THE CHANGING ROLES OF COLONIAL CHIEFS AMONG THE NANDI OF KENYA, 1906-1963

BY

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A Thesis Submitted to the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Department History, Political Science and Public Administration in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree in History

Moi University

2025

DECLARATION

Declaration by the Candidate

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late Grandfather, Kiboit, to whom I owe my livelihood.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, and foremost, I thank the Almighty God for His Grace that enabled me to go through this academic endeavour with patience amidst challenges. I appreciate the great contribution that I received from the many institutions and individuals towards the success of this study. I express my sincere gratitude to the faculty who have dedicated their time to my academic progress in attainment of my Ph.D. In special mention, I acknowledge the late Prof Peter Odhiambo Ndege and the late Prof Ken Oluoch who have been very useful to me as Supervisors. I appreciate the Kenya National Archives' staff, such as the late Richard Ambani and Ivan Otieno, for giving me a lot of assistance to find the materials I needed for my study. I also thank the staff of Kakamega Archives. I am deeply indebted to my research assistant, Simon Yator, for braving the tiresome movements throughout Nandi County, administering interviews to the respondents. Special gratitude goes to those elders who willingly provided the much-needed data that forms the core content of this thesis. I also thank my family; my mothers, Salome and Margaret, my fathers, Nicholas and Nathan, my brothers and sisters, my wife Naumy and my children, Katie, Victor and Joram. They assisted me to go through this work peacefully. I indeed received financial and moral support for my academic endeavour from my family members who always ensured that I got the support I needed in good time. I appreciate all the people who assisted me in one way or another and may not have been mentioned by name. The completion of this proposal and ultimately the thesis will not be mine own effort but a process supported by you all. May the Lord bless them all abundantly.

ABSTRACT

The subject of colonial chiefs has received much scholarly attention over the years. Many of these studies have shown that these chiefs served dualistic and often diametrically opposed roles, striving to meet needs of the colonial administration and those of their communities. Not many studies have examined the Nandi colonial chiefs within this dualistic framework. The study critically examined the roles of colonial chiefs in the social, economic and political transformation of the Nandi during the colonial period. It was guided by five objectives: To analyse the nature of the pre-colonial Nandi society up to 1896; to evaluate the establishment of the colonial chiefs among the Nandi in the early years of colonialism, 1906-1918; to explore the changing roles of colonial chiefs during the inter-war period, 1919-1939, to critically evaluate the dual nature of Nandi colonial chiefs in the period 1939-1945 and to examine the changing roles of colonial chiefs in the post World War II period. The study was anchored on the principal-agent theory and the Elite theory, which explained the dual nature of the chiefs both as elites and principal agents in societal transformation. It was conducted in Nandi County and adopted the historical research design, which relied on oral interviews and analysis of documents from archival sources. Purposive sampling was used to identify those informants who met the inclusion criteria, and it was done using Snowball sampling. Data was obtained from oral interviews, which was corroborated with data from archival sources. Validity and reliability were ensured using expert review of the interview and document analysis guides. The collected data was then analysed thematically based on the objectives of the study, and then presented through narrative and direct quotations where necessary. The study revealed that pre-colonial Nandi (up to 1896) had an elaborate and centralised system of governance denoted by clans headed by council of elders and with the overall leader being the Orkoiyot. With the advent of colonialism in Kenya, the period between 1906 and 1918 was one in which the colonial government laid the foundation for their administration. At this time, chiefs were introduced to the Nandi, which was an alien form of leadership imposed on the community. Therefore, the Nandi largely rejected this type of leadership, making it difficult for the colonial chiefs to undertake their mandate at this time. Over time, with increased acceptance of colonial chiefs by the Nandi, the period 1919 to 1938 saw many transformations in the community, including establishment of schools, health centres and farming, all of which were influenced greatly by colonial chiefs. In the period 1939-1963, it was revealed that the chiefs were at the centre of supplying the British Army with able-bodied servicemen to fight in the war. In so doing, they played dualistic roles; on one hand, they anticipated social change at the same time accelerating underdevelopment, particularly in the view of the aftermath of the war and the negative effects it had on the demobilized soldiers and their families. At the same time, the Nandi chiefs also ensured that social, economic and political developments continued to take place during the period leading to independence. From the study findings, it was concluded that the dual roles of the Nandi chiefs manifested as principal-agent problem. The chiefs tried to serve the conflicting interests of both the Nandi people and the colonial administration. The study recommends that more studies be done to examine the changing role of chiefs, particularly in the post-independence period. It is expected that the study will benefit historians, administrators and government machinery, particularly in the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government to define various aspects of leadership needed to spearhead social, economic and political transformation in Kenya.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AC	African Chiefs
ADC	African District Council
AIM	African Inland Mission
ASB	African Settlement Board
CC	Colonial Chiefs
CE	Council of Elders
CNC	Chief Native Commissioner
COM	Council of Ministers
DC	District Commissioner
DEB	District Education Board
DO	District Officer
EAP	East Africa Protectorate
FFM	Friends African Mission
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GAS	Government African School
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KASU	Kenya African Study Union
KAU	Kenya African Union
KNA	Kenya National Archives
LAC	Local Advisory Council
LEGCO	Legislative Council
LNC	Local Native Council
MHM	Mill Hill Missionaries
MTRH	Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital

OI	Oral Interviewee
PA	Principal Agent
PC	Provincial Commissioner
S/O	Son of
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
UNO	United Nations Organization
YKA	Young Kavirondo Association
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

GLOSSARY

Asis – Supreme Being or deity (also called Tororot, Chebso Namun ni, Chepkoiyo and Chaptalel)

Bakule – a man with whom one was circumcised together and who subsequently belong to the same age set

Bandiat – maize

Barwetab chemuriet – permit

Birtich – warriors who have retired from their age grade

Boiyot ab kok – village elder

Bunyot – enemy. The term was used in reference to chiefs appointed from non-Nandi communities.

Busaa – local Nandi brew

Chemargoriat – a pot for storing food

Chepkerichinik – medicine men and women

Emet – country or the entire land area occupied by the Nandi

Ibindo – age set

Kaita - conglomeration of households belonging to one family/clan

Kamarikit met – act of committing suicide

Kapich – household / family homestead

Kaptaiyat ab Murenik – leader of an age set

Kebir siroto chemitan – voting by line

Keng'wekta – to betray

Kimume – inviting curses from the community through one's actions

Kinya magargar – a colloquial describing the act of resolving conflicts locally instead of escalating them to the chief or other government authorities.

Kiptaiyat – leader of a band of warriors

Kiptaya ab Boriet – an experienced senior warrior

Kiptororit – traditional ox-drawn plough

Kirwongindet ab oret – Leader of a clan

Koito - pre-wedding ceremony/ Engagement ceremony

Kokwet – village

Koret – land occupied by a single clan

Maotiot – oracle / priest / seer

Menjo - traditional seclusion area/hut/house during the circumcision rite

Motirenik – teachers/ mentors of initiates during a circumcision ritual

Murenik – young men who have just undergone and completed initiation

Ngoimeti – front warriors in a guerrilla warfare

Olduido – the rear-guard warriors

Orkoiyot (pl. *Orkoiik*) – Overall traditional leader of the Nandi community; he embodied the political, cultural, religious, social, economic identity and unity of the community.

Oyietab tuga – to herd or watch over the animals (livestock)

Pororiet (pl. *Pororiosiek*) – a clan

Rotek – gossip

Saket ab eito – ceremony conducted to mark the end of an age set and the beginning of a new one

Singilet – beacon

Taet – special necklace women put on

Tiondo – totem (usually name of animal) that symbolizes a clan

Tuchu – livestock

Toloita – term used in reference to the bread-winner role of the husband in a household

Tulwop Kony - Mt. Elgon

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

The following terms were operationalized are as used in the study:

Agent A person acting on behalf of another or executing delegated power. In this study, colonial chiefs were agents of the colonial administration.

Chief A government administrative officer in charge of a location.

Chieftaincy The office or position of the chief.

Colonial chief: Agents appointed from the colonized communities, in this case the Nandi, by the British colonial authorities to head a population segment known as the location.

Colonial period: The span of time in which colonial rule was effected on the Nandi people.

Economic transformation: Both the positive and negative changes caused by colonial chiefs in respect to material wealth or resources, business principles, philosophies and actions relating to management and distribution of such resources in the Nandi society.

Elite theory: Elite is a group of persons that considers itself superior to others owing to their unique abilities. Elite theory therefore refers to the philosophical construct that describes how colonial chiefs regarded themselves as superior to especially the members of their Nandi community.

Political transformation: Positive and negative changes caused by colonial chiefs in respect to leadership, public administration, public policies, ideologies on public management of people and resources in the Nandi society.

Pre-colonial period: The time before the British colonisers arrived and effected their colonial agenda in Nandi area.

Principal Agent Theory: A person vested with full powers to act or make decisions over a given jurisdiction or entity. In this study, the term was used to describe the colonial administration vested with powers to oversee the Kenyan colony.

Social transformation: Positive and negative changes caused by colonial chiefs in respect to social structuring, relations, existence and events, beliefs, rituals or ceremonies in the Nandi society.

Transformation: A positive or negative change of a high magnitude caused by colonial chiefs in Nandi society.

Role: Responsibility, duty, funtions, contribution.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

The aim of this chapter is to provide a background to the role of colonial chiefs among the Nandi of Kenya. The genesis of colonial administrative structure was laid down during the Berlin Conference in which the colonial powers deliberated how to enforce effective control of the respective colonies that they laid claim over. This is when the introduction of the colonial administrative structures was coined, including the introduction of chieftaincy. The chapter therefore provides a detailed explanation of the study area, statement of the problem, objectives and research questions as well as significance and justification of the study, scope and limitation, literature review and the theoretical framework and the methodology.

1.2 Background to the Study

The role of African chiefs in the transformation of the societies has been a subject of intense scrutiny among scholars. Thomson argues that the onset of colonial administration in 1890 replaced effectively the pre-colonial structures.[1] Given that many of the African communities were acephalous, they were ruled at the clan or community level and as such they had their leaders who played social, economic and political roles in their respective societies. One contrast that exists when examining the chiefs in the pre-colonial era and the colonial era is that whereas the latter commanded socio-religious authority, those in the colonial period were colonial appointees and their respect depended on how they managed to balance the expectations of their masters with the needs and aspirations of the people they ruled. In essence, Ogutu posits that the colonial administrative structures and the subsequent legislative laws reduced the

[1] Thomson, A. (2022). *An introduction to African politics*. Taylor & Francis.

functions of a chief to a government officer.[2] Unlike before, when the chief was answerable to ancestors in the discharge of his functions, the colonial chief became answerable to the colonial administration. During this period, the African chief was at the lowest stratum of the colonial administrative hierarchy. For example, Palley connotes that in Zimbabwe, the Rhodesian High Commissioner issued a proclamation in November 1898 which laid ground for the structures of a native department to administer Africans.[3] To this effect, the chiefs were under the Chief Native Commissioner with very limited powers. In fact, Palley reports that the Native Commissioner of Inyanga region in 1910 remarked that he did not advocate the placing of too many powers in the hands of the African chiefs.[4] From this statement, it is clear that the Europeans did not design the institution of the African chieftaincy to be proactive independent contributors to the progress of the African society but to simply fulfil the roles assigned.

