ewart was always disappointed and opted to always consult with Delamere who was farming in Njoro.[29]

Tanui notes that Africans in Kiptunga village were evacuated from Mariashoni to create space for the settlement of Mr. L. Cooper, a white settler. Some Africans, however, resisted the move. As a result, Tanui's grandfather was severely injured as he resisted evacuation. Cooper got a total of

[26] B. Holte, *St. Andrew Turi* (University of Oslo, 2013), pp. 16-30.
[27] Curtis, *Memories of Kenya.* p.17.
[28] S. Playne and G. Holderness, *East Africa (British): Its History, People, Commerence, Industries and Resources* (London: The foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Company 1908), p. 338.
[29] Holte, *St Andrew Turi*, p. 20.

172 acres of land at Mariashoni and ventured into wheat farming. However, in the year 1907, Cooper did not harvest even a single bag of wheat due to wheat rust. During this early farming, Cooper did not either use manure or any fertilizer. Cooper decided to seek advice from the District Agricultural Office and was given Njoro I variety of wheat.[30] The white settlers had entered the district with high expectations, envisaging a better future for themselves as farmers. Most white settlers had not engaged in agriculture previously in their home countries. During the early 'trial and error' period, a variety of crops were cultivated. These crops included barley, wheat, maize and potatoes.[31]

David Anderson accounts for the conflicts between Africans, European commercial interests and European conservational interests in Ewart Grogans's concession area that was about 40km from Turi. His concession was granted in 1904, but African rights in the area were established later and excluded several pre-colonial users. Land ownership among the Africans was communally owned. The land tenure was also based on social grouping of the entire community. Occupation of land was through the clearing of bushes. Land was regarded as an important asset in the community. Moreover, the forest remained a place of refuge for many Africans, some at the margins of colonial law.[32]

Major Bertram Webb was the first European to employ the Okiek as labourers on his farm. In 1907, this farm was incorporated into Keringet farm, a joint venture by Edward Powys Cobb, Jack Hill-Williams and John M. Drury. This land largely represented colonial investment and experimentation on a large scale. Powys, Drury and Jack bred sheep and cattle, and also made the first attempts at industrializing farming in the area. Several large steam-driven tractors were bought on the railroad to Molo station and transported by ox-cart for roughly 20km to the farm. With this investment came a commitment to making the area home. The settlers were keen to note that the climate was excellent and suitable for agriculture.[33]

Nyaboke (OI) notes that after her family moved from Kabianga and settled in Elburgon before the colonial rule, they acquired 20 acres of land. Five acres were put under cultivation, while another five acres were used for animal rearing and the remaining ten acres were full of indigenous trees. In 1908, the family had to be pushed from Elburgon to the swampy areas of Turi where farming

[30] Nicholas Tanui, OI, 13 April 2019
[31] Holte, *St. Andrew Turi*, pp. 16-30.
[32] Anderson, *Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography and Drought,* p. 23.
[33] Holte, *St Andrew Turi.* p. 20.

was impossible. In the process, her father returned to Elburgon and was badly fought by the white men's guards who broke his spinal cord. Nyaboke added that his family lost everything as their family house was burnt down and their livestock taken away.[34] This tallies with the argument raised by Mungeam that there was conflict over land between the Europeans and Africans. Intervention by the colonial state on the settlers' behalf was decisive, with a differing view over policy implementation not detracting from the active collaboration between colonial officials and European representatives.[35]

Kibet, an OI, who lived in Mariashoni recounts that land that had been prepared by Africans through cutting down trees, burning shrubs was later taken by the white farmers. Africans labour was used with the supervision of the colonial administration.[36] Njeri, whose parents moved to Rift valley before the WW I, recalls very well the stories she was told and how the land their parents had settled in was taken away from them.

> They (referring to police officers) rooted everything, burnt the house and killed all our sheep. My parents were left beggars with nowhere to go. All that they had struggled to acquire was turned into ashes in minutes.[37]

The colonial chiefs provided a link between the local population and the colonial administration.[38] A chief was a direct agent of the government in his location. All over Kenya, every chief had certain general functions and duties that went hand in hand with his appointment. Among these duties was to maintain the spirit of loyalty to the British Crown, and to inculcate such spirit to see that all lawful orders are obeyed by the African inhabitants of his location, collecting taxes and recruiting labourers.[39] Although the powers and duties of the chiefs gradually evolved, the basic legal framework on which the authority of chiefs rested derived from two ordinances enacted before the First World War. A 1902 ordinance gave the chiefs three broad responsibilities. Chiefs

[34] Magdalene Nyaboke, OI, 19 April 2019
[35] Mungeam, *The British in Kenya* 1895-1912, p. 38.
[36] Amos Kibet, OI, 20 April 2019
[37] Eunice Njeri OI, 15 April 2019
[38] R. Wolff, *Economic aspects of British Colonialism in Kenya, 1895-1930* (New York, Yale University, 1979), pp. 273-277.
[39] Government monographs, Report and Research Works, Ordinance to make provision in Regard to Powers and Duties of Native Chiefs, No 22, October 16, 1912, PRO Co 633/3, pp. 33-40.

were to maintain law and order and could be subjected to fines if disturbances occurred in their areas of jurisdiction.[40]

The colonial administration restricted Africans to the specially demarcated reserves whose conditions effectively denied them any chance of competing with European agriculture or obtaining the cash for taxes without wage labour. The expertise at the disposal of the Kenya DA went almost exclusively to Europeans farms. In 1903, the colonial government assumed responsibility of developing commercial agriculture in the country. To achieve this, the DA was established. During these early years, the department was mainly concerned with the agriculture problems faced by European farmers. For the settlers, the colonial administration and provided land and labour at uniquely low costs. The political power favoured the Europeans. The financial system twisted and distorted in order to serve the needs of the white minority. This led to an increasing deterioration of the condition of the majority of the inhabitants who were Africans.[41] Onesmus Kirebi remembers about fifty acres of land that was located on the east side of Molo that was given to a *mzungu* in the early colonial period. His grandfather was among the Africans who were affected as he had three acres under millet, and six acres of maize which was slashed and burnt before maturity. Kirebi's grandfather's farm was not the only one burnt down but close to 100 acres were set on fire under the supervision of the colonial authority. Constant patrol by guards hired by white settlers were carried out to ensure that no African was seen in the fields cultivating.[42]

According to Richard Munyua, African workers were living on the outskirts of the settlers' farm and the nearby forest during the first decades of European settlement in the highlands. They were not able to keep livestock on the land. Turi, as elsewhere in the highlands had been divided into properties that were owned by white settlers.[43] By moving African houses away from the European ones, Africans were excluded from view and by extension, consciousness.[44] This, according to Duder, created the view of a European landscape to the extent that Europeans regarded their African workers as 'living in a separate mysterious world of their own'.[45]

[40] Regulations No. 22 October 23, 1902, C6333/1, p. 120.
[41] Ibid. p.71.
[42] Onesmus Kirebi, OI, 13 March 2019
[43] Richard Munyua, OI, 8 April 2019
[44] T. Epperson, 'Race and the Disciplines of the Plantation,' *Historical Archaeology 24(4),* 1990, pp. 29-34.
[45] J. Duder, 'Men of the officer Class: The Participants in the 1919 Soldiers Settlement Scheme in Kenya,' *African Affairs 9,* 1993, pp. 69-87.

Africans who were not allowed to settle at the highlands and were only restricted to the African reserves and offered their labour to the white farms. This resulted in landlessness among the Africans as a slight population increase resulted in population pressure on those reserves.[46] However, the migration in and out of the reserves was to be put under control in order to restrict the migration of labour. It was argued that this would make it easy to control the indigenous people than would be the case if they were scattered all over the country. The African labourers were not allowed to keep livestock in the Nakuru District as it was thought it would result to competition between the Africans and the white settlers or even diseases like rinderpest would spread to white settlers' farm. A number of Africans were however lucky as they were allowed to farm a certain farm size. Some white settlers in Molo allowed their labourers to grow crops and keep livestock.[47]

2.4 Colonial Land Policies in Kenya

The process of transforming Kenya into a Colonial state and creating a system of administration had begun in 1895.[48] A. Hardinge used former servants of IBEA to establishment control over the local communities and the set up a suitable administrative system.[49] The first land regulation, which permitted Europeans to be issued with a twenty-one year, renewable land certificate was passed in 1897. The Crown Land Ordinance (CLO) of 1902, authorized the colonial administration to sell grants or lease or otherwise dispose of land which had been designated as crownland to settlers for 99 years. The CLO of 1902 stated that all empty land could be sold at two rupees per acres or rented out at fifteen rupees per acres per annum to Europeans.[50] In 1915, the lease on land was extended to 999 years. The 1915 CLO defined crown land as including 'all lands not occupied by the native ethnic groups.' The assumption was that African rights regarding land were confined to occupation, grazing and cultivation and did not amount to a title itself.[51]

Land ownership in the pre-colonial era was communally owned. There was a population increase in Molo due to the waves of immigrants from Nyanza region and Kipsigis from Kabianga region. Land tenure system was based on social grouping of the entire community. Land ownership in pre-colonial Kenya was through occupation. Occupation was done through clearing of the bushes. Africans who did not have land, leased it for cultivation from their fellow Africans and they would

[46] Ibid, p. 33.
[47] Amos Kibet, OI, 20 April 2019
[48] B. A Ogot, 'Kenya under the British, 1895-1963' in Ogot (ed) *Zamani.* Pp. 249-295.
[49] Ibid, p. 252.
[50] G Bennett, *Kenya, a Political History: The colonial Period* (London: OUP, 1964), p.10.
[51] P. Mbithi and C Branes, *Spontaneous Settlement problems in Kenya* (Nairobi: EALB, 1975), p. 40.

pay using livestock and farm produce. Once the head of the household died, the ownership of land was left in the hands of his sons. Women were not allowed to own land. Land was regarded as an important asset in the African community.

The colonial system of land ownership, sustained by-laws that rigidly separated the settlers from Africans levels of differentiated rights had one important outcome. It resulted in a racial structure of land ownership in which the white highlands were 'scheduled' for the settlers. The settlers had certain rights and privileges which the colonial administration introduced in order to interest them in the colony. The settlers were governed by a statutory institution with complete separation of powers. They had the rights of 'citizenship'. The natives in the Native Reserves, on the other hand, were confined to the reserves where they lacked secure individual land rights and where the customary law and practise ensued centralized forms of oppression.[52]

2.5 Land Tenure System in Molo Up to 1918

The idea of settlement had both strategic and economic ends. Strategically, the settlers' presence was sought to fill in the foothold acquired by the British government and to populate the area with the British and European settlers. Economically, the settlers were requested by the colonial government to take part in the economic development of the colony through the cultivation of cash crops that would be destined for overseas exportation. The cultivation of cash crops meant the confiscation of large tracks of lands belonging to the Africans and this would put into jeopardy their traditional system of owning land communally and land tenure. The nature of land, structure of ownership and distribution varied considerably. The land alienated for the settlers was equivalent to three million hectares, more than half of which was high potential arable land suitable for cash crop farming.[53]

By 1904, Okiek land was first targeted for alienation by the British colonial government in Mariashoni. It was during the years 1904-1918 that Africans were evicted from Mariashoni which was part of the Mau Forest.[54] It was then claimed by the colonial administration that the Okiek from the forests near the Uganda Railway line was evacuated to secure firewood for the locomotive

[52] Ibid, p. 55-57.
[53] C. Leo, *Land and Class in Kenya* (Harare: Nehands Printers, 1989), p. 76.
K. Kanyinga, 'Land Redistribution' in C. Bourguignon and R Vanden, *Kenya in Agricultural Land Redistribution Towards Greater Consensus* (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2009), pp. 538-540.
[54] K. Towett, *Okiek Land Cases and Historical Injustices 1902-2004* (Nakuru: Okiek Welfare Council Publishers, 2004), pp. 35-60.

engines. Those who resisted the evictions were killed while others were arrested, charged and jailed without options of a fine.[55] Another eviction of the Okiek took place between 1911-1914, following the signing of an agreement between the colonial authorities and Africans. The Okiek residing in Mariashoni and Turi were moved by colonial soldiers to Narok, where they were accommodated by the Maasai on condition that they surrendered their animals. In 1916, the remaining Okiek were moved by the Nakuru District Commissioner to a new settlement in the southern slopes of the Mau forest. These was close to eighty families. The colonial soldiers were ordered to evict Africans from their land.[56] After their land was alienated and occupied by the white settlers, some of the displaced Kipsigis who were accustomed to living close to the forest did not move west into the open reserves; instead they moved east towards Keringet.[57] The traditional system of land tenure, where land was owned communally was overshadowed by a new one, tailored and imposed to suit Europeans needs.

In Kenya, Native Reserves were established to limit Africans access to land as well as the free movement of people, thereby accommodating settlers with a steady supply of landless labourers. Mosley estimates these policies were generally successful as the labour supply was mostly higher than demand from the 1920s onwards.[58] The partition of Africa between the European powers had distorted the African culture and consequently devastated the traditional system of land tenure. Additionally, the Europeans deprived the Africans of their resources and reduced them to servants in white settlers' farms.[59] The introduction of the Crown Land Ordinance in 1915 was important in that it declared water and unoccupied land as belonging to the crown. The ordinance introduced a dual system of land administration and political governance. It bifurcated land into land for Africans (Natives Reserves) and Scheduled Land (white highlands) for the European settlement. Africans land rights were not ignored and the administration vested those rights on the crown.[60] First, the Native Reserves were used to separate the Africans from the settlers. Secondly, the reserves were used to limit the movement of Africans, and thirdly to control the African labour

[55] G. Yeoman, *High Altitude Forest: Conservation in Relation to Okiek (Okiek) People Recommendation* (Nairobi: Government printers, 1979), pp. 135-140.
[56] KNA/DC/NKU/6/7, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1911, p. 14.
[57] S. Okoko, 'Mau Forest on the Spotlight Kenyans Must be told the truth,' *Daily Nation* November 16 2003, pp. 6-7.
[58] P. Mosley, *The Settler Economies: Studies in the Economic History of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1963* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 170-193.
[59] Odingo, *Some Aspects of the Agricultural Geography*, pp. 55-70.
[60] W. Okoth-Ogendo, *Tenants of the Crown: Evolution of Agrarian Law and institutions in Kenya* (London: Heinemann, 1991), p. 91.

through chief's authority, since chiefs were in charge of recruiting the African labourers from the reserves.[61]

2.5 Taxation

In order to satisfy the settlers and support the settler economy, the colonial administration used a variety of mechanisms to obtain and control labour. These included taxation and neglect of African agriculture. To earn money for tax, Africans began to migrate to the highlands in search of wage labour on settler farms.[62] Taxation was initially meant to finance the administration of the colony. The colonial government used the colonial chiefs in the appropriation of the surplus from the African sector for the benefit of the settler sector. The earliest legislation imposing a tax on huts was contained in the hut tax regulation of 1901 which empowered the native commissioner to impose a tax on every hut under occupation. This was when Lord Lansdowne, the colonial secretary sanctioned the levying of tax not exceeding two rupees upon every African dwelling. Taxation was initially meant to finance the administration of the country. These regulations were repeated by the East African Hut Tax Ordinance of 1903 which specified that the hut tax was not to exceed three rupees per annum for each hut. This ordinance remained in force until 1910 when it was replaced by the Native Hut Tax and Poll Tax Ordinance.[63] By 1904, taxation had come to be a method to force Africans into wage labour. Africans usually sold their livestock to pay taxes. If one failed to pay tax which was eight shillings, his cow was sold for twenty shillings but the balance was not refunded. Families that lacked livestock sold their agricultural produce to pay taxes. The colonial government was acting under pressure from white settlers in the belief that taxation was the only mechanism for providing labour in settler farms.[64]

The introduction of the poll tax in 1910 meant that every male of over sixteen years of age was liable to tax. Thus, even young men who did not own huts had to pay tax. According to Father Leopold Maurice, young male adults had to look for ways to pay tax. This meant joining wage labour because they could not sell livestock to raise money for tax. Young men did not own livestock before they were circumcised. After circumcision, the head of the household who was

[61] M. Touaibia, *Land in Kenya under British Colonial Rule from 1888-1958* (Algeria: university of Oran, 2013), p. 17.
[62] B. Berman, *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya: The Dialectic of Domination* (London: James Curry, 1990), pp.145-146.
[63] J. Tosh, 'Colonial Chiefs in a Stateless Society: A case Study from Northern Uganda,' *Journal of African History* Vol III No. 4, 1973, pp. 52-87.
[64] M. Ross, *Kenya from within: A short Political History* (Frank Cass and Co Ltd, 1968), p. 145.

the father would give his son few cows, sheep and goats to start building up own heard. The son could then pay tax with his own livestock.[65] By introducing taxation, the colonial government aimed at achieving two objectives; to raise revenue and to coerce labour.[66] According to Muthoni, by 1915, Africans were paying two rupees as tax per year.[67]

The NRO was enacted in 1915. This ordinance introduced the *Kipande* (passbook) system in Kenya. The system required every male to carry a *Kipande*, which showed his registration number, name, rate of pay, nature of work, name of the employer, resident district or town, the duration of his employment and general behavioural characteristics. All these details were to be recorded by his employer. The *kipande* was enclosed in a metal container with a string and had to be worn around the neck at all times.[68] The greatest offence an African could commit was to remove the Kipande. In case of any criminal offence, it was recorded on the *Kipande*. The *Kipande* system was used to control desertion. Fingerprints of the holder were on the *Kipande*. The *Kipand*e system compelled Africans to work for a ruthless employer regardless of the mistreatment. The freedom of movement for the Africans was limited and Africans had to work in order to pay taxes.[69] For instance, Laura Smith notes that many Africans resented the pass system because the application procedures were complex and hardly was one allowed to go anywhere without giving sufficient reason. Laura gives an example of ex-headman Arap Kerekut, who tried several times to get a permit to Olenguruone but was denied.[70]

2.6 Agricultural Change in Molo in the Early Colonial Period

The early years of colonial rule were a period of experimentation with new crops and implements. It should be noted however, that the intensified experiments of this early period involved mostly small additions to crop varieties, that is, the changes were addictive rather than substitutive. The colonial administrators played an important role in introducing crops and tools which were often completely new to the area. Their influence was often marginal in the actual decision-making process of either acceptance or rejection. This was due to the limited resources in funds and

[65] Leopold Maurice, OI, 7 April 2019
[66] Touaibia, *Land in Kenya,* p. 88.
[67] Jane Muthoni, OI, 13 April 2019
[68] G. Mkangi, 'Population growth and the Myth of Land Reform in Taita,' PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 1978, p 69.
[69] Leopold Maurice, OI, 7 April 2019
[70] Laura Smith, OI, 7 April 2019

personnel available to them. White settlers' general lack of knowledge about the area itself, the climate, type of soil and patterns of rainfall, for instance, or the requirement of indigenous crops limited their ability to recommend better methods of agriculture.[71]

The origin of Kenya wheat is traced mainly from the introduction of Australian varieties at the beginning of the twentieth century. The continuity was lost at the time of the World War I and modern wheat was derived from some varieties of uncertain origin of which Egyptian, Italian and Canadian wheat also played a part. Breeding was largely based on crossings within this body of materials, with relatively few additional from abroad, and led to a range of wheat which are now known internationally for their stem rust resistance.[72]

In 1904, Lord Delamere, a pioneer farmer, who arrived in Kenya in 1897, began commercial production of wheat. In 1906, he began the first large scale wheat farm with 1200 acres planted. Lord Delamere promoted wheat almost single-handedly, and helped to introduce the marketing institutions that would dominate the Kenya wheat sector for the rest of the century. Delamere established a wheat experimentation centre in Njoro, in what was then considered the most suitable areas for wheat production. The breeder, G.W. Evans found some success by crossing the Italian variety, Rieti, with the Australian varieties commonly imported by the settlers.[73] By 1910 the wheat crops were for all intents and purposes a failure promising well at the outset but finally being attacked by rust. This was said to have been caused by the planting of the previous year's seed. Nevertheless, farmers were attempting wheat again as many acres had been tilled and got ready for the purposes at Njoro and Molo.[74]

In 1910, there was an introduction of Cocoa beans in Molo. H. Pell introduced the cocoa beans from Embu where he had gone to get onion seed but instead came back with cocoa beans. In September 1910, Boston beans was introduced in Molo. However, Boston beans did not produce good yields. Due to the cold temperatures in Molo, the leaves turned brownish and rough. The Boston beans were also affected by root rot and bacterial wilt. This led agricultural officer to advice that the Boston bean variety was more suited to warmer areas.

[71] KNA/DC/NKU/1/1(b), Nakuru District Annual Report, 1902-1908, pp. 10-34.
[72] B. Makau, *Measurement of Economic Returns to Research and Development: The Case of Wheat Research in Kenya* (University of Nairobi, MA Thesis, 1984), pp.21-33.
[73] KNA/AN/2/3, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1906, p. 13.
[74] KNA/DC/NKU/1/10, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1910, p.13.

Compared to Boston bean farming, potato production was more successful in Molo. The English potato was introduced by B. Owen from Britain in 1912. The English potato required several spraying against early light, fusarium dry rot and late blight diseases. The output of English potato in an acres was about 15-20 bags of potatoes. In 1913, there was an output of more than 4,300 potato bags in Molo Township, Elburgon, Turi and Mariashoni. This great success did not disappoint the settlers when it came to the market since all the potato produce was sold to Uasin Gishu. By 1914, the output had increased to 5,100 bags and the market was Uasin Gishu and Kericho.[75]

Crops that produced high yields in the Molo area were usually grown mainly during the first rains. These crops included wheat varieties such as Njoro 1, R200 and Tembo. They also included barley, maize, peas, low maturing sunflower, cabbages and kales. During the second rains, barley of medium maturing varieties was grown in the area during the first rains. Other crops included potatoes, beans, cauliflowers, beetroots, onions and carrots. The crops grown during the second rains (August and December) included medium maturing wheat. Makana argues that settler production could only be superior to the African one as long as it was protected and given advantages in access to land and labour by the colonial administration. The timing of the change in policies depended on the varying degree of political influence exercised over time by the settler communities, and these shifts were affected by demographic changes, and volatile world markets.[76]

By 1916, settlers were still farming indigenous yellow maize. The indigenous maize took a few months to mature. Maize was one of the most cultivated crops. In September 1916, the District Commissioner wrote a letter to all the agricultural officers directing them to inform all white settlers in their regions that there was a new maize variety from South Africa. This was improved hybrid maize, which was white in colour referred to as Hickory King maize variety. Its output was much better than the indigenous maize. An acres of indigenous maize could give two to three bags of maize while the Hickory King variety produced up to twenty bags an acre. After this introduction, the Hickory King variety was grown by both the Africans and the Europeans.[77] Due to the good harvest, it was easy for the white settlers to feed African labourers on settler farms.

[75] KNA/AN/5/4, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1910, p. 54.
[76] N. Makana, 'Metropolitan Concern, Colonial State Policy and the Embargo on Cultivation of Coffee by Africans' in *Colonial Kenya: The Example of Bungoma District, 1930-1960,* (Morgantown: West Virginia, 2006), pp. 315-329.
[77] Leopold Maurice, OI, 7 April 2019

Maize required little farming skills and less capital, and the returns were within a season.[78] These factors made maize growing popular among the settler farmers. To start with, it was grown on a small scale in settler holdings. But after a year, its production increased to about 150,000 acres.[79] Africans in Molo preferred to grow the introduced Hickory King maize variety compared to their traditional crops such as sorghum and bulrush millet. Cultivation of sorghum and millet required a lot of time especially when the two crops were about to mature when one spent the whole day in the field chasing away birds.

According to a letter written by James Peter, who was among the first white settler in Turi,

> Farming did not pick the way it should have. We are still experimenting with one agricultural officer in the entire district and an agricultural assistance in charge of Molo, Njoro, Elburgon area. Farming is becoming more difficult, we have little knowledge of soil types and what is suitable for it. The climate is also letting us down as no year is similar to another. Labourers (Africans) are very reluctant and not willing to work.[80]

The Molo sheep was easily distinguished from others. It was white in colour and completely covered with a thick coat, including on its forehead and cheeks, forming a sort of beard that surrounded its face. It had a small and stocky body, short legs and a very long tail. Its early history was linked to New Zealand and Australia. This local, well adapted breed originally came from three British breeds: Corriedales, Hampshire Down and Romney Marsh. The cool and rainy climate in the highland of Molo (2500 metres above the sea level) provided ideal conditions for raising English sheep breeds in Kenya. This type of sheep later came to be referred to as the Molo sheep.[81]

However, the prosperity of sheep farming in Kenya was dependent upon the production and disposal of mutton or wool. Lewis connoted that the sheep farmers in Molo had to deal promptly with ever recurring outbreaks of scab every few months. This was the first reason for half yearly shearing; but since the country was not experiencing winter to contend with, as was the case in almost all other wool-producing countries, many flock owners found the situation better for the

[78] John Mwangi, OI, 8 April 2019
[79] Ochieng, *An Economic History of Kenya,* p. 27.
[80] KNA/AN/5/4, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1910, p.14.
[81] Lewis, 'Sheep Scab in Kenya Colony, pp. 34-50.

sheep and more profitable to shear every six months. Sheep pox broke out at Molo but mild in form and the percentage of deaths was consequently small.[82]

The year 1910, was the year of contentment and hope for the future. At this early stage there was a stronger belief that farming would pay in spite of the many draw backs of cattle diseases. The quarantine had hardly been recovered when Gastro-Enteritis broke out a new and became prevalent. A quarantine is the practise of isolating a suspected infected animal in order to prevent contamination of other animals that are not infected. Molo recorded more death rate due to Gastro-Enteritis as compared to Njoro. Mr, John Duder lost 10 out of 25 truck oxen, Mr. P. Cobb lost 20 out of 100 truck oxen. Mr. Atkinson lost 40 out of 70 sick truck oxen.[83] Though it was a severe blow to the stock farmer who day by day were grading up to a purer strain, the percentage of loss when compared with the aggregate total of herds was not striking as would appear when taking each person's loss separately.[84]

Measures were put in place preventing sick African cows from infecting white settlers' livestock. The Veterinary Department was obliged to drop the few cases they brought to light after close inspection as the court classified them on the grounds the 'Gastro-Enteritis'. A judgmental of this kind seemed somewhat in error when it was seen they committed a breach of the regulations by not reporting their sick cattle in the first place and now the trader would excuse himself on the plea that he failed to report believing his stock to be suffering from 'Gastro- Enteritis.[85] The prices of stock in 1910 improved from 1909, cows sold at Rs 90, heifers calf sold at Rs 110, big bull (untrained) sold at Rs 40, small bullock (untrained) sold at Rs 25, trained bullock sold at Rs 55.[86]

The introduction of new agricultural implements by the colonial government brought about increased crop production. The most significant feature of technology change was use of various new hoes which were used by labourers on settler farms. Settlers used to demonstrate the use of these tools to their farm labourers before entrusting them with the use.[87] According to Kibet, the *mzungu* saw Africans as primitive and could not trust them with the use of these tools unless there

[82] Ibid, pp. 36-50.
[83] KNA/DC/NKU/1/10, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1910, p. 6.
[84] Powys, *The Story of Sheep Farming*, p. 23.
[85] KNA/DC/NKU/1/10, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1910, p. 10.
[86] KNA/AN/5/4, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1910, p. 39
[87] Ibid, p.40.

was someone to supervise them. Kibet adds that Africans used the tools better and more effectively compared to their trainers (white settlers). [88]

According to Charles Cobb, a white settler in Molo, and a brother to P. Cobb, the hoe with a fixed iron blade, for example, allowed one person to cultivate a much larger area of land than they could with the wooden hoe. It thus helped to offset the decline in soil fertility and in yields. However, the colonial government encouraged settler farmers to till virgin land with ox-drawn plough and not the iron blade Jembes. The oxen were bought from Kabete. This introduction of new agricultural technology boosted agricultural production.[89] The large white farms enjoyed economies of scale in their operations as they could acquire inputs, machinery and labour as a single unit. Co-operatives societies sold out farm machinery. Shops were mainly owned by the Indian merchants. They sold seeds for example maize, wheat and also agricultural implements such as axe, hoes and pangas. These items were bought in plenty by the white settlers' who had the passion to improve the surplus and engage in profitable agriculture.[90]

By 1910, there was the use of machinery for instance the use of plough. E. Marsh is believed to be have been first settler to introduce the first plough in Molo. This plough was bought from a white settler in Naivasha who was relocating to Trans Nzoia. However, this plough could only be pulled by oxen, of which Marsh did not have. T. Whittall, a white settler farmer in Elburgon had four oxen and sold two to Marsh to help him pull the plough. Unfortunately, on his way to Molo from Naivasha, Marsh was attacked by bandits and the oxen killed. He however managed to get the plough to Molo with the help of Vale who lent his oxen to him.[91]

The outbreak of the WW I in 1914, created demand for labour from the African reserves. During the war men were needed to serve in the war. The increasing high demand for labour during the war led to the enactment of the Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance which empowered District Commissioners to instruct chiefs and headmen to recruit men under thirty-five years.[92] During the World War I period, there was no introduction of new crops in Molo. However, the production of maize increased to twenty-five bags an acre. In 1917, there was an outbreak of maize

[88] Amos Kibet, OI, 20 April 2019
[89] KNA/AN/5/4, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1910, pp, 53-55.
[90] KNA/NKU/1/10, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1910, p. 13.
[91] KNA/AN/5/4, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1910, p. 46.
[92] J. Lipscomb and W. Cone, *The History of Kenya Agriculture* (Nairobi: University press, 1972), pp. 77-80.

stock borer disease which affected maize in Molo. The maize acreage in 1917 was less compared to 1916, as some settlers decided to produce cocoa beans which was doing very well in the market.

