

Research Article

Nature of Colonization and Peasantization in Trans-Nzoia Kenya, Between 1920 and 1970

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Abstract: This research historicizes the nature of colonization and peasantization in Trans Nzoia between 1920 and 1970. The narratives foundation is based on chronological events from 1896 to 1919 that ushered into motion the nature of capitalism that was advanced by colonialists in Trans Nzoia between 1920 and 1970. The study investigated entrenchment of peasantry in Trans Nzoia, a jurisdiction of one thousand square miles and one million acres of arable land that Europeans scrambled for and partitioned among themselves for settlement and mixed farming. It also suggests possible solutions to the plight of peasants who remained poor and landless in post-colonial Kenya. The study covers a period of fifty years from 1920 when settlers arrived in Trans Nzoia to 1970 when the Colonial Labour System ended. The study is confined to the discussion of the colonial economic system that was responsible for peasantization in Trans Nzoia. The Theoretical Framework draws findings from the Marxist Theory contained in the Communist Manifesto of 1848 that analyses human antagonism which informs social stratification of the rich and the poor as exemplified by the settlers and peasants in Trans Nzoia. The research was conducted in Trans Nzoia County which has five sub counties of Trans Nzoia East, Trans Nzoia West, Kwanza, Kiminini and Endebess. The Research Design was based on the historical method, analytical method and interview method that were collectively used to source information on colonization and peasantization in Trans Nzoia through examination of primary sources including archival manuscripts, letters, diaries, memoirs, charters, files, memoranda and registers which were complimented by oral submissions and secondary sources including books, journal articles, research works, reports, newspaper articles, magazines and periodicals. Sampling Techniques used were purposive and snowball. Data was collected from respondents, Trans Nzoia Land Office Records and the National Archives. The study themes were paraded and analyzed in a chronological sequence from 1920 to 1970. Since the research is qualitative in nature, data analysis is descriptive and therefore, prosaically presented.

Keywords: Colonization, Peasantization, mixed farming.

Introduction

Colonialism refers to a powerful state politically and economically exerting force on a comparatively weaker state to control and exploit it. Capitalism, on the other hand, is an economic system where those assets that make money such as land, factories, transport system and communication are privately owned by a small upper class of people who invest their money for profit generation and trade in a free market of competition (Williams, 1944). Colonial capitalism commenced in Africa by the mid-19th century when Europeans yarned for raw materials for their industries and markets for their finished goods. In the Franco Prussian War of 1870-1871, Germany emerged victorious and annexed Alsace and Lorraine from France. France then turned her attention to acquisition of colonies in Africa in compensation for her lost territory in Europe which was rich in coal and iron.

French activities in Africa further provoked British imperialism which manifested itself in a determination to maintain her leading commercial and imperial position in the world and also protect her wide spread interests from foreign competition. By possessing Egypt, Britain controlled the Suez Canal for protection of her economic empire in Asia. After the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference; Britain rushed and acquired a total of 4,800 square miles of fertile land in Africa that was agriculturally viable. The British supremacy was felt by other European powers in the North, West, Central, Southern and Eastern Africa (Crowder, 1968). Having colonies and being a sea power, significantly contributed to the British determination as a formidable competitor with other European powers in Africa.

Due to colonial competition and the subsequent partition of Africa, the Europeans embarked on the process of effective occupation and systematic economic exploitation of the annexed colonies. Nigeria, Southern Rhodesia and Kenya were some of the British colonies where farming was intensified. The British needed African Labour to facilitate their agricultural and mining practices hence the onset of a peasant class in Africa. This in essence, was a destruction of the traditional systems that championed the African Economy of Affection that ensured adequate supply of commodities such as food to everyone in society (Okoth, 2006). The arrival of Europeans in Africa ended communal land ownership and the practice of shifting cultivation that allowed for some portions of land to become fertile again after lying fallow for a considerable length of time. There was no land degradation since overpopulation led to disintegration that enabled splinter groups to re-establish themselves elsewhere. Colonialism imposed taxation, forced labour, low wages and land alienation to African peasants (Sorrenson, 1968) as witnessed in Trans-Nzoia during the settler farming period.