Despite this deliberately orchestrated design to limit the powers and influence of the colonial chiefs, Miles argues that the chiefs served as adjuncts in the administration of colonial Africa.[5] For example, in Nigeria, the colonial government relied on traditional rulers in fostering development projects. The chiefs played several critical roles; first, they acted as a linkage of national identities through the conferment of traditional titles as well as to act as safety valves for overloaded and sub apportioned bureaucracies.[6]

In India, Manisha and Deb aver that the British administrative machinery was goaled towards two main objectives: the first one was the preservation of law and order and

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[2] Ogutu, M. A., & Kenyanchui, S. S. (1991). *An Introduction to African History*. Nairobi: Nairobi University Press.
[3] Palley, C. (1960). *The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia*. Oxford: University Press.
[4] *Ibid*.
[5] Miles, W. F. (1993). Traditional rulers and development administration: Chieftaincy in Niger, Nigeria, and Vanuatu. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *28*, 31-50.
[6] *Ibid.*

the second was the continuation of the British dominance of the colony.[7] The architect of the Indirect system of administration, Fredrick Lugard, was a believer in the doctrine which he argued that was based on the belief that the Europeans were superior and hence were poised to dominate the Africans through a carefully designed system that places the African chiefs at the bottom level of the hierarchical pyramid. This system managed to ensure that the African chiefs continued to exercise their traditional powers while at the same time enabling the British attain their goals.[8]

In Nigeria and Uganda, Afigbo[9] posits that their structures were as a result of the work of Fredrick Lugard that was enforced having been tried and tested in Songhai and Ashanti Empires. The driving factor towards the establishment of the system was what Mahmood Mamdhani referred to as the 'native problem'.[10] In his book, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, Lugard cited examples of several other empires which had successfully implemented the system of Indirect Rule.[11] However, Hobsbawm posits that the chiefs were not always supported by the local populations.[12] This was because of the fact that the European ruling class also often chose leaders with similar traits like their own. This led to the sarcastic reference of the system as 'decentralized despotism'.[13]

In French colonies, particularly in Senegal, Ogutu and Kenyanchui argue that they did recognize traditional authority, but they regarded the chiefs as their allies and agents.[14] In the long run, there was a symbiotic relationship between the two in which the French

[7] Manisha, M., & Deb, S. M. (Eds) (2009). *Indian Democracy: Problems and Prospects*. Anthem Press.
[8] *Ibid*.
[9] Afigbo, A. E. (1972). *The Warrant Chiefs: indirect rule in southeastern Nigeria, 1891-1929* (pp. 3-6). London: Longman.
[10] Mamdani, M. (2012). *Define and rule: Native as political identity*. Harvard University Press.
[11] Lugard, L. F. J. (2013). *The dual mandate in British tropical Africa*. Routledge.
[12] Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger, T. (Eds.). (2012). *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge University Press.
[13] Mamdani, M. (2012). *Define and rule: Native as political identity.*
[14] Ogutu, M. A., & Kenyanchui, S. S. (1991). *An Introduction to African History.*

colonizers used the chiefs in the collection of taxes while the chiefs also took advantage to get incentives in return.[15] In Kenya, the relationship between the chiefs and the colonial masters was ambiguous. On one hand, the chiefs were torn in between serving their subjects or those of their masters on the other hand. As a result, Otieno[16] states that the chiefs were highly supervised by their white seniors to ensure that they served their masters. Those who were found to have divided loyalty were humiliated.

Nevertheless, the colonial chiefs had a significant role in the social and economic as well as political transformations of the communities where they served in spite of the difficult circumstances and context, they found themselves in. For example, among the Nandi and Kipsigis, it was complicated for the British to reconcile the post of the '*orkoiik*' to that of a '*Pax Britannica'*. A case in point is where the youngest son of Koitalel, Barserion Arap Kimanye was at first appointed by the British to be a chief then later arrested by the then DC accompanied by a detachment of armed police.[17] This was after he was suspected of planning to revenge the death of his father. He was later sentenced to deportation to Nyeri in Central Kenya and later on Mfangano Island where he stayed until the period leading to independence. Nevertheless, there are subsequent colonial chiefs among the Nandi community during the colonial period who piloted social, economic and political transformation among the community. It is therefore against this background that the study sought to examine the roles of these chiefs within their context and more so in the period between 1906 to 1963.

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[15] *Ibid*.

[16] Otieno, K. O. (2022). *The Socio-Economic and Political Transformational roles of colonial chiefs among the Southern Nyanza Luo of Homa Bay County, Kenya (1890-1963)* (PhD Thesis). Moi University.

[17] Anderson, D. M. (1993). Black mischief: crime, protest and resistance in colonial Kenya. *The Historical Journal*, *36*(4), 851-877.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The transformative role of the colonial chiefs has elicited a lot of contrasting and contradictory opinions and analysis in equal measure. To some scholars, the colonial chiefs were seen as stooges of the colonial administration and an epitome of the excessive exploitation of Africans by the colonialists. Those who subscribe to this school of thought base their arguments on the fact that the chiefs were made to collect hut tax, poll tax and cattle tax from their respective fellow impoverished communities.[18] To this end, Otieno avers that the African chiefs were in a dilemma.[19] This dilemma was occasioned by the need to balance between serving their masters on one hand and their communities on the other, a thing which proved to be an uphill task. However, on the contrary, there are those who argue in favour of the view that colonial chiefs were transformative agents who helped in the progress of their communities in a wide array of ways. In fact, Tomson notes that the African chiefs helped to restore law and order as well as coordinate community mobilization projects. The aim of this study was to interrogate the above divergent positions in respect to the Nandi colonial chiefs. Therefore, being one of the communities that initially resented the British invasion as witnessed through their fierce resistance, it becomes vital to examine how the colonial chiefs were eventually entrenched among the Nandi community and their contributions towards the social, political and economic realms during the period under study. Therefore, the major aim of this study was to unravel the contradictory question of the extent to which colonial chiefs in Nandi successfully navigated the twin roles of being colonial agents and legitimate transformative representatives of the local community.

[18] Thomson, A. (2022). *An introduction to African politics*. Taylor & Francis.
[19] Otieno, K. O. (2022). *The Socio-Economic and Political Transformational roles of colonial chiefs*

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Main Objective

The main objective of the study was to analyse the transformative roles of colonial chiefs among the Nandi during the colonial period, 1906-1963.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

i. To analyse the nature of the pre-colonial Nandi society up to 1896
ii. To evaluate the establishment of the colonial chiefs among the Nandi in the early years of colonialism, 1906-1918
iii. To explore the changing roles of colonial chiefs during the inter-war period, 1919-1939
iv. To critically evaluate the dual nature of Nandi colonial chiefs in the period 1939-1945
v. To evaluate the roles of Nandi colonial chiefs in the period leading to independence, 1945-1963

1.5 Research Questions

i. How was the pre-colonial Nandi society organized up to 1896?
ii. In which ways was the chieftaincy established among the Nandi in the early years of colonialism, 1906-1918?
iii. In what ways did the roles of colonial chiefs change during the inter-war period, 1919-1939?
iv. What was the dual nature of Nandi colonial chiefs in the period 1939-1963?
v. What were the roles of Nandi colonial chiefs in the period leading to independence, 1945-1963?

1.6 Significance and Justification of the Study

Chiefs in Nandi deserve a detailed study because they were closely related to the political, economic and social changes that took place in Nandi County during the colonial era. Scholars on Nandi history, such as Ngeny[20] and Sutton[21], have given brief and passing accounts on the roles of chiefs. Besides, most of the writings on this subject have been in the form of biographies of specific chiefs, so that, arguably, secondary scholarly sources are very few. Therefore, this study sought to fill this major gap in Kenya's historiography with regard to the role of colonial chiefs as agents of change in the Nandi. The significance of this study lies in the assumption that when people are properly educated on the role of the institution of chieftaincy, they would come to appreciate the role that leadership plays in social, economic and political change in society. It is also important to clarify the specific roles that these chiefs played to clarify, finally, the confusion over whether or not they were collaborators with the colonial forces.

The study also contributes to scholarly body of knowledge by providing an in-depth analysis of the history of the Nandi chieftaincy. It investigated the significant roles of the chiefs during the colonial period and therefore chronologically give an in-depth study of the British culture of indirect rule. The research is particularly resourceful in mapping the history of chieftaincy and therefore helps in tracing and reinforcing other similar studies in other communities or tribes in Kenya and Africa.

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[20] Ngeny, S. K. (1972). Nandi Resistance to the Establishment of British Administration 1893-1906. In B. A. Ogot, (Ed.). *Historical Association of Kenya, Hadith 2*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

[21] Sutton, J. E. G. (1976). The Kalenjin: Country and People. In B. A. Ogot, (Ed.). *Kenya before 1900* (pp. 21-52). East African Educational Publishers.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study was mainly geared towards addressing the roles of the Nandi chiefs within the contexts of social, political and economic realms during the colonial period. The onset of the colonial period in Nandi officially was when they were finally subdued in 1906 after a protracted resistance that was led by Koitalel Arap Samoei. This was then when the British begun establishing their colonial administrative structures among the Nandi which included the chieftaincy. The Nandi were selected purposefully because of the fact that they are among the communities that had strong pre-colonial structures and the introduction of the colonial administration greatly revolutionized their organization. The study also was carefully divided into periods for the sake of conveniently deciphering the events that were taking place in the society. These periods were: the early years of colonialism, the inter war period and the period leading to independence in 1963 when the country attained independence from the British.

Several limitations were realized in the course of the study. The first one related to the accessibility of vital documents that relate to chiefs in Nandi. Most of the documents that were found in the Kenya National Archives (KNA) were in the form of Annual Reports and were not very specific about the roles of the chiefs. However, this was countered by locating the documents that were at the regional offices in Nakuru as well as corroborating information with informants who were privy to the period under study. The second limitation touched on the challenge of accuracy of information received from the informants. In some cases, it was established that the informants would either exaggerate or fail to disclose vital information about the chiefs in the area. This was also countered by probing and comparing the information from different informants as well as critically subjecting it to both internal and external heuristics in order to detect

any inconsistencies in the information. Above all, care was taken to ensure that the limitations did not adversely affect the outcome of the study.

1.8 Literature Review

1.8.1 Introduction

This section presents a survey of literature related to the study. The related literature is structured thematically in line with the research questions in order to execute the study more precisely. Four eminent categories of the related literature are on the nature of the pre-colonial period, the roles of chiefs in the early independence, inter war and pre-independence periods. Lastly, the section also identifies gaps in existing literature that this study sought to fill.

1.8.2 Nature of Leadership in Africa during the Pre-colonial Period

Pre-colonial African societies in Kenya consisted of a large number of relatively small competing ethnic groups constantly feuding over natural resources such as land, water and pasture all of which were coupled with territorial disputes. The basic units of governance were the extended to family and the clan and finally chieftaincy. In a predominantly polygamous society, these basic, patriarchal units could be quite large. Superimposed on the family were clans, which were defined by relationship to a common ancestor and usually were loosely governed by the leaders who were relatively equivalent to chiefs.

Dzivenu argues that during the pre-colonial Africa, majority of traditional societies had well-structured systems where traditional leaders and their council of elders ruled.[22] The headman, who was the leader of the smallest constituent, was responsible to the

[22] Dzivenu, S. (2008). The politics of inclusion and Exclusion of Traditional Authorities in Africa: Chiefs and Justice Administration in Botswana and Ghana. *Polish Perspectives, 2*(1), 1-30.

village chief. The village elder was subject to the senior or divisional headman. In every village, there were organs for conflict and dispute resolutions through the chief and the council of elders. These organs were also reinforced by the council of elders who headed every clan.[23] This study provides a generalized framework for understanding the nature of leadership of most pre-colonial African societies. However, it treats all African communities in a homogenous sense, implying that all of them had similar types of leaders. The truth is that for most African communities, the institution of the chief began with the advent of colonialism.

Murdock and Provost[24] aver that before the Europeans colonized Africa, there were two main forms of government in place made up of centralized government and the council of elders. A centralized system of government was one in which a single person like a king or chief was in full control as exemplified by the Toro, Bunyoro, Ankole and Buganda in Uganda, the Wanga in Kenya and the Chagga and Wanyamwezi in Tanzania. On the other hand, the Council of Elders (CE) comprised a group of people who formed a council that regulated the activities of the community. There was a significant heterogeneity in political centralization across African ethnicities before colonization, as observed by Murdock.[25] This study, therefore, sought to establish if indeed the decentralized system of governance was practiced in the study area. On the one extreme, there were states with centralized administration and hierarchical organization such as the Songhai Empire in Western Africa, the Luba kingdom in Central Africa, and the kingdoms of Buganda and Ankole in Eastern Africa. On the

[23] Nyamnjoh, F. B., & Diop, A. C. A. (2015). *Our Modernities Traditional: Chieftaincy and Democracy in contemporary Africa*. Retrieved from http://www.nyamnjoh.com/files/chieftaincy-and-democracy-in-contemporary-africa.pdf

[24] Murdock, G. P., & Provost, C. (1973). Measurement of cultural complexity. *Ethnology*, *12*(4), 379-392.

[25] Kiwanuka, M. S. (1972a). *History of Buganda: From the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900*. Holmes & Meier Pub.

other extreme, there were some societies without political organization beyond the village level, such as the Nuer in Sudan or the Konkomba in Ghana and Togo. The middle of the spectrum occupied societies organized into large chiefdoms and loose alliances, such as the Ewe and the Wolof in Western Africa. While these societies lacked statehood, they tended to have conflict resolution mechanisms and a somewhat centralized decision-making process.[26] The advent of the Europeans in Africa had limited impact on these pre-existing local political structures. This was because colonization was quite limited both regarding timing and location.[27]

The Nandi people had a decentralized political structure predating colonialism, centered on an elder council, in which chiefs served as intermediaries rather than as absolute authorities. This framework demonstrated the greater diversity of governance structures seen in pre-colonial Africa and allowed for collective decision-making and dispute resolution.