2.7 Challenges Facing Settler Agriculture in Molo up to 1918

Muthoni, whose late husband worked for a white farmer, said that they moved from one master to another as her husband tried to get a better job with better working conditions. Muthoni notes that labourers who worked in maize plantation were treated for much better compared to those who worked on pyrethrum farms. 'If a worker missed a day without the permission of the farm overseers that would result in the deduction of a two-day wage. Men were brutality whipped and given no time to rest.'[93] This is in line with the argument raised by David Anderson who notes that punishment inflicted on labourers who breached the law differed according to the seriousness of the committed offences. This was the reason why offences were classified into two types: minor and major offences. Minor type offences included failure to work, intoxication or absence during working hours, careless or improper work, and use of rude language to the master or his agent. According to Anderson, for such offences was a one month cut in wages. Major type offences included any deliberate action to break duty or injury to animals and desertion from the service without convincing causes. Punishment for this kind of infringement was a two-month wage cut or two months' imprisonment.[94]

Settlers had a lot of problems with their African labourers. Major Webb wrote a note to Peter Jameston, a white settler in Naivasha, complaining that Africans came late to work and were in a hurry to leave in the evening. Major Webb complained that his sheep was left unfed and with no water. The labourers too had a lot of excuses and always requested for a days off.[95] Irene agrees with this and argues that after Africans were evacuated from their land and left with no food to give to their children. Hence, they had to find ways of feeding their families. Consequently, they had to report to their place of work in the morning and leave later in the evening to go and load agricultural produce onto the train at Molo station, where one was paid immediately after completion. This enabled most heads of households to feed their families.[96]

White settlers faced the challenge of inadequate resources. The colonial administration had not yet deviced elaborate ways of helping them solve this problem. According to a letter written by J.

[93] Jane Muthoni, OI, 13 April 2019
[94] Anderson, *Depression*, p. 460.
[95] KNA/AN/5/8, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1909, p. 17.
[96] Irene Kariuki, OI, 25 February 2019

Waldron to his family back home in South Africa, the greatest set-back he encountered was financial challenge. The amount of seeds donated by the colonial government was not enough in relation to the amount of land that he owned. This meant that he had to buy more seeds with his own money. Fortunately, Waldron got financial assistance from D. Pendle, a settler farmer in Turi. The settlers lacked funds to carry out large-scale farming as some were too poor to buy land or even pay their workers.[97]

By 1908, much of the energy of the white farmers was devoted entirely to the raising of sheep. Most settlers had a feeling of contentment and confidence in the future. In 1909, there was an outbreak of foot and mouth disease in Molo. The veterinary officers were kept alert at this time to ensure that the disease was put under control. This outbreak of type 'O' foot and mouth disease had first been reported in Njoro before it spread to Molo. The first settler to be affected in Molo by the type 'O' foot and mouth disease was Mrs. E. Powys Cobb. Fortunately, a vaccine was imported from Holland to deal with the disease.[98]

In 1910, Lloyd-Davis Senior, B. Gardner, G. Waterer, W. Conlon and F. Alexander joined together and formed Molo Settler Financial Club. The aim of this group was to look for funds mostly from Australia. In the second month, W. Crawford joined the group and after breeds of sheep were sent, he soughted for financial support, which was granted by a firm in Australia. The Molo Settler Financial Club was faced with various unanticipated challenges. One of the challenges was on how to lend out money among themselves. The next challenge was how long one was to take before repaying back the money. Unfortunately, the group collapsed after only five.[99]

By 1911, pastoral farming was bringing very little to the settlers except for a few who were manufacturing butter. The amount of sheep had now increased in leaps and bounds. Sheep farmers had less expenses to incur compared to agriculturalist. In 1911, there was an outbreak of sleeping sickness in Mariashoni. Some settlers attributed this to the fact that Mariashoni neigboured Mau Forest. Operational measures were put in place to help eradicate the tsetse flies. This included clearing the bushes and shrubs close to the settler farms.[100] By 1912, the greater part of the land available for settlement in the Molo had been given out. Most settlers first obtained land on two

[97] KNA/DC/NKU/1/1(b), Nakuru District Annual Report, 1902-1908, pp. 10-34.
[98] KNA/AN/5/8, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1909, pp. 25-29.
[99] KNA/NKU/1/10, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1910, p. 17.
[100] KNA/AN/6/7, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1911, p.11.

years' occupation licenses, which called for permanent improvements, and eighteen-month residence by a European to be done before the expiry of that period.[101]

W. Conlon and F. Alexander decided into venture into maize farming together. They both wrote a letter to the District Agricultural Officer and requested for hybrid seeds that were suitable for the Elburgon area. Mr. S. Hanson, the soil inspector, tested the soil and found it suitable for maize production. After a month, W. Conlon and F. Alexander received the seeds. In 1912, there was an outbreak of maize stalk borer (*Busseola Fusca*) in Elburgon. This occurred in May and June and recommendation for the control of this pest was not given out to farmers. Conlon and Alexander encountered huge losses.[102]

In 1913, there were 17 reported cases of stock and crop theft in Molo. The matter was timely reported to Molo police station. Most African families did not have enough to eat and this was considered to be one of the causes of theft. Despite sufficient rainfall throughout 1913, the yields considerably dropped compared to 1912. This can be attributed to the fact that crops were affected by the excessive rainfall and wetness in the area. The most affected crops were barley and wheat. The output of barley declined by 25% while that of wheat reduced by 32%. Barley crop suffered most due to late planting and the effects of heavy rains in the first two months, of planting, leading to 'nett-blotch' disease.[103]

The large tracts of land acquired by the incoming settlers were not easy to cultivate, since they had to rely on a large number of African labourers. The recruitment of African labourers for white farms was not an easy task, because most Africans refused to be employed by white settler farmers complaining of poor pay and long working hours. In order to make Africans work for the settler, white settlers requested the colonial government to help in the provision of labour. The policy used to subjugate the African labourers would reveal some facts about the colonial labour policy of providing settlers with labour, and would raise the question whether the latter was previously planned or adapted just to face the day to day problems relating to labour, the settlers felt that the colonial administration should encourage the Africans to work.[104] In order to quicken the recruitment of workers, a committee of colonialists' association had submitted in 1906 a draft

[101] KNA/AN/7/1, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1912, p. 17.
[102] KNA/AN/7/1, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1912, pp.15-17.
[103] KNA/DC/NKU/7/2b, Nakuru District Quarterly Reports, 1913, p. 19.
[104] Mungeam, *The* British *in Kenya*, p. 191.

regulation known as the 'Master and Servants Ordinance of 1906'.[105] This ordinance was added to the statute book of East Africa in the same year and lasted till the 1950s. The Master and Servant Ordinance of 1906 was not only a tool to regulate labour recruitment in colonial Kenya, but a weapon to subjugate African workers. In short, it was a means to control labour in colonial Kenya. The control of labourers relations with their masters was achieved through contracts.[106]

Although the settlers acquired land, they lacked labour and skills to utilise their farms. They had to secure a series of laws and administrative arrangements from the colonial administration to enable them acquire labour.[107] Most settlers in Molo found themselves faced with one problem and that was labour shortage. The colonial government on the other hand encountered difficulties with settlers dissatisfied with shortage of labour. In order to impose order and secure a permanent labour force for the settlers a set of legislations was enacted. There are three types of legislation: compulsory labour legislation, resident labour (or squatter) legislation and lastly the registration certificate (or Pass Law) legislation. Most settlers who came to Molo expected to recruit cheap African labour.[108] European excesses and appalling labour conditions were related to this. Indeed, it was evident that the Africans experience within the settler domain was often one of the unmitigated subordination to European individual and group interest.[109]

Labour shortage was one of the problems that was proving hard to tackle in Molo. White settlers in the area began to voice their discontentment to the District Commissioner in order to organize the labour market and help them recruit labourers. In order to make the provision of labour sufficient and regular. The colonial government was mainly interested in reducing the cost of administration and regaining money spent on the railway, it therefore paid less attention to the problems of the settlers.[110]

G. F. Alexander and W. Conlon complained that when Africans were ordered to weed, the use of *Jembe* proved a bit difficult for them and they ended up destroying the crops. This was a double loss for the settlers. The European overseers or what the Africans called *Nyapara wa Mzungu* had to organise farm demonstrations on how to use this farm implement. Cases of African labour abuse

[105] Anderson, *Depression*, pp. 459-485.
[106] E. Huxley, *The Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya* (London: William Lewis Printers, 1953), p. 112.
[107] Zwanenberg, *Colonial Capitalism*, p. 80.
[108] KNA/AN/5/4, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1910, p.15.
[109] T. Zeleza, Colonial Labour Systems in Kenya, p. 5.
[110] Holte, *St Andrew Turi*, pp. 46-47

were reported in Elburgon. Abuses were through whipping, punishment to work for longer hours or pay cuts.[111] However, Mwangi reported that the *mzungu* would whip Africans when they did any mistake. White settlers would decline to pay labourers their wages and even sack them. He further adds that the *Nyaparas* in most cases were more-cruel than the *mzungu*.[112] White settlers were inadequately supplied with finance capital and wage labour and the colonial government which was dominated by the imperial policy of self-sufficiency was unable to provide more than a rudimental infrastructure. Colonial capital accumulation was therefore based on the appropriation of surplus created by the cheap and lowly paid African labour.[113]

Londiani is a few miles from Molo. Most of the labourers migrated as a result of better working conditions to Londiani.[114] Berry states that there was no doubt that labour migration served to impoverish the rural community. African peasants were not totally disposed of land; the migrant workers were also paid small wages. The withdrawal of migrant workers labour from domestic production was compensated for by the self-exploitation of their relatives who stayed at home.[115] Until the outbreak of the First World War, labour shortage was one of the challenges that the colonial government had tried to overcome. On the one hand it had to solve the civil labour problems dealing with the shortage of labourers on the settlers' plantation, which gave birth to a system of African labour known as 'squatting' and on the other hand the colonial government had to solve the problems of military labour recruitment caused by the need for porters to transport arms to the battlefields.[116]

One way in which the white settlers relied on to acquire labour was squatter labour. Squatting was a practice which involved Europeans in the highlands giving Africans the right to settle on their (White settlers) land in exchange for a specified number of month of paid labour for the European land owners. Squatting gave settlers hopes to solve their problem of labour shortage. In order to achieve these effectively, the settlers demanded that land available for African farming be limited. Africans were gifted with blankets, clothes, utensils and food stuffs they got from their masters but did not like the treatment they received on the farms from the farm supervisors.[117] Generally,

[111] Holte, *St. Andrew Turi*, p. 46.
[112] John Mwangi, OI, 8 April 2019
[113] Zwaneneberg, *Colonial Capitalism*, p. 65.
[114] Government Monographs, Reports and Research Works, 1911, pp. 19, 44-49.
[115] S. Berry, 'The food crisis and Agrarian change in Africa: A Review Essay,' *African Studies Review Vol 27 No 2*, 1984. p. 66.
[116] Mungeam, *The British in Kenya*, p. 20.
[117] Wolff, Economic Aspect of British Colonialism in Kenya, p. 104.

Africans were not happy offering their labour cheaply to white settler. At one time in 1913, Chief Korir and two headmen were attacked by Africans since they would wake very early in the reserves and order Africans to leave their houses immediately to go and work in the white settler farm. Chief Korir received serious injuries resulting in loss of his life.[118] According to Van Zwanenberg, the squatter system operated on an unequal exploitation. Zwanenberg notes that the squatters wanted land which the settlers could provide because they were unable to farm all their own land. The settlers on the other hand wanted labour which the squatters and their family members provided cheaply.[119]

By 1914, relations between the settlers and the Africans was fair, however the quality of the labour was poor. This led to a meeting among some white settlers in Molo which was chaired by Major Webb. The white settlers concluded that Africans had to remain at one place for several months in a stretch and engage in a specific task in the farm. Fortunately, this turned out to be very positive and a remarkable agricultural output was visible. The question of passable roads through farms has caused considerable trouble amongst the settlers. Each settler looking at matters of this kind from a purely personal point of view without considering the neighbours.[120]

A question of vital importance has been the shortage of labour. There was no doubt that the difficulties of the settlers had been enormously increased by this and even when labour had been obtained, by its unsatisfactory nature Labourers, after agreeing to work for a certain period absconded after a few days, leaving any pay that was due to them in the hands of their employer. Possibly in a few cases the treatment received was the cause of desertion but in the majority of cases there was no apparent reason or if a certain farm did not please them, they abscord, with the certainity of obtaining work on any congenial to them where they may apply. When the white settlers had enough Africans signed on, they were faced with second problem; how to inculcate proper work ethic in the labour. Settlers had a litany of complaints that Africans were lazy, clumsy, unable to master simple tools, uncomprehending of basic commands, unimaginative, they showed up to work late and tried to leave early.[121]

[118] Bett Kipngeno, OI, 7 April 2019
[119] Van Zwanenberg R, The Agricultural History of Kenya to 1939 (Nairobi: East African publishing house, 1972), p 41.
[120] KNA/PC/RVP/2/10/2b, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1914, p.14.
[121] G. Mkangi, *Population Growth and the Myth of Land Reform in Taita* (PhD Thesis, University of Sussex), 1978, pp. 60-68.

This is in line with Maxon's argument that the problem of controlling the Africans within the frame of labour, was one of the main problems that the colonial authorities were facing, especially when that problem was related to the carrier corps. In order to solve the problem, the colonial authorities had enacted laws such as the Native Follower Ordinance back in 1915, which gave the government the power to conscript the Africans into the carrier corps.[122] Large number of Kipsigis and Kikuyu were recruited carrier corps and settler farm labourers. In 1916 there was increase in hut tax so as to raise revenue for the war effort.[123] In the same way, the settlers seized this opportunity to extend the application of this ordinance to serve their interests by forcing the Africans to allow their conscription into the European farms.[124]

On a call for volunteers a large proportion of the settler community joined the East African Mounted Rifles and other corps while those that could not do so joined the second line of defence. Sons of the settler farmers and younger generation of farmers had left to join the Kings African Rifles, travelling outside Kenya and some going to the Far East. Settlers looked to re-ordered villages as their ideal solution. The settlers put less emphasis on the state taking the lead to help in the war more upon individual actions. The settlers assisted willingly and gave their ponies, mules and wagons. Grade sheep were bought from settlers and dispatched to various military camps in Nakuru District to feed the troops. Troops were fed with beef.[125] Most of the herds of cattle were graded up from native cows with a purebred bull and some of the settlers were now in possession of very fine herds of grade cattle. The same principle was adopted with sheep: native ewes being put to pure bred rams. Some farms began to export fair quantities of wool. With the outbreak of the First World War, no stock sales occurred as the stock was used to feed the troops. Livestock in Molo area accounted to 47% of all the livestock that were supplied to Nakuru District for the purposes of feeding the military.[126]

Kimotho worked as a *Nyapara* in Mr. Kean-Hammer son's farm. He was trusted by his employer and assigned the task of supervising all the employees and keeping the payment records. Kimotho was son of chief Kimiti. He favoured women as opposed to men due to the sexual gains he got from women for instance, sex. The amount of money he received from Kean-Hammer was twice

[122] R. Maxon, *Struggle for Kenya, The Loss and Reassertion of Imperial Initiative, 1912-1923* (USA, Associated University Press, 1993), p. 90.
[123] Kimotho Thiga, OI, 7 April 2019
[124] Savage and Munro, *Carrier Corps*, p. 324.
[125] Ibid, p. 325-350.
[126] KNA/PC/RVP/2/10/2b, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1914, p. 27.

the amount required. Kimotho was accused of luring women into relationship traps and for the three years he worked as a *Nyapara* he is said to have married eight wives.[127]

In 1915, there was ample labour in parts of Turi and Mariashoni during the year. A number of natives who had left their district to escape conscription into the carrier corps settled in Molo. This led to increased number of squatters in Lome Farm and Stubbs estate in Turi and Jourbets, Twin stream, Lomet area in Molo. European employers were shy of turning out their squatters for the carrier corps on account of the danger of losing much of the resident labour. The majority of employers in Martin Farm area and Wester-Land in Molo and Elburgon areas respectively, did not know how many natives they had on their farms and some members of the district committee had expressed the opinion that this state of affairs was to be deplored and was in favour of legislation to compel employers to keep an accurate register of native on their farms. The labourers on the other hand were feeling safer in the farms than on the reserves.[128]

A letter written by W. Conlon**,** a white settler in Elburgon, acknowledged that he was not sure about the number of squatters and employees he had in his farm. Conlon had written a letter to the District Commissioner requesting for a thorough investigation since his farm produce was stolen days before harvest. This was likely to be attributed to the fact that Africans were coaxed, or bullied to sell their food supplies to the government and a lot of oxen were brought out of native reserves for military transport and food. W. Hindley had 92 acres of land in Molo- Elburgon border. Handley was carrying out sheep and cattle farming and happened to be the first white settler to sell his livestock for the purposes of supplying meat to the military camps. Hewitt-Stubbs had 700 sheep in his farm in Turi. However, after a close examination by the veterinary officer, the sheep tested positive to blue-tongue disease. This was a big blow to Hewitt-Stubbs who had several acres of oat planted for his livestock.[129]

The outbreak of the WW I had created a dire need for labourers to transport weapons for the soldiers, who were fighting on the battlefields, in an accessible and accidental areas where it was impossible to use vehicles and animals to reach them and where man was the only reliable means to fulfil this task. This urgent need for porters had pushed the British colonial government to create an organised corps known as 'carrier corps'. This would raise a bundle of questions relating to

[127] KNA/PC/RVP/2/10/24, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1920, p.15.
[128] KNA/PC/RVP/2/10/10, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1915, p. 6.
[129] KNA/DC/NKU/13/1 Nakuru District Annual Report, 1921, p. 10.

these novel corps. The carrier corps, as its appellation indicated, aimed at using men to transport weapons to the battlefronts and not to use weapons to fight. At the beginning of recruitment, the chief's assistants, in order to gather men necessary for the provincial commissioner who had to elevate the number of the people living in the district belonging to their provinces, and from which they could provide labourers. The officials had to rely on their sub-officials in the province, District officers and chiefs to influence and grab the people in their districts and native men in order to recruit them into the Carrier Corps.[130]

2.8 Summary

Before the British invasion of Kenya, Africans were occupied and cultivated the Kenyan highlands. In order to build the infrastructure necessary to launch the economy of the nascent colony in Kenya, the colonial government confiscated the Africans land that was used for the construction of the railway. The British in Kenya confiscated land from the Africans for the benefit of the settlers and for public use in order to implement Britain's imperial projects. After the Europeans had seized the most arable lands in Kenya and evicted the Africans from them, the latter found themselves compelled to move to new reserve areas where they had to establish themselves and start a new life. Other groups of Africans, who were incorporated into the wage labour system by working on the European settlers' farms in return for wages. In this way, Africans were reduced to labourers in the settlers' farms.

Decision on the choice of crops to be grown also took time. A lot of money and time was spent on the experimental growing of some crops. Poor transport roads were not connected to the railway line and attempts to reach all areas were doomed due to lack of funds. The system of taxation provided sufficient ideological justification for work. Apart from being a source of revenue for the running the day to day activities of the colonial administration, it was an important factor in forcing the people to participate in the colonial economy as migrant workers. Labourers' behaviour of reporting to work late and hurrying to leave in the evening did not please the white settlers. Crops and animal diseases were also a setback to settler agriculture in Molo. Type 'O' foot and mouth disease killed many animals. Local vaccines were not available and these forced settlers to request for vaccines from countries such as Australia. Lack of enough trained personnel to help the settler worsened the situation with only one veterinary officer serving the Njoro and Molo area. Financial

[130] D. Savage and F. Munro, 'Carrier Corps Recruitment in the British East Africa Protectorate,' *The Journal African History, Vol 7, No. 2,* 1962, p. 315.

challenges did not spare the settlers either, with some coming up with ways of raising money among themselves. The imposition of taxation on the Africans by the Colonial government was a major force that made Africans seek wage labour. Africans who could not pay tax had to look for employment in the white settler farms. Africans who were unable to pay tax risked losing their livestock or farm produce which could be sold to pay tax

As discussed above the early years of colonial rules were years of trial and error for the white farmers in Molo. They encountered more challenges than they had anticipated. The colonial government offered minimal support in these early years of colonial rule compared to the needs of the white settlers. The greatest challenges encountered was the problem of labour, unfamiliar with the climate hence not aware of which crops to produce and various animal and crops diseases, theft cases and finally poor produce due to unpredictable weather. The colonial government played a key role as an implementing agency of economic policy which prompted and sustained European settlement. Attempts by the settlers to influence events in their favour by pleading with colonial officials at district, provincial and territorial levels played a huge role in settler farming. Sale of cattle and sheep seized for military food supply. As the demand for the military personnel rose, there was also increased demand for more labourers.

CHAPTER THREE

SETTLER AGRICULTURE IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD, 1919-1938

3.1 Overview

This chapter deals with a historical analysis of the changes, challenges and growth of settler agriculture in the inter-war period. Inoculation programs were only confined to the settler farmers and African reserves were in most cases put under quarantines. Other challenges, like the Great Depression, hit the settler sector hard. Crop destruction occurred due to crop diseases like blight as well as destruction by heavy rainfall and locusts. Importation of machinery such as the threshing machine boosted settler agriculture in Molo. White settlers in Molo encountered financial challenges and were not in a position to pay their labourers on time. The formation of the Land Bank was aimed at lending money to the sector to avoid the collapse of the white settlement programme.

3.2 Crop and Animal Production

Before the onset of the First World War, the British government had worked with a blueprint of the areas to be allocated to new settlers. However, even after the war, there was still plenty of lands which was not occupied or put under-utilization in Molo. Introduction of new crops had not been fully established and some settlers continued to grow indigenous African crops such as millet which performed very poorly. M. Endrick, T. Rowbothan, S. Petrie and H. Everard opted to grow maize as it did not require huge capital or many labourers.[1] As Wolff contends, the immediate goal of finding exportable produce to relieve, the British treasury off the financial burden imposed by the protectorate in the early years prompted several different choices on just what crops to produce.[2]

In 1919, Powys Cobb bought 30,000 acres near Molo township. Cobb experimented with cotton but the change in currency rates from one rupee commanding one shilling to four rupee discouraged him. The change in currency was as a result of the effects of the First World War. However, Cobb's second venture on pyrethrum production at Mariashoni near Mau forest picked up.[3] Labour was cheap and available. Mechanisation held out the possibility of greater returns and less hassle.[4]

[1] KNA/DC/NKU/12/6, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1918, p. 10.
[2] Wolff, *Economic Aspects of British Colonialism in Kenya 1895-1930,* pp. 273-277.
[3] A. Curtis, *Memories of Kenya,* 18.
[4] KNA/AN/30/7, Department of Agriculture Annual Report Nakuru, 1920, p. 33.