In 1896, Charles William Hobley, while travelling to Uganda on a British Administrative Mission, traversed Trans-Nzoia to the foothills of the Eastern part of Mt. Elgon. The word “Elgon” was derived from the term “El-Koony” which means the same as “Koony”, meaning “Sabaot” which was a combination of the terms “Sebei” and “Bok” people. Mt. Elgon is the second highest mountain in Kenya after Mt. Kenya. It stands 4321M West of Trans-Nzoia County and stretches into Uganda. It has five peaks: Wagagai, Mubiyi and Masaba in Uganda, Sudek on the Kenya-Uganda boarder and Koitobos in Kenya. It is the source of many rivers including River Sabwani and Kamukuywa both of which drain into River Nzoia whose source springs from Cherangani Hills and flows down to Lake Victoria. Hobley (1929) reported to the European world that Trans-Nzoia was not inhabited by human beings, but by wild life including lions, reedbuck, antelopes and waterbuck which were plenty full as well as Leopards that dwelt in the forested areas with wild pigs and monkeys as their major prey. He further described the presence of the fertile volcanic soils, cool climate and sufficient rainfall, suitable for mixed farming. In 1897, The British East Africa Land Regulations Act granted any willing European farmer with a Certificate of Occupancy for 99 years.

Methodology

The study relied on three research methods including the historical method, the analytical method and the interview method. While the historical method was significant in tracing a history of colonialism and how its capitalistic practices created a peasant class of African workers on settler farms in Trans-Nzoia between 1920 and 1970, the analytical method was vital for analyzing data drawn from primary sources including archival manuscripts, letters, diaries, memoirs, charters, files, memoranda and registers which were complimented by secondary sources including books, journal articles, research works, reports, newspaper articles, magazines and periodicals. The interview method, on the other hand, examined oral submissions from respondents who lived and worked on settler farms to facilitate agricultural productivity in Trans-Nzoia between 1920 and 1970. The sampling techniques used were both purposive and snowball sampling. While purposive sampling targeted former colonial administrators with knowledge and experience of the colonial labour system within a span of fifty years under review, snowball sampling was applied to select the workers who provided labour to the colonialists.

Findings

On 8 October 1920, Mr. Champion was appointed by the British Government to become the first D.C. for Trans-Nzoia. His first residence was situated on farm No.2197 which lay to the Southern end of present day Kitale Town. On 15th December 1920, Mr. Champion's residence was moved to farm No. 1802 which the British Government had leased from Mr. Hoey, close to River Nzoia. The government constructed houses, offices and a prison on this land which was known as the Old Boma. While some Europeans owned land individually, others formed partnerships as exemplified by Captain Pharazyn, his wife Margaret, and another European collectively owned a large farm in Cherangani. In addition, Major Weller partnered with two other Europeans and owned 3000 acres of land in Trans-Nzoia. Farms in Trans-Nzoia ranged between 200 acres to thousands of acreages. For instance, Mr. Hoey owned many farms in Cherangani stretching from Hoeysbridge (Moisbridge) to the top of Cherangani Hills, bordering Elgeyo Marakwet District. Mr. Hoey was a Race-Horse Breeder and one of the pioneer Europeans to enter Trans-Nzoia by 1913.

Notably, by 1920, Europeans were mandated to elect eleven members to the Legco. This was an advantage that other communities in Kenya never enjoyed. Their principal aim was simply to make Kenya a self-governing dominion within the empire under White control and to retain the Highlands for their exclusive use. This simply meant that Europeans were determined to increase their role and influence in government and exclude other races from such privileges. They argued that Asian immigration ought to be restricted and racial segregation to be applied to hospitals, schools and recreation areas. They opposed the encouragement of African cultivation of cash crops which they believed would lower the quality of European crops and diminish labour supplies. Europeans, therefore, advocated for separate development. In Trans-Nzoia, 1920 can be said to have been a year of challenges to settlers.

Firstly, Africans including the Koony, the Sengwer and the Suk refused to render labour to European farms. Crops were therefore, destroyed by weeds and rotting during heavy rains. Secondly, many settlers lacked basic farming skills, knowledge and experience because they had not engaged in farming before. They were land speculators who had entered farming for the first time. Thirdly, they lacked sufficient capital to purchase farm inputs, machinery and hiring labour as well as money for their daily expenditure. Some of the settlers became bankrupt a few months after their arrival. All their shopping was done in Eldoret which was the closest town to Trans-Nzoia, 44 miles away from Kitale area. Transport was dependent on Ox wagons whose movement was slow. Fourthly, Due to lack of sufficient roads and railway, marketing was difficult. Being soldiers, those who refused to work for them were severely punished: Some received strokes of the cane on their naked backs, some were abused that they looked like monkeys while others had their hair twisted and pulled.