An examination of these studies reveals several things. The nature of the pre-colonial society was highly organized and not as the Eurocentric scholars portrayed it. According to scholars such as Hegel, the pre-colonial societies were disorganized and they failed to exhibit any meaningful progress.[28] Such views demonstrate a lack of understanding of how these societies were organized. It thus becomes of essence to document the nature of these societies in order to provide a thorough understanding of the communities. Secondly, there needs to be an understanding of the transition that led

[26] Diamond, J. (1997). *Guns, Gems and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton Co, p. 18.
[27] Herbst, J. (2000). *States and Power in Africa*: *Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 320.
[28] *Ibid.*

to colonialism. It becomes very important to be able to x-ray how the pre-colonial societies were affected by the imposition of the colonial administrative structures.

Comprehending the functions of Nandi colonial chiefs in the context of pre-colonial society reveals an intelligent and well-organized society that underwent substantial transformations as a result of colonization. Understanding these cultures' adaptation and resilience to outside pressures, as well as the long-lasting impacts of colonial power on their development, requires an understanding of their historical context.

1.8.3 Introduction of Chieftaincy in African Societies in the Early Years of Colonialism, 1906-1918

According to Assimeng, the introduction of chieftaincy by the British was not the fullest institutionalized expression of traditional rule. [29] As such, in many African communities, the office of chieftainship with the roles assigned by the colonizers was thus alien, as no such form of leadership existed in their societies. In the pre-colonial period, the leadership occupied by the chiefs and kings embodied the basic features of prescribed kinship and lineage succession to office, awe and sacredness of office and office holders, specific forms of contractual relationships between leaders and their subjects, institutionalized procedures for conflict resolution, decision-making and implementation mostly at the levels of community or kingdom. This is an aspect of indirect rule that was deemed best discussed through the lens of the principal-agent theory. The views of Assimeng reiterate those of the dilemmas of the principal-agent theory. It alludes to the potential conflict of interests in the position of colonial chief as the agent of the British and representatives of their people.

[29] *Ibid.*

The chieftaincy that the British colonial government imposed on Nandi society was essentially alien and incompatible with the pre-existing political systems. Many times, the roles and responsibilities that these colonial chiefs were given ran counter to the conventional expectations of leadership, which led to significant social and political problems both during and after the colonial era.

Crowder asserts that chieftaincy institutions were maintained and used by the colonialist for colonial interest.[30] The indirect rule in Northern Nigeria attests to this phenomenon. According to Crowder, whether or not they had fulfilled the entire traditional pre-requisite for assumption of office, which would have allowed them to rule in colonial days, their right to rule depended on the colonial authorities. Similarly, Afigbo asserts that the British instituted Native Courts and installed warrant chiefs to control them.[31] This was because the British believed that African people had to be governed by chiefs, therefore maintaining the organic unity of the Nigerian society. In effect, many warrant chiefs solely constituted colonially backed usurpers of power and had little legitimacy beyond the fact of being installed by colonial state.[32] To what extent then did this illegitimacy apply to the case of the Nandi colonial chiefs? The present study sought to address this question. Warrant chiefs were indigenous chiefs located in areas with centralized political institutions, such as the Buganda Kingdom in present-day Uganda and the Islamic emirates of Northern Nigeria. They helped the British to implement their policy of indirect rule in which existing indigenous chiefs helped to govern Britain's African possessions. The reviewed works of Crowder and Afigbo describe the measure of authority or power that the colonial chiefs exercised.

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[30] Crowder, M. (1978). *The story of Nigeria*. London: Faber & Faber.
[31] Afigbo, A. E. (1972). *The Warrant Chiefs: indirect rule in south-eastern Nigeria, 1891-1929*.
[32] Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton University Press, p. 324.

An investigation into the broader ramifications of colonial governance and the particular strategies used by the British in Kenya is necessary in order to establish the legitimacy of colonial leaders among the Nandi people. The concept of "warrant chiefs," as expounded by academics such as Crowder and Afigbo, highlights a vital aspect of colonial governance in Africa, specifically via the implementation of indirect authority.

Guyer[33] and Geshiere[34] argue that while chieftaincies in Africa have their roots in pre-colonial society, the institution was greatly shaped by colonial indirect rule. This view seems to suggest that pre-colonial African societies had leadership forms that could be considered as being equivalent to colonial chiefs. This might not be true of all African communities. Indirect rule across Africa was viewed by colonial administrators as a way to maintain law and order and to decrease the cost of local government administration by keeping in place the existing rulers and ruling through them. Though the policy of indirect rule was articulated most clearly as a net of colonial rule in British Africa, French colonial administrations also shaped rural institutions in similar ways. The reviewed studies situate the institution of colonial chiefs as a product of the British indirect rule. Cartwright documents that paramount chiefs started dominating appointments to the legislative council when it was in charge of the allocation of educational spending.[35] In the case, it is plausible for divergence across chieftaincies to also have emerged during this period.

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[33] Guyer, J. (1978). The Food Economy and French Colonial Rule in Central Cameroon. *J. African Hist., 19*, 325.

[34] Geschiere, P. (1993). Chiefs and Colonial Rule in Cameroon: Inventing Chieftaincy, French and British Style. *Africa: J. Internet. African Inst., 63*, 325.

[35] Cartwright, J. (1970). *Politics in Sierra Leone, 1947-67*. Toronto: University Toronto Press, p. 362.

Under the influence of colonial policies, the Nandi colonial chiefs evolved into a distinctive institution that changed the traditional leadership structures and had long-lasting effects on Nandi society's social, economic, and political environment. The Nandi people's communal relations and modern leadership are still shaped by the effects of these shifts.

Grishow suggests that since the establishment of chieftaincies, the colonial administrations increasingly intervened in rural areas with the aim of changing farming methods lacking major technological and institutional changes.[36] For this reason, they opted to use chiefs and village headmen to disseminate information and propaganda. This suggests that there was some resistance by Africans to the advanced forms of agriculture introduced by the British. The present study examined the role of colonial chiefs in dealing with such resistances in Nandi. Therefore, indirect rule became the solution whereby "development could be achieved without disrupting traditional community." The work of Cartwright and Grishow suggests that colonial chiefs made effort to transform their native societies through education and agriculture. Mamdani argues that the European colonizers in several occasions strengthened tribal chiefs and kings via their doctrine of indirect rule.[37] This view provides clues to the origins of tribal chieftaincy in some African national politics, including Kenya. On the eve of African independence, some countries attempted to limit the role of ethnic institutions; however, the inability of African states to provide public goods and broadcast power beyond the capitals led African citizens to continue relying on the local ethnic-specific

[36] Grishow, D. (2008). Rural 'Community', Chiefs and Social Capital: the case of Southern Ghana. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, *8*(1), 70.
[37] Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 323.

structures rather than the national government.[38] In a sense, these views show the exact point when African states failed to transition from tribe-based to nation-based politics. Mamdani's work illustrates how colonialism served to entrench negative ethnicity in African politics through the appointment of colonial chiefs. It thus becomes relevant to examine the establishment of the colonial chieftaincy and the peculiarities that acted as the foundation of their rule during the colonial rule. The current study therefore sought to provide a detailed examination of how the introduction and imposition of the colonial administrative structures affected the perception of the chieftaincy and hence their roles.

An analysis of Nandi's colonial leaders indicates a complex relationship marked by resistance, adaptation, and transformation under colonial rule. While their participation in agricultural reforms reflected the needs of the community and the dynamics of local authority, it also served colonial interests. This interaction adds a great deal to the current conversations in Kenya about ethnicity and government.

The history of Nandi squatters in Uasin Gishu goes as far back as 1912 when settlers made several requests for labour to Nandi chiefs. Ochieng' says that, in that year, the cattle population in the Nandi reserve had fallen to about 12,000 as the bulk of the cattle had gone with the squatters to the neighbouring settler farms.[39] As such, apart from land alienation, cattle confiscation was another strategy of indirect rule which ensured the British had power over the natives in Uasin Gishu. At the same time, the issue of Nandi squatters raised complaints from both chiefs and European settlers. Some of the chiefs complained that settlers in the Uasin Gishu were constantly requesting him to supply

[38] Michalopoulos, S., & Papaioannou, E. (2013). Pre-colonial Ethnic Institutions and Contemporary African Development. *Econometrica, 81*(1), 1.
[39] Ochieng', W. (1975). *An Outline History of the Rift Valley of Kenya Up to A.D. 1900*. Kenya Literature Bureau, pp. 63-65.

them with labour. This begs the question on the availability or otherwise of the Nandi labour. What attitudes did the Nandi have towards working in settler farms? In 1916, settlers were complaining about the restriction by tribal authorities forbidding Nandi squatters to take their cattle on to farms.[40] This view hints to conflicts between the Nandi and the white settlers concerning grazing spaces. The present study sought to establish the role of colonial chiefs in mitigating such conflicts. The studies by Ochieng' and Peristiany indicate that the Nandi chiefs did show concern for the economic welfare of their people even as they endeavoured to advance the mandate of indirect rule. However, it is not clear from these studies how much impact the complaints from these chiefs improved the economic welfare of the Nandi. This is a question the present study hoped to answer.

1.8.4 Changing Roles of Chiefs in the Inter-War Period, 1919-1939

Furley has shown the positive role of chiefs and other elders in mainland Tanzania who, in the inter-war period, led the Local Native Authorities there to build their own elementary schools from their own treasuries.[41] The nature of colonial chiefs in Tanzania as appointees of the German colonial authorities may have differed from those appointed by the British in other regions, although this was not within the scope of the present study. For Uganda, it was the kings and chiefs who opposed the introduction of technical education, and demanded, accelerated and perpetuated the growth of academic education in the protectorate. This is a good example of the moment when colonial chiefs as agents of indirect rule demonstrated that they could exercise their power over their principals. In particular, Furley demonstrates that the history of such

[40] Peristiany, J. (1939). *The Social Institution of the Kipsigis*. Hertford: Stepton Austine and Sons Ltd, p. 129.

[41] Furley, O. (1963). *Education and the Chiefs in East Africa in the Inter War Period*. University of East Africa Social Sciences Council Conference-History Papers, Makerere Institute of Social Research, pp. 66-83.

prominent missionary and secular schools as Kisubi, Namilyango, Mengo, Budo, Hoima and Busoga between 1900 and 1940 is inextricably linked with the efforts of the Kabaka of Buganda, the Mukamas of Toro and Bunyoro and the Kyabazingas of Busoga. The reviewed work was insightful in understanding the nature of power exercised by the colonial chiefs in Uganda.

While Furley's study sheds insight on the functions of chiefs in Tanzania and Uganda, very little is known about the Nandi colonial chiefs of Kenya. A complete picture of indirect rule in East Africa must take into account their unique roles and contributions during the colonial era. Like their predecessors in Tanzania and Uganda, the Nandi chiefs most likely had to deal with local authority and colonial rule. Their unique experiences and influences aren't well chronicled, though. Additional investigation may shed light on the interactions between the Nandi chiefs and the colonial authorities as well as their communities, adding to the broader story of colonial governance in the area.

Similarly, Bogonko affirms that colonial chiefs helped to build schools, dams and wells, and construct roads.[42] Bogonko's observation was insightful since the present research also sought to examine the contribution of the Nandi colonial chiefs to the economic transformation of their people. Bogonko's study provides the general picture of the contribution of colonial chiefs to the transformation of their respective communities during the colonial period. Taking insight from these studies, the present research examined the contribution of the Nandi colonial chiefs to the political, economic and social transformation of the Nandi in the colonial period.

[42] Bogonko, S. A. (1985). Colonial Chiefs and the Making of Class: A case Study from Teso, Eastern Uganda. *Journal of International African Institute*, (2), 140-159.

Throughout the colonial era, the Nandi colonial leaders had a significant influence on the political, social, and economic climate of their community. Even as they managed the challenges of colonial governance, their deeds prepared the way for the Nandi region's future development. Their contributions show how the limitations of colonial rule and the initiative of local leadership interact in a complex way. Thorough documentation of the chiefs' responsibilities can offer insightful information about the opportunities and problems that modern Kenyan leaders have in trying to strike a balance between national priorities and local demands. The colonial leaders of Nandi left behind a legacy that emphasizes how crucial it is to comprehend the past in order to successfully handle contemporary challenges.