Lord Lugard emphasizes the increased deterioration of African agriculture and the need for money for development. Lugard termed Kenya as a developing country and the demands of the settlers were very heavy. Sir Allan Pim emphasized the difficulties which arose from the presence of communities with very different needs and desires. The white farmers demanded the organisation of adequate scientific services to deal with their problems and what was costlier. Allan quoted the expenditure on road was substantially increased by the small isolated blocks of European settlers. Allan also pointed out that the settlers' required educational facilities for their children.[5]

For some settler farmers, farming activities were becoming more and more difficult. Debt, labour problems, sick cattle, failed crops were universal topics of conversation. Surviving the natural environment commanded much energy and concentration. Domestic life could consist of daily exposure to a potential hazard. Without warning, the skies could suddenly darken. Instead of a dramatic storm to clear the air, a plague of locusts would descend.[6] In 1919, Knaggs had three acres under cultivation: two acres under wheat and one acres which was subdivided into small plots. These plots were put under various crops such as cabbages, millet, potatoes, red onions and chillies. However, the crops were destroyed by the locusts.[7] Africans had learnt signs that manifested before the locust invasion. When beautiful butterflies were observed in the late evening moving from West to East, Africans were able to predict that there would either be a locust invasion or a serious crop pest.[8]

In 1919, settler farmers in Molo interested in wheat-growing visited Lord Delamere. J. Henderson, P. Valentine, G. Selle and H. Pell paid a visit to Lord Delamere's farm in Njoro. They bought seeds and hired a manual seed drill to plant wheat. Lord Delamere promised them any assistance they required in case they encountered any problem. Planting of wheat appeared to be a hard task for Henderson, Valentine, Selle and Pell as compared to other crops such as maize and millet. The manual seed drill required oxen or strong bulls to pull the machine in the sticky mud. It also required labourers to pour in wheat in the drill seed cylinder. Due to heavy rain and mud, a very small portion of land was planted during the day. A lot of seeds were also left on the ground and they were eaten by birds and farm rodents. Due to this challenge, the settlers employed labourers to pull twigs to cover the seeds that were left uncovered by the manual seed drill. This was

[5] KNA/DC/NKU/12/6, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1918, pp. 32-33.
[6] T, Zeleza, *Colonial Labour Systems in Kenya*, p. 23.
[7] KNA/AN/13/44, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1919, pp. 21-13.
[8] Jecinta Jerop, OI, 29 March 2019

discouraging as the farm was muddy and the twigs were not beneficial at all. By May 1919, only fifteen-acres of wheat had been planted.[9]

In December 1919, the colonial government helped import threshing machines. These machines were towed by oxen. The period 1920-1929 was characterized by an increase in area planted with wheat. Yields were fairly constant over the period, established land tenure, marketing and research institutions blossomed in 1920s, firmly entrenching settler agriculture. The arrival of new machinery meant that wheat, barley and rye had to be sown simultaneously instead of being spaced in time, as was the custom. This naturally led to a telescoping of the harvesting periods.[10]

Wheat had its challenges and success in the Lomet, Kin and Twinstream areas in Molo and Komogeno, Kiptogoson and Kiptunga areas in Mariashoni. However, rust, the predominant problem frequently threatened production. At times rust had been an overwhelming problem that DA concentrated all its efforts towards combating this disease at the expense of the main concern of the Wheat Breeding Programme (WBP). The wheat breeding programme began with the appointment of Mr. G. Evans, who was recruited by the white settlers. G. Evans was a wheat breeder who found some success by crossing the Italian variety *Rieta* with the Australian varieties commonly imported by the settlers.[11] White settlers in Molo borrowed this idea and the experiment of *Rieta* wheat was launched in Denisare Estate in Molo. The quality of wheat was poor and rust often gave a severe blow to hopes of high yields.[12] The first substantial, and later world-renowned programme was initiated later in 1929 when a plant breeding station was established in Njoro. Quality improved and reached a peak later before the Second World War. At this time new varieties were introduced from other countries, especially from Mexico where Dr. Borlaug and his colleagues in the Rockefeller programme had concentrated on producing high yielding varieties.[13]

There was a government Maize Conference in Nairobi in April 1923. In his opening speech, C. Bowring, who was the acting governor, observed that maize offered a rapid return on a farmer's investment.[14] Dominating the agenda of the conference deliberations was the question of how to boost maize exports in the face of African farmers' production, which exceeded European output

[9] KNA/AN/13/44, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1919, p. 27.
[10] Ibid, pp. 30-31.

[11] B. Makau, *Measurement of Economic Returns to Research and Development,* p. 16.
[12] KNA/AN/13/44, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1919, pp. 17-19.
[13] KNA/AN/48/96, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1929, p.17.
[14] Report of proceedings of the maize conference, 24-25 April 1923 (Nairobi department of Agriculture), pp. 1-2

by a significant margin. Prices being higher overseas, the settlers wanted to exploit market conditions by influencing the government into taking regulatory measures to this effect.[15] Following the conference, compulsory maize grading was introduced under the Agricultural Products Ordinance from 1 November 1923.[16] During the 1924 growing season, settler farmers in the Molo increased maize acreage by 41% in response to the low freight rates and high producer prices. Many white settlers were growing Hickory King Variety of maize originally introduced from South Africa, which fetched the highest prices after grading.

Another Maize Conference held in July 1926 concentrated on streamlining grading procedures for export bound procedure.[17] By 1927, of the 970,133 bags sent for grading, only 54,000 originated from African producers. White settler farmers therefore continued to monopolise maize farming in Molo. Maize acreages continued to expand, making monoculture the dominant farming type in many parts of the highlands. In 1927, there was the absorption of the Plateau Maize Growers Company into the Nakuru based Kenya Farmers Association in 1927.[18] Agricultural matters continued to be the overriding factor in local politics, with farmers becoming increasingly strident in their demands. During a maize and wheat conference in August 1928, H. Pudsey representing the Kenyan Farmers' Association together with I. Tucker and A. D. Griffiths, claimed that 25% of the farmers needed low interest short term loans. The Agricultural Bank had declined due to the strain of commercial bank interest rates.[19]

Locust played havoc with the crops and grazing of many farms in all parts of Molo towards the end of 1929 up to April 1930. The problem with regard to the grasshoppers' invasion became so acute in February 1930 that his Excellency the acting governor C. Bowring directed that a full company of agricultural researchers and agricultural officers should be sent to Molo in order to assist in the anti-hopper campaign, a task that was carried out with success. Subsequent meetings were held in the month of March 1930 on how to deal with this menace and it was during this time that the Mau-Molo Settlers Association was renamed Molo Settler Association. The association was formed to enable the residents to help themselves and their country economically and to afford

[15] The Kenya observers, 25th April 1923, p. 6.
[16] KNA/AN/42/192, Department of agriculture, Annual report 1923, p. 117.
[17] KNA/AN/ 47/70, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1926, p. 11.
Martin. J, East African Standard, 4th September, 1926, Article report of proceeding of the fourth maize conference 28-29 April 1926, pp. 16-17
[18] Huxley, *No Easy Way*, p. 84.
[19] Proceeding of the Fourth Maize conference and First Wheat Conference, 1928, p. 15.

more tangible support to their representatives on the Legislative Council. The Molo Settler Association was founded to advance and protect the general interests of European residents in Molo. These interests were mainly agricultural debt as well as matters of land and water resources.[20]

In 1928, during the months of March, April and May, Molo area received less rain than anticipated. The results were manifested in serious shortage of grazing and water. The almost complete failure of rains in September when they were most needed, prevented the maize from maturing and in many cases caused the crops to completely fail. Only 51,400 bags were harvested in 1927 compared to 30,000 bags in 1926. White settler agriculture in Elburgon was boosted by the water supply from Elburgon river which in the dry month of the year became somewhat low, and the supply became rather precarious. Settlers in Molo obtained water for farming from a small spring in Molo which in the dry months dried up. Due to water shortage, three wells were sunk by the colonial government in supervision of the DA: two in Elburgon and one in Turi.[21]

In 1928, a serious outbreak of rinderpest occurred on farms in Molo area in M. McIvor farm in Denisare Estate and the mortality rate was fairly high. The Veterinary Department carried out its annual double inoculation of the cattle throughout the district during the latter part of the year. Sporadic outbreaks of East Coast fever of a mild nature later occurred in E. Blackett farm but luckily they were eradicated.[22] In 1929, there was drought and famine in Molo. Hundreds of livestock belonging to both the white settlers and Africans died. Farms were dry and no crop could grow due to rain failure and high temperatures. The Kikuyu referred to this drought to as '*ngaragu ya thandi'* meaning hunger of sparks. Early in the morning and in the evening, Africans could carry *kikapus* and walk to Njoro or Londiani to borrow food from their neighbours. Women and children suffered most. The colonial government had promised the settler farmers compensation for their lost livestock in order to help them rebuild their herds. However, this ended up being an empty promise as no compensation was ever given to them.[23]

The establishment of pyrethrum fields in the late 1920s and early 1930s had been a source of conflict between white settler land owners and African squatters in Turi. It had coincided with forced reduction in African livestock and African children had been taken from schools to pick

[20] KNA/AN/48/96, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1929, pp.31-33.
[21] KNA/PC/NKU/17/2, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1928, pp. 25-27.
[22] Ibid, pp. 25-27.
[23] Ndege Thuita, OI, 23 April 2019

pyrethrum.[24] Unregulated African farming was already largely abolished by the early 1930s. Fredrick Cooper claims that by then a rationalized labour system and an official ideology oriented towards systematic social development consigned the squatters to categorical oblivion.[25]

In August 1930, after a serious outbreak of head blight in Molo, the assistant agricultural officer visited the Molo areas in company with a mycologist in order to inspect fungus disease of wheat in particular the *Fusarium* which had caused seedlings to rot, and head blight in Molo area. The wheat crop in the high altitude areas of Molo was promising but in some cases, wheat was also affected by black stem rust type B 286. The wheat seeds given to farmers by the government was found to be mixed with other varieties and was not pure, the harvest obtained being fit for milling only. This discouraged the settlers in Molo and they decided to seek compensation from the government.[26] Research continued to focus on wheat breeding, primarily for rust resistance. Despite a modest decline in research funding, ten new wheat varieties were released. However, the impact of these varieties was swamped by the depression and marketing policies. The depression was the least auspicious era for Kenyan wheat. In addition to rapidly falling world wheat prices, the latter part of 1930 witnessed a locust devastation on wheat.

In 1932, an unknown maize disease also affected maize in Molo. The Ministry of Agriculture officers visited the farms but could not identify the disease, which made maize leaves to turn yellow, before the whole plant eventually dried up. The settlers thought the problem was the certified seeds they had bought since the problem was similar in all the farms. Africans who had preserved seeds from their previous harvest for planting were not affected and their maize reached maturity and was harvested.[27]

The Great Depression, which saw the world market prices drop, caused a crash in the prices of commodities all over the world, particularly of luxury goods such as coffee which was one of Kenya's primary agricultural exports, bringing many settlers to the verge of bankruptcy.[28] The economic slump which a disastrous impact on the world economy had led to the Great Depression of 1929. Moreover, the environment seemed to grow more hostile to settler farming during the

[24] Kanogo, Squatters, p. 78-91.
[25] F. Cooper, 'Mau Mau and the Discourses of Decolonization,' *The Journal of African History*, 29(2) 1988, p. 318.
[26] D. Makanda and J. Oehmke, *Promise and Problem in the Development of Kenya's Wheat Agriculture*, (Michigan State University East Lansing, 1994), pp. 41-47.
[27] KNA/DC/NKU/18/5, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1932, p. 34.
[28] Anderson, Depression, pp. 321-343

years of depression. Between 1931 and 1934, the colony was struck by a devastating drought and by 1935, the repeated occurrences of droughts throughout East Africa had sparked fear that the region was becoming unfit for agriculture.[29]

Throup notes that the colonial state resulted to increase native labour production to finance the colony's bureaucracy and ensure survival of the farming community through subsidies until prices would rise in the late 1930s.[30] Due to these challenges, white settler farmers changed from cereal to livestock production, particularly dairying. Economic and technical requirements now dictated a more balanced system of mixed farming and it was stipulated that there would be a swing from cereals to livestock. An absolute and relative decline in the price of maize encouraged the development of ley and fodder farming and the grazing of beef cattle. It was expected that as the average size of mixed farms continued to decline and the profitability of dairying exceeded beef production. This was not likely to happen in the next ten years because of the difficulties of disease control, breeding problems and technical arrangements connected with marketing.[31]

The locust infestation which began in March 1931 in Kaptunga and Mariashoni forest border caused the gravest anxiety and considerable loss.[32] In 1932, swarms of locust were prevalent in Mariashoni during the year and extensive hatchings took place in the first six months. The Department of Agriculture organised an anti-locust campaign which was closed by mid-1932. Farmers were promised that the locust menace was to be dealt with before further damage to crops was encountered. However, there was a serious impact on the maize yield.[33]

The colonial government implemented a dual policy from the year 1938 that was paradoxical in its aim. It tended to promote the Africans welfare by promoting native agriculture, in order to overcome shortage of cash produce during the war. It conducted an agricultural policy that was both discriminatory and oppressive in its aim in that it privileged the settlers, especially, with the

[29] Ibid, pp. 321-343.
W. Ochieng, 'Colonial Famines in Luo Land, Kenya, 1905-1945,' *Trans African Journal of History* 17 1988, pp. 21-33.
[30] D. Anderson and D. Throup, 'Africans and Agricultural Production in Colonial Kenya: The Myth of the War as the Watershed,' *Journal of African History*, 26(4) 1985, pp. 327-345.
[31] KNA/DC/NKU/18/5, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1932, p.14.
[32] KNA/AN/48/154, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1931, p. 3.
[33] KNA/AN/49/20, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1932, pp.165-167.

regard to the derisory prices the colonial government gave to the Africans when compared with the high prices granted to the settlers for their production.[34]

Most settler farmers farmed a potato variety referred to as Kerr Pink. This was an early maturing variety susceptible to blight (*phytophthora Infestans).* This called for frequent sprays with a fungicide to protect the crop against the disease. The Ministry of Agriculture introduced another potato variety referred to as Anett. The Anett potato variety was grown twice a year. The first planting season begun in February and harvesting was done in June. The second season began in August and harvesting was done in December. During the first years, white settlers preferred to continue growing Kerr Pink and only a few settlers switched to the Anett. The production of Kerr Pink recorded poor production from 1935-1937. This was attributed to the fact that some settlers retained part of their own harvest for use as seeds in the next season.[35]

In a letter written by J. Dewhurst to his farm manager in Molo, Dewhurst reminded his farm manager that the best potato produce, in terms of size was to be preserved to be used as seeds in the next season. The rest of the produce was sold to the Indian traders in Molo shopping centre. There were no certified potato seeds of Kerr Pink variety. Potato market had no fixed prices. If the output of potato was good, the price went down, if the production was bad potato prices rose. The Indian traders bought potatoes 18-25 shillings per bag depending on the market.[36]

3.3 Labour

During the 1919-1923 period, the white settlers wanted to expand their export market, but agriculture suffered from shortage of labourers. This was mainly due to many factors among which epidemics and diseases that rendered many Africans malnutrition from serving in the carrier corps, in addition to forced conscription into the army that had reduced the number of civil labourers.[37] The year 1919 marked the end of the First World War. This created a suitable atmosphere for the Africans and the settlers to recover from a long period of instability. However, this recovery was impossible without recourse to the main denominator that was the African worker.[38] In order to overcome the shortage of labourers, the colonial government under the leadership of Governor Edward Northey issued a circular on 23 October 1919 in which it ordered that 'All government

[34] E. Huxley, White Man's Country (London: William Lewis Printers Limited, 1970), p.193.
[35] KNA/PC/RVP/6A/34/7, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1937, pp. 32-33
[36] Ibid, p. 34.
[37] Berman, *Control and Crisis,* p.143.
[38] KNA/AN/13/44, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1919, pp 21-23.

officials in charge of native areas to exercise every possible lawful influence to induce able-bodied male natives to go into the labour field. Where farms are situated in the vicinity of a native area, women and children should be encouraged to go out for labour that they can perform. Native chiefs and elders must at all times render all possible assistance on the foregoing lines. They should be repeatedly reminded that it is part of their duty to advice and encourage all unemployed young men in the areas under their jurisdiction to go out and work on a plantation.'[39]

However, this circular that projected to gather the highest number of Africans labourers to work on European farms had created a kind of contradictions. It intended to force the Africans who were working on their own land to leave it and be hired by the European farmers. At the same time, the African farmers aimed at expanding community production and this circular inhibited them from working as such. The Africans were torn between being labourers under the commands of settlers and being free labourers working on their own and for their own benefit. In order to rein-force the 1919 circular, the colonial government added more pressure on the Africans by increasing the hut tax to eight rupees in 1920 in order to incite the Africans to look for more jobs to pay their taxes, and subsequently increase the number of labourers needed to work on Europeans farms.[40]

The native population largely consisted of Kikuyu who were chiefly resident on farms as squatters and were largely employed as houseboys and cooks. There was no single body that was empowered to deal with the numerous civil cases which occurred among the squatters in the farms and this gave the settlers an opportunity to exploit the employees more. Sometimes it was rough among the white settlers and the labourers. Fights over grazing area and land to till caused conflict among the labourers and their masters. In 1928, the Kikuyu still represented a principle labour supply in Molo. There was considerable reluctance on the part of the Kikuyu Resident Natives on farms to review their agreement under the Resident Native Labour Ordinance on expiry. The Kikuyu claimed that they had received instructions from the late chief Kinyanjui not to get into any other agreement with the Europeans. As a result, Mr C. Crewe who took over charge of Nakuru District from Mr. Izard instructed Mr. Fernandes to ensure that settlers had the required labour whether on agreement terms or through forced labour.[41]

[39] Berman, *Control and Crisis*, p.143.
[40] B. Bruce and J. Lonsdale, 'Crisis of Accumulation, Coercion and the Colonial State: The Development of labour control system in Kenya, 1919-1929,' *Journal of African Studies*, Vol 14, No.1 1980, p. 62.
[41] KNA/DC/NKU/17/2, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1928, p. 9.

Large number of squatters returned to the reserves with their families and flock during the year. It was reported that 633 squatters were arrested under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance in that year.[42] Flogging without trial on settler farms was part of the accepted order, while racial bigotry was widely institutionalized through legislation. Less visible, but an essential part of the order, was the system of regression taxation. The taxes paid in by the peasantry were utilised to provide the infrastructure for the European farms. These elements did not occur by chance, this occurred because the settlers were desperately short of finance to deal with the many exigencies of large scale farming. To exist and prosper the settlers needed to capture the state and to organise the entire society in such a way that they would be able to exploit every element in it to provide the financial accumulation necessary for their activities.[43]

In 1930, several agitators were present in Molo in the early part of the year. Squatters were sent back to the reserves. The problem aroused from the fact that these were too many unemployed natives who lived on farms either related or not related to the labourers.[44] In 1931, there was a very large number of casual labourers mostly of the Nyanza ethnic groups who had been pushed out of the reserve in Londiani due to conflict between them and the Kipsigis. The labourers gave little troubles.[45]

The GD hit the Kenyan settlers sector hard, resulting in increased unemployment for African labour and a severe cutback in the administration revenues. Between 1928 -1934 custom duties dropped by one-third.[46] In 1932, Mr. A. Nesbitt was appointed the labour officer. The outstanding feature of labour conditions during the year were cases of withholding wage, largely due to the prevailing financial depression. Most labourers went unpaid for several months. Due to financial challenges, some labourers were paid with farm produce such as maize and wheat. However, some white settlers such as Pell Smith were not able to pay their labourers either in cash or farm produce. The number of natives on written contacts of service was lessening year by year. The employers did not find it necessary to go to the expense of recruiting labour through labour recruiters. Wages dropped slightly during the period of great depression under review and the average casual

[42] Ibid, p. 9.
[43] Van Zwanenberg, *The Agricultural History of Kenya to 1939*, pp. 277-278.
[44] KNA/AN/48/154, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1931, p. 30.
[45] Ibid, p. 31.
[46] E. Frankema, *Colonial Taxation and Government Spending in British Africa in 1880-1940: Maximizing Revenue or Minimizing Efforts? Exploration in Economic History 48(1)* (London: William Lewis Printers, 2011), pp. 136-149.

labourers were getting 8 shillings and posho per ticket. The decline of export crops forced the settlers to dis-employ labour since they were not able to pay labourers. This caused a constraints to the Africans who were becoming dependent on wage labour.[47]

The practice of involving women and children in communal labour in Kenya had been enshrined in the 1912 Native Authority Ordinance which in effect, amounted to forced labour for government purposes within the reserves. In spite of opposition from Africans and their sympathizers, the practice became more widespread in the 1920s and early 1930s, especially whenever the spectra of labour shortage reared its head.[48] It was not until 1933 that the ordinance on the employment of women, young persons and children was passed specifically designed to curb the worst effects of forced female and child labour. The method used to lure people into labour varied. Most of the forced labour was ordered out by the chiefs and headmen under instruction from the DC. The recruiting method ranged from armed raids to holding women hostage in recruiting camps until they were substituted by their male relatives.[49]

Due to the financial challenges that faced most settlers, African labourers too opted to move from one employer to another. However, most settlers were suffering from the same problem of lack of finances. According to Peter Kirebi, most labourers preferred to be engaged in taking care of *ngombe za ulaya* (grade cows). Later it proved difficult for African labourers to be paid hence moved to another employer. Due to these financial challenge some settlers could pay their labourers by giving them milk or eggs.[50]

In 1936, there were very few reported cases of white settlers abusing Africans. However, Africans reported cases of poor or lack of pay. Pyrethrum farms reported increased number of child labour. Children were necessarily used to pick pyrethrum. This was because child labour was a bit cheaper compared to adult labour. Most settlers felt at their lowest moments. Farms were doing well but produce prices were very low. Farms under maize and wheat acreage had reduced by half. Thus rendering more Africans jobless and vulnerable.[51]

In 1938, the enactment of Natives Employment Ordinance to organise the labour market had also impacted on labour demand. For instance, many settlers during the period from September to

[47] KNA/PC/RVP/5a/2/31, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1932, p. 14.
[48] T, Zeleza, *Colonial Labour Systems in Kenya*, pp.6-7.
[49] S. Stichter, *Migrant Labour in Kenya* (London: Heinemann, 1982), pp.37-38.
[50] Peter Kirebi, OI, 13 March 2019.
[51] KNA/AN/51/18, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1936, p. 33.

October were unable to recruit labourers because they failed to comply with the 'Native's Employment Ordinance' (NEO) of 1937 that imposed on the employer to obtain a license for labourers and for the employee to get authorized to work. Because of the settlers' lack of information about the newly enacted ordinance it was difficult for them to recruit labourers. Inspections forbade the settlers to employ any labourers who were not in conformity with Natives Employment Ordinance (NEO). The NEO was applied in the colony of Kenya at the end of April 1938, systematic check of licenses and work permits was conducted by the colonial authorities.[52]

3.4 Conflicts between White Settlers and Africans

By 1920, more extensive exploitation of land for white settler agriculture led to conflict between the white settlers and Africans in Molo.[53] By this time, African families were tied to land in the area that their parents or their grandparents had broken, and where they had initiated a connection and buried the dead.[54] The great demand for Turi was that it was situated 2,500 metres above sea level, the temperature in Turi rarely reached 30^0C. One outstanding feature of Turi was that the absence of tropical diseases such as Malaria attracted more white settlers compared to Mariashoni. This was deemed a sufficient feature for a healthy place for white settlers. However, Turi as a frontier of European settlement, was also a dangerous area where elephants, rhinoceros and leopards were roamed freely. The total number of train trips a week was four times towards Nakuru and Nairobi. Connecting the railway station to settler farms was dirt roads that turned into mud when it rained. A number of Europeans who lived in Turi by 1924 engaged either in dairy farming or animal production.[55]

During the period 1926-1927, the British colonial administration executed an eviction of the Okiek people from their ancestral lands. In this evictions, those who had remained on land that had been converted to settler farms were forced into the forest.[56] In 1929, there was conflict between Mr. Powys Cobb and the Okiek regarding boundaries. The boundaries were re-demarcated to help stop further incursion of the Okiek on private land. Conflict arose between the white settlers and the Okiek on the East side on the Mau forest. The Okiek were encroaching in the white settler farms.

[52] Government report on the Social and Economic progress of the people of the Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1938, p. 31.
[53] Kanogo, *Squatters*, p. 35.
[54] J. Lonsdale, 'Explanation of the Mau Mau Revolt,' *African Studies Seminar Paper*, Paper presented in Witwatersrand in South Africa, 1983, pp. 3-11, 403.
[55] Curtis, *Memories of Kenya*, p. 34.
[56] Perpetuah Cherop, OI, 29 March 2019

The Kikuyu too were allegedly of stealing farm produce from the white settler farms and selling it at the local market. The Kipsigis on the other hand were arrogant and at some point they were reported to have physically assaulted their masters. The matter was reported at Molo police station and the culprits were arrested.[57]

The removal of the Okiek from the selected areas awaited the decision on the report submitted by a committee appointed to investigate the question of the future of the Okiek. The settlements discussed by the committees included, Tinet: Crown land adjoining the Molo settled area, Kapsembwegwa: Crown land adjoining the Molo settled areas, Mariashoni: Forest reserves. Scattered groups in the Mau forest reserve to the Lake Nakuru-Naivasha districts boundary on the Mau and possibly Eburru mountains. It was becoming increasingly clear during the 1930s that the Kenyan native reserves were becoming too small to support the rapidly growing population. However, the white settler community largely opposed the idea of granting more land to production and a rapid decline in the supply of African farmlands. Its bargaining was continuously weakened, not only the adverse economic circumstances, but also the wider shifts in the philosophy of colonial rule towards a more development oriented agenda, pointed out the need for easing labour coercion.[58] In 1930, part of the Mau forest became linked to the land appropriation process, and part of the forest came under the colonial state control for various purposes, including settlement. By the end of 1930, parts of the Mau complex were cleared for the establishment of forest plantations and introduction of exotic species. Throughout this period, the colonial government refused to recognize the claims of the Okiek people in the forest and argued that the ultimate way to deal with them would be assimilation into other communities.[59]

The Land Commission of 1932, set up by the British government perceived the Okiek as primitive and backward people (based on their mode of production) and strongly recommended that the Okiek were to be moved to other places to pave way for the more progressive minded people (referring to the white settlers).[60] This forced the Okiek elders from Mariashoni to appear before

[57] Curtis, Memories of Kenya, p. 18.

[58] D. Hyde, 'Paying for the Emergency by Displaying the Settlers: Global Coffee and Rural Reconstruction in the Late Colonial Kenya,' *Journal of Global History 4(1),* 2009) pp. 81-103.

[59] K. Toweett, *Okiek Land Cases and Historical Injustices 1902-2004* (Nairobi: Okiek Welfare Council Publishers, 2004), p. 8

[60] K. Sena, (2006) 'Mau Forest Killing and Goose but Still waiting the Golden Eggs' in *Indigenous People's Right to Lands, Territories and Resources related to Discrimination in Employment and occupation: Case Study on Practices of pastoralism and Hunting-Gathering in Kenya, Report prepared for the international labour organization* (African Publishing House, 2008**)**, pp. 23-25.

the Hon. Morris Carter on 17 October 1932 and they presented their case that they (Okiek) would not vacate their land. The Okiek later abandoned the reserves and went back to their homes in the forest where they were viewed as squatters. The Okiek community preferred to move into the forest because if they were separated further, their community risked extinction. The Commission overlooked the Okiek case and recommended that all the Okiek living on farms or forest reserves were to be taken to a reserve to which the rest of the group had already settled. The recommendations were drawn from those of a committee made up of white settlers and colonial administrators who had expressed fear that should the Okiek be left in land near the forests, their population would increase, leading them to claim the land, which was then under white settlers' occupation.[61]

Following the recommendations of the Carter Commission, harassment and dispossession of the Okiek continued when the colonial administration realized that the Okiek were not ready to move and join other ethnic grouped reserves, they hatched a plot for using them to indirectly work for their own extinction through assimilation policies that discriminated against their indigenous practices. The colonial administration also refused to recognize them as a distinct ethnic group. They did that skillfully by encouraging the Okiek to take up jobs in the forest department, while others were encouraged to take up employment in the nearby white settlers farms.[62]

The assistant inspector of Molo station, Mr. S. Wright patrolled Molo in the hope of arresting culprits who were a nuisance to the white settlers by stealing crop produce and farm implements. The intensive patrol was primarily done after a certain gang of robbers were being involved in robbery with violence as well as rape in the Molo area. The culprits were alleged to have been Kipsigis and yet it was possible that they might have been Okiek who had their base at Chigamba. Action was also taken to evict any illegal residents in the area. The mechanism did not bear any fruits since the administration which was stationed in Molo was far from the scene and the Okiek kept on moving deeper into the Mau forest that was inaccessible by road transport for easier

[61] Towett, *Okiek Land Cases and Historical Injustices 1902-2004*, p. 8.
[62] S. Dutton, 'The Hunter Gatherer of Africa,' *Paper presented at indigenous Rights in the commonwealth project, Africa Regional expert meeting* (IPACC, Cape Town, South Africa, 2002), pp. 55-61.

monitoring.[63] The Mariashoni Okiek were moved by the District Commissioner and taken to a new settlement in the southern slopes of the Mau forest under chief Masikonde.[64]

In 1938, fire broke out in Mr. S. Brown and Mr J. Abraham's farm in Mariashoni. The fire destroyed several acres of grazing land as well as planted wheat. Mr. Abraham suspected the Okiek of having caused the fire. After a serious investigation by the assistant inspector Mr. G. Peverett, the conclusion was that the complainant himself Mr. J. Abraham started the fire in his farm, which later spread to Mr. S. Brown farm, in order to pursue the authorities to push the natives far from his land. In November 1938, Veterinary Department certified arsenical poisoning in Mr. Abraham's farm. When scene was visited at his farm, arsenic was found in the dairy. Other farms were also visited and arsenic was found lying about in places not under lock and key. It was possible arsenic was accidentally spilled and in this way consumed by the cattle. This did not please Mr. Abraham at all and as a result he shot two of his Okiek labourers, killing them. The other labourers fled and none was paid their wages for three months. A solution to the problems facing the Okiek who were still living in among the settler farms seemed as remote as ever. In august 1938, the Okiek were cautioned by the provincial commissioner that they had three months to settle their affairs with their masters, dispose of their stock and to move into the South Lumbwa Reserves. However, nothing happened as no stock were disposed, neither did the Okiek move to the Lumbwa reserves.[65]

In late 1938, the problem of finding a permanent home for the Okiek was affecting white settler agriculture in Molo. The white settlers in Molo arranged for a meeting with the Nakuru District Agricultural Officer to air their grievances. The white settler farmers blamed the government for failing to control African residents upon farms and for allowing the natives to destroy the standing timber to cultivate shambas on almost vertical slopes and down to the edge of streams, to grow crops more than they actually needed for the maintenance of themselves and their families. However, some settlers were too busy making money out of pyrethrum, other too inert to bother, some had more land than they really needed and were content to allow their employees to do very much as they wish.[66]

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[63] KNA/DC/NKU/10/2, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1920, p. 3.
S. Okoko, 'Mau Forest on the Spotlight Kenyan must be told the truth,' *Daily Nation* November 16 200, pp. 3-6.
[64] Nicholas Tanui, OI, 13 April 2019
[65] KNA/PC/RVP/6A/35/2, Rift Valley Province Annual Reports, 1938, p. 70.
[66] KNA/PC/NKU/18/9, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1938, p. 21.