Animal diseases like East Coast Fever and Rinderpest caused huge loses to European farmers. Pokot cattle also suffered from these diseases which originated from settler farms in Trans-Nzoia. Europeans then hindered African livestock from Pokot land and Bungoma from entering Trans-Nzoia for the safety of their livestock. Those who went against this order had their Livestock quarantined to prevent the disease from spreading. For instance, in 1921, the Bukusu of Kamukuywa had 2,675 of their livestock confined for a considerable period of time. Europeans imposed heavy taxation on Africans even in the reserves. They were pressed by this move to the extent that working for Europeans was the only alternative available for them to raise money for tax. This prompted the Bukusu of Bungoma, the Kikuyu of Central Kenya, other communities from Western and Nyanza regions to enter the wage labour in Trans-Nzoia from 1920. William Khisa Makhanu, revealed in an interview held on his Mito Mbili farm plot no. 54 on 11th October 2018 that those seeking employment on European farms had to appear desperate in order for Europeans to accept them as casual labourers. No one dressed smartly could secure any job. Such people could not stand close to the White man. If one was offered a job, he was given either half kg of beans or 1 cabbage with posho (maize flour) and a hut for accommodation. The foreman instructed the new worker when to report to work. Those who milked cows woke up earliest because their work began between one and

seven in the morning depending on the number of cows a settler had. After KCC was established, the milk was carried in metal containers to the factory for processing. Chronic late comers were dismissed. There was no permanent employment on European farms. Settlers favoured hiring labourers seasonally on low wages.

In 1921, the High Court ruled that all lands which had previously belonged to Africans, whichever they may have been in the pre-colonial system's tenure, were now part of Crown Land and Africans became tenants at will of the Crown (KNA, 1921). It was directed by the government that the medical department was to use preventive rather than curative measures against Africans for ten years (1921-1931) and a new medical school was built in Nairobi. The trainees were Whites. In the same year, The Currency Board which had its headquarters in London had a Government Advisory Board in Nairobi which comprised three Commercial Banks that operated in East Africa.

The Board organized the replacement of the Rupee by the East Africa Shilling whose full implementation was realized in January 1922. In the course of this change, many people lost their money due to unfair exchange rates. As Europeans complained, African political leaders also voiced their protest against these losses. During the 1920s and 1930s, the Commercial Banks resolved to concentrate on settlers' development with financial aid to enhance their farming (Sticher, 1985). Loans were only given to Europeans who offered their land and crops for security. At this time, twenty shillings were equivalent to 1 Pound. Africans were not allowed to have accounts in European Commercial Banks (KNA, 1922). They could only open accounts in the Post Office Savings Bank. In 1922, several issues were evident: Firstly, a special committee was appointed to determine wage rates payable to labourers in the White Highlands.

In 1923, there was the Devonshire White Paper which denied Asians the right to buy land for settlement in the White Highlands including Trans-Nzoia. The Whites remained the only people who could buy land in the White Highlands without competition from Asians. These denials widened the rift between Europeans and Indians. A White missionary, John Arthur, was appointed by Europeans to represent Africans in the Legco. This move was insignificant to Africans who wanted to be represented by a fellow African. Even after this African representation, European brutality against Africans in the White Highlands continued.

The Rift Valley Provincial Administration proposed to reduce land in Trans-Nzoia by 3700 acres and use it to widen the Pokot grazing land including the salt licks for their cattle. Fortunately for Trans-Nzoia, new boundaries were not demarcated despite the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In essence, Europeans aimed at protecting land in Trans-Nzoia for propagation of their capitalistic practices. TFA held a meeting in Kitale on 12 May 1923 and demanded two things: Firstly, they wanted the Kamukuywa Cattle Boma to be reopened after its prolonged closure. Secondly, they wanted the Marakwet Reserve to be opened for them to buy cattle and acquire additional labourers.

The TFA Committee reported to the Secretary of State for the Colonies about the outbreak of Rinderpest and recommended intensified inoculation to save farmers from further losses in both Trans-Nzoia and Uasin Gishu District (KNA, 1923). On 6 June 1923, TFA met again in a special meeting in Kitale where members expressed their disappointment with a European farmer who was paying higher wages to attract more labourers on his farm.