Ochieng' states that, in some areas, such as among the Kamba in Machakos, the intensity of the conflict and competition for chief's office led to repeated deposition of chiefs for their excesses by British Officers and disrupted the effectiveness of sate administration unity well into the 1920s.[43] Ochieng' adds that, more generally, the two dominant forms of African labour that arose to meet settler and state needs of the migrant labour and squatting on estates both began to undermine the authority of chiefs and white administration and hence threatened the recently created apparatus of state control. Until 1908, district officials had themselves been sourcing for labour and government agencies the main employers. Due to pressure from the colonial administration, the native chiefs and their retainers used forced labour on Africans. Therefore, the roles of the African chiefs ought to be fully documented to be able to understand the complex environments that they operated from. On one hand, they were

[43] Ochieng', W. R. (1972). Colonial African Chiefs: Were They Primarily Self-seeking Scoundrels? In B. A. Ogot (Ed.). *Hadith 4: Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya* (pp. 46-70). Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

required to be change agents while on the other; they were seen as instruments of oppression and propagation of the British oppressive system.

An in-depth comprehension of Nandi chiefs' dual positions as local authority leaders and facilitators of colonial governance is crucial when analyzing their responsibilities throughout the colonial era. Their stories provide as an example of the wider complexity of colonial rule in Kenya, where traditional leadership frequently clashed with the demands of colonial governance and the shifting socioeconomic conditions. This complex relationship emphasizes how crucial it is to fully record their actions in order to develop a solid grasp of African leadership in the context of colonialism.

As observed by Keulder, the institution of pre-colonial chiefs or simply traditional African leaders and their related procedures of governance were not only simpler forms of government, but also more accessible, better understood, and a more participatory one.[44] Further, Keulder observes that the office of the chief in the colonial period was also more accessible because it was closer to the subjects than any other system of colonial government.[45] As such, in many regions of colonial Africa, ethnic leaders and chiefs enjoyed considerable support and popularity across local communities. The reviewed study by Keulder underscores that the colonial chiefs tended to be more accepted by the natives if they exercised leadership that was familiar to the people. However, considering that these colonial chiefs were appointed by the colonisers, how feasible it was for these appointees to exercise such leadership. Logan similarly observes that ethnic institutions were still instrumental in the colonial period in

[44] Esenhardt, K. M., & Kathleen, M. (1989). Agency Theory: An Assessment and Review. *Academy of Management Review, 14*(58), 57-74.
[45] Austin, G. (2005). *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana – From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante, 1907-1956*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, pp. 28-29.

assigning property rights and resolving disputes.[46] The reviewed works of Keulder and Logan offered insights on the advantages that accrued to the natives from the offices of colonial chiefs, especially where they exercised power in favour of the natives.

The capacity of colonial chiefs to oversee the intricacies of colonial rule while maintaining links to customs was a critical component of their efficacy as Nandi leaders. Their acceptance by the community, which was influenced by their adherence to existing governance institutions and their responsiveness to local needs, was a major factor in their success. Keulder and Logan's insights show how traditional leadership persisted even during colonial authority, highlighting the complex interaction between colonial chiefs and the Nandi.

In colonial Kenya, Ndege posits, the role of chiefs cannot be overlooked as they were referred to as the agents of socio-economic and political change.[47] Ndege asserts that colonial chiefs, with whom colonial authorities had established patron-client relations, were in charge of Native Authorities and exercised almost dictatorial influence over customary land allocation in their locations.[48]

The legacy of the Nandi colonial chiefs is complex and often controversial, despite their significant role in the establishment and maintenance of colonial governance in their region. Their deeds not only strengthened the resistance against colonial dominance but also had an impact on the political and socioeconomic climate of colonial Kenya.

Vincent asserts that the office of colonial chief was established and maintained within a local political environment where neither traditional rulers nor the traditional principle

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[46] Logan, C. (2011). The Roots of Resilience: Exploring Popular Support for African Traditional Authorities. *Afrobarometer Working Paper No. 128*. Afrobarometer, p. 4.
[47] Ndege, P. O. (2012). *From Accumulation of Women and Children to "Land Grabbing": Agrarian Kleptocracy and the Land Question in Kenya*. Eldoret, Kenya: Moi University Press, p. 4.
[48] *Ibid*.

of hereditary succession to political office was recognised.[49] This view suggests that, in most regions, colonial chiefs were imposed on the colonised communities. The colonisers gave no regard for the natives' perspective on the nature of leadership and succession. Vincent thus traces the growth of the bureaucratic and authoritarian aspects of client chief ship, along with changes in the relations of the chiefs with the colonial regime and with the people they ruled. In time, their increasing powers of coercion and their accumulative control of patronage led to the emergence of a class interest among them. This view sits well with the principles of Elite theory. It demonstrates that colonial chiefs, over time, evolved into a unique social class vested with both political and economic power. According to Vincent, this trend became crystallized in the mid-1920s when, as a body, they maintained a conservative stance within a colonial administration geared to change.

The local community did not initially support the British establishment of the colonial chief office in Nandi. However, as time went on, some of the chiefs began to collaborate with the colonial authority and gained power, which led to the establishment of a conservative class that was resistant to change. This development demonstrates the colonial chief system's bureaucratic and authoritarian traits as well as how it impacted the local political environment.

The exploitative nature of the chiefly class that grew up in Teso between 1896 and 1927 is a matter of record, says Vincent. To the peasantry they were certainly a class of oppressors against whom there was little appeal. The client chiefs were obliged to be responsible to the demands of office as defined by those above them. The predominant cleavage in Teso society between 1907 and 1927 was that between chiefs and peasantry,

[49] Vincent, J. (1977). Colonial Chiefs and African Development in Kenya with Special Reference to Secular Education. *Trans African: Journal of History*, *14*, 23.

a lesser cleavage developed among the chiefs themselves because of differential economic opportunities, and the Iteso chiefs were being given access to the outer corridors of power.[50] Vincent's views demonstrate the workings of the Elite theory in that it describes how colonial chiefs established themselves as the centres of power against their peasant natives.

Like their counterparts in Teso, the colonial chiefs of Nandi had a big impact on the political and socioeconomic dynamics of their villages. Despite offering a certain degree of local autonomy, their support for colonial powers frequently resulted in the peasantry being exploited. This left the area with a legacy of inequity and divisiveness that has persisted for a long time. Understanding the wider effects of colonial authority in Kenya requires an analysis of these relationships.

Vincent adds that, unfortunately, the role that the new type of chief had to play in society was different from what the traditional leaders (mostly elders and supreme heads of communities) did before colonialism.[51] This view suggests that the advent of colonial chiefs marked a great and detrimental departure from the nature of leadership through which the colonized people were to live. Unlike the colonial chiefs, the traditional leaders protected clan/ethnic lands, led people to war and hunting expeditions, negotiated peace with adversaries, 'ensured' that rains came, ensured that there was enough food for his people and resolved various kinds of disputes in his location. The colonial chief also performed, among others, the last two named duties of pre-colonial leaders. Yet, the office of the former was very much different from that of his predecessor. The present study also examined the nature of Nandi colonial chiefs so as to demonstrate the similarities and differences of their leadership roles with those of

[50] *Ibid.*
[51] *Ibid.*

the Nandi pre-colonial systems. The aim of this comparison was to underline both the positive and negative contribution of the colonial chieftaincy to the Nandi transformation.

In an endeavour to consolidate their position in Kenya, as elsewhere in their colonial empire, the British colonizers instituted the post of chief as part of their administrative apparatus. The expected role of these chiefs, from the perspective of the British, was to control Africans and local resources and hence make the colony self-sufficient. The chief was salaried and was the lowest or grassroots link in that chain of command designed to communicate and carry out orders from above Munro. Unlike these chiefs, the traditional leaders, such as the Orkoiyot of the Nandi, were not salaried as such, although the people had ways to honour them with gifts.[52] This distinction was very important since it showed how colonial leadership was rooted in the western culture of commercialization. In essence, it enabled the present study to examine how the Nandi colonial chiefs represented a departure from the traditional type of leadership where ascension to office was driven by the need to serve and not salaries. Moreover, it marked a point at which leadership, as understood and exercised, was to be contested for the financial rewards it promised on those who got elected or appointed.

Ochieng' observes that the local communities in Africa expected colonial chiefs to act in their favour.[53] African chiefs were expected to support the wishes of their kith and kin to the hilt, for instance, in their struggle for political freedom and socio-economic emancipation. The present study sought to establish the extent to which the expectations of the natives on the colonial chiefs went contrary to the mandate given to these African

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Ochieng', W. R. (1972). Colonial African Chiefs – Were they Primarily Self-Seeking Scoundrels? *Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya*, *4*(46), 62.

chiefs by the British. As such, the study sought to demonstrate, using the principles of the Agency theory, how the colonial chiefs struggled to balance these conflicting expectations.

The broader dynamics of colonial rule throughout Africa were intimately related to the aspirations of the Nandi people for their colonial chiefs. The difficulties the chiefs had in balancing these conflicting tasks serve as a reminder of the complex nature of leadership in colonial America, when local people' needs frequently ran counter to those of colonial authority.

Bogonko notes that, because many chiefs betrayed the expectations of their people, they were branded as clamorous collaborators with the European colonialists and as tyrants, self-seekers and non-conservatives.[54] This reiterates the view by Atieno-Odhiambo[55] and Kiwanuka[56] that African colonial chiefs were corrupt, inefficient and tyrannical, and blatant collaborators, swindlers and self-seekers who oppressed their African people in an endeavour to promote colonialism and themselves (chiefs). Citing examples, Atieno-Odhiambo further emphasizes that Karuri and Kinyanjui of Kikuyu threw their lot headlong with the colonisers for personal gain, and that it was chiefly the collaborators of this inclination who violently helped in subduing Murang'a and Nyeri areas in the period 1902-1905.[57] Moreover, chiefs bullied, robbed and cheated African peasants of their lands, stock and taxes. The above views give a generally negative perception of African colonial chiefs. They fail to provide individual analysis of the nature of leadership of each individual chief, which is what the present study did.

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[54] Bogonko, S. A. (1985). Colonial Chiefs and the Making of Class: A case Study from Teso, Eastern Uganda. *Journal of International African Institute*, (2), 140-159.

[55] Atieno-Odhiambo, E. (1971). Some Reflections on African Initiatives in early Colonial Kenya. *East Africa Journal*, *8*(6), 31-2.

[56] Kiwanuka, S. (1972b). *From Colonialism to Independent*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, pp. 106.

[57] Atieno-Odhiambo, E. (1971). Some Reflections on African Initiatives in early Colonial Kenya.

The rationale was that a closer examination of each chief would allow the study to identify the unique leadership styles, the unique challenges and hence successes and failures that every chief had to contend with. Such information would inform a fair assessment of the performance of each chief with respect to transformation of his or her communities.

Some other studies have highlighted the positive contribution of African chiefs to the welfare of their people. Despite their many shortcomings, colonial chiefs played key roles in socio-political transformation, which greatly affected the economic change either. In the Western Kenya, for example, Luo Chiefs were equally some of the key sponsors of the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA) on December 23, 1921, which campaigned for a degree of higher education and for a government school or schools. YKA was under the patronage and leadership of such chiefs as Daniel Odindo and Ogada Odera between 1921 and 1923 were held. In those gatherings, the chiefs did not leave the government in any doubt as regarded the need for the redress of African grievances against colonialism. Above all, they stressed the need for a government school for Central Nyanza.[58] Chiefs Wambugu and Murigo also saw a big secular school as their evaluation. Such a school could admit all their children irrespective of their religious affiliations.[59]

During the colonial era, especially under British colonial control, the Nandi colonial chiefs were very important to the socio-political dynamics of Western Kenya. Though in different ways, the Nandi chiefs also made important contributions to the welfare of their people, the Luo chiefs played a key role in the founding of the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA) to promote political and educational rights. It was of interest to the

[58] *Ibid*.
[59] The Work of an African Chief in Kenya. *Habari* (1924, March), pp. 11-12.

current study to determine how some chiefs were able to make a positive contribution to their people while still fulfilling the wishes of their colonial masters.

However, it was not until after the inauguration of the Local Native Councils (LNCs) in 1925 that the role of chiefs in the African campaigns for secular schools came to the fore.[60] The Abaluyia, Joluo, Abagusii, Abakuria and Abasuba chiefs of Nyanza were also the key proponents of secular education in their districts. Headman Paul Agoi of South Maragoli, Chiefs Mwanza of Kabras, Paul Amiani of Kaimosi, Joseph Mulama of Marama and Mulala must go down as some of the chief architects of the politics, which gave shape and led to the founding of Kakamega School.[61] The above reviewed studies attest to the contribution of colonial chiefs to the political consciousness and education of their people in Nyanza and Western Kenya. The present study similarly sought to document the contribution of the Nandi colonial chiefs to the political, economic and social transformation of the Nandi society in the colonial period.