In 1938, plans were carried out to remove the Okiek from Molo area under the direction of the Provincial Commissioner. Assistant Inspector of police S. Wright and Mr. K.A. Cowley personally supervised the removal of Okiek from their haunts in Molo. The greatest majority were moved into the South Lumbwa Reserves and joined forces with their kindred. A few were further moved to the Olenguruone settlement area. A number of their livestock was sold to the Supply Board Meat Control (SBMC) and by Public Auction (PA) since a household could not own more than five cows and ten sheep or goats[67] The Olenguruone land was bought by the government in order to provide land for the squatters who did not want to be contracted under the Resident Native Labour Ordinance. The squatters were allowed to reside under the conditions agreed by the Native Trust Land Board. The squatters as residents of the stated settlement were not considered tenants at will, but their staying there was centered on their agreement with the government to settle there and not to acquire any right to land.[68]

3.5 The Land Bank

The Land and Agricultural Bank of Kenya was established in 1931 by the colonial administration to consolidate and increase settlement on the land and assist in the provision of the agriculture credit to the white settler community.[69] The Bank was set up as a parastatal under the management board appointed by the colonial governor. The sources of funds of the Land and Agriculture Bank included grants voted by the Legislative Council, loans from local and overseas sources and overdrafts from private banks.[70] The economic depression radically changed the credit worthiness of the European farmers. The first report of the Land Bank, in 1931, pointed to the problem that stated that, 'a justifiable optimism had led to a much ill-timed enthusiasm and even recklessness in putting capital into the land. The natural result was an inflated value placed upon land.'[71]

The article further blamed the government for the over-optimism, which it had fostered through protective duties and favourable railway rates. However, the author did not state that land speculation during the 1920s had raised land prices beyond their productive capacity. In a groundswell of optimism and high produce prices, credit had been assessed on the basis of land prices and not on its productive capacity, with the result that, when the prices fell, the debtors were

[67] Ibid, p. 22.
[68] Kanogo, *Squatters,* pp.107-108.
[69] Okoth-Ogendo, *Tenants of the Crown,* p. 91.
[70] J. Heyer, *Agricultural Development Policy in Kenya from the Colonial period to 1975* (New Haven, 1982). pp. 17-19.
[71] KNA/PC/PVP/3/8/6, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1921, p. 5.

left with debts which had become impossible for them to repay. The Kenya Weekly News pointed out that, 'The banks progressively curtailed the credit facilities previously granted and in some cases discontinued them. Private loans or mortgage became difficult to obtain. Those merchants who continued to extend advances on the security of planted crops did so on a restricted basis.'[72]

The Land Bank saw the light of the day in 1930s. The capital for the Bank was raised from the London money market on a government guarantee, and the capital was lent out to local farmers at lower rates of interest and under different criteria than the commercial houses and banks would lend in Kenya.[73] In 1931, the Molo Settlers Association sent a letter to the chairman of the Land Bank Board in Nairobi through the District Commissioner Nakuru expressing their dissatisfaction with the way the bank worked. The Land Bank had notified settlers in Molo that before a loan was granted, an assessment of the value of the farm and the position of the farmer applying for funds under the Land Bank scheme. All applications were first to be assessed by a committee, locally appointed in each district by local voters or by nomination from the DA which had means at its disposal of valuing the ability of individual farmers in the district. This was done so as to avoid advances made on dubious security both from the point of view of personal ability and agricultural or pastoral possibilities.[74]

The Bank operated with the Central Agricultural Advances Board (CAAB) of the settler association but by 1933 it became independent. Like the CAAB, all advances were made against the security of a first ranking mortgage on the land in order to facilitate recovery and prevent further indebtness by the farmer. The funds advanced were to be used for agricultural or pastoral purposes, established of the purchase price or stand premium by farmers holding land from the crown, construction of cattle dip, water tanks, fencing and discharge of onerous mortgages. As the bank became fully operational, it was no longer necessary for the CAAB to continue to exist alongside it. Steps were taken to merge the management of the two bodies in 1933 after which the bank was appointed the sole agent of the government for the administration of all advances made to the farmers.[75]

[72] Ibid, p. 14.
[73] T. Newlyn and D. Rowan, *Money and Banking in British Colonial Africa, A Study of the Monetary Systems of Eight British African Territories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 80-133
[74] KNA/AN/48/154, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1931, p. 4.
[75] Heyer, *Agricultural Development Policy in Kenya*, p. 20.

After 1934, the Board stopped giving out new credit to white settler farmers and it was decided to wind up its operations. The Bank therefore recommended that the interest charges should be waived in order that the outstanding debt could be collected. The Agricultural Advances Amendment Ordinance (AAAO) of 1938 was put into effect. The reasons put forward was that some of the participants had become more depressed after 1930 owing to the long duration of the recession in prices of primary products, aggravated by drought and locust infestations, and many participants were now faced with unduly large arrears of interest.[76]

Special short term loans were to be made available to farmers in Molo to help them cover the cost of planting and cultivating crops, the purchase of fertilisers, and the expansion of animal husbandry. This meant that the settler farms, which had been in difficulties in the 1930s, staged a rapid economic recovery.[77] The Land Bank Board appointed agents for the future administration of the Agricultural Advances Funds and took over the complete management of the affairs of the Central Agricultural Advances Board (CAAB) which was to be effected later. All communications in future were to be addressed to the secretary of the Land Bank and all payment to and by the CAAB were to be received by and issued from the land bank office. Throughout the highlands, mortgages and bank overdraft had reached alarming levels. Many white settlers used to borrow to meet ordinary living expenses rather than investing in farm improvements. Few had any savings to cater for their needs in the event of crop failure and there was a marked shortage of efficient farm manager. High producer prices and cheap labour temporarily eased their anxiety but the fundamental problem remained. This prompted the agricultural commission to identify a pressing need for agricultural loans.[78]

Farm conditions regarding to fencing and buildings were considerably better than they were in 1936.The asserts increased while the applicants worked diligently in the interest to reduce debts. In September 1937, James Paul Ryan applied for an advance of 20,000 shilling for the purposes of breeding ewes, buying farm implements, buying a pyrethrum drier and buying an ox to work in the farm.[79] In June 1938, Simpson applied for £200 for the purchase of pure bred bulls, cultivating 15 acres' pearls and apples, mill, dam and fencing paddocks. In July 1938, Rutherford Allen applied for an advance of £800 for the purposes of clearing a debt of £600 for purchasing dairy

[76] The Kenya gazette, Agricultural Advances Amendment Bill, 22nd March 1930, p. 169.
[77] C. Nicholls, *Kenya and the Outbreak of the Second World War* (London: Secker and Warburg 2015), pp. 4-9.
[78] KNA/AN/48/154, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1931, p.71.
[79] KNA/PC/RVP/6A/1/46, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1936, p. 12.

cows. On the first application this loan was declined. After an appeal Rutherford was awarded the loan, though he got two hundred pounds, a quarter of what he had applied for. Due to this small amount, he was not able to pay for the land he was to purchase and received a letter from Hoddinott informing him about the land was sold to another settler. Mr Rutherford tried to write to the bank to add him more money but he got no response. Rutherford's worry was that he had already invested a lot in the farm including drilling a borehole and fencing part of the farm. However, the bank was not in a position to give him more as it had a lot of requests from other settler farmers.[80]

3.6 Summary

The colonial government strived to accommodate white settlers' demands, which were frequently at variance with African interests. In Kenya, the problem of race relations was deeply embedded in the historical development. For instance, the developmental roles of the country. With the establishment of colonial rule, Africans, Asians and white settlers found themselves in a struggle. This struggle was over the occupation of the white highlands. Most white settlers' preferred growing maize since it required less capital and less labourers. Introduction of wheat farming in Molo was done with the great support of Delamere, who was the pioneer farmer in Njoro. Delamere had carried out various experiments regarding wheat farming. The wheat variety that was grown in Molo was of the Australian variety. However, it was affected by head blight disease. One big challenge that faced wheat farming was lack of machinery. For instance, the planter used human labour to move. During the rainy season, it proved difficult to pull the planter. Pyrethrum was also affected by browning of flowers. Pyrethrum farms mostly relied on child labour since it was cheaper compared to adult labour and children required less supervision since they followed instructions. Kerr potato variety was mostly preferred because it was fast maturing. However, it required frequent spraying due to blight.

The greatest problem that had a disastrous impact was the Great Depression from 1929. The keenness of the African labourers could be seen through the different crises that struck Kenya starting from the First World War to the 1929 GD. The Land Bank was established in 1931. The Land Bank assessed the value of the settler's farm before giving the loan. By 1934, no more grants were given to settlers. Settlers who were yet to repay their loan were required to do so immediately with no interest. Between 1936 and 1938 many of the smaller white farmers abandoned their farms

[80] Ibid, p. 20.

due to lack of finances and pressure from mortgages. Many Africans lost jobs due to the financial status of their employers.

The introduction of a dual policy in 1938 aimed at promoting the African welfare by promoting native agriculture in order to overcome the shortage of cash crop during the war. Settlers found themselves in conflict with the Africans. At one time, white settlers bordering the Mau forest conflicted with the Okiek since the Okiek were encroaching on settler farms. A boundary was marked to keep the Okiek off the settlers' farms. The Kikuyu too were accused of stealing farm produce from the white settlers. The Kipsigis considered were arrogant and at times got into physical fights with the white settlers.

CHAPTER FOUR

SETTLER AGRICULTURE IN MOLO, 1939-1951

4.0 Overview

During the Second World War, agricultural production in Kenya as a whole was spurred by the British government's policy to meet the heavy demand for food to feed the military troops both outside and inside East Africa. White settlers had challenges and success during this period. Livestock diseases posed the greatest challenges to settler agriculture as diseases such as foot and mouth, rinderpest and East coast fever kept on recurring from time to time. Crop production also faced challenges such as heavy rains during harvest time, theft, and lack of enough machinery. White settlers were hopeful of a good harvest during the World War II period and the market prices of the products were satisfactory. Agricultural land suffered from soil erosion, degradation and exhaustion and there was a need to introduce soil conservation measures in Molo.

4.1 Labour

Most settlers heard about the outbreak of the WW II through the radio that alerted them about the onset of the war on 3 September in 1939. Able-bodied men rushed to join up, while women prepared to take over the running of the farms. Most young European settlers had belonged to the Kenya Defence Force and had been summoned twice yearly for a fortnight's training.[1] During the WWII (1939-1945), Kenya became an important British military base for successful campaigns against Italy in the Italian Somali land and Ethiopia. After the war, African ex-servicemen sought to maintain the socio-economic gains they had accumulated through services in the King's African Rifles (KAR). Looking for middle-class employment and social privileges, they challenged existing relationships within the colonial state.[2] At the outbreak of World War II, it was thought in many quarters, that labourers would be reluctant especially on farms which were being left in sole charge of women folk. This belief proved wholly without foundation as women took care of the farms just like men. The Molo township police records showed that there were no cases of women, living alone on farms, who were molested or insulted. The white female settlers in Molo reported in several instances that the farm labourers had been behaving better than usual. A large number of Kipsigis were found to have kept their reserves in contravention of the Lumbwa Pass Rules (LPR). Lumbwa Pass Rules was a law that authorized settlers in Molo to sign in the Kipsigis from Kericho area as squatters in their farms. It further stipulated that 'regarding the squatter

[1] Brook-Popham Paper, Bodleian Library, *File 10*, 1940, p. 13.
[2] H. Brands, 'Wartime Recruiting Practices, Martial Identity and Post-World War II Demobilization in Colonial Kenya,' *Journal of African History*, 2005, pp. 103-125.

contract, no right to land was conferred beyond the tenancy rights.' Active steps were taken by the police, particularly at Molo, and this form of disturbance was wane.[3]

In 1939, the main complaints regarding labour in Molo was directed against the general demeanour of the Africans and their unwillingness to do a fair day's work. However, employers (who were the white settlers) held a divergent view on what constituted a fair day's work. Under the Highlands Order in Council in 1939, non-Europeans could not own land in the white highland. This gave the white settlers security of tenure. African labourers were not allowed to keep cattle in the entire Nakuru District except for a few of the more progressive farmers who allowed their 'squatters' to keep flocks of sheep and goats. African labourers were also allowed to cultivate small plots of land. However, some white settlers in Molo allowed their labourers to farm and keep livestock.[4] Mr. M. Vale allowed his labourers to keep livestock. One of his labourers had up to 250 sheep and seven cows. Land that remained uncultivated Vale's farm was cultivated by labourers who sold their produce to other African labourers who lacked enough to eat. Mr. G. Allen too allowed labourers in his 500-acres farm to keep livestock. Mr. G. Allen allotted a small plot to each of his labourers and ensured that each household had a piece of land to cultivate. The Commissioner Nakuru District was against this move and dissuaded Allen from the idea. Mr. G. Allen argued that once the labourers were comfortable and happy, they would work hard on the farm; hence, his produce would increase. However, there were white settlers who did not allow labourers to live in their farms let alone to cultivate the land or keep livestock.[5] In August 1939, the white settlers destroyed with African crops in the farms with the view of rendering the consumer sterile. Numerous cases occurred in which employees refused to accept their masters posho or to buy sugar or tea leaves at the local shops which were owned by the white settlers.[6]

Women who were left in charge of farms tried their best to maintain the levels of production or even to increase production. Women took up the management of the farms and bought farm supplies and implements and machinery from Indian shops in Nakuru. One major event that took place in the field was that most women declined to employ children in their farms. Mrs. F. Luke took over the management of her husband's farm after the husband left the WW II in early 1940. Her pyrethrum farm had about thirty-five children who were employed to pick pyrethrum in the farms. Child labour was preferred because it was relatively cheap compared to adult labour. Mrs.

[3] J. Matson, *Kenya Weekly Newspaper*, 17 February 1933, p. 11.
[4] A. Curtis, *Memories of Kenya*, p. 22-35.
[5] John Wamai, OI, 13 April 2019
[6] KNA/AN/52/7, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1939, p.27.

Luke ordered her farm manager to ensure that no child worked on her farm and in case of labour shortage, adults were to be recruited.[7] After F. Berger, who Africans commonly referred to as *Baga*, left for WW II, his wife, Mrs. A. Berger, was left in charge of 170 dairy cows. F. Berger had learnt the local dialect, which made it easier for him to communicate with his labourers and overseers. However, Mrs. Berger could only communicate in English. This posed a big challenge to the progress of her farm. It was quite hard to give directions, guidance and instructions to the labourers.[8] J. Valentine, Mrs. K. Furse and H. Caldwell had no family member to leave behind to manage their farms in the early 1940s. These farms were left in the hands of African farm managers who in some cases looted property and machinery that belonged to their masters. Labourers could harvest farm produce and sell it at Molo market or use it for household consumption.[9] Due to increased production in 1943, most labourers in Molo received a pay rise, which in most cases varied from farm to farm. This was a measure to motivate them to work harder in the farms.

Some farms suffered poor management of finances. In 1944, A. Douglas son H. Douglas ordered ploughs and other farm machinery from an Indian agricultural shop in Nakuru. The total number of labourers and domestic workers was also doubled. Money obtained from the farms could not meet all these expenses and as a result labour strikes were witnessed from time to time. One such event took place in 1944 where labourers protested demanding for their pay. As a result, the new tractors and ploughs were burnt down. Douglas's house was also burnt down. Despite all these challenges, some farms flourished in the hands of women or the sons of settlers. H. Tillet left his son E. Tillet in charge of his farm. E. Tillet had previously been employed at the Egerton Agricultural College. He applied knowledge from the Agricultural College to realize good harvests. E. Tillet was identified as the best farmer of the year 1944.[10]

In the year 1945, a case was reported at Molo police station by three African labourers, Matthias Kipkorir, Njiru Mbugua and Peter Kimaru accusing Mrs. J. Rind of sexually molesting them and forcing them to engage in sex with her. The assistant inspector Molo police station promised them to carry out investigations and if Mrs. J. Rind was found guilty action was to be taken. The following day, Matthias Kipkorir, Njiru Mbugua and Peter Kimaru were arrested and charged for

[7] Grace Wairimu, OI, 10 April 2019
[8] Ken Kaaria, OI, 18 April 2019
[9] KNA/AN/52/14, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1940, p. 7.
[10] KNA/NKU/ 18/13b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940-1945, pp. 7-8.

falsely accusing Mrs. Rind of sexual harassment. Despite all the evidence provided, Africans had no right of laying any claims against their masters since they were the servants.[11]

The year 1946 seemed the most difficult in agriculture to the farmers since the war begun. The year began with short rains and very strong winds during the night. Crops such as maize and millet could not withstand the strong wind and fell on the ground, and due to the ongoing light showers, most of them decayed. Some African employees were laid off since work in the farms demanded fewer labourers. The long rains that were expected in April failed. The agricultural officer in Molo advised the white settlers to plant quick maturing crops that could not take long in the farms.

Due to the challenges that had been faced in 1946, most settlers encountered financial challenges in 1947. White settlers did not afford to pay their labourers. Settlers who had bought machinery and had promised the Indian merchants to pay for them in instalments found themselves sunk in heavy debts. The pay rise which had been offered to labourers in 1943 had to be suspended. To salvage the situation, settlers sought for the market to sell their cereal which had been in the granaries. According to a report made by the DA, 1947 most settlers sold their livestock at very low prices to be able to meet the urgent financial need in their farms. In 1948, Africans started to demand another pay rise.[12] However, due to the conditions that the ex-service military men found their farms, it was hard for the labourers to get a pay rise. Most ex-servicemen were not convinced that since they left for war, the farms had ever performed well. The machinery bought on loan left the white settlers with huge debts, forcing them to seek funds from money lending institution. In 1950, there was protest among labourers who were demanding for fair wages. Working for more than twelve hours a day for poor pay was annoying the labourers. African livestock in the reserves was sold off by white settlers retrieving from the war who claimed that Africans took of their own farms and livestock but neglected those of their masters. This move annoyed the labourers, and since they were not in a position to oppose it, they started a go-slow in the farms.

4.2 Crop Production

In 1939, Molo received an average of 32.92 inches of rainfall from February to May. This was followed by persistent short rains up to December. A very good harvests were predicted due to the favourable weather conditions. There were to some extent adverse effects on crops by the heavy hail and rain at the time of harvesting such as beans in May. The rains damaged the wheat and

[11] KNA/NKU/ 18/13b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940-1945, pp. 13-45.
[12] Leopold Maurice, OI, 7 April 2019

barley crop in the fields.[13] The outbreak of World War II in 1939, created high demand for foodstuffs, particularly to supply provisions to the military troops. As a result, the colonial government encouraged greater production of food crops, mainly maize The KFA was the sole buyer of all surplus produce.[14] The Nakuru settlers had founded the British East Africa Farmers Association before 1914. By 1922, they were actively involved in maize marketing through their association which was later renamed the Kenya Farmers Association (KFA).

In the 1940s, Kenya experienced great prosperity due to the rise in agricultural prices relating to the war effort in Europe. During this time many of the male settlers were absent from their settlement, serving in the armed forces. During WW II, prices of agricultural produce increased and Kenya white settler farmers benefitted from the increased prosperity. The WW II period encouraged more settler farmers to farm and Britain encouraged more migration to Kenya. The move to drive out more Africans from their land further intensified with this newfound prosperity in agriculture. The limit of war-time production was reached and although there was some 'cashing-in' of the natural fertility of the soil, the fertility of a considerable area of land had been improved under wartime farming by the continuous application of phosphatic fertilizers. D. Begehet had a machinery pool which saw to it that no crops were lost through lack of machinery owing to the heavy rains.[15]

The WW II represented a very important landmark in Kenya's colonial history. The tumultuous economic atmosphere prevailing during the war had created urgent need epitomized in war exigencies. Those latter rested on two fundamental aims which were: first, the need to keep Kenya's economy competitive at the international level, with regard to the production and exportation of agricultural products, second: the need to enhance production to supply food for domestic consumption and for the troops that were fighting in the battlefield. The year 1940 showed a big large increase in the acreage under pyrethrum, but the field ratio had not been increased. Both yields and toxic content of the flowers suffered most seriously from drought. The abnormally high prices obtaining on the American market during 1939 declined in 1940. The prices, however, were kept steady at a level which was satisfactory to growers. This had a beneficial result in America and as a result, led to the withdrawal of synthetic products.[16]

[13] KNA/PC/RVP/6a/40//16, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1939, pp. 79-81.
[14] Government Report on Land issues and the agricultural economy in Kenya after 1945, p. 19.
[15] KNA/NKU/ 18/13b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940-1945, pp. 19-20.
[16] Brands, Wartime Recruiting Practices, pp. 103-125.

Measures were also put in place to educate settler farmers in Molo about conserving the soil. As a result, nearly one-third of the arable land in Molo had been protected from the mechanical form of erosion, and great awareness among the settler was the farmers' need on the protection of the soil. Soil conservation education to settler farmers was mostly done by the agricultural officer Mr. J. Storrar and Mr. M. MacCulloch who was the assistant soil conservation officer. In 1940, the demand for work by the soil conservation unit in white settler areas was again very low due to the financial position of some farmers. In areas where farm planning was increasing, reliance by farmers were being on cut-off ditches, on filed boundaries and a rotational system of farming. Over the years many settlers had exhausted the soil by planting maize on the same piece of land, without a fallow period. As yields declined, more land was cleared of bush and brought under the plough and the same process was repeated. As a result, many settlers were left with few options beyond continuing with this rudimentary farming methods or simply abandoning the land altogether.[17]

During the 1940s, the white settlers of Kenya colony benefitted from unprecedented help relating to agriculture, which was granted under different forms as guaranteed prices grants, sending ploughing teams around Kenya to assist farmers, and increased use of imported fertilisers and government conscription to labour. Although conscription of labour was implemented by the colonial government, only 10% of African labourers were conscripted and the great mass of forced labourers were employed on settler farms.[18] Fertilisers were distributed by the Ministry of Agriculture to every district. In Nakuru District, the DA distributed the fertilisers in every division where settlers purchased at them relatively lower price.[19]

Agricultural machinery remained relatively short in supply in 1940s though not as compared to the 1930s. However, the equitable distribution of tractors in particular raised problems for the production committees. The KFA to which virtually all farmers were members, showed a large deficit in the years trading, but this was almost entirely due to its incursion into general retail trade and the opening of branches for this purposes. The work of tractors was quite though fuel consumption was high. A tractor, TD 14 was sent from Nakuru to help farmers in Molo.[20]

In 1941, crops in the farms in Molo were so good they promised a good harvest. However due to too much rain during harvest time, wheat in Kaptunga area spoilt in the farms. Maize, potatoes and pyrethrum did well in Taloa and Sokoro areas in Elburgon. The output of potatoes was very low

[17] KNA/AN/2/1, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1940, p. 13.
[18] Spencer, Settlers Dominance, p. 504.
[19] KNA/AN/52/14, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1940, pp. 24, 33.
[20] KNA/AN/52/40, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1941, p. 20.

in Lome's farm in Turi due to the outbreak of late blight disease. The maize harvest was overwhelming and the KFA offered 6-8 shillings per bag of maize and 20-50 shillings a bag of wheat, which to most settlers was satisfactory. Most settlers attributed this success to a previous trip they had made to an agricultural farm in Njoro, which was later named the Egerton Farm School, in order to sharpen their skills on farming. Captain J.L Burton who was the chief research officer had visited the settler farmers and sold agricultural pamphlets to them, which proved very helpful.[21] Out of the total 100% of pyrethrum production in the colony, 56% (21,273 bags) came from Nakuru District with 35% of the produce coming from Molo. Out of 60% of the potato produce in Nakuru, 30% came from Molo. Nakuru District sale of sheep accounted for 51% in the whole colony and 38% of this sale was from Molo. Finally, out of 71% of the barley harvested in Nakuru, 38% came from Molo.[22] Settler agriculture received a great boost from the Resident Labourers (Amendment) Ordinance No 38 of 1941 which limited the cultivation of land by Africans on white farm to half an acres unless there was a valid contract under the main ordinance. The ordinance also prohibited the keeping of stock by natives on farms and it made certain offences cognizable to the police. This greatly favoured settlers in Molo as the natives were producing around 200 bags of potatoes while the settlers were producing close to 4800 bags.[23]

Settlers in the swampy areas of Turi, especially close to Harvey Stream and Matamaiyo area, were encountering the problem of impassable roads. After lengthy agitation funds were obtained from the government and a link road was constructed to connect the all-weather road to the main trunk roads. This was a great boost to the potato farmers in the swampy areas of Turi as they were able to transport their agricultural produce to the railway station in Molo township rail to Nakuru. Due to the rains, milk production increased too. One outstanding feature that contributed to increased milk production was the increased growing of livestock fodder, which also increased butterfat production considerably. The most worrisome disease to the farmers during the year was foot and mouth disease which caused many deaths of pigs and cattle.[24]

In 1944, weather conditions were very difficult. The rain started well and wet conditions were experienced in April. However, the good start was followed by long periods of drought, punctuated at intervals by light and short showers. As a result, little or no crop recovery was possible and yields ranged from moderate and poor except in parts of Mariashoni. Some of the settler farmers

[21] KNA/AN/52/40, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1941, pp. 13, 24, 33, 91.
[22] KNA/DC/NKU/18/24, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940, p. 22.
[23] KNA/DC/NKU/18/24, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940, p. 29.
[24] KNA/AN/52/98, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1944, p. 22.

complained of harvesting 2-3 bags less of barley and wheat an acre. About 7-8 bags were expected in Molo area and one bag per acres less in neighbouring towns like Londiani.[25]

Flax produced in Molo area proved to be as good as any other produce in the Kenya colony. A new factory was erected at Molo by Mr. H. Millington and it was hoped that an oil-pressing facility would soon be erected. The government had been sponsoring the production of flax, especially because of the large demand in England for war purposes. Large acreages in the District were sewn with flax, especially in Njoro and Molo areas. Negotiations were taken to London to the end that the season's flax was to be purchased by the control at a price rate equivalent to that for flax of the same quality produced in Northern Ireland. Due to increased flax production in Njoro and Molo, the flax factory in Njoro had to be expanded. The establishment of flax industry and erection of a mill at Njoro gave settler farmer in Njoro and Molo another saleable cash crops and despite the drought a considerable amount of fibre was produced during the 1940s. The farmers in Njoro and Molo were not called upon to contribute towards the capital cost of these mills since they were erected out of the funds provided by the Colonial Development Funds (CDF).[26]

Mixed farming continued to expand and not only did dairy herds increase, but there was also a noticeable tendency to cultivate a wider range of crops such as flax, pyrethrum and potatoes. In 1943, the potato market in Molo was largely in the hands of Indian traders like D. Patel. The demand for potatoes rose due to the high consumption in the prison camps. Measures were put in place to at least have a blight-resistant potato crop grown. A variety of Dutch Robjyn was introduced. Varieties such as E.52, K.52 and J.53 were later introduced.[27] In 1944, white settlers who were engaging in potato farming encountered one major problem which was potato theft. Most settlers opted to hire private security personnel to guide their farms. After three days, eleven Africans were arrested harvesting potatoes at night. After interrogation, they disclosed that they sold the produce at an Indian shop in Molo at a relatively lower price as compared to what the settlers asked for.[28] In 1944, there was increased resistance from squatters due to the new labour contracts which reduced the rights to cultivation and pasture while increasing their days of labour service.[29]

[25] KNA/AN/52/98, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1944, p. 23.
[26] KNA/AN/54/16, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1953, p. 33.
[27] KNA/NKU/18/13b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940-1945, p. 44.
[28] Felix Omondi, OI, 23 August 2019
[29] Lonsdale, Explanations of the Mau Mau Revolts, p. 3-11.