In 1930, KFA was formed. It was an association owned by Europeans to promote their agricultural production by processing coffee, maize and wheat in the White Highlands including Trans-Nzoia. This was the same year in which the Land Apportionment Act was passed denying Africans more land and taking away the best land they had possessed before this time. In essence, the Act was meant to protect the settlers against competition caused by African farmers. As a result, the reserve became overpopulated with a high risk of spreading communicable diseases (Redley, 1976).

In order to succeed in more land alienation in Kenya, Europeans moved with haste to amend an ordinance which was promulgated to appease Africans through a false assurance that African land would remain secure from European encroachment (Native Land Trust Ordinance, 1930). Much of the research and development were directed towards European areas, thereby neglecting African areas including the reserves and squatter habitations in the White Highlands. 1930 therefore, saw an increase in beef and dairy products that made Europeans to open up new markets, some of which were not accessible by Africans. Industries were also established to process European products into finished goods for sale.

A loan of 13.5 million pounds was provided to Kenya by the British Government to expand the Railway by connecting new lines to the main rail road. This meant that Nanyuki, Nyahururu (Thompson falls), Solai, Kitale and Butere lines were linked to the main line. This enabled the settlers to easily transport their products to the market including tea, coffee, maize, pigs for pork and cattle for beef. This was a clear bias towards European production and development that was achieved through African labour. Europeans and Africans existed as two separate social entities whose major bond of contention was the fertile land each group yearned to possess for Agricultural prosperity (Wilson, 1973).

In 1931, Europeans offered low prices for African products. Squatters therefore, preferred to sell their produce outside the White Highlands. Worse still, locusts settled on the fields and picked the crops bare. Europeans were further shaken by the death of Lord Delamere who had been a prominent farmer and a remarkable politician whose innovation greatly boosted the agricultural sector in the White Highlands. In addition to his work as unofficial leader of the country, Lord Delamere had actively supervised many agricultural and industrial enterprises' and supported any new scheme which appeared to improve the countries' economic position. He had proposed low interest credit for settler farmers, more intensive cultivation and drastic economies in the civil service. He had therefore, been a pillar in Kenya's Agricultural Development. He had founded a company that later became KCC that offered jobs for Africans and a milk market for Europeans. Nearly all Europeans knew him by sight and every African was familiar with his name. He once said, "The White race is the only people which have proved its capacity to govern mixed races".

In 1932, the Trans-Nzoia District Council and the Trans Nzoia Farmers were the only elected official bodies in the District whose functions often overlapped each other. In March, the councilors proposed enactment of legislation to limit the number of cattle kept by squatters. This move followed an earlier recommendation by TFA that squatters were temporarily allowed to keep a minimum of 10 and a maximum of 30 heads of what was nicknamed "blue cattle", a term that was used to differentiate them from the breeds kept by settlers.

John Nyongesa Riwa, interviewed on 21 October 2018 at Mito Mbili farm of Cherangani Division in Trans-Nzoia East Sub-County, remembered that whenever one said "I am going to take a blue", he simply meant going to seek written permission from the White employer to keep the traditional breed of cattle on a portion of land allocated to him. He further noted that squatters grew coloured maize because white maize was only grown by White farmers.

In 1933, settler farmers begun to see the need of exploiting internal market for their maize in addition to the external market they had exploited for over one decade since 1920. It was a period in which farmers had developed keen interest in obtaining information on maximum agricultural production. Economic experts visited all the maize-growing areas in the White Highlands with information that the world was interested in high quality products and that there was need for them to employ farm mechanization to enable them produce high quality maize. They were also informed about the maize-grading procedure at Mombasa that was done before shipment. This called for an additional African labour force to remove rotten or spotted maize from the white maize to be exported. Trans-Nzoia District that year also realized an increase of African production for export. There were prominent

417 male British farmers in Trans-Nzoia and only 32 male European farmers of other nationalities. Though there was a total of 1,141 Europeans in the district inclusive of male and female, not all were farmers. Some were researchers, others were administrators and many more held diverse positions within the Colonial Government and the Private Sectors.