Acemoglu *et al*. aver that chiefs elected in areas with larger numbers of ruling families have significantly better development outcomes today than chiefs elected in areas with fewer elite families.[62] This was an important distinction that was adopted in the current study. Of interest in this study was to determine the marked differences in the performance of the Nandi colonial chiefs with respect to the positive transformation of their people. What factors ensured that some chiefs did better than their counterparts in colonial Nandi? Acemoglu *et al*. further ascribe the mechanism to the presence of

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[60] Bogonko, S. N. (1981). *Protest through Education as an instance of African Resistance to Socio-Cultural Oppression in Kenya: 1924-1950.* A Paper presented at Eastern Africa. History Conference on Social and Cultural History of Eastern Africa-Sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and Social Services and Goethe-Institute, Naivasha, 12th to 15th November, pp. 19-24.

[61] Bogonko, S. N. (1985). Colonial Chiefs and African Development in Kenya with Special Reference to Secular Education. *Transafrican Journal of History*, *14*, 1-20.

[62] Acemoglu, D., Reed, T., & Robinson, J. (2014b). Chiefs: Economic development and elite control of civil society in Sierra Leone. *Journal of Political Economy*, *122*(2), 319-368.

political competition and constraints faced by the chiefs: more ruling families' means more effective political competition constraining the chiefs in their quests to rent-seek and extort wealth from the citizens. Their investigation begins in the early twentieth century when the British Colonized Sierra Leone. As such, they analyse the differences between already-colonized chiefdoms in Sierra Leone. The study provides meaningful insights into the understanding of how the chiefs were integrated in Sierra Leone. It thus provides a basis for understanding how the chiefs helped in the transformation of their respective communities, particularly during the inter-war period.

1.8.5 Dual Nature of Colonial Chiefs in the Period of World War II, 1939-1945

The onset of World War II greatly increased pressure on the colonies to produce resources for the sustenance of war efforts abroad. According to Burton, African efforts were required in 1939 in three areas: the armed forces, food production on their own farms, and labor force. The military authorities forced the labor force to perform essential backup work for the troops on farms, estates, and plantations owned by Europeans. [63] During the Second World War (1939-1945), the colonial state, represented by the African leaders, took the initiative to feed the soldiers. Because of this, the African population at this time perceived the imposition of taxes through compulsion and threats as a punitive measure that needed to be rejected. Before World War I, the colonial authorities in Kenya employed this particularly well-liked tactic to ensure compliance and facilitate the collection of poll and hut taxes.[64]

Therefore, colonial governments in Africa felt the need to increase production. As such, in most parts of Africa, colonial chiefs were instrumental in labour recruitment and

[63] Burton, D. (1987). The taxation of Africans: Transvaal 1902–1907. *African Historical Review*, *19*(1), 47-60.
[64] *Ibid.*

conscription of natives into the British military.[65] Meanwhile, in some places, such as South Africa, colonial chiefs were losing popularity with both the natives and their colonial masters due to failure to rise to the challenges at hand. In contrast to the chiefs who sought power through the institution and salaries offered by the state, Izinduna, some concentrated on the means of advancement available to them in the rural areas. By 1930s, many Zulu chiefs were no longer powerful or affluent in the customary pre-colonial sense, but were rather a heavily indebted class of paid civil servants.[66] This suggests that the economic allurements of the office of colonial chief were an illusion. The British ensured that the colonial chiefs did not earn enough to make them too powerful. Generally, chiefs were unlikely to undertake cash-crop production on land they held in trust for the people. During drought and depression of the 1930s, increasing numbers of chiefs of royal lineage from northern districts set off for the urban areas and the land mines to augment their incomes through tribal subscriptions.[67] It is evident from these studies that the local chiefs used their positions to exploit the local people economically.

The chiefs' dual positions as both community spokespeople and representatives of colonial authority highlight the complexities of their roles during World War II. This was exacerbated by the fact that the chiefs were also at the forefront of enforcing tax measures designed to coerce Africans into accepting wage labor.[68]

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[65] Killingray, D. (1982). Military and labour recruitment in the gold coast during the Second World War. *The Journal of African History*, *23*(1), 83-95.
[66] *Ibid.* p. 583.
[67] *Ibid.* p. 584.
[68] Fibaek, M., & Green, E. (2019). Labour Control and the Establishment of Profitable Settler Agriculture in Colonial Kenya, c. 1920–45. *Economic History of Developing Regions*, *34*(1), 72-110. https://doi.org/10.1080/20780389.2019.1581058

During World War II, chiefs played a significant role in developing wage labour systems in colonial Africa.[69] According to Fechner, in order to satisfy "free labour contracts" for European immigrants and investors, colonial administrations frequently ordered chiefs to deliver a specified number of people. Similarly, Cooper claims that colonial chiefs played an important role in organizing and regulating labour for colonial economic goals, but there was a complicated interplay between labour coercion, diminishing pay, and the chiefs' standing within the labour system.[70] Cunningham concurs with Cooper, pointing out that in the 1940s, African laborers' real wages declined despite increased labor demand. Low productivity levels, as well as financial restrictions imposed by colonial regulations, contributed to this decline. Increased agricultural productivity was advantageous for settlers, but it did not result in higher wages for African workers.[71] As such, the development of a wage labor force was facilitated by a confluence of colonial policies, economic shifts, and the commercialization of African agriculture.[72]

Youe points out that the increase in maize production due to intensification of agriculture in the period of WW2 led to competition for land space in the reserve for both grazing and maize production. According to Youe, this served to further increase reliance on squatter holdings for cattle grazing.[73]

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[69] Fechner, H. (2022). Standard-Setting in Colonial Labour Regulation and the Great Depression. In: Nullmeier, F., González de Reufels, D., Obinger, H. (eds) *International Impacts on Social Policy. Global Dynamics of Social Policy*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-86645-7_26

[70] Cooper, F. (1989). From free labor to family allowances: Labor and African society in colonial discourse. *American Ethnologist*, *16*(4), 745-765.

[71] Cunningham, T. (2023, April). Missionaries, the State, and Labour in Colonial Kenya c. 1909–c. 1919: the 'Gospel of Work'and the 'Able-Bodied Male Native'. In *History Workshop Journal* (Vol. 95, pp. 175-196). Oxford University Press.

[72] Cooper, F. (1989). From free labour to family allowances.

[73] Youe, C. (1988). Settler Capital and the Assault on the Squatter Peasantry in Kenya's Uasin Gishu Disrtict, 1942-63. *African Affairs*, *87*(348), 393-418.

The start of World War II had a significant impact on the colonised as well as the structure of colonial government in Africa. The war's demands led to increased labour needs, a decline in traditional leaders' authority, and the financial exploitation of indigenous populations. These elements contributed to a growing discontent that eventually prepared the ground for subsequent movements across the continent that favored independence and self-determination. Mshiyeni and other chiefs in Zulu land derived special benefits and material gain from their association with the state's military recruitment drive.[74] However, Colonel E. Stubbs, the Director of Non-European Army Services, complained that Mshiyeni was either unable or unwilling to fulfil his grandiloquent promises of providing even hundreds let alone thousands of men despite having been entertained lavishly by the Defence Department and a special itinerary band sent through Nongoma at his request. This is indicative of the tension that existed between the colonial chiefs and the British due to poor pay for the former. Such tension also helped to reveal the nature of services rendered to the British by the colonial chiefs, which was important in this study concerning the Nandi colonial chiefs. The present study presumed that colonial chiefs sought to protest their poor pay by either overcharging the natives fines or sabotaging the government projects.

Colonial leaders in regions such as Zululand and the Nandi lands often had to negotiate complex relationships with the British colonial authority, particularly when it came to military recruiting drives. Potential pecuniary rewards coexisted with dissatisfaction stemming from inadequate remuneration in this partnership.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 581.

Nayega[75] and Lubogo[76] argue that the initiation of British colonial rule in Basoga posed a threat to the Basoga Chief and, unlike the Baganda, the British had come to stay. As the land was the basis of both political and economic power of the Basoga chiefs, the onset of the British ushered in politico-psychological insecurity, which motivated the chiefs to demand for a land settlement. Moreover, violent methods were used against the British rule in other parts of Uganda; the Basoga, weakened by raids from Buganda, sleeping sickness and crop failure, chose a peaceful option. Therefore, the chiefs chose to operate within the colonial establishment in their efforts to convince the British to institutionalize their control over land. Clearly, land alienation was a key factor in the establishment of colonial rule. By annexing land belonging to the traditional leader, the British were able to disempower such leaders or cow them to obedience. In relation to the above, a key question asked in the current study was: what role did land alienation play in the emergence of colonial chieftaincy in Nandi? Furthermore, 1930 characterized the Basoga chiefs' petition on the issue of land, and read as follows: "We the Basoga very much desire to have freehold land, being of the same nature with that introduced in Buganda province in 1900."[77] The reviewed studies underscore how many of the present-day land injustices can be traced to colonial policies on land tenure and use. They also demonstrate how the British manipulated the dynamics of land use and ownership to ensure control of the natives in colonial Uganda.

The Nandi chiefs' colonial experiences bear many similarities to the Basoga's, particularly in relation to the implications of land alienation on traditional authority.

[75] Nayega, P. F. B. (1979). Chiefs and the Land Question Busoga District, Uganda, 1895-1936. *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, *12*(2), 183-209.
[76] Lubogo, Y. (1960). *History of Basoga*. Jinja: East African Literature Bureau, p. 184.
[77] Nayenga, P. F. (1979). Chiefs and the" Land Question" in Busoga District, Uganda, 1895-1936. *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, *12*(2), 183-209.

The inadequacies in our current understanding of Nandi colonial chiefs' roles in land alienation and colonial governance are shown by the arguments that follow.

In Kenya, the rise of armed military natives also challenged the position of colonial chiefs in the early 1940s. With World War II raging in the 1940s, army recruits from Kenya went on a strike demanding to be issued with rifles just like their British counterparts.[78] The government obliged and issued some of them with guns to fight in the War. The soldiers were also taken through training on how to use the guns. These service men later became among the first leaders of the militant struggle, especially in central Kenya. They ex-soldiers also competed with the chiefs in agitating for political positions later in the period leading up to independence.

According to Gutteridge, the conscription of soldiers caused such resentment that the French decided, on the eve of World War II, to buy African collaboration by promising all Africans who finished their military service the opportunity to vote.[79] In contrast to the French, the British, however, depended on colonial chiefs to increase KAR recruiting. Schiff points out that in order to meet the personnel requirements of the King's African Rifles (KAR), which by May 1942 had doubled in number to a force of over 30,000 soldiers, African leaders and British recruitment officers had to work together.[80]

According to Ashley, the African man had absolutely no influence on the causes of the Second World War.[81] She points out that the militarism of Japan and the bellicose deeds

[78] Owino, M. (2015). The impact of Kenya African soldiers on the creation and evolution of the pioneer corps during the Second World War. *Journal of Third World Studies*, *32*(1), 103-131.
[79] Gutteridge, W. (1975). *The Military Legacy of Colonial Rule*. Paper presented at International Conference of African States on The Military Past and Present, University of Ghana, August 1975. 5.
[80] Schiff, E. W. (2019). *Effects of the Two World Wars in Shaping African Colonial Soldiers' Perceptions of Colonialism*. Los Angeles: University of California.
[81] Ashley, J. (2006). *The British Empire and the Second World War*. London: Hambledon Continuum, The Tower Building.

of Adolf Hitler intensified the Second World War. The Treaty of Versailles had not completely removed the possibility of another war springing out between the European nations. In actuality, Hitler effectively undermined the terms of the Treaty of Versailles after taking office as Chancellor in 1933, and he was supported in his aggressive moves by 234 Italy's Benito Mussolini. The British prime minister at the time, Neville Chamberlain, made an effort to promote peace, but in the end his efforts were unsuccessful. Many African soldiers lost their lives in the fighting. They were manned by a large number of British colonial soldiers, many of whom were deployed to fight in Europe.[82] However, as Ashley notes further, before France's surrender, one important African military contribution to the war effort was not expected. In March 1940, the War Cabinet decided that, apart from South Africa, British Africa's main military contribution should be the creation of an African division that could be used in Africa and the Middle East, combining with other imperial units from formations such as the Indian Army and the Australian Imperial Force. Prior to the war, plans intended for moving two brigades from West Africa to East Africa to provide support in the event that Italy entered the war.[83]

The KAR's lack of reputation in East and Central Africa meant that recruitment efforts had to allay fears.[84] The notorious Carrier Corps, a labor and porterage regiment that fought in East Africa during World War I and left a poor impression on many, damaged the military's reputation. How far colonial attitudes had progressed over the next twenty years is demonstrated by the fact that Africans serving in the army from 1939 to 1945 received treatment that was markedly better than during the previous world war. In British Africa, recruitment relied on the support of local authorities, propaganda, the