White settlers were hopeful that 1945 was to be a wet year. However, the settler farmers had a good harvest at the end of the year. Wheat production rose to 12 bags per acres. Maize production was moderate with an output of 7-9 bags per acres. In 1945, F. Bondet, D. Slatter, R. Selle and R. Davis abandoned settler farming as they felt it was no longer profitable as expenses far exceeded the income. F. Bondet left his farm in the hands of his farm manager Julius Mongeri. The commissioner Nakuru District was against the move for an African to manage a farm that previously belonged to a white settler. Consequently, R. Welton was handed over the farm that belonged to F. Bondet. All the abandoned land was distributed to white settlers who were interested in increasing their land under tillage.[30]

In 1946, good produce was harvested in Kaptunga, Nyota, and Manasu estates. Production was satisfactory and prices for produce remained high, while that of maize increased substantially. The local prices were at a fairly satisfactory level, though the difficulty of exporting surplus native crops from other areas had resulted in a fall in price.[31] The year 1947 for the European farmers as well as for the traders had good returns. The distribution of rain was more even than usual; recorded rainfall was 48.81 inches compared to 30.12 in 1946. The KFA reported that 1947 was a good average year for crops and better than 1946, that the present harvest while showing a shortfall in wheat yields, had produced an increase in maize especially in Njoro.[32]

In 1947, the heavy rains seriously interfered with the harvesting of crops in Mariashoni and by the end of the year, a large quantity of wheat remained unharvested in Mariashoni. Machinery such as tractors, ploughs, drills had a limiting factor in the acreage planted. B. Owen, a settler in Turi had 76 acres planted with wheat. B. Owen tried to harvest the wheat, but instead, the combined harvesters got stuck in the mud. Owen therefore opted to use human labour to at least harvest part of the farm. He hired 100 labourers, but after three days, he realised the process was too expensive and terminated it. Two weeks later, all the wheat had been destroyed by the rains and there was nothing to be harvested.[33]

The Royal Society of Kenya under the Ministry of Agriculture produced journals to aid farmers all over the colony. The journal contained farming news for the early settlers in the Kenya colony. The question of bringing out a journal dealing with agriculture, commerce, geographical work and other matters of interest to East Africans and to friends and neighbours in Uganda was first

[30] KNA/NKU/ 18/13b (2), Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940-1945, pp. 13-45.
[31] Ibid, p. 39.
[32] KNA/PC/RVP/8/10/3, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1947, pp. 77-81.
[33] Jecinta Cheboi, OI, 13 March 2019

discussed by persons interested at a meeting held at the sub-commissioner's office in Nairobi. At the meeting, it was thought that the establishment of a journal, having the agricultural and commercial interests of the country as its primary object, would meet a want that was already felt, and also that it would receive the support of the English reading public in the protectorate.[34]

The question of the birth of the journal, having been determined, it was decided by the promoters that the committee of the East Africa, Agricultural and Horticultural Society should be asked to 'father' it: this the committee readily undertook to do, and so the journal committed its career under the auspices of that society. The publication of the journal was to enable members to be kept informed of the activities of the council and the lines on which they were working. Members will be kept informed of farmers' problem and the lines of research being undertaken for their solution. The journals were monthly magazines about the agricultural activities in Kenya and were received from the main library of the Ministry of Agriculture. They were microfilmed and kept in the ministry.[35] The DA in Nakuru ensured the journals were distributed to settlers. The veterinary and agricultural officers were also required to carry several pamphlets and give them to farmers whenever they were called to offer consultation or services. Inside the journal was a form that required to be filled by the settler, indicating how the journal was helpful or what they needed to be tackled in the next journal.[36]

There was a high demand for farm planning in 1950. Nearly 38,000 acres representing 29 farms were planned and although it was far less than was anticipated it showed improvement with time. Farm planning did set the way for the future, although it affected a small portion of the white settlers in Mariashoni close to the forest border. There was a general feeling among the white settler farmers that they could improve their farming and although there was an improvement in farming methods, it was by no means as be rapid as it should have been. The Kenyan protectorate had always been very short of development capital as it was the case in youngest countries where there was no heavy industry, and the period of fixed prices just after the war hampered the development of the agricultural industry and world parity. Prices paid for the wheat and maize crop after the war. The extra income gained by the farmers during the war would have found its way into development. There were various estimates of the loss to the Kenya farmers during that period, but it was not likely to be less than £5-6 million. There was a need for more money for land development and preservation loans, particularly to aid the development of the stock industry

[34] KNA/AN/53/30, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1952, p. 16-17.
[35] Ibid, p. 17.
[36] Ibid p. 17-18.

and the soil conservation, and not less than £ 500,000 per annum should be made available years that followed.[37]

By 1951, a sections of Molo (Kibleso, Twin stream and Manasu Estate) started to feel the shortage of maize. However, Turi suffered an acute shortage. The district agricultural office carried out research to establish the root causes of the shortage. Maize was purchased from the Kikuyu and Okiek who were residing in Elburgon. A permit was also obtained to purchase 100 bags of posho from D. Patel at Elburgon. Unfortunately, the only lorry in the settlement in possession of a valid transporting license was again in working order and was instructed to transport the posho from Elburgon.[38] Wild pigs and monkeys attacked the maize that was still in the farms. The DA encouraged farmers to dig shallow ditches outside the perimeter fences. It was hard for the wild pigs to cross the ditch for fear of falling into the ditches.[39] Nakuru District formed a Commodity Distribution Board (CDB) to control the distribution of foodstuffs particularly maize and wheat which were on short supply. Mr. Raojibnai Patel was appointed to represent Molo area. Raojibnai reported that the year proved disappointed in concerning to the maize crop production, which was poor.[40]

4.3 Animal Production

In 1939, A. Holm defended the government policy by contending that the free movement of livestock would lead to 'extensive outbreaks and an extensive spread of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.' Although the administration was unwilling to modify its system of quarantine in response to pressures from European farmers, it began to devote attention to African livestock.[41] Later in the year, a case was held by the resident magistrate at Molo police station. Thirteen animals had been spotted in T. Martin farm early in the morning. The destruction of crops in the farm clearly showed that the animals had been grazing the whole night. The magistrate ordered the killing of these cattle on the ground that the owner could not be traced. The cattle had introduced type 'O' foot and mouth disease. Type 'A' and 'O' foot and mouth disease was very prevalent in Mariashoni area and were believed to have been introduced by stray Maasai cattle. [42] In 1940, as a direct result of the WW II, Kenya was the scene of rising conflict. In May 1940, His Excellency the Governor and Lady Moore visited Nakuru District and made contacts with settlers

[37] KNA/PC/RVP/6A/34/7, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1937 p. 6.
[38] *Farmers' Day Meeting 1951-1959 Journal*, Meeting held at the Njoro Plant Breeding Station in Njoro in 1959.
[39] Stella Thugwood, OI, 2 April 2019
[40] *Farmers' Day Meeting 1951-1959 Journal*, Meeting held at the Njoro Plant Breeding Station in Njoro in 1959.
[41] KNA/PC/RVP/6A/40/16, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1939, pp.19-21.
[42] Martin Tui, OI, 15 March 2019

at Njoro, Ravine, Rongai, Molo, Subukia and Solai. Another visit was paid in September 1940, when the opportunity was taken to meet the settlers of Molo area.[43] The year 1941 got settlers worried, uncertain and aggravated. The director of veterinary services visited the district in April and toured Njoro and Molo to inspect animal production in the area.

In 1941, Captain R. Wheeler who acted as District Veterinary officer offered much support to the settlers who were interested in agricultural research. Livestock production was poor compared to crop production. The year experienced 14 outbreaks of rinderpest as compared with 7 outbreaks in 1940. However, Molo suffered outbreaks of rinderpest. These outbreaks were mostly caused by the movement of stock from widely distributed centres by the Meat Supply Control Board (SBMC) for slaughter for the military. A report by inspector G. Hamming who was in charge of livestock stated that there were 56 outbreaks of East Coast Fever in Nakuru District. The encroachment of tsetse flies in Molo South West region gave rise to considerable concern to the farmers and the veterinary department. Dr. C. Lewis carried out an investigation of the situation and as a result of his report, government allocated funds for the creation of a barrier zone and the treatment of affected livestock. The year 1942 witnessed 5 outbreaks of rinderpest and 26 outbreaks of East Coast Fever. In 1942, there was an additional veterinary officer Mr. J.W. MaCaulay who was posted to assist Captain R. Wheeler. An assistance agricultural officer George Hill was assigned Njoro and Molo area.[44]

In 1942, there was an outbreak of foot and mouth disease. An outbreak of type 'O' foot and mouth disease started in Njoro in September on Lord Egerton's Ngongogeri farm. This infection spread Northwards down the Njoro farms to Rongai and finally to lower Molo. Simultaneously another outbreak of type 'O' foot and mouth disease started in Mrs. E. Powys Cobb farm. Unfortunately, there was a particularly virulent form of *'Eumo Enteritis'* affecting calves during the first few weeks of life which caused many deaths in both beef and dairy herds. To worsen the condition, there was no specific treatment for this condition, large quantities of such drugs as sulphonamides and penicillin were wasted. Symptomatic treatment helped a little. F. Eliver lost twenty-three merino sheep due to this infection. The merino sheep were important for fine wool production in range areas because of their hardiness, excellent flocking and efficiency in utilization of low quality forage.[45] The greatest difficulty which faced the sheep farmers in Denisare estate in Molo was the control of the parasites. By the correct use of vaccines, the major diseases of blue tongue,

[43] KNA/NKU/ 18/13b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940-1945, pp. 13-45.
[44] KNA/NKU/ 18/13b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940-1945, pp. 13-45.
[45] Ibid, pp. 65-71.

Rift Valley fever and Enterotoxaemia were dealt with. It was only by regular specific worming policies and the careful rotation of grazing that the farmer was able to overcome the appalling losses caused by parasites and make a profit from sheep. The number of sheep continued to increase especially of merino and dual purpose type of sheep. The wool was now competitive with the world produced wool.[46]

In 1942, settler farmers incurred heavy losses due to the outbreak of anthrax and before they would regain their herds there was another outbreak of foot and mouth disease. The herd of infected cattle camped in Mau forest next to Mariashoni.[47] Mr. D. Musgrave a settler in Mariashoni was using part of Mau forest to graze his livestock. This was as a resulted of scarcity of pasture on his farm since he had hundreds of acres of his piece of land under wheat. The African stock shook off their remaining imported ticks on the ground which Mr. Musgrave relied on grazing his stock. As a result, his cattle got infected and 42 cows died. After consulting with the vertinary officer in Molo, the sick cows were secluded from the healthy cows. The sick cows were all killed and their remains burnt down.[48]

Most African reserves were in quarantines, not only because of East Coast fever but also because of rinderpest and foot and mouth. However, things turned tougher to settlers in Molo due to fewer vets in the region. In further attempts to control and check the spread of diseases such as rinderpest and the foot and mouth disease the government often resorted to quarantines. These measures entailed the restriction of movement of cattle to and from Molo area and even those that moved across Molo from Londiani and Kabianga areas. Later in 1943 the entire Nakuru district was put under quarantines. The veterinary officer in the district ensured that no cattle passed through the district.[49] The quarantine measures favoured settlers a great deal. These was because the colonial government encouraged them to buy cattle from Africans at their own dictated price.[50] As Kimathi, son of an African labourer recalls a cow could be bought a third the price of what the white settler cow was bought. For him the quarantine measure was a 'trickery' between the white settlers and the colonial government to destock Africans.[51] As Zwanenberg contends, quarantines were

[46] Ibid, p. 69.
[47] Leopold Maurice, IO, 7 April 2019
[48] KNA/NKU/ 18/13b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940-1945, pp. 13-45.
[49] R. Tignor, *The Colonial Transformation of Kenya* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 316.
[50] Nelson Kimeli, OI, 29 March 2019
[51] Manasseh Kimathi, OI, 25 February 2019

colonial policies that aimed at slowing of the economic development of African production in order for settlers production to prosper.[52]

Vaccination and inoculation against the most prevalent diseases such as pleuro-pneumonia, rinderpest and mouth and mouth disease were carried out in Mariashoni area in 1944 mainly to prevent the disease from spreading further to European owned stock.[53] As Zwanenberg notes, 'in order to control the movement of African stock, African reserves were put in quarantine whenever there was an outbreak of any of the many local diseases.' Consequently, most African reserves were in quarantine every year for one kind of disease or another, and so it became impossible to organise and develop an African cattle or stock industry.[54]

Due to the heavy rains in 1945, there was an outbreak of tick-borne and other diseases believed to be transmitted by midges and mosquitoes. These diseases were Rift Valley fever and blue tongue. Two outbreaks of foot and mouth diseases occurred in Lomet. The agricultural officer reported that farmers were tending to upgrade their cattle and that more attention was paid to feeding dairy cattle. Diseases continued to frustrate the settlers for example Mr. F. Simmons cattle were attacked by tick borne and East Coast fever. This forced him to abandon the dairy farming project and concentrate entirely on sheep farming. The mineral deficiency soil affected stock farming which resulted into the death of animals especially in Molo.[55] African labourers advised their masters, the white settlers, not only to rely on medicine distributed by the veterinary officers but also to use herbs. The use of ethnobotanical medicines was a technique used by the Kalenjin to treat various livestock diseases in Molo. African labourers took advantage of the situation and milked the healthy cows at night and used the milk for household consumption.[56]

The number of farmers keeping livestock increased during the year 1946. There was at least one serious outbreak of rinderpest. Mr. W. MaCaulay, the vertinary officer Nakuru, was posted to the Egerton School of Agriculture, leaving Mr. R. Wheeler to deal with the livestock diseases. It is reported at one time the work was so overwhelming and Mr. W. MaCaulay hid himself for two days to take a break from work.[57] In 1947, the veterinary officer in Molo and senior veterinary officer in Nakuru held a meeting of the Molo Settlers Association to educate settler farmers on

[52] Zwanenberg, *The Agricultural History of Kenya to 1939*, p. 223.
[53] KNA/NKU/ 18/13b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940-1945, pp. 13-45.
[54] Zwanenberg, *The Agricultural History of Kenya to 1939*, p. 216.
[55] KNA/NKU/ 18/13b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940-1945, p. 33.
[56] Shadrack Ondere, OI, 23 April 2019
[57] KNA/AN/52/192, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1946, p. 95.

how serious the East Coast fever disease was. The disease had swept away half the number of settler cattle in Trans-Nzoia area and left the white settlers very desperate. East coast fever was posing a big challenge to dairy farming in Molo. The senior veterinary officer in Nakuru promised the settler on erection of more dips in the area prior to the existing two which had been constructed before. Three months later, a dip was erected in Turi, and two in Mariashoni. Settlers who delayed to take their cattle at the dip risked losing a number of their stock. For instance, B. Owen, a white setter farmer in Turi lost seventeen head of cattle due East coast fever. The African cows, in which the settlers complained had been bitten by ticks posed a challenge for new infection.[58] Some settler farms for example, Mr. A. Woolridge farm was not properly fenced hence the African cattle would graze in his farm at night. Movement of the cattle was not restricted by the administration in the area. Most African farmers did not have enough grass for their cattle hence poached pasture on the settler farms at night. Africans sold their cattle at Eldama Ravine market once in a year.[59]

In 1950, Mr. G. Brown, the veterinary officer reported that the control of infertility diseases by means of Artificial Insemination (AI) and feeding and management of young stock was boosting livestock agriculture in Njoro and Molo. By the end of 1950, Nakuru District was the main source of high grade and pedigree cattle supplies in Kenya. Molo contributed 38% of the total percentage of the cattle supply in the district.[60] Due to the Army worm infestation in the early stages and subsequent lack of rain, milk and beef production reduced drastically on average per cow. The army worms destroyed pasture in about three-quarters in the district.[61]

Mr. E. Luke then spoke on the Jersey situation, and said that jersey semen had been supplied from AI stations but as it was not successful was discontinued and the bulls disposed of. Towards the end of 1951 a scheme was a foot to inseminate boran heifers in African areas with Channel Island semen, the station had only Guernsey, but in view of the previous failure they agreed only to lease bulls and watch the situation for the year. Mr. Luke had informed the jersey society of their desire to buy a bull but received no assistance. They therefore leased bulls from Mrs. I. Bernard and from Mrs. Luke.[62]

The jersey society appeared to be expressing dissatisfaction with the bulls the society considerable diminution in the demand for AI and Jersey. Grazing was very adversely affected in by the dry

[58] KNA/PC/RVP/8/10/3, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1947, pp. 30-33.
[59] Evans Kemboi, OI, 13 March 2019
[60] KNA/AN/48/11, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1950, p. 10.
[61] Ibid, p. 29.
[62] KNA/DC/NKU/19/10, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1951, pp. 93-110.

weather. Although milk yields dropped very considerably, supplies of whole milk were maintained, but the sale of cream decreased. On small farms where animals were fed on silage, milk yield rose. Great emphasis was put on conservation of fodder for drying. The district livestock officer visited three farms in Molo to inspect on the AI services offered to the white settlers in Molo. One with 300 cows, another with 500 Freshian and the last one with 350 cows. After visiting the farms, the manager decided to go 100% artificial insemination immediately. He decided to use *charolais* exclusively but should Galloway semen be available at a later date, would rather prefer this to *charolais* since commencing with artificial insemination the births increased.[63]

It was essential that high breeding, rearing and management standards were maintained, compatible with a sound farm economy, except in the case of pure experimentation on all departmental farms and experimental stations, particularly a greater responsibility for animal husbandry was falling on the department's shoulders. A complete check was done in European areas by the assistant director of agriculture (Njoro and Molo) and by the chief research officer in time at the Provincial Agricultural Officers Conference in Nakuru.[64] A full syllabus of animal and crop husbandry lesson and experiments were conducted in Elburgon at Mr. D. Hewitt-Stubbs farm. Towards the end of the year, a scheme for improving the standards of knowledge were being prepared in Nakuru District in response to approaches made by the General Agricultural Workers' Union (GAWU) on behalf of farm workers. The agricultural course was run in conjunction with Egerton Agricultural College (EAC).[65]

Col. T. Cradock-Watson complained about his jersey cows. Before changing his breed from Freshian to jersey he enquired whether the AI would be able to give him good returns for the latter. Cradock-Watson was assured that they would, and around October or November 1952, Cradock-Watson received three good bulls standing at stud. He brought young Jersey cows and heifers in healthy condition and expected them to conceive easily. However, AI appeared to have very little effect and decided to buy a young bull so that he could eventually give up the AI shortly afterwards. The jersey semen arrived from Kabete only once a week. He hoped it would shortly be arriving twice weekly. Col. Cradock-Watson considered even twice a week was a very little value without a deep freeze cabinet. Mr. D. Hewitt-Stubbs informed him that the jersey association had condemned two of the stud bulls as being of poor standards, and that consequently there was only one at stud. Hewitt-Stubbs wished to know why jersey owners had not been informed so that they

[63] KNA/PC/RVP/8/11/17, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1952, p. 17.
[64] Ibid, p. 50.
[65] KNA/PC/RVP/13/14/19a, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1958, pp. 93-96.

could make their arrangement immediately. They considered that being charged 40 shilling per service with little or no hope of being recompensed by a calf, hence if a cow was proved not to be calved, such owners should be refunded.[66]

Consequently, Hewitt and Watson decided to buy a bull, ready for service, he told the Jersey association meeting that he would have taken this action in the first instance if he had been informed of the insemination. He had lost several months, in that he had to pay the AI several hundred shillings in addition to buying two bulls. He considered that in the case of a former just starting up this might be as serious as almost to put him out of business the colonel was not amused at all. The chairman said that he had already made an arrangement with another Jersey owner that payment should be made only for those cows proved to be in calf to AI and not that he was prepared to make the same offer to Col Cradock-Watson.[67]

Useful progress was made in livestock investigations and all the three main station cow feeding studies were being directed towards work on steaming up before calving, which produced very large increases in milk yields. The beef production trail was started in Molo. It was shown that very satisfactory live weight gains could be made either off irrigated star grass grazing for by means of irrigated Napier grass stall-fed. Three breed were compared: Hereford/Boran, half breeds and local native cattle. The best live weight gains were made by the Hereford/Boran half breeds on irrigated star grass grazing, but this results, especially as regards breed of animal, was not definitely accepted until further work had been done as the trial was observational only. A big problem still to be solved in the case of beef production off star grass was how to make the best use of the very limited amounts of water available for irrigation during the months of the year when the river flow drops to a trickle except or the occasional 'flash floods.'[68]

The chairman Mr. S. Hutton noted in the Molo AI central meeting that the first insemination in Molo had decreased by 84 to 1069 compared to the total number of insemination decreased by 147 to 2240 in the entire Nakuru District. The percentage of cows holding the first fertilization by one bull was 8.35. The reason for the latter was there were few members at Londiani. Among the year's troubles the most disappointing had been supply of jersey semen. The interruptions had caused several sheers to withdraw from the scheme and buy bulls. It was Mr. S. Hutton hoped that Mr. E. Luke would explain the reasons, but gave the outline which was that the Jersey society had damned

[66] KNA/PC/RVP/13/14/19a, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1958, p. 60.
[67] Ibid, pp. 88-90.
[68] KNA/DC/NKU/24/40b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1952, pp. 30-39.

the bulls at the AI station in their bulletin, with the result that number of former users had stopped using AI and the bulls were not used, hence the jersey society were not helpful in finding replacement.[69]

For assessing the fertility capacity of deep frozen semen stored in plastic straws and liquid Nitrogen. Dr. C Tillaeus, vertinary officer sent out a survey team, for carrying out pregnancy diagnosis in the Molo National AI Scheme. The survey, was strictly restricted to farmers who had joined the National AI service, and required adequate preparations i.e. Farmers being informed well in advance and asked to make records available under optimum conditions Dr. Tillaeus took on some 400 examinations per day. Settlers were always in agreement on the use of the AI however various concern were being raised about the method of payment for instance cash at the time of service, the majority of farmers saying they should be invoiced monthly to pay their bills.[70]

4.4 Agricultural experiments

Land tenure policies continued to reflect white ownership of alienated land. The 1939 Legislative Council Order (LCO), officially proclaiming expanded boundaries for the white highlands and established the Settlers Controlled Highland Board (SCHB), which had power over all land transactions with the boundaries. No African or Indian was allowed to buy or lease land in the white highlands. The expansion and bureaucratization of government marketing intervention in the depression era began way back in 1930 with the sale of Wheat Ordinance (WO). This ordinance marked the advent of statutory control of local wheat marketing. '…the governor shall appoint an agency and no wheat grower shall sell wheat to any person other than the agency. Any person carrying on a business of a miller shall register himself as a miller. This agency was permitted to sell wheat only to registered miller'. The harvest of wheat in Molo area was far advanced. *Bushel* wheat variety was good but there was a large percentage of second grade wheat. The appointment miller agency to buy wheat was the KFA. The KFA was also given sore autonomy to import when in case of a domestic shortfall, meaning that competing mills had to purchase imports from the KFA. This effectively entrenched the KFA monopoly power in the wheat market. Unga Limited and later the KFA, milled 90% of Kenyan wheat.[71] Mr. A. Dixon, Mr. W. Clarke and Mrs. T. Hardman were appointed by the KFA to ensure that all wheat in Molo was sold to the agency.[72]

[69] KNA/AN/55/184, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1954, pp. 49-55.
[70] Ibid, p. 44.
[71] Makau, *Measurement of Economic Returns*, p. 16.
[72] Brands, Wartime Recruiting Practices, pp. 103-125.