Maize growing had been so vital to farmers in Trans-Nzoia throughout the depression period. During the 1933-1934 seasons, local settlers in Trans-Nzoia planted a total of 47,021 acres of maize; Nakuru was second with 34,328 acres while Uasin Gishu came third with 20,368 acres. Trans-Nzoia therefore, became the principal European maize-Growing district in the White Highlands. Despite this fact, some Europeans in Trans-Nzoia invested their money beyond farming.

For instance, 3 European farmers, Messrs Ross, Foster and Mangan, jointly formed a gold mining firm known as Rostermans that actively participated in the Kakamega gold rush whose peak was realized in 1933. However, as compared with farming, prospecting was not as lucrative as earlier anticipated by Europeans. Income from gold remained at subsistence level for several years and later, it was discovered that the quantity of gold at Ikolomani (Gold mine) was not sufficient for trade. It was estimated that 400 to 500 Europeans worked in the Kakamega Gold fields on monthly basis.

One consequence of maize-growing monoculture was the destruction of the soil structure that led to soil erosion especially in areas that had loose cover of sandy loam soil. Soil exhaustion in Trans-Nzoia therefore, was caused by repeated ploughing of the same pieces of land without allowing for a fallow period that would enable the fields to be fertile again. The Land Banks of that time encouraged the settlers to enforce trenching and tree planting with Napier grass as measures to curb soil erosion. While some Europeans opposed the squatter system in Trans-Nzoia, there were those who supported its continuation. Fenton, for instance, was one extra-ordinary settler who applied for permission to increase the number of squatter cattle to 250 heads for the purpose of manuring his coffee.

The prevalence of such attitudes worked against drastic reduction of squatter-owned cattle in Trans-Nzoia. Fenton was not alone in support of this idea. Others like Major Jack, a counselor representing Naitiri Ward strongly argued that squatter cattle would help in the manuring of their farms thereby reducing the cost of buying artificial fertilizers. He suggested that each family be allowed to keep 15 heads of cattle. Europeans however, feared that if Africans were allowed to keep more than 15 heads of cattle, they would in turn concentrate their energies on livestock rearing and cause labour shortage on settler farms. Livestock reduction was not easy as many settlers continued to solicit more squatters who reared cattle.

In 1936, numerous reports indicate that major strides had been achieved in terms of Colonial Development in the Kenya Colony and Protectorate. The Commissioner for Local Government said in his Annual Report that Europeans had noticed the growth of Native Associations that were based on districts and were well organized. The report aimed at making the government aware of these associations through which Africans expressed their opinion and acted as platforms for fueling bitterness towards Europeans and their policies of forced labour, low wages, taxation and land alienation thereby depriving Africans of their natural heritage.

In towns like Nakuru, Kisumu, Eldoret, Kitale, Nyeri, Nanyuki and Thika, Africans were disappointed by the Segregationist Development policies that favoured European residential areas that were treated as special with brick houses, murrum roads and piped water. Just like in other towns in the White Highlands, there was an increase of motor vehicles including Lorries that provided transportation of the farm produce from the interior of Trans-Nzoia to Kitale Town for onward transit by railway to the external markets. The Post and Telegraphs Department introduced the post mailing and telephone services in the Kenya Colony and Protectorate that was under the East African Postal Administration. The government therefore, provided land line cable and wireless services that

enhanced communication. A new motor mail service was introduced between Kisumu and Kitale on 16 November 1936.

Labourers in Trans Nzoia could easily communicate with their relatives back home especially in the North Kavirondo Region. People could gather in a home of their fellow African who knew how to read and write to help them read new mails or write for them letters to their relatives that were sent through the Post Office and feedback was received through the post office boxes of respective European employers. There were good plans which, through the Road Protection Ordinance, helped to maintain roads in Trans-Nzoia and in other districts in Kenya. The prison status was different from that of 1934 and 1935 as follows.

Table 1. Number of Prisoners

Category	Number
Convicts	7193
Remand Prisoners	8644
Civil Debtors	187
Lunatics	265
Total	16,289

Detention camps in 1936 were more than those of 1934. Approved schools also increased from 2 in 1934 to 39 in 1936. Colonial revenue and expenditure sometimes fluctuated causing either profit or loss.