[82] *Ibid.*
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] *Ibid.*

allure of military duty, and the possibility of financial gain. Just like in Jamaica, African homes were highlighted.[85]

According to literature on Kenya, the Nandi from Nyanza Province in the west of the country were the largest tribal group in the 5KAR battalion as of December 1938. Out of the 330 African fighter ranks, there were 61 Nandi.[86] Additionally, the Nandi were well-represented in the Transport Corps and 5KAR. Major G. B. Whitworth stated that the Nandi men were selected mostly because of their physical attributes. They were athletic, skilled in tracking and bushcraft, and extremely quick on their feet.[87] Major T. R. King, who was with KAR during the Second World War, likewise lauded the Nandi.[88]

Previous studies have further outlined some of the major downsides to the use of colonial chiefs in KAR recruitment. First, due to widespread discontent about being coerced into military duty, the continued cooperation between recruitment officers and African chiefs – who served as the main recruiters – weakened the chiefs' influence among their communities.[89] Second, the colonial government's overreliance on chiefs to enlist soldiers for the KAR and other military groups throughout the war caused the chiefs' standing and power in their villages to decline.[90] Moreover, colonial rulers soon realized that the rapid expansion of the KAR and the common recruitment practices,

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[85] *Ibid.*
[86] Warner, J. A. (1985). *Recruitment and Service in the King's African Rifles in the Second World War* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Bristol).
[87] *Ibid.*
[88] *Ibid.*
[89] Phiri, B. J. (2022). The African Participation and Experiences in the First and Second World Wars in Northern Rhodesia: A Historical Perspective 1914–1948. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, *57*(1), 47-59.
[90] Brands, H. (2005). Wartime Recruiting Practices, Martial Identity and Post-World War II Demobilization in Colonial Kenya. *The Journal of African History*, *46*(1), 103-125. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4100831

which often involved coercive coercion, had serious societal consequences and could eventually jeopardize the stability of their rule.[91]

In addition to undermining colonial chiefs' power, the appearance of armed military natives during World War II also sparked a broader political consciousness among the Nandi and other Kenyan groups. Because of this growth, as the country got closer to independence, there were significant changes in the dynamics of leadership. In evaluating their role in society, Moindi argues that scholars have given colonial functionaries varied treatment. According to Moindi, many historians, notably Muriuki, Atieno-Odhiambo and Kiwanuka, have generally portrayed colonial African chiefs as mere instruments used by the British to reach the colonized.[92] However, much power the chiefs may have retained under colonial rule-and some retained a great deal-one fact was clear to them as to their subjects: Ultimate authority now lay with the white man. Moindi's views the colonial chiefs as agents of social change; he does not view the chiefs as being collaborators.[93] This is supported by Ondieki who describes the African colonial chiefs as agents of social change. It is important to note, however, that despite the criticisms against them by some scholars, African chiefs played significant roles in the economic transformations of their people.

Irungu contends that colonial administrations entered the post-war era during World War II with a renewed public resolve to be perceived as actively promoting the growth of the economy over which they governed, for a variety of reasons.[94] Thus, it may be claimed that a significant portion of the colony's budget was allocated to ongoing

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[91] *Ibid.*
[92] Moindi, K. (1997). *The Work of an African Chief in Kenya:* Being an Edition of a Chief's Guide and Handbook Issued by the Government of Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printers.
[93] Ombati, V. F. O. (1994). Development of secular Education in south Kavirondo District of Kenya: The case of government Africa school Kisii, 1934-1963 (Unpublished M. Ed Thesis, Kenyatta University).
[94] Irungu, S. (2019). *The role of colonial chiefs in Kenya: Their impact on Kenya's security standards, educational system and agricultural sector*. GRIN Verlag.

expenses, such as education and agriculture, while other areas such as these received smaller amounts. Furthermore, it is clear that the direct rule system that made chiefs into rent seekers was employed to exploit these levies to the advantage of the chiefs, their families, and cronies at the detriment of the people. Previous research has supported the way in which chiefs handled tax collection and their opaque spending practices.[95]

The peasant production sector emerged as a parallel and significant production system during the Second World War in the late 1940s, coinciding with the twin agrarian system.[96] The end of farmer associations and their replacement by marketing and regulatory boards, which subsequently impacted the prices of agricultural produce, were further noteworthy obstacles.[97] For example, in 1959 the Kenya Dairy Board was established in response to the collapse of the global dairy market. Furthermore, the famine and drought in 1965 led to the replacement of the maize marketing board with the maize control board.[98] The 1954 Swinerton Plan was one of the solutions to the land problem. Therefore, the Swynnerton Plan represented the end of a protracted process of agricultural reorganization of African regions that had begun as soon as World War II.[99]

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[95] *Ibid.*
[96] Maxon, R. M. (1992). The establishment of the colonial economy. In W. Ochieng' and R. M. Maxon (Eds.), *An economic history of Kenya* (pp. 63-74). Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
[97] Kenyanjui, S. (1992). "European Settler Agriculture." In W. Ochieng' and R. M. Maxon (Eds.), *An Economic History of Kenya* (pp. 111-127). Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
[98] Leys, C. (1975). *Underdevelopment in Kenya*. The political economy of neo-colonialism 1964-1974. East African Publishers.
[99] Kamau, G. (2007). *Researching with farmers: a study of KARI participatory research practices in context*. Wageningen University and Research.

1.8.6 Roles of African Chiefs in the Social, Economic and Political Transformations in the Period Leading up to Independence

As the independence period was beckoning, the colonial chiefs were forced to adjust to the changes that were taking place. For example, the rules on the collection of taxes as well as labour recruitment kept on changing and as the colonial governments relaxed the stringent laws as a way of opening up space leading to independence. However, Erik states that the colonial chiefs continued to be responsible for maintaining law and order in their areas, although they were not allowed to conduct court cases.[100] Contrary to this, Power argues that in the Shire Highlands in the Southern region of Malawi, both Chiefs and village headmen began to act beyond their formal power as they acted as judges, imposed fines and in some cases even collected labour from their villages.[101] These views underline that colonial chiefs, as agents, tended to contradict the interests of their principals. Power's views indicate that colonial chiefs were constrained by the dictates of their colonial bosses.

The Nandi people, who lived in what is now Kenya, were one of the several ethnic groupings that colonial chiefs established in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Nandi chiefs frequently found themselves in a difficult situation where their actions occasionally contrasted with the goals of their colonial superiors, despite the colonial administration's aim to employ them as tools of government and reform.

Palagashvili explored some of the reasons behind the rise in political strength of the colonial chiefs.[102] First, the fact that these men were put on salaries by the British placed

[100] Erik, G. (2011). Indirect Rule and Colonial Intervention: Chiefs and Agrarian Change in Nyasaland, ca. 1933 to the Early 1950s. *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, *44*(2), 253.
[101] Power, J. (1992). Individualism is the Anti-thesis of Indirect Rule: Cooperative Development and Indirect Rule in Colonial Malawi. *Journal of Southern Africa Studies, 18*(2), p. 329.
[102] Palagashvili, L. (2018). African chiefs: comparative governance under colonial Rule. *Public Choice, 174,* 277-300.

them on a higher social status in their communities. These view augers well with the principles of the Elite theory. The colonial chiefs became a unique political and economic class with unique interests. Lonsdale notes that from the year 1945, there was an increasing clamour for political independence in East Africa.[103] These years also marked the duration for African nationalism movement. According to Lonsdale, colonial chiefs played various roles in the struggle for political independence. On the one hand, there were chiefs who acted as providers of insider information on the colonial administration. They spied on the colonial government and passed useful information to anti-colonial fighters and lobbyists. On the other hand, there were chiefs who helped the colonial government to quash the rise of dissidence and militant struggle against colonialism. These chiefs used both espionage and violent means to acquire information and to repress Africans from seeking political self-rule. The latter group became irrelevant over time as the communicators or go-betweens of the colonised Africans and the British. Drawing insight from these views, the present study examined the role of the Nandi colonial chiefs in the political struggle for independence in Kenya. The research sought to determine if the Nandi colonial chiefs played a positive or negative role in the independence struggle. Lonsdale's study gives insight on the contribution of colonial chiefs in Kenya to the nationalism movement. However, the study does not mention specific colonial chiefs who acted in support of or against African nationalism.

[103] Lonsdale, J. M. (1968). Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa. *Journal of African History, IX*(1), 119-146.

According to Hamilton[104] and Mamdani[105], chiefs as the unofficial officers of the British indirect rule gained their elevated social status from their central role in collection of taxes. Therefore, collection of taxes for the British was the first main economic responsibility of the colonial chiefs. The present study used these views as a basis for examining the role of colonial chiefs in the implementation of taxation policy in Nandi. Nevertheless, Hamilton and Mandani do not show how the chiefs, having been placed as important middlemen in collection of taxes, used their position to transform their African communities economically.

Important viewpoints on the indirect rule structure and the chiefs' function as tax collectors for the British colonial authority are provided by Hamilton and Mamdani. They do not, however, explore how Nandi's colonial chiefs used their powerful positions to promote economic change in their local communities. This study looks on the economic impacts of colonial chiefs in Nandi in an effort to rectify this error.

Davenport[106] and Mamdani[107] both contend that Shepstone's segregationist policy of indirect rule, bolstering the elite position of chiefs, keeping blacks and whites apart, denying the former access to economic opportunities in reserves, was clearly a precursor to latter day apartheid in South Africa. Being the agents of implementation of segregationist economic laws, the colonial chiefs understood clearly the negative economic consequences of colonial policies on the natives. From these views, it is clear

[104] Hamilton, C. (1998). *Terrific majesty: the powers of Shaka Zulu and the limits of historical invention*. Harvard University Press, p. 260.
[105] Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 9.
[106] Davenport, T. R. H. (1987). *South Africa: a modern History* (3rd ed). London: Macmillan Press Ltd, p. 5.
[107] Mamdani, M. *Citizen and Subject*, p. 50.

that colonial chiefs were in a strategic position to bargain for fair economic welfare of the African natives.

The predicament of the Nandi chiefs serves as an example of the complex issues surrounding indirect rule and how it affected African leadership in the colonial era. Despite their potential, these chiefs' ability to speak up for their villages was often curtailed by the colonial system. This left a legacy of social disintegration and economic disparity, which subsequently contributed to the development of apartheid in South Africa. Through an analysis of Nandi chief dynamics within this framework, we are able to have a deeper understanding of the historical background of colonialism and its ongoing impact on African societies.

Hammond-Tooke [108] and Evans [109] agree that the policy of incorporating African leaders, in the form of colonial chiefs, into the political structures of colonialism ensured that Africans would blame their own black leaders for the economic woes resulting from colonisation. Therefore, the British wanted to steal resources from Africa and still find absolution from that crime. Moreover, by preserving the shattered fabric of the indigenous mode of living, the colonialists kept Africans apart from colonial institutions. This implies that impoverishment of the natives was an integral strategy of the British indirect rule. Having been rendered poor through confiscation of cattle and land alienation, Africans would not match the economic status of the white settlers.

By means of policies like taxes, land appropriation, forced labour, and trade control, the Nandi colonial rulers had a major impact on the economic transformations that

[108] Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (1975). *Command or Consensus: the development of Transkeian local government.* D. Philip.
[109] Evans, I. (1997). *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 184.

occurred inside their community. They weren't just tools of the colonial government, either. Individuals such as Koitalel arap Samoei vigorously resisted colonial measures that jeopardized the customs and way of life of the Nandi people.

Cope[110], Macmillan[111], Bradford[112] and Gluckman[113] argue that, in South Africa, colonialists afforded the chiefs material gain to lessen the temptations of corruption and to put a stop to the excessive fines imposed by chiefs. Chiefs welcomed the proposed stipends claiming that they were no longer able to support themselves on court fines or the extraction of tribute.[114] This implies that colonial chiefs tended to be corrupt or to misappropriate funds. It was also indicative of the growing effects of commercialisation on leadership. By the late 1940s, an effort to avoid association with the unpopular state and the potential loss of adherents, some chiefs argued that commoners' fines should be paid directly to white officials.[115] Generally, however, the imposition of fines remained a financial mainstay of chiefly authority. The reviewed studies show that chiefs had some economic gains for themselves due to their positions. However, the studies fail to show whether or not these chiefs used their enhanced economic status to advance the welfare of their communities

Among the Nandi, the function of colonial chiefs was multifaceted, involving not just economic shifts but also matters concerning community well-being and corruption. To

[110] Cope, N. (1985). *The Zulu Royal Family under the South African Government, 1919-1933* (PhD Thesis, University of Natal), p. 242.
[111] Macmillan, H. (1995). Return to the Malungwana Driff Max Gluckman, the Zulu, Nation and the common society. *African Affairs*, *94*(374), p. 568.
[112] Bradford, H. (1988). *A taste of Freedom.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, p. 573.
[113] Gluckman, M. (1940). Analysis of a social situation in modern Zululand. *Bantu studies*, *14*(1), 1-30.
[114] Mackinnon, A. S. (2001). Chiefly Authority, Leapfrogging Headmen and the Political Economy of Africa, 1930-1950. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 27*(3), p. 578.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 578.

fully comprehend the ways in which their leadership impacted Nandi society's socioeconomic structure during the colonial era, more study is required.