In September 1940, pyrethrum flowers in Molo had brown ray florets, which it was stated that it was as a result of attack by thrips. Microscopic examination of these flowers showed that only a small percentage of the browning was due to thrips. The petals and other portions of the plant damaged by thrips showed a number of tiny scattered areas which had a varnished, shiny appearance. Where thrips damage was severe with small brown areas becoming larger. From results of examination of materials in the laboratory and from evidence collected in the field, it appeared that the browning of the florets before the flowers matured, was in some way connected with the number of flowers produced by a plant that lacked soil moisture.[73]

In 1940, after further experiments in the fields where the flowers were turning brown in patches, it was clearly demonstrated that the soil at four to five inches below the surface was dry, hard and warm to touch whereas on other areas in the fields where white flowers were being produced, the soil at the same depth was moist friable and cool to touch. In the case of the larger areas of plants with brown flowers the condition could be explained as the result of subsoil, moisture moving to the lower lying portions of the fields which were still producing first grade flowers. The pyrethrum plant was fairly drought resistant and continued for a long time to show no sign of wilting during extended periods of little or no rainfall. Flowers produced were small in size.[74]

However, pyrethrum experiment project in Molo sub-station was undertaken in 1943. The area comprised a total of 131 plots occupying an area of 4.1 acres. As no drier was available, sun drying was carried out. Planting was mostly done in May and the first picking was due in August. On further experiments conducted, it was concluded that under Molo conditions, mulching depressed the yields by 75lb per acres in the first six months from planting. Probably, conditions at Molo were too wet and cold for the mulch to be beneficial. On regeneration of plants, trials were designed to test the effects of cutting plants back to ground levels, weeding them and allowing them to generate as compared with uprooting and planting pits. It was found that cutting back to ground level and weeding gets rid of most weeds but does not overcome sorrel (Oxalis sp.) which seeds heavily among old pyrethrum plants.[75]

In 1944, a decision was made by the Ministry of Agriculture to start a pyrethrum trial at pyrethrum station in Molo. A site for the main station was chosen at Molo and general development was carried out for the purposes of pyrethrum experiment. In September 1944, the decision to have the

[73] KNA/NKU/ 18/13b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940-1945, pp. 57-58.
[74] Ibid, p. 58.
[75] KNA/NKU/ 18/13b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940-1945, pp. 59-60.

main station at Molo was cancelled in favour of the fresh site at the government farm in Ol Joro Orok. The experiment plots in Molo were to be carried on as a sub-station. The preliminary work put into the purely experimental side of the Molo station was not lost. However, by the end of 1944, a sub-station was built in Molo to aid the pyrethrum farmers in the area.[76]

Unfortunately, difficulties arose owing to lack of equipment in the Molo sub-station. For example, a calculating machine, ordered from overseas at the end of 1944, had still not arrived by the end of 1945. The picking of the trials at Molo nearly broke down at one time owing to the non-arrival of weighing machines. Due to the war-time conditions, it was not possible to start work on the permanent buildings in the year. Research was therefore carried out in a rather primitive way. Much routine work had to be carried out by the Agricultural officer owing to the difficulty experienced in obtaining trained assistants. There was no chemist around Molo area for the work of interpreting the experimental results in terms of yields of pyrethrum. Trials of fertilisers on pyrethrum on a field scale were also carried out. Two trials were laid down, one at Njoro and another one at Molo. These two trials on new fertilizers included, Rhenania and super rock mixture.[77]

Further assistance was given by the plant breeding station in Njoro. An analysis of the large sample derived from the selections and breeding work was carried out. The subject regarded as unsettled was whether plants derived from splits had less pyrethrin content than the parent plant, was a matter for investigation. Genetically there was no reason whatsoever to suspect the plants derived from splits would have a lower pyrethrin content than the parent. Possibly, because one was dealing with a younger plant, the pyrethrin content may be slightly higher, but for some reason or other the pyrethrum industry made up its mind that, by dividing a plant, the characteristic was altered. Therefore, an experiment was started at the Scott laboratories in which off-shoots were taken from plants with the minimum of damage and propagated in a nursery bed.[78]

By 1950, the pyrethrum market shrunk. All along settlers had a problem of choosing the right variety. Varieties planted in Molo included the Molo bulk variety which consisted of C79, C57, C77, C43 and C51. The Congo variety performed very poorly as it was not suitable for cold areas. The method used to harvest included regular clean stripping of all flowers. At about three week intervals, the flowers were picked except for those with vertical petals. The best method for drying

[76] KNA/AN/52/98, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1944, p. 54.
[77] KNA/NKU/ 18/13b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1940-1945, pp. 95-101.
[78] Ibid, p. 101.

the flowers was sun-drying them on trays that could be stored easily. Wire mesh trays were very expensive, but they outlasted any other form of tray. Further experiments showed that pyrethrum planted at a close spacing gave a markedly better yield in the early stages then pyrethrum planted at a wide spacing. For example, pyrethrum planted at a spacing of 3 feets by 3 feets, gave a yield of only 292lb per acres in the first season, as compared with the yields of 508lb acres from pyrethrum planted at 2 feets by 1 foot. The marketing of pyrethrum was only done through a licensed co-operative society. This was ideal as each grower could sell a few pounds of flowers to the co-operative when they dry. In this way, each grower got his/her money rapidly without a long wait until he had filled his own bag to market.[79]

At the wheat breeding experiments at Molo Sub-station, two strains of wheat showed resistance to leaf rust though their stem rust resistance were marked in 1950. All the pure line material was sown at Molo sub-station and some strains sent to Scott Laboratory. This served as additional testing grounds for stem rusts and yellow rust. Dr. E. Backer carried out these tests which served as a general guide to the quality of new hybrids. Mr. O. Fuggles-Couehman, the agricultural officer in charge again laid down trials with some of the new Kenya hybrids. Samples of wheat were sent to Plant breeding station in Njoro. Experiment was carried out and wheat number 117A gave very satisfactory results throughout the district. Its physical properties were however not entirely satisfactory to the mills, though its baking quality was better than the preliminary test indicated.[80]

Amongst other wheat was the Simpson strain; Simpson's L.3 did not show up well in some cases they seemed to lack the vigour of other varieties. The Kenya/Australian hybrid No. Australian 26A which growers had been advised to plant on a small scale only on account of its possible rust susceptibility showed complete susceptibility and was therefore discarded.[81] Several crosses and a number of imported wheat were grown and yellow rust resistant selection made. The fixed lines from the two crosses No.289 and No.223 which had shown resistance to yellow rust have been thinned out one line only No. 223 F.I.A which is being issued to a high altitude grower for further trials.[82]

Veldt management experiment at Molo continued to conduct experiments comprising the treatment of complete artificial, phosphates only, repeated application of Nitrogen, sheep boma

[79] KNA/AN/48/11, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1950, pp. 2-7.

[80] KNA/AN/48/11, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1950, p. 16.
[81] Ibid, p. 18.
[82] Ibid, pp. 19-20.

plus artificial, sheep boma, manure and control of pests. Veldt management was a programme organised by settlers to come up with ways of improving their animal and crop production. Fertilisers had practically no effect on the unimproved Veldt and managements were only effected by close stock concentrations in the form of night bomas. The application of boma manure had little effect on the constitution of the herbage, and it was only the complete treading out of the red oat grass (pennisetum schimperi) sward by stock, together with the manure that was added that could give a sward of Kikuyu grass. This experiment had also shown that in the first place concentrations of stock had to be extremely heavy, in the neighbourhood of about 500 sheep per acres close folded in a small area over night for a period of about one month. Secondly that in order to make the grass productive, it will be necessary to maintain heavy stock concentrations otherwise there will be a rapid deterioration in the herbage back to the coarse grass stage.[83]

The success obtained in the applying of Cobalt-Nitrate to stock pastured on farms situated within the Nakuru zone was noteworthy. The use of this mineral enabled the stock to thrive on pastures which in the past years were regarded as hopeless. This led to herds of high-grade and pure-bred Freshian cattle.[84] The application of the Cattle Cleansing Ordinance (CCO) to certain portions of the Nakuru district received further attention and after all interested parties had been fully consulted a draft plan, outlining the areas to be declared under this ordinance was submitted to the government.[85]

4.5 Summary

The outbreak if the World War II had created a heavy demand for food to feed the troops both outside and inside East Africa. Some settlers left the farming activities and joined the military services. Settler farms were left in the hands of white settler wives and sons. Due to this, various changes were experienced in the farms such as increase in the production, recruitment of adults as labourers and not children and also increase in number of domestic workers and farm labourers. However, this great progress did not last for long before farms sunk into heavy debts. White settlers were not able to pay their labourers and this resulted in protests. Despite laws prohibiting Africans from farming or owning livestock in the squatter estates, some white settlers were permissive and allowed Africans to own livestock and allocated them small portions of land to farm crops and vegetables for household consumption.

[83] KNA/AN/48/11, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1950, p. 68.
[84] Ibid, pp. 68-70.
[85] KNA/AN/53/30, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1952, p. 80.

Destruction of crops by rainfall was one of the biggest challenges that settlers faced and did not have control over. These tough problems made some settlers such as J. Valentine, Mrs. K. Furse and H. Caldwell withdraw from settler agriculture. Poor roads connecting farms to the railway station was a problem that led to time wastage and delivery of food at the railway station was done when not fresh. Agricultural lands suffered from soil erosion degradation and exhaustion. Soil conservation measures were necessary since produce from farms were decreasing year after year. Planting of ground covering crops, grass and trees were among the measures put in place to conserve the soil.

Plant diseases and pests affected white settler agriculture in Molo. East Coast Fever, Rinderpest and Tick-Borne diseases were some of the livestock diseases that challenged dairy farming in Molo. Foot and Mouth disease (type A and O) were most prevalent in Mariashoni and advice by Africans to white settlers to use plant herbs were in most cases despised. However, the veterinary office in Molo tried its best to keep these diseases under control and to vaccine cattle that were at risk of infection. The AI services in Molo boosted dairy agriculture in Molo. This saw settlers change their breed from Freshian to the jersey. Jersey cows had a higher milk production and resistant to infections compared to the Freshian type. Pyrethrum farming faced the biggest challenge of lack of equipments that were needed to dry the flowers. The relatively short supply of agricultural machinery in the 1940s was soughted out by the DA. Fertiliser trials were carried out on pyrethrum farming in Molo and use of Super Rock Mixture fertiliser in Molo was launched. Theft of farm produce bothered settlers as potatoes were stolen at night and sold to a local dealer in Molo town. The emphasis remained, however, on cereal farming and problems like soil erosion were a constant reminder of destructive farming methods. The situation had not changed significantly during the war, with improved agricultural methods remaining secondary priority of bringing more land under the plough.

CHAPTER FIVE

ORGANISATION OF SETTLER AGRICULTURE IN MOLO, 1952-1963

5.1 Overview

This chapter deals with the organisation of settler agriculture and the effects of African unrest to settler agriculture in Molo. It provided an analysis of the effects of labour shortage on settler farmers in Molo due to the rise of the Mau Mau movement. It also focuses on the emergence of squatter system in Molo. A detailed examination was carried out on the roots causes of the Mau Mau insurgency in Molo and its effects on settler agriculture. In 1952, due to the declaration of the state of emergency, most settlers withdrew from farming in Molo.

5.2 The Mau Mau Insurgency

The year 1952 started peacefully note the majority of the population were indifferent to the oblivious of the subterranean murmuring of the impending eruption. In January 1952, the Rt. Hon A. T Lennox- Boyd, Minister of State for the Colonies, visited Nakuru District, held informal conversations with farmers and public representatives on constitutional progress and local development rather than the problems encountered by the settlers. Behind the outwardly peaceful facade, the insidious tentacles of the Mau Mau society were gradually extending and clutching ever-increasing numbers of the Kikuyu community within its evil embrace, though event manifestation were not apparent. In April 1952, Member for African Affairs toured the district with the objective of promoting better relations between employer and employee and advanced suggestions for the solutions of mutual problems. Africans development, however, received a crushing set-back by the ill-advised delegation of Community Development Officers during the debates on the 1952 budget and this aspect of administrative progress was in eclipse throughout the year.[86]

As a move to control movement of Africans, the forest area was declared as an out of bound area. Police officers from Molo police station manned the area to ensure that no individual or group of people were seen getting into the forest. The forest department raised concern over the illegal migration, as a result, the forest department too hired eleven forest rangers to help guard the forest but unfortunately the number of Africans overwhelmed them. The most noticeable area in this respect was the area adjoining Mr. Beaton's Kytit estate.[87]

[86] Maxon, *East Africa*, pp. 18-35.
[87] F. Linder, *The Leader*, 12th April 1931, pp. 3-4.

The Governor, Sir Henry Moore issued eviction orders against the Africans. The first to be issued with this eviction letter were the Okiek. The government claimed that the chiefs had condoned their return for ten years, and had asked for their help in looking for the Mau Mau, which they had loyally given. Since the Mau Mau threats were decreasing, Africans were now to be evicted, so that Europeans could take over their clearing. The move for the eviction was attributed to *fitina* by the local farmers. The land was scheduled as part of the white highlands. In spite of deterrent sentences, the Mau Mau movement continued to spread. After a visit from his Excellency the Governor Evelyn Baring, a colony-wide state of Emergency was declared in October 1952. Troops and police were drafted in Nakuru District and the majority of prominent Mau Mau suspects arrested under detention orders. For a while there were no repercussions locally, the show of force and the degree of surprise achieved apparently having a stunning effect upon the lesser adherents of the movement.[88]

From 1952, settlers were full of fears and unsure of what would happen due to change of Africans behaviours. T. Knaggs wrote a letter to the District Commissioner requesting him to try and explain to the settlers what they were to anticipate. Knaggs noted, 'we are worried, the Okiek have withdrawn their services from us…' Knaggs relied on the Okiek for security since most of them had been employed as security guards in the farms and at the homesteads. D. Kean-Hammer, in a meeting with other settlers in Molo held at Grassland Research Station in Molo complained about Africans being rude and unruly. Kean-Hammer argued that Africans could be seen especially during the evening in small grouping that comprised of men only and no settler knew the agendas of those meetings. Kean-Hammer had tried to trick one African to tell him about the discussions in the brief African meetings but unfortunately the African man declined.[89] Later in August 1953 rumours were spreading in Molo that Africans were planning to assassinate all the white settlers. The police commander assured all settlers of their security as tension was very high. On 7 September 1953, clothes stained with blood were found close to the Molo river. After detailed investigation, it was reported that some Africans had donated their clothed and stained them with animal (sheep) blood in order to instill fear among the settlers. However, the culprits were not known.[90]

Mr. E. Taylor, who was a renowned farmer, argued that the Kipsigis were no longer regarded productive in the farms. It was rumoured that the Kipsigis workers were 'going slow' and this was

[88] KNA/DC/NKU/24/40b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1952, pp. 74-80.
[89] Ibid, pp. 13-45.
[90] Matthew Kimondo, OI, 20 April 2019

due to the influence by the Mau Mau. Mr. Taylor believed that it would be desirable to regard all these displaced persons as Okiek regardless of their ethnic group. Taylor complained that his labourers were too reluctant to work and left the farms earlier before time.[91] Agricultural returns carried out by the DA showed that by 1954, land under cultivation in Molo had reduced by 35%. Some of the factors that had been attributed to this problem included fear among settler who were not sure about what could happen in the future, go-slow among the labourers, Africans were now cultivating their own crops and keeping their own livestock and hence never bothered to work for extra hours to get extra pay or be paid with foodstuffs. Agricultural production also reduced drastically. The Pyrethrum drier station was operating half a day.[92]

Traditionally oath-taking by Kikuyu men was relatively benign in nature and did not involve any form of violence, they were simply a method by which tribal loyalty was reaffirmed. By the time the Emergency was declared in 1952, the leaders of the Mau Mau movement had incorporated increasingly violent oaths to ensure the loyalty of their followers.[93] The Mau Mau movement in its infancy was under the control of Nairobi militants and populated by the street thugs who had emigrated there in previous years. According to Throup, these desperate group in the native reserves and on the European farms in the Rift Valley accepted violence as their last resort. The Mau Mau were already committing violence.[94]

Rosberg and Nottingham argue that oath-taking in many societies is both a sacred and social event. Most oaths serve similar purposes, but may take on very different outward appearances. In most societies oathing incorporates symbols related to the supreme values of those societies. In oath-taking, the individual binds himself or herself to the organisation and to the larger obligations of the group. During the Mau Mau Emergency, there were differing grades of oaths administered by the Mau Mau to influence and reap desired results from their followers. Those of the lower grade were less violent and those of higher grades involved increasing acts of violence and depravity.[95]

As the colonial government enacted strict measures to keep illegal groups under watch, oath-taking ceremonies intensified among Africans. Oath-taking was mostly carried out in secluded private places. The oath was seen as a symbol of unity. Sources of information dried up more noticeably

[91] KNA/DC/NKU/24/40b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1952, pp. 13-45.
[92] KNA/DC/NKU/24/40b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1952, pp. 13-45.
F. Ken, *The Leader*, 20th April 1952, p. 13-14.
[93] Job Muga, OI, 29 March 2019
[94] Throup, *Economic and Social Origins of Mau Mau*, p. 11.
[95] Rosberg and Nottingham, *The Myth of Mau Mau*, p. 244.

after a tour of Kenya African Union Leader in the district. Mysterious disappearance of witnesses occurred. To deal with the politically perilous situation, the district, was declared a special district and enhanced owners accorded to the administrative officer in charge.[96]

In December 1953, Kirunga Muiruri was arrested at night and accused of administering Mau Mau oath. That was the last time that Kirunga's family saw their family member. Kirunga was never seen again and the police officers in Molo denied ever arresting him. Two days later Githaiga wa Thiga also disappeared. His wife Mary Wacuka said that her husband had been arrested by the police for being a leader of the Mau Mau movement in Molo. Githaiga was later found killed and dumped in a swamp in Turi. This action instilled fear among Africans in Molo.[97]

In January 1954, his Excellency the Governor Evelyn Baring visited Nakuru District to assess local opinion regarding the measures taken to curb the Mau Mau movement. Some of the measures that had been put in place included banning all night meetings, restricting the Mau-Mariashoni forest area from anyone and finally denying Africans a chance to congregate or hold any meeting whether in day time or at night. At the end of the year 1954, the murder of an African informer at Njoro-Molo boarder raised tension in Njoro and Molo. In addition to police and military activities, *barazas* were held in an endeavor to reveal Mau Mau pretensions.[98]

Whilst the energies of government were directed against subversion and civil commotion, local government bodies were active in planning for future development and in consulting the labourers of the past. The year 1954 was characterized by a haze of uncertainty, apprehension and the prospect of a long drawn out and possibly bloody struggle against the hidden evils of the Mau Mau. It was realized that the number of Mau Mau adherents was rapidly increasing either as a result of coercion, the urge for adventure, or the unnatural inclination to be a partisan of the winning side in view of the apparent inadequacy of government strength to combat the movement. The foci of possible incidents were considered to be the environs of Elburgon and parts of Turi where an adequate of ruffinly elements from the adjacent disturbed areas of Laikipia was always possible, Molo and the forest reserves generally. There was a general impression that the forests provided secure harborage for multitudes of agitators, thugs and instigators of violence.[99]

[96] Ibid, p. 244.
[97] Nancy Bosire, OI, 18 March 2019
[98] KNA/PC/RVP/13/14/12, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1954, p. 26-27.
[99] KNA/PC/RVP/13/14/12, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1954, pp. 27-29.

At the end of the year 1954, there were allegations that government was not doing enough and ill-conceived proposals for the relegation of all Kikuyus. Suggestions were put forward that, though settlers were dissatisfied with the progress of government efforts, they could offer no alternative proposals for hastening the conclusion of the crisis that was facing settler agriculture. Again, it was apparent that the advocates of drastic action against the Kikuyu people as a whole did not realise fully the legacy of hatred that the adoption of their schemes was inevitably endangered. Much of this was attributed to a feeling of insecurity deriving from the succession of outrages reported from neighboring districts.[100]

Among the Africans the general reaction was one of bewilderment at the unexpected steps taken by the government. Some Kikuyu were not happy with Mau Mau and its obscenities and government action was welcomed in that it removed them from a position of uncertainty.[101] From all parts of the entire Nakuru District there were demands, originating from the Africans themselves, for cleansing oaths but unfortunately the satisfaction of these was slow owing to the scarcity of oath administrators of the required potency. Raids on the forest areas tended to expose the fallacy that these were the main strongholds of the Mau Mau movements.[102]

As a result of perceived unfair land practices, Africans resulted to being squatters. The massive movement of native Kikuyu moving off the reserves and to settler farms for work played to the advantage of the British settlers. The white settler could demand longer workdays, changes in territory practices, reductions in the amount of livestock a household could own, and restrictions on the food crop a household could produce.[103] J. Waldron went to an extent of selling the native livestock if it exceeded the required number. Children as young as 10 years were forced to work on the maize plantations. Women who worked as domestic workers were sexually abused and for those who got pregnant, they were immediately sacked.[104] Ndege Thuita, whose mother was an African and his father a white settler grew up in Ol Kalau after his mother got pregnant and was sent away by her master. 'My mother was a cook and also performed other house chores like laundry. After she was sexually abused, she got pregnant and her master sent her away and even threatened to kill her. She had to flee to her uncle's place in Ol Kalau for safety.'[105]

[100] Ibid, p. 29.
[101] KNA/PC/RVP/13/14/12, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1954, pp. 32-45.
[102] Joash Ronoh, OI, 18 March 2019
[103] D. Throup, *Economic and Social Origins of Mau Mau*, p. 8.
[104] Onemus Kirebi, OI, 13 March 2019
[105] Ndege Thuita, OI, 23 April 2019

In the year 1955, the planting season started on time and Africans were working under very close supervision in the farms. F. Simmons noted that Africans who were difficult to the settler had been tortured in the police cells, some left paralyzed or nursing serious wounds. This forced Africans resume to working all day as previously. No more *barazas* were witnessed from January to May, 1955.[106] On 4 July 1955, at exactly midnight, screams were heard at the Mariashoni Mau forest border. The police had arrested a group of seventeen Africans holding a meeting at night. Two Africans had tried to flee but were shot dead. The other fifteen Africans were taken to court the following morning. Due to this event, white settlers in Molo held another meeting demanding to be equipped with firearms since Africans could no longer be trusted. Since this suggestion seemed impossible they resulted to buying Machetes, pangas and clubs (*rungus*) and hiring private guards.[107]

5.3 Squatting in Molo

Olenguruone was located above the white highlands of Molo. This was to help stem the widespread movement of Kikuyu and prevent some of the problems alluded to the white settlers. Most of the occupants, who had been or were squatters, were belligerent, having been forced out of their land. When the British government tried to enforce the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance on the population living in Olenguruone, the residents resisted to a point where it became necessary to expel them in 1950. The crisis became an ongoing problem for Kenya and many of the individuals would became Mau Mau insurgents. This particular settlement would become the foundation for political dissent, particularly among Kikuyu in Nakuru District and the Rift Valley at large.[108]

Soil erosion had become a problem in many African reserves in the District. Consequently, the colonial government had to take action. The erosion was as a result of the growing population, over cultivation and overgrazing in the reserves. The colonial government stepped in to prevent further soil destruction arguing that through ignorance, incompetence and greed, African peasant had 'mined' the land and destroyed it. The African Land Development Committee set up in 1945 published its report in 1946 and adopted a ten year plan from 1946-1955.[109] The programme aimed at reconditioning of the African lands to restore fertility and increase production and avoid a recurrence of the food shortage that had been experienced during the war. It also aimed at encouraging Africans to produce not only to meet their subsistence needs but also service the

[106] KNA/DC/NKU/25/3b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1955, pp. 13-45.
[107] Naomi Wanjiku, OI, 15 March 2019
[108] Throup, *Economic and Social Origins of Mau Mau,* p, 4.
[109] F. Mackenzi, 'Land and Territory: The Interface between two systems of Land Tenure; Muranga District,' *Africa* Vol 59 (1). Kenya. p. 229.

newly created low-technology industry, which could help Britain in the reconstruction efforts back at home.[110] Ground covering crops like the sweet potatoes, which controlled soil erosion, were regarded unprofitable and therefore discarded. This led to massive soil erosion, which forced the colonial masters to introduce soil conservation methods through the African Land Development Programme (ALDEV) of 1946.[111] The Governor, Philip Mitchell, identified soil conservation, land consolidation, development of cash crops, and introduction of dairy grade cattle and irrigation projects as the major needs in the degraded areas.[112] Bench terracing was taken as the major way of reducing soil erosion in these areas. This reconditioning in order to control soil erosion, mainly involved terracing and construction of live wash stops, digging drainage channels and dam construction. The land owners were expected to dig terraces on both cultivated and uncultivated land.[113] The effects of terracing were severely felt by persons who had small land, as most of it was lost in the course of terracing. The ALDEV programme encouraged the planting of napier grass. The ALDEV programme was enhanced by the Native Land Trust improvement of Framing Rules which gave the chiefs powers to forbid individuals from cutting down or destroying trees, bush or other vegetation. This rule also forbid Africans from cultivating the land or vegetation within ten yards of riverbanks, settling fire to live grass, bush, undergrowth forest and clearing weeds or crop produce.[114]

Post WW II era saw a retreat of colonial powers who had large war debts to pay. Many Kikuyu involved in the Mau Mau revolt felt the primary goal of the insurgency was to recover land stolen by white settlers. In most cases political, religious and educational reforms were focused towards de-legitimizing the Mau Mau revolt. In most cases, however widespread detention, communal punishment, confessions and mass identification programs were implemented all of removed significant support from the revolt.[115]

One of the primary roots of the Mau Mau movement was the squatter system and land ownership. One of the problems the White settlers faced was that of inadequate agricultural labour in the white highlands. The squatters' system that was in place in much of the white highlands during the 1950s closely mirrored the sharecropper concept the United States had implemented following the civil

[110] Lipscomb and Cone, *The History of Kenya Agriculture*, p.93.
[111] Mackenzi, Land and Territory, p. 229.
[112] Lipscomb and Cone, *The History of Kenya Agriculture*, p. 93.
[113] KNA/AN/4/448, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1940. p. 47.
[114] KNA/AN/4/382, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1948, p. 30.
[115] S. Bogonko, *Kenya 1945-1963, A Study in African National Movement* (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980), p. 4.

war in the southern states.[116] A farmer and his family would be allowed to live on a white settlers' farm, usually in a separated area, and permitted to raise crops and graze a limited number of livestock in exchange for work performed for the settler.[117] The Kikuyu who comprised the bulk of resident labourers in the District invariably cultivated large area as they could get away with irrespective of the maximum average that they had agree to.[118]

Perhaps one of the most important issues raised and fought for by the Mau Mau insurgents was land reform.[119] Ever since the establishment of the East Africa Protectorate, there existed a need for manual labour to cultivate and harvest the white settlers' farm. The primary source was native labour in the form of squatters. Squatters were allowed to live on the farm or near it and reap some benefit from the land in exchange for the manual labour.[120] Despite this, most relations between white settlers and squatters was peaceful, and the squatters were able to maintain a viable livelihood on their portion of land.[121] Eventually, however, the colonial government began placing increasingly tighter and tighter restrictions on how much land a squatter family could be allowed to cultivate and number of livestock they were allowed to keep. These restrictions did not lead to corresponding increases in wages for agricultural work done and discontent grew.[122]

Mr. P.E.D Wilson was senior labour officer from 1 January to 30 June and Mr. G Mackay from 10 August to 20 December 1951. The labour officer, Nakuru was Col. Clarke from 15 November to the end of 1951 and the senior labour officer Mr. Mackay caused considerable unnecessary trouble by ordering the eviction of five squatters from the farm of Major Glancy in Turi. There was no question in any of these cases of the squatters concerned having breached the squatter contracts and the labour commissioner refused to accept responsibility for the illegal action of this officer who for reinstatement of major Glancy's squatters was under consideration at the end of the year but had not been finally determined.[123] The labour officer reported that in regard to counter-acting the effects of subversive activity on the relation between employer and employees, it was felt that generally the detrimental effects of this political activity had lessened towards the

[116] Leakey, *Defeating Mau Mau*, p. 139.
[117] Luke Duncan, OI, 21 February 2019
[118] Kanogo, *Squatters*, p. 8.
[119] Bett Kipngeno, OI, 7 April 2019
[120] Kanogo, Squatters, p. 9.
[121] Bett Kipngeno, OI, 7 April 2019
[122] Leakey, *Defeating Mau Mau*, p.139.
[123] KNA/DC/NKU/19/10, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1951, pp. 13-18.

end of the year but this did not indicate that membership of the Mau Mau had decreased but rather that its members were conducting their affairs with greater caution.[124]

The colonial government directed the DA to make a comprehensive plan for the development of African reserves in consideration of land tenure changes. The plan was conceived by the assistant director of agriculture, Roger Swynnerton, who had previously been instrumental in encouraging peasant agriculture in Tanganyika. Swynnerton prepared a plan which would achieve a basic economic reorientation in the African land units and which would solve some of the issues that were affecting agriculture. The proposal provided a firm foundation for the Native and Tenure rules and Ordinance No 27 and 28 of 1953. The Swynnerton plan, 'a plan to intensify the development of African Agricultural Policy in Kenya,' published in 1954 gave comprehensive change of African agriculture from what the government termed a 'circle of subsistence or near subsistence agriculture.'[125] A plan on how the agricultural sector was to progress was drafted. The Swynnerton plan recommended a reversal to individual tenure of land in agricultural areas. It also recommended the production of cash crops by the land owners, which were hitherto preserved for white farmers. The plan assumed twenty years would be needed to implement it.[126] The comprehensive five year plan for African Land Development which was submitted by R. Swynnerton combined the need to find schemes and to provide employment for African repatriates both in reserves and on development projects with the main objective of raising the agricultural productivity and the human and stock carrying capacity of the land.