Table 2. Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, 1932-1936

Year	Revenue	Expenditure	Final income
1932	3010214	3119723	Loss
1933	3121497	3168035	Loss
1934	3182939	3180795	Profit
1935	3304026	3252784	Profit
1936	3496389	3350381	Profit

1932 and 1933 experienced losses while 1934, 1935 and 1936 ended with profit. A Committee was appointed by the government to look into the reorganization of the defense forces. In its report, it recommended to expand the forces and equip them to have the capacity to deal with any external aggression. Following this recommendation, more African recruits especially from the White Highlands were added to the forces. More labourers from the reserves were employed on European farms in Trans-Nzoia to replace those who joined the forces. The Geological Reports, numbers 4 and 5 of 1936, encouraged Europeans to engage in other economic activities apart from mining since North and Central Kavirondo had insufficient gold for trade.

Customs duty on imports was raised to boost the economy of Kenya which was still recovering from the recession hardships. The law required settlers to have piped water in their residential places and government premises as a priority. There was also a Committee Report on the coordination of transport in the entire colony, especially in the White Highlands, from which farm produce would easily reach the market.

Emphasis was laid on opening new roads and maintaining the existing roads that led to the interior. Bulky goods were transported by railway to avoid road damage by heavy Lorries. A few graders were imported into Trans-Nzoia to accelerate road repair that had depended on slow manual labour. The Hut and Poll Tax Ordinance of 1934 fixed tax rates at sh. 12 but the Colonial Government did not implement this uniformly in 1936.

Table 3. Native Hut and Poll Tax Rates, 1936

Tribe	District	Rate
Meru and Tharaka	Meru	8
Amberre	Embu	8
Kamba	Machakos	9
Kamba	Kitui	9
Maasai	Maasai	10
North Kamasia	Baringo	6
South Kamasia	Baringo	6
East Suk	Baringo	10
Njemps	Baringo	10
Elgeyo	Elgeyo-Marakwet	8
Marakwet	Elgeyo-Marakwet	8
Duruma	Digo	6
Digo	Digo	10
Giriama	Kilifi	8
Pokomo	Tana River	10
Boni	Lamu	10
Turkana	Turkana	3
West Suk	Turkana	8
Ndigiri	North Nyeri	8
Labourers	Trans-Nzoia	12
Other Tribes	White Highlands	12

The statistical information relating to agricultural production by Europeans was contained in the Agricultural Census Report of 1936. A total of 4,580,029 acres were occupied by 1,807 Europeans in the White Highlands including Trans-Nzoia. Out of these, 502,497 acres were under cultivation, while 4,077,532 acres of land lay fallow.

Table 4. The Chief Crops Grown, 1935-1936

Crop	Area	Production
Maize	117,848	1,011,863
Wheat	52,135	152,964
Coffee	101,234	386,827
Tea	11,654	6,777,154
Sisal	128,565	32,185
Pyrethrum	3,794	8,933
Sugar-Cane	11,568	258,453

Table 5. Reduced Wages of Domestic Servants, 1936

Range	Sh. Per month	Average
Cooks	20-80	28/50
house boys	15-50	18
Dobies	20-50	25
Kitchen boys	8-25	14
Garden boys	8-25	14
Nurses	20-60	32
Chauffeurs	25-100	maximum 30

In 1937, LNC was empowered by the government to deal with drying and cleaning of hides which were among African export commodities. Unlike before, Europeans valued African commodities

because they increased government revenue obtained through taxation. Each Native Reserve measured eight square miles. Farming was categorized in terms of races that lived in Kenya as shown below.

Table 6. Crops Grown in Kenya by Races, 1937

Category	Crops
Europeans	Tea, Wheat, Pyrethrum, Sisal, Essential Oils.
Africans	Coffee (by license and European Supervision).
Europeans, Indians, Africans	Maize, Sugar-Cane, wattle, beans, potatoes, Fruits
Africans	Cotton, Sorghums, Millets, Traditional food stuffs.
Individual Farmers	Cereals, Pulses, Pyrethrum, Animal products
Companies	Sisal, Tea, Sugar.

European products were marketed through Co-operative Marketing Societies. The KFA was mandated to market cereals. The PGA marketed pyrethrum and employed KFA as an agent. The White Highlands received an influx of 183,000 African labourers on monthly basis though December that year recorded a higher figure of 186,661 new employees who worked in Nakuru, Uasin Gishu, Trans-Nzoia, Kericho, Sotik, Central Kenya and Kisumu where Asians owned sugarcane plantations. In essence, there was more labour recruitment in 1937 than 1936. Most of these labourers were recruited by private recruiters who comprised Europeans, Asians and Africans who owned estates.