Goldsten and Udry both show that connections to chiefs in Akwapim, Ghana, was crucial in determining property rights to land and hence investment incentives in agriculture, though they themselves proposed a relatively benign interpretation of the chiefs' actions.[116] Evidently, colonial chiefs held sway over some important economic assets. This situated the chiefs in a strategic position to influence the economic situation of the natives positively. Siwan, Francois and Kotwal have found that in parts of Western India where land ownership was dominated by Maratha elites, development outcomes were worse but measured social capital was higher.[117] These views suggest that colonial chieftaincy had real and measurable economic impact, which was a concern of the present study with respect to the Nandi colonial chiefs.

Even while colonial chiefs functioned in an oppressive system, their activities opened doors for growth and commercial interaction. This contradiction highlights the necessity for a thorough analysis of colonial leadership's effects, one that goes beyond a strictly negative story to recognize the nuanced contributions they made to regional economy. To close the knowledge gap about the precise ways by which Nandi chiefs impacted economic conditions and to investigate the long-term effects of their leadership in post-colonial Kenya, more research is necessary.

Ayittey posits that the British colonialism strengthened the powers of the chiefs, weakened the influence of tribal opinion, and contributed to slow economic

[116] Goldstein, M., & Udry, C. (2008). The Profits of Power land Rights and Agricultural Investment in Ghana. *J.P.E*, *116*(6), 324.
[117] Siwan, A., Francois, P., & Kotwal, A. (2011). *"One Kind" of Democracy.* Manuscript, University British Columbia.

development in colonial and post-colonial Africa.[118] According to Ayittey, prior to colonialism, land in traditional Africa was nobody's property until someone settled on it. The current study presumed that the Nandi had elaborate rules governing land ownership and sought to determine the role of colonial chiefs in maintaining or altering such rules. Although the African traditional leaders exercised enormous powers over the distribution of land, much land was lineage owned. Further, these leaders could not recklessly exercise their powers of appropriation and confiscation without the full consent of the Council of Elders. However, during the colonial period, the chiefs, with the support of the colonial administration, became authoritarian and corrupt men. They also began to show no respect for the traditional councils of elders. From these views, the current study examined how the Nandi colonial chiefs exercised their powers of land distribution. Ayittey's work demonstrates how colonial chiefs arrogated themselves powers, which they then abused for economic gain at the expense of their people. From these views, the present study examined how the colonial chiefs in Nandi exercised their economic roles, if and how they benefited from those roles, and the contribution they made from their positions as economic actors to the economic transformation of the Nandi people.

The complex legacy of colonialism in Africa is shown by Ayittey's research, which focuses on the manipulation of traditional leadership systems throughout this time. A good example of how colonial chiefs, who were originally based on customs of local government, became instruments of colonial exploitation is the case of the Nandi people. Significant changes in property ownership, government, and economic development were the outcome of this revolution. In order to solve the continued

[118] Ayittey, G. (2006). *Indigenous African Institutions* (2nd ed.). Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers.

difficulties post-colonial African nations encounter in attempting to harmonize customary governance methods with modern state structures, it is imperative that they comprehend this historical background.

Generally, most of the studies reviewed in this section explored the role of colonial chiefs in advancing apartheid economic policies in South Africa. A few of the studies focused on the indirect rule in Uganda, specifically the Basoga kingdom. The general sense one gets from the review in this section is that chiefs tended to derive political power from the economic gains they obtained due to their privileged positions. There few studies that acknowledged that some chiefs tried to enhance the welfare of their people, especially with regard to land ownership. However, none of the studies mentions whether or not colonial chiefs successfully used their privileged economic positions to advance the economic welfare of their people, a gap that the present study aimed to fill. The next section undertakes a review of literature related to the colonial chiefs and the social transformation of the Nandi in the colonial period.

The literature reviews have provided meaningful insights in the understanding of the roles of chiefs in the colonial period, particularly in the periods beginning the pre-colonial, then early establishment, inter-war and the period leading up to independence. What has come out is that the African chiefs underwent a transition from the traditional positions to the colonial positions and then were also important in ushering in the independence period. Being one of the highly organized political systems in the pre-colonial period, the Nandi underwent a revolutionary process that forced them to accept the colonial chieftaincy institution. Therefore, a study of the role of colonial chiefs in Nandi society could reveal the nature and evolution of African colonial chieftaincy.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

A number of theories have been utilized in understanding the role of colonial chiefs. Among them is the Modernization theory. However, the Modernization theory is not considered ideal for this study since the focus of the study was to analyse their roles within the context that they were operating and their influence to the people they were leading. The theories that were considered ideal for this study were Bureaucratic theory, Principal Agent theory and the Elite theory. These theories complimented each other in guiding the study. The theories helped the researcher to examine the roles of colonial chiefs within the context of colonial bureaucracy, elitism and as principal agents in the implementation of colonial policies at the lowest levels of the administrative hierarchy.

1.9.1 Bureaucratic Theory

This theory was first propounded by Max Weber. He enlisted three principles that were central to the theory.[119] The first was the presence of defined services. This anticipates competencies strictly determined by laws and regulations in such a way that the functions are clearly divided and distributed, as well as the decision-making powers necessary for accomplishment of the corresponding tasks. The second is the protection of the employees in the performance of their functions by virtue of a statute. Lastly, it anticipates the hierarchy of functions which entail that the administration is heavily structured in subordinate services and management positions.

This theory was in sync with Fredrick Lugard's indirect rule system of administration. This system concentrated power at higher levels with strict supervision of those at the subordinate levels to ensure efficiency. This theory was therefore used to argue that the colonial chieftaincy was a product of a highly bureaucratic system meant to serve the

[119] Weber, M., & Sandro, S. (2019). The Concept of Bureaucracy. *International Journal of Social Studies*, *17*(2), 12.

whimsical interests of the British. Thus, the colonial chief was only an active agent towards this purpose. However, the theory does not help much in understanding how, despite the highly supervised and bureaucratic system, the African colonial chiefs still managed to be active transformative agents both socially, politically and economically. This therefore underlined the need for the other two theories, which explained the social, political and economic contributions of rthe African chiefs.

1.9.2 Principal-Agent (PA) Theory

The origin of the Principal-Agent theory is traced back to the 1970s studies in economics and institutional theory. Scholars are uncertain about the originators of the PA theory, although Stephen Ross[120] and Barry Mitnick have claimed authorship.[121] In Mitnick's account, the Principal-Agent theory emerged from a discussion by Stephen Ross about the dilemma of an individual selecting a flavour of ice cream for a person whose tastes he does not know. Despite these accounts, however, most often the authors cited in relation to the PA theory are Michael C. Jensen and William Meckling.[122]

The focal point of the Principal-Agent (PA) theory is the problem that occurs when cooperating parties have different goals and division of labour.[123] In this case, the parties in question are the principals and the agents. The principals are the persons or entities vested with full control of a system. The agents are those who are empowered by the principals to act on behalf of them (principals). The theory envisages that divergent interests between the principals and agents could create a problem, which

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[120] Ross, S. (1973). The economic theory of agency: The principal's problem. *American Economic Review, 62*(2), 134-139.

[121] Mitnick, B. (1974). *The theory of agency: The concept of fiduciary rationality and some consequences* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation). Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania. Univ. Microfilms No. 74-22, 881.

[122] Jensen, M. C., & Meckling, W. (1976). Theory of the firm: Managerial behaviour, agency costs and ownership structure. *Journal of Financial Economics, 3*(4), 305-360.

[123] Iyer, L. (2010). Direct Versus Indirect Colonial Rule in India: Long-Term Consequences. *The Review of Economics and Statistics, 92*(4), 324.

manifests in the increase in transaction costs and, in world asymmetric information, create incentives for one party to take advantage of the other through adverse selection or moral hazard.[124] The PA approach aims to identify different possible contracts regulating the relationships between the principal and the agent or, more precisely, contracts that enable the principal to coerce the agent to work towards the same goal. In the real sense the principal-agent problem, in political science also known as agency dilemma or the agency problem occurs when one person or entity (the "agent") is able to make decisions on behalf of the other entity also called the "principal".

One of the strengths of the PA theory is that it opens a leeway through which an agent can exercise power with legitimacy. If the agent deems that the interests of the principal are harmful, he or she can act contrary to the principal. Equally, to resolve the conflict, the principal will be forced to change the system, which could result in greater justice. In other cases, the principal invites the agent to sit and clarify expectations. Such meetings create room for presentation of views from the beneficiaries. In the present study, for example, the colonial chiefs can act as agents of both the British (principals) and the Nandi (beneficiaries). As agents, the chiefs can create a problem, which necessitate a meeting between them and the colonial administration. In such meetings, the colonial chief finds room to raise issues affecting the Nandi.

The limitation of the PA theory is that it presumes that the relationship between the principal and the agent is a fair one. However, sometimes the principal can delegate power to absolve himself or herself from blame. Therefore, in such a scenario, the agent participates unknowingly in wrongdoing. The principal can also delegate power to an incompetent agent as a way of highlighting that incompetence and hence destroying or

[124] Lugard, F. (1965). *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa.* London: William Blackwood and Sons, p. 194.

eliminating the agent. In the case of the current study, the relationship between the colonial administration and the chiefs was not based on ideal or just terms. The colonizers knew that the colonial chiefs were not to be trusted. As such, they delegated limited powers, which ensured that these chiefs could only serve limited interests of the principals. Consequently, the chiefs were already compromised and could not be effective in their work.

Despite its weaknesses, the study deemed the PA theory applicable to this study since it provided a lens for identifying and explaining the nature and effectiveness of colonial chiefs in relation to the political, economic and social welfare of the Nandi. The study applied two key concepts in linking the PA theory to the research objectives, namely political legitimacy and moral legitimacy. Political legitimacy places emphasis on the relationship between the ruler and the ruled and the extent to which there exists an agreement on the contents of power. In this case, the rulers were the British and the ruled were the Nandi. The colonial chides acted as the go-betweens of the two. Moral legitimacy includes norms, values, myths and symbols of the society that are used to define and evaluate appropriate political action. In this study, therefore, colonial chiefs were seen as the agents while the colonial government of the British was the principal. The colonial chiefs achieved political legitimacy by virtue of their appointment. However, their moral legitimacy was subject to the conflicting interests between the British, on the one hand, and the Nandi, on the other. The study envisaged that at some point, the colonial chiefs acted contrary to the dictates of the British colonial government. Such actions could be driven by the desire of these chiefs to fulfil their own interests or the interests of their Nandi people. As such, it was proposed that the agency dilemma created a platform on which colonial chiefs exercised power which could enable them to transform the Nandi politically, economically and socially.

1.9.3 Elite Theory

Elite theories are more about social distinctions for segregated economic benefits and social exclusions. Vergara posits that when sociological research started to connect social distinction with the creation of elites, a new theoretical background emerged.[125] Elite Theory, according to Bourdieu's ideas, is as follows:

> Principles of division, inextricably logical and sociological, function within and for the purposes of the struggle between social groups; in producing concepts, they produce groups, the very groups which produce the principles and the groups against which they are produced. What is at stake in the struggles about the meaning of the social world is power over the classificatory schemes and systems which are the basis of the representations of the groups and therefore of their mobilization and demobilization: the evocative power of an utterance which puts things in a different light (as happens, for example, when a single word, such as 'paternalism', changes the whole experience of a social relationship) or which modifies the schemes of perception, shows something else, other properties, previously unnoticed or relegated to the background (such as common interests hitherto masked by ethnic or national differences); a separative power, a distinction, *diacrisis*, *discretio*, drawing discrete units out of indivisible continuity, difference out of the undifferentiated.[126]

Broadly, a political élite is a group of people, corporations, political parties and/or any other kind of civil society organization who manage and organize government and all the manifestations of political power: "elites may be persons who, by virtue of their strategic locations in large or otherwise pivotal organizations and movements, are able to affect political outcomes regularly and substantially."[127] Notably, social class and

[125] Garrido, L. V. (2013). Elites, Political Elites and Social Change in Modern Societies. *Revista De Sociologia*, (28), 31-49.
[126] Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, p. 479.
[127] Higley, J. (2008). *Elite Theory in Political Sociology*. University of Texas at Austin, p. 231.

elites are linked in theory and practice. Scholars have shown that one of the main aspects in the conformation of elites is given by social class patterns.[128, 129,130]

The theory is based on the view each system has a small number of people that controls the foundations of power. The members of this small group compete among themselves. They also strive to recruit new members. One major contribution of the Elite theory is the idea that social class plays a role in the construction of a personal identity (i.e., a person's interests). Thus, as social classes are in permanent interaction during the daily life, several "social differences" are reinforced such as the taste, which, according to Bourdieu, is an "aesthetic" value defined by the ruling class that he calls social uses of communication.[131] These define also the relation between elites and masses.[132] One limitation of the Elite theory is that it assumes that the actors or members of the elite group have complete power to alter social structures or situations. In so doing, the theory ignores the role of established social structures in maintaining or altering social structures and situations.