There was call for immediate and drastic attention to African land in 1954. The constant subdivision of family plots by ridges or gullies invited drastic soil leaching. With less land available due to population pressure, the soil was further robbed of its nutrients by constant use with no fallow or reconstitute resting period. Swynnerton Plan regarded it essential to give African farm children agricultural education to give them a progressive outlook on farming.[127]

In August and September of 1957, there was a spate of stock theft from European farmers adjoining the south west Mau forest. Mr. Ryan lost his 3 sheep and Mr. Whittal lost 1 sheep.[128] Livestock would be branded (African) and counted. As a result, there were, 3,459 heads of cattle owned by

[124] Ibid, p. 23.
[125] W. Achila. Kenya Today Newspaper, 5 December 1959, pp. 22-24.
[126] R. Swynnerton, *A Plan to Intensify the Development of African Agriculture in Kenya, Nairobi: Government Printers,* 1954, p 23.
[127] W. Achila. Kenya Today Newspaper, 5 December 1959, pp. 22-24.
[128] James Njoka, OI, 23 April 2019

white settlers, 1,205 calves under 6 months, 42 oxen and 2 stud Sahiwal bulls. It was clear that most of the settler purchased stock up to their limit. The excess cattle were to be slaughtered at the rate of one every two days so that the supply would be exhausted by June 1958, when the next stock census was to held.[129]

Forty-two oxen were bought in addition to the cattle held by the settlers in 1958. The stud bulls were purchased from the veterinary department in Ngong and were owned by two group of settlers. Two livestock officers and a team of veterinary scouts injected and branded 2,450 cattle against rinderpest. A vaccine was used and the cattle were branded on the right check with the letter. A food shortage was anticipated and the settlers were strongly encouraged to plant potatoes and vegetables for consumption in January and February before the maize crop was harvested.[130]

Mrs. Furse was having trouble with the squatters who lived next to her farm. This made the district officer, Olenguruone, A. Gillespie to hold a *barazas* between Mrs. Furse and the squatters. They were all given an opportunity to explain their entry into Olenguruone. However, this did not turn well for the squatters as they were pushed towards Singon River.[131] Squatting on alienated land was an attractive alternative and Africans ignored warning from colonial government over the scarcity of private property under the European system of land tenure. The white settlers had large acreages of land which were not utilised.[132] Squatters were considered as a cheap, resident labour force and their presence was ignored by the white farmers. The European farms continued to attract squatters in search of pasture and land for cultivation. The settlers, dependent upon them for seasonal labour and sometimes also taking African livestock and produce in compensation of land rent, were unable to exert control.[133]

In 1959, the year was characterized by a steady emergency from conditions whereby agricultural prices were low, having dropped due to over-production and marketing difficulties. Most crops improved to a greater or lesser extent, pyrethrum in particular having reversed from over production, quotas and fines to the conditions where by the industry cannot supply the demand created by the reorganized efficient marketing organisation.[134]

[129] KNA/DC/NKU/25/101, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1957, pp. 40-41.
[130] KNA/PC/RVP/13/14/19a, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1958, pp. 61-77.
[131] Jackson Biwott, OI, 13 February 2019
[132] Enock Oduka, 18 March 2019
[133] KNA/DC/NKU/25/11, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1954, pp. 23-27.
[134] KNA/PC/RVP/13/14/23, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1959, p. 13.

Farmers continued to develop their farms at a high rate compared to the agricultural industries of other countries, a fact which tends to be obscure to those who live with this expansion in Kenya. Farmers of all races farming all sizes of farms and with all shades of political opinion continued to invest capital in agriculture (both their own and government and to develop their land at a continually increasing rate). In 1959, there was no great expansion of production due to the still uncertain state of the market. Dutch Robjyn was still the most widely grown potato variety and commands a price premium per bag on the Nairobi market. C.53 (Rosslin Eburru) is also showing promise.[135]

5.4 Labour Shortage Due to African Unrest after the Declaration of the State of Emergency

In 1952, Molo and Njoro suffered labour shortage due to African unrest. Settlers complained that they were unable to get adequate labour as they required since most Africans were no longer interested in working in the settler farms. These claims were expressed at the local labour force meeting in Molo since active measures had been taken in other parts Nakuru District like Subukia to solve this problem yet nothing had taken place in Molo. The biggest concern of the colonial government was reservation of the white farms, provision of labour and neglected the interest of farming success. This agitation on the part of the farming community was dictated probably more by anxiety as to what might happen in the future than by what had already occurred. Complaints were reported to Molo police station regarding the growing indiscipline amongst Africans, who were disposed to do as little as possible, to leave their work without rhyme or reason and to resent instructions.[136]

Nakuru District Councils (NDC) had difficulties in carrying out the maintenance and development programmes while farmers found it difficult to complete the planting order laid down for them. The supply of conscript labour was uneven throughout the year and the quota had always been behind making the allocations by production committee extremely difficult. In 1953 labour was fairly supplied and 'fear of sack' took place of penal sanctions against the labourers, the employer continued to take advantage of his employee, being completely dependent on him. [137] At times the *mzungu* could sack his labourers without any valid reason such as like the breach of contract. The remaining employees were overworked as they had to start their work very early in the morning and work till late in the night. Farm managers were also empowered to sack and employ.[138] D.

[135] KNA/AN/57/15, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1959, p. 2.
[136] KNA/DC/NKU/24/40b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1952, p. 56.
[137] KNA/AN/54/16, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1953, pp. 63-65.
[138] Timothy Makori, OI, 29 March 2019

Pendle, who was mostly referred to as '*Pendo*' by the Africans was among the best ranchers in Molo since his milk production was very high. A drop in the milk production of a single cow would result in immediate sack, and the employee would pay for the loss.[139]

In 1954, labourers continued to demand better working condition. This was mostly enhanced by increase in political activity among Africans in the District majority of whom were Kikuyu. Settlers in Molo township and Turi encountered one of the most difficult times. African workers were protesting demanding for better pay and better working conditions. R. Welton had 46 tractors and four got burnt during the protest. Pyrethrum harvest at G. Dowson farm was due for harvest. Unfortunately, he had no labourers to do the work. He suffered an immense loss which he considered as one of the worst in his pyrethrum farming. Dowson complained that the Kikuyu incited the Okiek and Kipsigis to join them in the protest. On a report he made at Molo police station, Dowson requested that settlers should be provided with ammunition to take care of the situation if anything was to arise.[140] Intervention by the colonial state on settlers' behalf was decisive, with differing views over policy implementation not detracting from the active collaboration between colonial official and European representatives.[141]

In 1955, there was no labour shortage in settler farms in Molo except a slight shortage of skilled labour and the better class domestic servant. The skilled labourers included farm equipment mechanics. Their masters paid for their training which was conducted yearly at the Nakuru show ground. This work was well paying as compared to farm labourers.[142] In Kewamoi, Komogeno and Cheptet areas farmers complained of shortage of labour but appeared reluctant to improve conditions to and them more attractive. It was said that because of the Mau-Molo Settlers Association agreement, no increase in starting wages could be implemented and it was also felt that in any case such increases would not be an incentive to the Africans to increase their outputs. However, instances could be given of places on some of the better managed farms where the reason was behind incentives.[143]

The minimum wage rates applicable to Nakuru District in 1955 were 28/= for monthly contracts and 32/= for ticket contracts. On the 1 March these figures were increased to sh36/50 and 43/= respectively and again on the 1 October they were increased to 42/50 and 49/50 respectively. The

[139] Martin Tui, OI, 15 March 2019
[140] Mary Wanjiru, OI, 3 March 2019
[141] Leakey, *Defeating Mau Mau*, p. 70.
[142] Muriithi Ndungu, OI, 10 March 2019
[143] Leopold Maurice, OI, 7 April 2019

Mau- Molo Settlers' association had maximum wage starting rate agreements for their areas. The average wage for unskilled labour on monthly contract was 15/= plus a ratio of 1.5 lbs of posho per day and usually some skimmed milk. For squatter labour the average wage was 12/= without rations. However, there were a few cases in which farmers gave their workers proper balanced rations, including meat and vegetables.[144]

Unrest had been building in Molo long before the 1950s due to Britain's perceived lack of interest in the well-being of the native populations. In 1956, the British government was aware that there was great unrest among the Kikuyu population in Kenya. The colonial government years after the declaration of the state of emergency, implemented several programs to return the colony to a state of normalcy, including widespread detention, compulsory registration of Kikuyu, livestock seizures and taxes for the additional cost of the insurgency.[145]

In May 1958, there was labour unrest in Rift Valley Province (RVP). The general impression of the employees was not withstanding the precise date of independence and changes in matters of land and farming in the white highlands, particularly in RVP. Africans considered that within a short period of time farms in RVP would be sub-divided into small holdings which will be handed over to the Africans. However, senior labour officer in RVP, G. Luckhurst dismissed this as an issue that held no facts in it.[146]

Consequently, a number of employees when discharged particularly the Kikuyu, refused to leave the farms and action had to be taken to remove them either as illegal residents or trespassers.[147] By the end of May 1960, Lord Wedgwood wrote a letter to the District Commissioner Nakuru and suggested that settlers in Molo should hold series of farm *barazas* in Molo area to address the security issues. The District Commissioner agreed. In the letter Lord Wedgwood termed Kikuyu as arrogant, disrespectful and annoying. The first *baraza* meeting was held on Mr. Henley's farm on 1 June at 3:00pm. Africans were also involved in this farm *barazas*. During the *baraza*, the Kikuyu complained that they wanted the subdivision of land that belonged to them and was currently in the hands of white men. Lord Wedgwood got hold of one native and threatened to kill him. As a result, some white settlers feared for their lives and abandoned settler agriculture in

[144] KNA/DC/NKU/25/3b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1955, pp. 69-74.
[145] D. Throup, *Economic and Social Origins of the Mau Mau* (London: James Currey Limited, 1990), p. 111.
[146] KNA/DC/NKU/26/18, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1958, pp. 19-21.
[147] Justus Njenga, OI, 13 March 2019

Molo. Some like Wedgwood, Everand, Page and Cope went ahead and acquired guns illegally in order to protect themselves against Africans who threatened to be violent.[148]

On 13 July 1960, the District Commissioner wrote a letter to the district officer Molo, Njoro and East Division. The letter directed that a farm employee who was summarily dismissed for breach of his contract was not, in law entitled to any redress in respect of crops cultivated by him with the permission of his employer. This was to apply both to resident labourers and to employees who were not attested resident labourers. The legal position was therefore that an ex-employee would have no claim, in respect of crops, which could be sustained law. However, even if it appeared to be politics it was practical, arrangements of the sort were suggested by the provincial commissioner.[149]

By 17 July 1960, once the employee was discharged, he was not entitled to remain on the farm. At the time of discharge, if the employees refused to accept, was effected by posting a copy of the relevant documents to the labour commissioner and by the employer retaining one copy. The employer informed the employee that he/she had been discharged and must leave the farm by a certain date. If the employer did not leave the farm by the expiry of the time limit, the employer sent a written complaint to any magistrate giving the name of the person who was still on the farm despite having been discharge and asked for action under the Resident Labourers Ordinance.[150] On receipt of the complaint, a magistrate went to the farm, briefly heard both sides of the story and issued an order under Sec 5 (7) of the ordinance, having quite easily satisfied himself that the breach of the peace occurred the discharged employee remained on the farm, allowing the employer the employee up to two days to evict himself and his family and warning him that he was to be forcibly evicted by the police if he failed to obey the order.[151]

By 1962, child labour had drastically reduced. Africans were taking their children to schools instead of working in the farms. Africans were against their children working in the farms and insisted their children has to attend school just like the white settlers children.[152] One behaviour that astonished the white settler was that contrary to the past, Africans could carry food stuffs from the granaries and the fresh food produce from the farm even without their masters' permission.

[148] KNA/DC/NKU/28/4, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1960, p. 28.
[149] Kenya National Archives Government Monographs, Reports and Research Works: Confidential Report, 1960, pp. 41-55.
[150] KNA/DC/NKU/28/4, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1960, p. 66.
[151] KNA/DC/NKU/28/4, Nakuru District Annual Report,1960, p. 68
[152] KNA/AN/60/4, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1962, p. 23.

Due to the events of threats that had been unfolding between the white settlers and the Africans. Most white settlers had fears of warning or even disciplining the labourers. Farms that required labourers had also reduced since most settlers had resulted in withdrawing from agriculture. By the end of 1962, agriculture in Molo was practiced by few white settler who mostly farmed for consumption and not for commercial purposes.[153] By February 1963, hundreds of acres in Molo remained with traces of settler agriculture such as machinery, cattle dips, huge granaries and settler houses but little or no activities were taking place.[154]

5.5 The withdrawal of White Settler Farmers after the Declaration of the State of Emergency in 1952

The state of Emergency was declared by Sir Evelyn Baring on the evening of 20 October 1952. The overall picture of the year's activity in Molo by the end of 1952 was rebellion by the Kikuyu. At the beginning of 1953, violent crimes rose rapidly in Elburgon and Molo township. This greatly affected settler agriculture as they did not have enough labourers. Some crops such as beans that needed to be harvested in February, were spoilt by the short rains in the month. Cattle and sheep sometimes remained unfed the whole day and milk production reduced drastically. As the year progressed and incidents increased, there occurred the exodus of Kikuyu back to the reserves.[155] There was partly pressure from employers and government, but rather more orders from the Mau Mau hierarchy wishing to influence the Royal Commission and embarrass government.[156]

The year 1952 was generally a dry and disappointing year with rainfall in most areas below the average even though scattered showers persisted in month of November. The year experienced outbreak of Green Fly in Jourbets farm area in Molo. This menace coupled with the year's drought reduced the wheat and barley harvest considerably. The number of quella birds did still further damage to wheat. Wheat farming was also affected by rust too. Dry climate conditions resulted in rapid deterioration of grazing conditions towards the end of the year. To add to this shortage, many farmers were not able to produce fodder crops. Considerable expansion of land under cultivation in Molo area led to an overall increase of nearly 6,000 acress under wheat compared with the acreage planted up in 1951. At the same time there was some increased incidences of rust and other wheat diseases particularly in the higher areas where wheat monoculture was still practiced

[153] Duncan Luke, OI, 21 February 2019
[154] KNA/AN/61/13, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1963, p. 4.
[155] KNA/PC/RVP/8/11/17, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1952, p. 17.
[156] Rosberg and Nottingham, *The Myth of Mau Mau*, p. 244.

to a large extent. Powys Cobb let his land, except 8,000 acress that was under wheat cultivation. Wheat harvest was so good that it was difficult to persuade farmers to go in for mixed farming.[157]

At the end of the year 1953, there was another resistance from the African labourers. African labourers who had, in many cases, resided for years on the same farm, often left the farm following crimes on non-compliance with regulation. The settler farmers were therefore faced with heavy financial loses and hasty attempts to recruit other willing labourers was often panicky and unsatisfactory. After incitement to get a better pay and better working conditions, the situation improved steadily during the period and farmers later had all the labour they required. Most of the African labourers who were replaced were the Kikuyu. There was a substantial amount of labour recruitment from the Nyanza groups and the Akamba. African labourers flocked the farms in response to the previously unheard of high rates of pay being offered. Rainfall by the end of 1953 was extremely low. Molo recorded an average of 7-8 bags of wheat harvest per acres. The potato crop at Elburgon was more than that originally expected.[158]

In February 1954, R. Cole announced during a settlers' meeting that he was selling his sheep. This was a farming activity which Cole had carried out for close to forty years. Cole had decided to quit farming since obtaining labourers and shearing his sheep was proving difficult. Most of Cole's sheep had developed lameness due to foot rot caused by a bacterial infection in the hooves which in most cases caused pain, lesions and abscesses. Unfortunately, no white settler in Molo was interested in buying the sheep. The livestock officer in charge of Molo, I. Bennister, assessed the condition of the sheep and found out that most of them had lost weight and had various infection. Cole blamed his labourers for the loss that he was just about to incur. After two weeks more than five hundred sheep had died. Cole abandoned farming and later moved to the Abardare region to start experiments on plant species, especially trees.[159]

By the mid-1954, most of the settler attention was directed towards the fight against Mau Mau.[160] Any single meeting by Africans instilled fear among the white settlers. Some white settlers, for instance H. Harvey of Turi and J. Rind of Molo, had reported threats from their African labourers. In a statement recorded at the Molo police station, Rind had reported that five of his male labourers had threated to cut off his head. Harvey too reported that D. P. Musgrave labourers had told him

[157] KNA/PC/RVP/8/11/17, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1952, pp. 11-15.
[158] KNA/DC/NKU/25/11, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1954, pp. 36-37.
[159] KNA/DC/NKU/25/11, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1954, pp. 32-33.
[160] Ibid, p. 37.

what awaited white settler in Molo was yet to unfold.[161] In September 1954, white settlers in Molo held a meeting at Turi School. They complained about the reluctance mood of the police officer to take action against Africans who were threatening them in broad day light and without fear. In conclusion all settlers agreed to remain united and support each other since just few of them were in possession of guns. The white settlers too wanted the colonial government to investigate what they termed as a 'group of vampires' who were drinking blood in the name of an oath. The police officers in Molo police station promised to help protect the settlers, their families and property.[162]

By the end of the year 1954, there was a gradual decline in Mau Mau activities as more Kikuyu came to the conclusion that they could not win the war. Africans were killed and dumped by the road side and a number of Africans too went unaccounted for. Mysterious disappearance of 'group leaders' was one of the causes of the gradual decline of this activities in 1954. According to the review of Terrorist Efforts in 1954 stated that 'at the beginning of the year 1954, it was possible to identify and locate terrorist gangs in Molo for the first time since the start of the emergency.' The presence of Mau Mau activity in the form of oathing ceremonies, collection of food, money, clothing and other necessities was always evident in Mau-Mariashoni forest border but very little aggressive action was being taken by the terrorists. Around April 1954 it was possible to see a change in the situation. Terrorist gangs had begun to raid the farms for food. The support they had enjoyed from the Africans appeared to be on the wane, either because the supporting Africans were tired of being in the run always or because of slow realization that Mau Mau were the losing side. Most important for our purposes, more and more Africans were coming in with information about terrorists where about, strengths and identity.[163]

On 30 July 1955, there was an attack at Mr. Waudby's farm. Maize and beans in the store were stolen. Two sheep too were stolen. However, the home guard were able to arrest five thieves and recover a pistol and 7 rounds of ammunition. These thieves came to steal food from the granary. Waudby was given informed about the ongoing theft by his home guards. Waudby, however, fired 2 shots wounding one home guard in the legs. Steps were taken to protect lives and property on farms consisted of 'villagisation' that is the concentration of the labourers' huts into a suitable place close the protection and supervision by the farmer and working out a defence and alarm scheme. By the end of December 1955, during the eve of Christmas, the homestead of D. Barker was attacked and burnt down. The perpetrators of this crime dispersed and could not be found and

[161] Titus Onditi, OI, 29 March 2019
[162] Fredrick Kiplimo, OI, 20 April 2019
[163] KNA/DC/NKU/25/11, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1954, p. 39.

no information regarding them was forthcoming. It was decided to remove all Kikuyus within five miles of Barker's house. This was done and some five thousand Kikuyu were repatriated and moved close to the Mariashoni forest.[164]

Adequate labour was in short supply in the year 1954 due to the withdrawal of large members of Kikuyu from the farms. The white settler farmers found that members of other ethnic groups were poor substitutes for the Kikuyu. The Kipsigis for example worked for few hours a day and preferred planting or harvesting and disliked weeding or working as night guards.[165] The Kikuyu were hard working in the farms and not choosy, they did whatever they were shown by the farm supervisors. The Okiek preferred to be farm guards. The Kisii on the other hand preferred house chores as opposed to farm duties. Moreover, they did not endure working for long hours and took frequent breaks.[166]

By the beginning of 1955, there was the established of King Detention Camps at Makutano and Molo to receive the mass number of Kikuyu, who had been detained on account of their complicity in Mau Mau affairs. A similar transit camp was set in Nakuru to receive such men and their families to be later repatriated to the reserves. Molo area was put in charge of Col. Hartland Nahon. The Commissioner for Community Development, Hartland Nahon recruited screening teams for the detention camp and screening of the inmates began supervised by the district officer in charge of screening in Molo.[167]

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 56 of the Agricultural Ordinance of 1955 (No. 8 of 1955), and the land preservation (scheduled areas) rules, the director of agriculture made the following orders. First, all cultivation of the slopes of Rongai and Molo river and right up to the water edge was to cease immediately, planting of trees on cleared land was to commence at once. Secondly, there was to be no cultivation in the future in the drainage lines. The minimum width which was to be left far from the drainage was 75 feet on both sides. The planting of permanent grass was to start immediately on those cultivated drainage lines. Third, the cultivation above the Elburgon –Njoro road as demarcated and shown on the attached plan ceased forthwith and the whole area was planted with grass or tress. Fourth, the property was inspected by this ministry once a month without notifying the respective settler. Settlers who had doubt regarding the

[164] Faith Muthui, OI, 3 April 2019
[165] KNA/DC/NKU/25/11, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1954, p. 32.
[166] Vincent Aiyebei, OI, 23 October 2019
[167] KNA/DC/NKU/25/3b, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1955, pp. 19-21.

provisions of this order, the situation of land referred were to consult the District Agricultural Officer, Nakuru or the chairman Turi-Elburgon agricultural sub- committee.[168]

The beginning of the year 1956 was marked by a number of new Europeans settlers from Uasin Gishu who sought several homes in the Michorwe and Kibleso areas in Molo. The advent of the white settlers was a mixed blessing as unaccustomed to East Africans conditions they tended to pay high wages scales for indifferent labour but were in the process of adjusting themselves to local conditions and was double prove an asset in the future, especially as many of them were residential settlers rather than farmers. However, one outstanding feature of this wave of new settlers in the area was that none had interest in agriculture. Their farms remained uncultivated and Africans grazed their animals in those fields.[169]

Under section 13(3) of the Agricultural Ordinance of 1955, employers were required to provide information to the District Commissioner which was considered necessary for the maintenance of the district tax record. Under section 13(5)(b) any person who failed to provide such information could be guilty of an offence. Nakuru settler farmers co-operated well in filling form AIM.61, which contained the details considered necessary for the maintenance of tax records. In Molo Division a large portion of farmers were failing to return these forms and some had no intention of filling them. As a result, the District officer, Molo wrote another letter. As far as possible the District Officer was trying to overcome farmers' objection by personal visits, but as there were 180 farmers in the Molo division and well over half of them had not yet returned the forms, it was not possible to do this in every case. However, white settlers who were determined not to fill in the form were threatened with prosecution. A letter written by the District Officer Molo to the District Commissioner read,

> Before this is done I should like to be quite certain that I have done all that is required under the ordinance as I cannot entertain the possibility of any prosecution failing. Could you please advise me if the letters already sent out would be sufficient basis for a prosecution or not? In the original letter employers were asked to return the forms as soon as possible. Am wondering whether it may be necessary to send another letter to those farmers who have not returned the forms saying they must be returned before a certain date before considering prosecution.[170]

[168] Ibid, pp. 13-17.
[169] KNA/DC/NKU/23/16, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1956, p.7.
[170] Galbraith, *Mackinnon and East Africa,* pp. 227-239.