Europeans in Tanganyika and Uganda requested for additional labourers from Kenya but their request was rejected because settlers feared to face labour shortage. Europeans, who took personal interest in their employees by feeding and housing them well, obtained labourers with ease. Such employers included A.C. Hoey who supplied workers with a bottle of saturated milk per family daily and posho once per week. Zakayo Namanda Makawa, interviewed on 21 October 2018 in his home near Kachibora in Cherangani Division of Trans-Nzoia East Sub-County, stated that A.C. Hoey was one of the few Europeans who “liked” Africans. He was one time accused by the D.C. Trans-Nzoia, Mr. Trafford, for allowing Africans run one of his farms without a European manager. Nearly all Africans in Cherangani were familiar with Hoey’s name and character.

Table 7. Hoey’s Approach to Africans

English	Swahili
Hoey: who am I?	Mimi nani?
African: Mr. Hoey.	Bwana Hoey
Hoey: What is my wives name?	Bibi yangu nani?
African: Mrs. Gladys Hoey.	Mamsaf Gladys Hoey
Hoey: Where do I live?	Mimi Naishi wapi?
African: Up like a bird.	Juu kama ndege
Hoey: Where do I eat?	Mimi nakula wapi?
African: Up like a bird.	Juu kama ndege

Mr. Hoey expressed the superiority syndrome that Europeans had over Africans. If pleased with the African’s response, Hoey lifted him in his vehicle if both were heading in the same direction. Those who did not answer him correctly were whipped and left to foot to their destinations. 1937 saw the highest number of non-natives in Kenya since 1911. As non-natives increased in the Kenya Colony, the number of African labourers also went up because these non-natives were employers of African

peasants in various fields of occupation. There were Government schools and training institutions in 1937 that operated as follows.

Table 8. Education in Government Schools and Training Institutions, 1937

Institutions	No. of schools	Boys and Men	Girls and Women	Total
Jeans school	1	58	25	83
Native Industrial Training Depot	1	330	-	330
Primary Schools	13	1,193	25	1,218
Village Schools	39	3,040	135	3,175
Total	54	4,621	185	4,806

In education, learning institutions were racially categorized and a segregation approach was applied. European children received the best education in Jean School. Asian children learnt in their own schools and their education system was second in quality to European education. African children received elementary education which comprised reading, writing, arithmetic, hygiene, English and religious knowledge.

Europeans believed that Africans had no mental capacity to learn chemistry, physics and research-related technology. They therefore, learnt in 39 village schools from which a few proceeded to one industrial training depot.

African boys and men received education while girls and women were neglected. European children comprised 1,073 boarders, 556 in Government Schools and 517 in Private Schools. Two government secondary schools for European students were The Prince of Wales School Kabete for boys and the girl's secondary school, Nairobi. Primary schools in Nairobi, Nakuru, Eldoret and Kitale had boarding sections for both genders. There were three private schools which took girls up to certificate levels.

Three schools that prepared young boys for entrance to Home Public Schools or to the Prince of Wales Secondary School were carefully selected and many of the remaining schools catered for small children. Goans and Indians had three secondary schools that took their students through Cambridge and School Certificate Examinations. While two of these schools were government supported, one was private aided. In essence, Europeans, Goans, Indians and Arabs accessed secondary education unlike Africans as shown in the table below.

Table 9. Examinations for Europeans, Goans, Indians and Arabs, 1937

Year	Europeans		Goans and Indians		Arabs	
	Entered	Passed	Entered	Passed	Entered	Passed
1930	47	25	47	21	-	-
1931	43	15	90	58	-	-
1932	44	26	109	52	-	-
1933	58	46	104	64	6	3
1934	48	31	143	56	5	3
1935	20	15	181	77	4	1
1936	46	34	205	107	4	1
1937	42	34	215	102	8	4

No African sat for School Certificate Examinations since Europeans trained them to obtain manual skills for practical work. The government generated revenue from taxation as one of its main sources apart from agriculture. Customs Revenue ranked first in tax generation followed by Native Hut and Poll Tax collections. Generally, taxation was undertaken as follows.

Table 10. Main Head Taxation and Yield of Each, 1937

Heads	Amount
Customs Revenue	897,888
Hut and Poll Tax (Native)	532,895
Non-Native Poll Tax	44,664
Petrol Tax	59,237
Estate Duty	11,834
Income Tax	18,161
Entertainment Tax	5,954
Total	1,570,633

In 1938, it was assumed that Europeans increased by 6% and Indians by 10%. Native Populations were still being estimated according to the tax payers' records at the disposal of European administrators. Squatters in Trans-Nzoia who had been condemned or shown ill health were replaced by those who would be productive in labour provision. The Agricultural Census Report of 1938 showed that agricultural and marketing activities were largely owned by Europeans. Some Europeans deviated from the maize monoculture to flax growing for production of pedigree seed and fibre. There were three flax factories in Trans-Nzoia East, which called for recruitment of more labourers. LNC erected stores in Trans-Nzoia and elsewhere in the White Highlands for collection and storage of agricultural goods for sale at export parity prices. The settlers continued to import dairy cattle which gradually replaced the traditional breeds on their farms. KCC was the chief market for cream that was used to produce butter, cheese and ghee for the local and international markets. A Co-operative Society was established to deal with cattle, sheep and pigs for slaughter. Sheep were also reared for wool. More labourers were recruited from North Kavirondo, Nyanza, Central, West Suk and Marakwet to work and meet the tax demands. Europeans and a few Indians owned sawmills which Africans were taught to operate. No African owned such mills and they practiced pit sawing that produced timber for subsistence use. Additional women and juveniles joined the work force in the pyrethrum industry and were paid sh. 6 to sh. 18 per month.

In 1939, The Kenya Highlands Order in Council fixed the boundaries of the White Highlands and reserved them permanently and exclusively for Europeans. Africans were still agitating for removal of hut and poll tax, forced labour, the Kipande System, land alienation and racial discrimination. On the global scene, the world was divided into two rival camps where Germany, Italy and Japan formed the Axis while Britain, France and the USA formed the allies. The two camps engaged each other militarily throughout the world. In essence, World War II had broken out as the helpless League of Nations looked on. The French and the British took Africans from their colonies to fight for them in Africa and elsewhere in the world, especially Asia. The enactment of the Compulsory Service Ordinance empowered the government to force Africans into KAR, Essential services (construction of air fields, roads, harbours, and military training camps) and provision of labour to private employers and farmers in Trans-Nzoia and in the entire White Highlands. The outbreak of the 1939 war led to the departure of 102 settlers from Trans-Nzoia to provide military services to their motherland. This departure prompted the introduction of a Group Farm Management Scheme. European failure to pay attention to African grievances resulted into a strike on 19 July 1939 by the Public Works Department, Municipal Workers, Electric and Power Company, the Post Telegraphs Department, the Oil Companies, the Dairy and Vegetable Growing Farms and Dock Workers. The workers' major complaints were poor living and working conditions, overcrowding and a low standard of health.

Conclusion

The conclusion of the matter is that Kenya's Africanization and peasantry in Trans Nzoia have not archived equilibrium because the former did not resettle most of the latter after the departure of their settler employers between 1963 and 1970. From the interviews conducted, peasants need land from

which they can generate wealth for sustainable development. While about 40 per cent of the peasant labourers were resettled, about 60 per cent remained landless and poor to date. Their survival is based on casual labour whose returns are so minimal that nothing can be saved for meaningful investment that can spring from the abject poverty.

Recommendations

From the study findings, it is imperative that the government borrows some solutions from the global best practices and apply them to Trans Nzoia's contemporary situation so that peasants and their families can be settled so as to rejoice as citizens of a free and democratic country. Also, the study recommends that, like in India at independence in 1947, the Kenya government should legislate implementable measures to enable peasants have a share of the land which our forefathers fought for. Land can be obtained by reducing ADC Farms in Trans Nzoia which have portions that still lie fallow and resettle peasants who desired independence with hopes that things would be better for them and their families. Like Settlement Fund Trustee's schemes, roads will be needed to help these new farmers' access markets to sell their produce and obtain money for sustainability.

Further, the study recommends that like India which reduced taxation on agricultural products from the colonial 30% to 2% after independence, Kenya can also reduce excise duty on peasants' agricultural produce as an incentive to encourage them view agriculture as an employment sector with attractive returns (Frykenberg, 1969).

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