By March 1956, only half of the total land which had been cultivated before in Molo had been cultivated. Settlers such as S. Everand, H. Millington, D. Griffiths, J. Duder and G Selle did not engage in any agricultural activity. The only labourers they required were the domestic workers. A letter written by Everand, Griffith, Millington, Duder and Selle to the governor Everlyn Barling, the five settlers complained about minimal government support, to market for their produce, poor quality services at the farms by the labourers, threats by Africans and empty promised by the Molo police station officers in times of troubles. The land which they cultivated was used by Africans to graze animals and a section used by youths as a sporting field.[171]

In mid-May 1958, white settlers in Molo woke up with a lot of fear of leaflets that had been drooped on the roads, and clearly stated in Kikuyu language that, '(translated) we are children of Gikuyu and Mumbi, our forefathers gave us this land.' These leaflets aroused a lot of fear among the white settlers. In the afternoon of the same day (around mid-May 1958), Samwel Mbugua noted that women and children were seen at the Molo Railway Station boarding the train heading to Nairobi. For the first time Africans felt they were winning the war against white settlement in Molo. This brought some relief as Africans felt that they could now have their land back.[172]

Sheep numbers in Nakuru District rose from 109,200 in 1958 to 156,300 in 1960 although the latest census figures were not available. Prices of sheep for breeding remained at a high level. Young ewes fetching in excess of five pounds per head. Blue tongue had been fairly wide spread but internal parasites were the biggest disease factor in sheep production.[173] The demand for development loans for cattle, sheep fencing and water supplies continued unabated and the rate of development with finance from this source was dictated only by the amount of loan money available. The demand for farm planning and advisory work and the success of both is shown by the increased production on better balanced farming within the district.[174]

Few acres of land were cultivated by settlers. One noted change in the farms was lack or very minimal supervision from the white settlers. Labourers were given instruction of what to do in the farms. Roll calls in the farms were no longer taken. African labourers no longer had to wait for their pay at the end of the month but received their pay daily. Whipping and flogging stopped.[175] In 1959, August, at the middle of the night, African were heard chanting songs as they moved

[171] KNA/DC/NKU/23/16, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1956, pp. 2-3.
[172] Samwel Mbugua, OI, 13 March 2019
[173] KNA/AN/56/104, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1958, p. 12.
[174] KNA/PC/RVP/13/14/19a, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1958, pp. 61-77.
[175] KNA/DC/NKU/26/18, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1958, p. 64.

around the settlers' farms. The police officers from Molo police station responded on time and shot four people dead. The angry Africans who had earlier been dispersed later converged at Simba swamps and out of fury they burned down J. Henderson house. White settlers in Molo were experiencing very hard times since their settlement in the area. This saw most of them quit farming and livestock production. Some settlers like H. Douglas, J. Barnett and H. Harvey relocated to Kiambu.[176]

The phenomenal rise in sheep numbers in Molo continued, contributing 45-50% of the total sheep sold from Nakuru District by 1960. The population of wool sheep rose to 26,000 in 1960. Prices continued to be high for lamb and mutton and it would seem that such a high level would do well to adjust their present production costs to face the day when the surplus would have to be sold outside the country in direct competition with New Zealand and Australia which were the source of the Molo sheep breed.[177] In 1960, progress in animal husbandry, ley grass and cash crop was established. The increase in grade stock and wool sheep, particularly Guernsey and corriedales, is very satisfactory and management standards are by no means low.[178]

The year 1959-1960, the cattle number remained fairly constant. In some areas total butterfat production rose slightly, indicating that farmers were at last concentrating on better known methods of husbandry. Although sheep number continued to rise, they did so at a slower rate, indicating that more attention was being paid to culling for better wool and mutton production. Beef production increased with better grading of cattle. The number of sheep in 1961 was on the increase throughout the year. With the increase in sheep population maximum stacking capacities had been reached and the tendency was, for quality to assume greater importance. The standard of sheep husbandry in Molo constantly improved and so did the lambing percentage increased.[179]

The over-riding factor in 1960 in settler agriculture in Molo that affected farming pattern was the political situation. This was due to most settler farmers being unwilling to commit themselves even to 'One more fence post until some form of security has been guaranteed.' This meant that no settler farmer was willing to even buy one pole and fence his farm. Farmers interests were quickly turning towards making quick profits rather than long term development. Some farmers started to lease some of their assets and to send the funds back home (their country of origin). Farmers who had liquid assets capital were the first to send it out the country. The general feeling of farmers

[176] KNA/DC/NKU/21/10, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1959, p. 18.
[177] KNA/PC/RVP/14a/11/35, Rift Valley Province Annual Report, 1960, p. 49.
[178] Ibid, p. 49-50.
[179] Ibid, 61-77.

was one of gloom and depression and a definite re-assurance by government in the immediate future was essential if resemblance of confidence was to be restored.[180]

The prevailing thoughts of farmers in 1960 had been concerned with their future as farmers. Nevertheless, the overall effect of political uncertainty produced marked drop in production. Speculation on the future was due to the prevalence of rumours and counter-rumour. Development of farms which would normally have taken place was now at a virtual standstill except for those projects which ensured an immediate return.[181] Drought conditions prevailed in Taloa and Shawa areas affecting mainly the maize crops in Molo. Conditions were on the whole satisfactory for pyrethrum production. Farm planning operations continued though the output of farm plans rose only slightly.[182]

In 1961, *barazas* were held in Molo in order for the Africans to have an agreement of the way land was going to be allocated. The meetings were headed by village elders. Villages that did not have a large population of Africans were merged to hold a *baraza* in the same day. Individuals were supposed to do a registration of two hundred shillings to cover for the cost of a title deed. An individual or a unit (consisting of a maximum of 5 families) were allowed to own land. In case of any disagreements, the households in disagreement were called for a meeting which was chaired by at least two village elders.[183] A land survey team that was headed by the British Agricultural officer carried on the consolidation exercise.[184]

A change by the British Government moved Kenya away from multiracialism and opened the way for the rapid movement to an independent country ruled by the African majority. Events in Kenya played a notable part in bringing out the change in British policy. The British government suddenly and unexpectedly announced in January 1960 that Kenya would move rapidly to independence under an African government. African and European leaders were equally surprised and confounded by the decision. Resentment against the European farming enclave in the 'White highlands' was one possible basis, but the British government, under heavy pressure from Europeans pre-empted this issue through the land resettlement programme. Land resettlement was promised by the British government in return for the moderate Europeans settlers support of the decision to move Kenya towards independence. The promise reflected the belief of Colonial

[180] KNA/DC/NKU/28/4, Nakuru District Annual Report, 1960, pp. 33-40.
[181] Ibid, p. 45.
[182] Bett Kipng'eno, OI, 7 April 2019
[183] Leopold Maurice, OI, 7 April 2019
[184] E. Clayton, 'Safeguarding Agrarian Development in Kenya,' *Journal of African Administration*, 1959, p 143.

Secretary Ian MacLeod that rapid political change could occur without racial strife only if moderate Europeans helped to achieve interracial understanding and cooperation.[185] By 1963, the number of settler farmers in Molo had reduced by two thirds. Most of them had left and for the few who remained were not sure on whether to go on with farming or not. D. Slater in an article written in the Daily paper commented that his expectations had not been met in his stay in Molo. He faced problem ranging from rinderpest, anthrax, crop diseases, poor market, poor roads, lack of security and unruly labourers.[186]

In 1963, about 5,000 African farmers, who had proved their ability and accumulated some savings, to purchase and develop subdivisions of European farms with the financial aid of the World Bank, the Commonwealth Development Corporation and the British government. This so called 'low intensity scheme' was aimed to permit African farmers to earn and $280 per year, after all operating costs and loan repayments. The political purpose of this, as one official of the lending agencies put it, was to 'put icing in the cake'. The programme was intended to integrate the highlands in accordance with the multi-racial thinking of moderate Europeans while serving two important economic purposes: developing previous underdeveloped areas of the 'white highlands' and restoring a market in land for the benefit of farmers of both races.[187] By independence, in 1963, land was a very important resource for crop production in Molo. By 1963, class formation as a result of new methods of land ownership brought about distinct classes of the landed, the land poor and the landless.

5.6 Summary

The Swynnerton Plan was hatched to intensify the development of African Agriculture in Kenya. This move proved to be the beginning of a re-examination of governmental policies in the legal and policies in the legal and political fields. Through the Swynnerton Plan, Kenya moved from a position of virtual neglect or impending of African agriculture advance to the forefront among African territories regarding indigenous development. African reserves were neglected as all efforts by the colonial administration focused on settler farming. Unrest among Africans, and the Kikuyu in particular, built up eventually leading to the Mau Mau peasant rebellion. Population pressure was also leading to migration into the white highlands in search of wage labour. African unrest in demand for good and better working conditions was the biggest challenge that settler

[185] J. Harbeson, 'Land Reforms and Politics in Kenya 1954-1970,' *Journal of Modern African Studies Vol 9 no 2* 1971, pp. 231-251.
[186] KNA/AN/61/13, Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1963, p. 21-22.
[187] Ibid, p. 235.

farmers had to deal with. Losses were encountered in the farms especially during the time of harvest. Unrest in Molo had begun before the 1950s, though the colonial government had ignored it. With the Declaration of the State of Emergency in October 1952, efforts were made to bring calmness and ensure that the whole framework of settler agriculture did not collapse. Illegal residence and trespassing on settler farms caused conflict between the white settlers and the Africans. Physical fights were witnessed between the settlers and the Africans and matter reported to Molo police station. The WW II and the Mau Mau insurgency of the 1950s marked the apex of colonial rule. The eviction of the Okiek and the decision to move them to Olenguruone came as a relief to the settlers. Starvation and poverty had gripped the Kikuyu reserves, and the hope of getting a half-acres of land for subsistence, rather than wage employment, drove most of the former Kikuyu squatters back to the highlands. This was after comparison of life in the reserves and that on the European farms. Since in the reserves there was no longer room for expansion nor for absorption of more people, many Kikuyu opted for the European farms. The declaration of an emergency, though not unexpected in the light of events and the increasing tempo of violence in certain areas of the colony, apparently came as a complete surprise to the majority of the known local leaders as all the wanted bad character who were actually within the district were arrested without incident and the African population, in spite of projections of strikes and demonstrations of sympathy, went to work as usual

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The foregoing has been a historical analysis of agriculture by Europeans. The discussion entailed agricultural changes that took place in Molo from 1904-1963. Before the invasion of Kenya, the Africans were leading a traditional life. At first, Africans were not willing to give off their land to the white settlers and this resulted in the use of force. The land was communally owned. A piece of land could be cultivated until the soil fertility was exhausted. The land was left to lie fallow to regain its fertility. In order to alienate the land for the settlers' benefits, the colonial government issued circulars and regulations. It established a judicial system to improve order and confiscate land with the force of law. White settler farms were carved out of the most fertile areas in the highlands. The settlers were expected to clear and farm the land. However, some settlers turned to business by cutting down trees and selling timber in Nairobi. Africans offered their labour in the settler farms.

The colonial state relied on African chiefs for the maintenance of order, collection of taxes, mobilization of labour and enforcing commodity production. Several campaigns took place to lure

new settlers to Kenya. Low prices were offered to fertile lands. White settlers acquired land either through lease or free grants. Africans labourers, due to various measures imposed by the colonial government such as the imposition of the tax, were obliged to work for the European settlers. Not only were the Africans evacuated from their lands, but they were also deprived of their rights to move freely in their country and to choose the kind of labour they wished to offer. Before the introduction of the *kipande* system in 1915, there was the introduction of a poll tax in 1910. The poll tax required all adults over the age of sixteen years to pay tax. Africans who could not afford to pay tax sold their livestock or agricultural produce to meet the requirement. The *Kipande* system was introduced in 1915. All labourers were supposed to carry the Kipande which was usually hanged around their necks. It contained the details of one's employer, their pay and their fingerprints. This made it hard for an employee to change from one employer to another. The *Kipande* system was the invention of the British colonial system whose role was to control the mobility and disposal of the African labour in order to put it at the service of the white settlers.

The colonial period in Molo saw the introduction of crops such as Hickory King Maize variety, pyrethrum, wheat and Cocoa beans. The white maize was mostly preferred due to its low cost of production since it did not require a huge labour force. Potato varieties such as Anett and Kerr Pink were also produced in Molo. However, in most cases, farmers did not go for the hybrid potato. Instead, they selected the best in size and preserved them for planting in the next season.

Lack of enough machinery, especially ploughs in the 1920s and wheat harvesting machinery was letting down settler agriculture in Molo. In some cases, settlers were forced to use human labour to harvest wheat and as a result, much was destroyed by the ongoing rains. Threat and protests by the African labourers during the great depression had forced white settlers to call several meeting in order agree on how they were to tackle the problem. Some white settlers resulted in using crude weapons and others bought guns to protect themselves since they felt that the police department in Molo was not doing enough to protect them. Adequate trained agricultural personnel were also another challenge that white settlers in Molo faced. In most cases, consultation among themselves (white settlers) about the problem they were facing in animal and crop production was one of the ways they overcome this challenge.

During the Great Depression, the world economy sunk. The prices of good in the world market reduced. At this time, settlers became financially unstable. In 1931, when still struggling with the Great Depression, locust destroyed their farms. Most African labourers also suffered from unemployment. The KFA also began in the late 1930s to offer its members credit facilities. The

Land Bank was formed in 1931 to help settlers acquire funds to boost again their agriculture. However, the Land Bank was not able to sustain itself for long, and it too went bankrupt. The settler who had loans were required to pay the amount they got from the bank without interest.

Most settlers heard about the outbreak of WW II from the radio. Farms were left in the hands of women or sons of settlers. Some farms flourished while others performed poorly. There was fear of farms being left in the hand of women as the colonial government feared that women would get harassed by Africans. The white settlers had always pushed for close supervision of Africans by the colonial administration since some never even wanted them to reside on their farms as squatters. White settlers usually came up with ways of showing that Africans were malicious and needed to be punished. African squatters were also not allowed to keep livestock on settler farms. In some farms, however, and they were allowed to farm and keep livestock as well. The colonial government was against this move, but, the amenable settlers argued that once the labourers were happy, production in the farms would increase. The use of AI was aimed at increase livestock production by upgrading the breeds. However, white settlers had to book the AI in advance and by the times it arrived, it would go to waste if the cow was no longer on heat. Settler agriculture in Molo was faced by various challenges ranging from animal diseases such as rinderpest, type 'O' foot and mouth disease, anthrax and sleeping sickness which led to the death of many animals. For instance, the vaccine for type 'O' foot and mouth disease had to be imported from Holland since there was no vaccine in Kenya. Crops diseases such as blight and locust invasion always caused considerable losses to farmers.

In 1952, there was the declaration of a State of Emergency. The Mau Mau reacted with oaths of solidarity. Meetings were held in the Mau-Mariashoni forest. Despite the effort by settlers to try and understand what the Africans were up to, their move proved futile as Africans remained very secretive. Clothes stained with blood were dropped on the road in a move to cause fear among the white settler. R. Cole announced during a settler meeting in Molo that he wanted to sell all his sheep, however, the sheep lad lesion and abscesses and hence no one bought. The leaflets that were found in May 1958 dropped on the road, inflicted more fear among the white settlers. That day settler women and children were seen boarding the train at Molo railway station to travel to Nairobi. At this point, Africans felt like they were closer to getting back their land again.

After 1958, notable changes were witnesses in the agricultural sector in Molo. Some white settlers resulted to withdrawing completely from settler agriculture. The market for their produce was poor and the only buyers were the Indian businessmen in Molo township. The prices were so poor that

returns could not compensate for the expenses incurred. Settlers were also concerned about their security since the future seemed uncertain to them. Rumours about Africans' intention to assassinate the white settlers and take back their land were also spreading. These saw some settlers move to other areas. The Molo Police Station, banned night meeting and meeting conducted in the forests by the Africans in order to ensure that they control Africans and reassured settlers of their security. Africans on the other hand feared for their lives because of the mysterious disappearance of some of them. This was a big disappointment to the settlers as their crops and food in stores were stolen by the Africans. There was a lot of uncertainty among the settlers as independence approached and Africans started to demand their land back. This saw more and more settlers withdraw from Molo and some went back to their home country. The remaining few stopped practicing agriculture intensively in the previous decades.

In conclusion, the indications of this research show that the establishment of settler agriculture laid the basis for Kenya's post-colonial land question. Establishing a settler economy involved restructuring mechanisms of control of land and access to land rights. The colonial state determined the form and mode that capitalist production took. This mode was used to produce commodities for the market, employed wage labour and was dependent on finance capital. New changes like individualization of land ownership, added to the evolving problem of land rights. People were migrating to the white highlands in search of employment added to the number of squatters already settled there. How the problem of land rights was settled at independence contributed significantly to the shaping of ethnic dimensions of the land question. Not all households were in a position to pay the two hundred shillings that was required for a title deed. Hence they ended up being landless regardless of whether they owned the land before the onset of colonial rule or not. Success in white settler agriculture in Molo was met through the support of the DA, the vertinary department and agricultural personnel under the ministry of agriculture. Financial assistance played a huge role in agriculture since white settlers were able to acquire machinery, buy animal and pieces of land and pay their labourers. However, less attention was given to the Africans. This was to render then venerable and offer their labour to the white settlers. The agricultural policies, subsidized prices on seeds and fertilisers aimed to increase agricultural productivity in Molo.

The initiative of individual settlers played a significant role in transforming Molo. Despite financial difficulties, the settlers responded positively to new farming techniques. This work will help other historians and other readers to understand agricultural transformation in Molo during

the colonial era. The research will also help in the formulation of policies for promoting the development of agriculture by highlighting the failures and successes of settler agriculture in Molo. First, scholars can also carry out comparative research on African the settler agriculture and account for how each influenced the other. Secondly, another comparative research can be carried out between Molo and other countries in Africa for example Zimbabwe and compare the organisation and nature of the two settler economies. Thirdly, the issue of land ownership is an important aspect of the development of the land settlement schemes in the subsequent period. The transfer of land ownership after independence white settlers to the Africans is a possible area of research.

SOURCES

A. List of Informants

Name	Gender	Residence	Date of Interview
1. Ayabei, Vincent	M	Turi	3 April 2019
2. Bett, Kipngeno	M	Molo	7 April 2019
3. Biwott, Jackson	M	Elburgon	13 February 2019
4. Bosibori, Miriam	F	Mariashoni	13 February 2019
5. Bosire, Nancy	F	Elburgon	18 March 2019
6. Cheboi, Jecinta	F	Mariashoni	13 March 2019
7. Chebon, Lucy	F	Molo	29 March 2019
8. Chelangat, Purity	F	Elburgon	13 March 2019
9. Chelimo, Vincent	M	Turi	18 March 2019
10. Chepchumba, Dorcas	F	Mariashoni	15 April 2019
11. Cherop, Perpetuah	F	Elburgon	29 March 2019
12. Irungu, Wycliff	M	Turi	13 April 2019
13. Jelly, Steve	M	Molo	3 April 2019
14. Jerop, Jecinta	F	Turi	29 March 2019
15. Juma, Alfred	M	Mariashoni	18 March 2019
16. Kaaria, Ken	M	Molo	7 April 2019
17. Kabui, Paul	M	Elburgon	29 March 2019
18. Kariuki, Irene	F	Mariashoni	25 February 2019
19. Kemboi, Evans	M	Molo	13 March 2019
20. Kerubo, Ruth	F	Mariashoni	13 March 2019
21. Kibet, Amos	M	Turi	20 April 2019
22. Kimathi, Manasseh	M	Elburgon	25 February 2019
23. Kimeli, Nelson	M	Molo	29 March 2019
24. Kimutai, Robert	M	Mariashoni	29 March 2019
25. Kimondo, Matthew	M	Elburgon	20 April 2019
26. Kirebi, Onesmus	M	Elburgon	13 March 2019
27. Kipkoech, Boniface	M	Mariashoni	25 February 2019
28. Kiplimo, Fredrick	M	Mariashoni	20 April 2019
29. Kipng'eno, Abraham	M	Elburgon	13 April 2019
30. Kwamboka, Dorothy	F	Turi	13 March 2019

31. Laura Smith	F	Molo	7 March 2019
30. Leopold, Maurice	M	Mariashoni	7 March 2019
31. Luke, Duncan	M	Mariashoni	21 February 2019
32. Makuna, Emmanuel	M	Elburgon	29 March 2019
33. Makori, Timothy	M	Turi	29 March 2019
34. Mbugua, Samuel	M	Mariashoni	13 March 2019
35. Moki, Harrison	M	Molo	25 February 2019
36. Moraa, Eunice	F	Elburgon	13 March 2019
37. Muga, Job	M	Turi	29 March 2019
38. Munyua, Richard	M	Molo	8 April 2019
39. Muriithi, Ndungu	M	Turi	10 March 2019
40. Muthui, Faith	F	Molo	3 April 2019
41. Muthoni, Jane	F	Mariashoni	13 April 2019
42. Mutai, Vincent	M	Turi	13 March 2019
43. Mwangi, John	M	Elburgon	13 March 2019
44. Ndege, Morris	M	Mariashoni	25 February 2019
45. Ndege, Thuita	M	Elburgon	23 April 2019
46. Njenga, Justus	M	Molo	13 March 2019
47. Njeri, Eunice	F	Mariashoni	15 April 2019
48. Njuguna, Samuel	M	Turi	13 March 2019
49. Njoka, James	M	Elburgon	23 April 2019
50. Njoroge, Stephen	M	Mariashoni	18 March 2019
51. Nyaboke, Magdaline	F	Mariashoni	19 April 2019
52. Nyambwanga, Peter	M	Elburgon	13 March 2019
53. Odhiambo, Martin	M	Molo	23 April 2019
54. Oduka, Enock	M	Mariashoni	18 March 2019
55. Omondi, Felix	M	Molo	8 April 2019
56. Ondere, Shadrack	M	Mariashoni	23 April 2019
57. Onditi, Titus	M	Molo	29 March 2019
58. Onsinyo, Nancy	F	Turi	18 March 2019
59. Opiyo, Hillary	M	Mariashoni	29 March 2019
60. Otieno, Job	M	Mariashoni	18 March 2019
61. Otieno, Reuben	M	Turi	15 March 2019

62. Odour, Winnie	F	Mariashoni	13 April 2019
63. Ronoh, Joash	M	Molo	18 March 2019
64. Tanui, Nicholas	M	Molo	13 April 2019
65. Theuri, Monicah	F	Mariashoni	15 March 2019
66. Thurwood, Stell	F	Turi	21 February 2019
67. Too, Abednego	M	Elburgon	23 April 2019
68. Tui, Martin	M	Mariashoni	15 March 2019
69. Sinoi, Meshack	M	Molo	13 April 2019
70. Wamai, John	M	Turi	23 April 2019
71. Wairimu, Grace	F	Molo	3 March 2019
72. Waithera, Magdalene	F	Elburgon	23 April 2019
73. Wamucii, Susan	F	Molo	15 March 2019
74. Wangari, Margaret	F	Turi	13 April 2019
75. Wangari, Mary	F	Elburgon	13 April 2019
76. Wanja, Esther	F	Mariashoni	15 March 2019
77. Wanjala, Thomas	M	Molo	3 March 2019
78. Wanjiku, Naomi	F	Turi	15 March 2019
79. Wanjiru, Mary	F	Molo	3 March 2019
80. Wanjiru, Sarah	F	Elburgon	13 April 2019

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview Schedule

You are requested to respond to all the questions honestly and comprehensively. Your identity and responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION

NAME: …….

SEX: …….

AGE: …….

RESIDENCE: …….....

TEL.NO: ……...

OCCUPATION: ……...

Section 1

1. What were some of the factors that encouraged European settlement in Molo in the early colonial period?
2. Which native areas suffered most from land alienation in order to facilitate white settlement in Molo?
3. When did the first white settler settle in Molo and where did he/she settle?
4. How did settlers in Molo acquire their land? Was it through lease, purchase or free grants?
5. What challenges did settler agriculture face before the First World War? If any, was there any effort by the colonial government to help the settler and what form of support did the white settlers receive?
6. Which were some of the crops that were first grown by the settlers? How did these crops fair? Name other crops that were later grown by the settlers in Molo and were not planted by Africans during the pre-colonial period.
7. What was the impact of First World War to settler agriculture in Molo?
8. Were settlers in Molo subsistence, or commercial cultivators? Were there ranchers in Molo? If any, give examples and name of the settler involved.

9. Many settlers in the early colonial period were not conversant with the local planting season. How did settlers in Molo cope with this challenge and did it in any way affect their agricultural production? Did the settlers receive any form of support from the government on how to cope with this challenge?
10. Apart from the introduction of merino sheep from New Zealand and Australia by Stanton and Major Webb, were there other white settlers in Molo who introduced any other animal breed i.e. cattle, pigs etc.?
11. Was there introduction of new crops by the white settlers in Molo? If yes, name the crops.
12. The Crown Land Ordinance of 1915 was enacted in favour of perpetuating the restriction by authorizing legal limitation to non-whites on ownership, acquisition and management of white highlands in Kenya. How did this favour white settler agriculture in Molo?
13. How did Kenya Farmers Association support settlers in marketing their produce? Was there any form of exploitation? Who determined the prices of the produce?
14. Did the white settlers in Molo fully utilise all the land they had acquired? If not approximate the portion of land that was under use.

Section 2

15. The Department of Agriculture always published articles and disseminated information on agricultural research to help settler farmers. How did settlers in Molo access these documents? Were they helpful to the white settlers in Molo? How often were this documents produced?
16. How much were the labourers paid? Was it in form of cash or farm/animal produce?
17. Were there white settlers who allowed labourers to farm or keep livestock in their farms?
18. By 1920, African production was generating a surplus enough to provide revenue for state unlike the settler production that was terminally inefficient. What could have been the causes of these poor performances in white settler agriculture in Molo?
19. In 1926, there was an outbreak of blue-tongue disease in Molo. How did this affect sheep farming in Molo? Was there any form of help from the veterinary service providers? If yes, what form of support?
20. After the Great Depression many settler farmers sank into bankruptcy. Was this the same case with white settlers in Molo? If yes, was there provision of finances and who provided the finances to bankrupt settlers in Molo?

21. Was there any ecological catastrophes for example locust invasion that occurred in Molo and when did it happen and what the effects of the mentioned catastrophes were.
22. Were there any agricultural demonstration farms in Molo? If yes, where were they located and how did they help white settlers in Molo? If no, where did the white settlers in Molo learn agriculture?
23. Is there any remembered drought in Molo? What was the impact of this drought? Was it a repeated occurrence or did it happen once?
24. Before World War II, there was a slump in maize prices in the entire colony by more than two-thirds of the initial prices, did this affect settler agriculture? If yes, briefly explain how.

Section 3

25. How did the Second World War affect agriculture in Molo?
26. Was there use of mechanisation in Molo by the white settlers? If yes give examples.
27. Were there any dams that were built by the white settlers in Molo for purposes of irrigation?
28. Was there any re-known settler farmer whose agricultural activities were outstanding through-out the colonial period in Molo? If yes, mention the settler and what he/she produced.
29. The colonial government imposed a series of taxes and laws to make or less force the native population into service for the white settler farms, which are some of the taxes and laws that were enacted in Molo to make Africans work for the settlers?
30. (In respect to a labourer being interviewed). What was the name of the white settler you worked for? Which crop did he/she grow? Did he/ she keep livestock and if yes what was the number?
31. How many days in a week did the labourers work and to be specific how many hours did they work in a day for the white settlers in Molo.

Section 4

32. How did the declaration of a state of Emergency affect settler agriculture in Molo?
33. Was there any witnessed ‘go slow’ behaviours or protest in the farms by the Africans?
34. Was there any form of conflict between the white settlers and the native population?
35. How did the settlers handle the issue of oath-taking among the Africans and the Mau Mau insurgency?

36. How did the struggle for independence affect settler production in Molo?
37. Was there any action that the colonial government took to ensure a state of normalcy was attained?

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING PART IN THE INTERVIEW

Appendix II: Publication Abstract

ABSTRACT

The study examined the origin of European settlement in Molo in the early colonial period up to 1918. The study commenced in the year 1904 when land alienation for white settlement in Molo started. It was also in 1904 when the first settlers, Major Webb and Jasper Abraham, settled in Mariashoni and Kweresoi (Kuresoi) in Molo area respectively. Settler dominance in Molo was essentially a consequence of discriminatory economic policies adopted by the colonial state. The white settlers aimed to make strides in agricultural production because of their cumulative experiences, availability of infrastructure, capital and government support. The Colonial Capitalism Theory guided this study. Data was collected from informants through oral interviews and from the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi. Informants were identified through snowball sampling. Secondary sources such as books, journals and articles were also used. Data was analysed historically, thematically and logically. Finally, data has been presented in a qualitative form, which is descriptive in nature.

Key Terms: Origin, European Settlement, Molo, Colonial Period

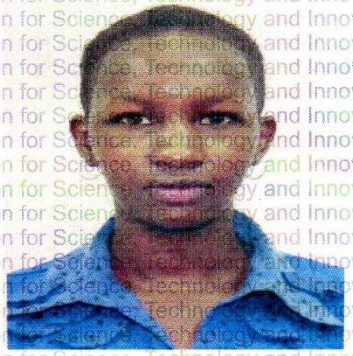
Appendix III: Research Permit

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MS. GRACE WANJIRU NJUGUNA
of EGERTON UNIVERSITY, 536-20115 NJORO,has been permitted to conduct research in *Nakuru County*

on the topic: *TRANSFORMATION OF WHITE SETTLER AGRICULTURE IN COLONIAL KENYA:THE CASE OF MOLO, 1904-1963*

for the period ending:
14th February,2020

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/19/61857/28214
Date Of Issue : 15th February,2019
Fee Recieved :Ksh 1000



.....
Applicant's Signature

.....
Director General
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

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