In this study, colonial chieftaincy was conceptualized not only as an institution that performs particular functions, but one that promotes a particular set of norms, rules, institutions and processes. As agents of the colonial regime, colonial chiefs also became a special class, an elite group, of Africans who were perceived as being above native Africans in social, political and economic ranks. As elites, these chiefs exercised power in ways that promoted various interests, mainly those of the colonizer, and, at times,

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[128] Moore, B. (1966). *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Beacon, Boston.
[129] Huckfeldt, R. Y., & Kohfeld, C. W. (1989). *Race and the Decline of Class in American Politics*. University of Illinois Press.
[130] Lane, D. (Ed) (2007). *The Transformations of State Socialism: System Change, Capitalism or Something else?* London: Palgrave McMillan.
[131] Bourdieu, P. R., Castel, L., Boltanski, Y. J. C. (1965). *Chamberdon*. Un art Moyen: essai Sur Le Usages Sociaux de La Photographie, Ed. De Minuit, Paris.
[132] Hartmann, M. (2007). *The Sociology of Elites*. London/New York: Routledge.

their own interests or those of the Nandi. However, recognizing that the colonial chiefs as elites could not overcome the colonial structures in place on their own, it was necessary in this study to apply the PA theory as well.

1.10 Research Methodology

This study employed qualitative method in collecting and analysing data[133] so as to obtain as much relevant data as possible. Qualitative data provided lines of thought as advanced by different scholars on the roles of colonial chiefs during the study period. This method of data collection provided a comprehensive analysis for the research problem.[134] A list of sample questions was the main instrument for this study in the field with the researcher's anticipation that its credibility enabled him to collect data from informants who experienced colonial chiefs directly or indirectly.[135] Similarly, interviews and documentary analysis provided in depth and useful insight on the history of colonial chiefs during the colonial period in Nandi.

1.10.1 Study Area

The study was conducted in Nandi County among the Nandi community. The Nandi was chosen for study because the researcher, being a Nandi, sought to provide an insider perspective on the transformative role of the Nandi colonial chiefs. Besides, no such study had been conducted among the Nandi, hence the need to fill the research gap. The County occupies 2,884.4 km^2 of land characterized by hilly topography that includes an outcrop of basement systems rocks. The dissected scarp at the Southern border of the Sub-County is another manifestation of rock exposure. The physiographic outlook

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[133] Punch, K. (2003). *Introduction to Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. SAGE: SAGE Publications.
[134] Mugenda, O., & Mugenda, A. G. (2002). *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches.* ACTS Press.
[135] Shama, B. A. (1983). *Research Methods in Social Sciences.* Sterling Publishers Limited.

of Nandi County is composed of five units with typical topography namely: the rolling hills to the West of the County, the Kapsabet plateau (part of Uasin Gishu plateau), the wooded highlands and foothills of Tinderet Volcanic mass in the South East, the Kingwal swamp in the centre (Baraton-Chepterit) and the dissected Nyando Escarpment at the Southern border (Nandi South Sub-County).

The first unit constitutes an undulating landscape typified by rolling hills. They are chiefly flat-topped ridges with identical summits that may be remnants of an eroded plain. The Kimondi and Mokong Rivers flow Westwards through the area eventually joining the Yala River. The County has a population of 813,803 comprising of 406,907 males and 406,896 females (as per the last census of 2009). The County's inter-censual growth rate stands at 3.1 percent which is slightly higher than the national growth rate of 3.0 percent.

Generally, the County receives an average rainfall of about 1200mm to 2000mm per annum. The long rains start in early March and continue up to end of June while short rains start in mid-September and end in November. Only rarely is there is a month without some rainfall. The dry spell is usually experienced from end of December to mid-March. The lowest rainfall is experienced in the Eastern and North eastern parts of the county. The highest is recorded in the Kobujoi-Tindinyo area in Aldai Division. Across Nandi, the highest rains are experienced in Kaptumo in Nandi South, Nandi Hills and Kapsabet alongside Kobujoi.



Figure 1.1: Map of Nandi District Administrative unit 1900-1963

Source: KNBS (2010)

1.10.2 Research Paradigm

A research paradigm is defined as the philosophical foundation comprising of assumptions and belief upon which an inquiry is conceptualised and executed. Kivunja and Kuyini define a research paradigm as the researcher's philosophical orientation that

informs their choice of approaches for data collection and interpretation, including how meanings are generated from the data collected.[136] There are four major philosophical paradigms applied in research, namely positivism, critical or transformative paradigm, interpretivism or constructivism, and pragmatism.[137] The positivist paradigm favours the scientific method of inquiry. It is used in experimental investigations where meanings are drawn from manipulation of observable phenomena.[138] The critical or transformative paradigm is founded on the assumptions of the need for social justice. Researchers with this philosophical orientation seek to highlight injustices and propose amicable solutions through their inquiry. [139] For this reason, the critical or transformative approach tends to employ participatory or action research methods.

Pragmatism tends to combine elements of the other paradigms. It argues that, for objective truth to be known, the best possible combination of methods should be adopted to enhance validity and corroboration. Its emphasis is on the workability or practicality of the research.[140] Interpretivism or constructivism is suitable when the researcher is interested in understanding the "subjective world of human experiences". [141] In this approach, the researcher interprets data based on the respondents' own expertise and experience, applying own logic to derive the highest possible objective meanings from the data. It is mainly founded on the assumption that realities are socially constructed, and therefore meanings to events can only be generated by relying on the interpretations of those most affected by those events.

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[136] Kivunja, C., & Kuyini, A. B. (2017). Understanding and Applying Research Paradigms in Educational Contexts. *International Journal of Higher Education*, *6*(5), 26-41. doi:10.5430/ijhe.v6n5p26
[137] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[138] Searle, J. R. (2015). *Seeing Things as They Are: A Theory of Perception*. Oxford University Press.
[139] Martens, D. M. (2015). *Research and Evaluation in Education and Psychology* (4th ed). Los Angeles: Sage.
[140] Kivunja, C., & Kuyini, A. B. (2017). Understanding and Applying Research Paradigms
[141] *Ibid.*

This study sought to examine and interpret or re-interpret events that have already occurred. Therefore, the most suitable philosophical paradigm for it was interpretivism, although the assumptions of pragmatism also apply in the evaluation of historical data. The researcher assumed that the interpretations given to the roles of colonial chiefs were socially constructed. Therefore, the best way to understand those interpretations was to engage the eldest members of the Nandi society in in-depth interviews to determine, document and evaluate how they interpreted historical events as their lived experiences. The researcher also recognized the need for best possible objectivity in interpreting data about colonial chiefs. Therefore, the study borrowed elements of pragmatism, specifically corroborations of data through triangulation of sources. As such, the study collected data from interview with elders as key informants and through analysis of archival documents on colonial chiefs. The combination of interpretivism and pragmatism thus helped the researcher to draw conclusions from data with minimal bias both from himself and from the key informants.

1.10.3 Research Design

This study adopted a historical research design to investigate past historical events, examine their description and interpretation as well as explain the underlying causes of these events and their influence of the role of the state on human rights violations in Kenya from a historical context. According to Walliman, the historical research design is a procedural and unbiased collection, analysis and generation of data to facilitate generalization of knowledge on historical events.[142] This design involved identification of the research problem, collection of data, a synthesis of source information and interpretations all which led to informed conclusions. Field data collection was

[142] Walliman, N. (2011). *Your Research Project: Designing and Planning Your Work* (3rd ed.). London: Sage Publications.

conducted through oral interviews based on a list of sample questions that were corroborated with archival and secondary texts on the topic. Both external and internal criticisms were employed to assess the authenticity and accuracy of historical sources on the study area.

1.10.4 Target Population

The target population of this study comprised all the Nandi community elders who had lived through the colonial period and had relevant knowledge about the contributions of the various Nandi colonial chiefs, and historians who had studied the Nandi colonial chiefs. Nevertheless, during sampling, none of the former colonial chiefs could be found to participate in the study as most of them had passed away.

1.10.5 Sample Size and Sampling Procedures

Being a qualitative study, the study utilized three methods of sampling. These included: ex-post facto, purposive and snowball methods of sampling. Ex post facto method of sampling was based on the idea that the issues at hand had already been committed and the study could only re-enact what happened in a historical period already gone. Purposive method of sampling, on the other hand, was based on the view that selection of informants deemed to have the information needed to address the research objectives. According to Creswell (2019), purposive sampling is a qualitative method of selecting a sample where the researcher selects a sample based on known characteristics.

Therefore, the respondents were drawn from both sexes using purposive and snowballing sampling methods. The sample size of this study was determined by the saturation point during data collection. The inclusion criteria comprised variables such as being of Nandi origin, or knowledgeable in Nandi colonial history, especially the subject of colonial chieftaincy, geographical distribution, age and command of

historical knowledge, especially about colonial chiefs of the Nandi. Since most of the former colonial chiefs had died, complementary information about their roles was sought from relevant archived documents, relatives and friends of the colonial chiefs who are knowledgeable about the roles played by CCs, and scholars who had studied and written about the Nandi in general and colonial chiefs in particular. The scholars from the Nandi community who had studied the subject of colonial chiefs formed the key informants. From the sampling procedures, a total of 70 respondents was sampled. This comprised people who met the sampling criteria and were aged between 64 years and 98 years.

1.10.6 Data Collection Instruments

The study utilized both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected through interviews, historical and archival research while secondary data was obtained from published books, research reports and journal articles. Therefore, primary data was collected using oral interview guides and document analysis of archival information on the subject. These methods were used in highlighting the roles of African chiefs in the period under study. Secondary data was obtained from online academic sources and libraries including Margaret Thatcher Library (Moi), Kibabii University Library (Kibabii), University of Nairobi (Jomo Kenyatta), Kenya National Library (KNS) Eldoret, University of Eastern African Baraton (University College of Eastern Africa Library), and University of Eldoret library. The triangulation of methods helped the researcher to corroborate findings from different sources on the transformative role of the colonial chiefs in Nandi, 1906-1963.

1.10.7 Oral Interviews

Oral interviews were done in the field based on a standardized a list of sample questions as a prime tool for collecting data on the role of Nandi chiefs in the colonial period.[143] This study employed both open-and closed-ended questions, which were pretested, revised and drawn in the first two months of research. The sample questions solicited responses from informants who were asked to compare their life experiences to that of their grandparent generation on topics regarding what they know about the role of colonial chiefs. The sample questions were considered appropriate since they covered a large sample of interviewees.

Visits were also arranged to the sampled regions in different parts of Nandi County. In these visits, the procedure of the interview was as follows: first, an informant, one or two was asked to talk about a topic without any directions or specific questions. The information they provided as well as any other literature available was used to formulate questions for follow up and call back interviews. Thereafter, detailed accounts on each topic were provided from personal reminiscences or eye witness accounts and tape-recorded in a bid to reflect the interviewees' experiences which were to be either first hand or second hand. The informants were, however, interviewed on main areas where they were knowledgeable.

Interviews were conducted both at group and individual levels for objective comparison and authenticity. This data was cross-checked with those reinforced by oral history. This information was stored in the informants' memory and passed over generations on what happened in their life time provided a means of understanding the critical events of both individual and collective lives of the country.

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[143] Vansina, J. (1985). *Oral Traditions as History.* Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers.

1.10.8 Document Analysis

For purposes of historical study for change, historical data regarding the role of chiefs during the period under study was sourced from the Kenya National Archives. Archival data constituted the main source of data for this work especially for the colonial period. Written accounts and secondary sources recreating the history of the community in general, based on personal experience, archival and oral histories provided data for the study. Historical data was also collected from Annual Development Reports and Provincial Reports. These were useful in providing further information as well as corroborating the oral interviews and those from the media for objective history on the role of colonial chiefs in the independence period.

1.10.9 Data Collection Procedures

The process of data collection started with obtaining a letter of introduction from Moi University addressed to all who would be of help in any way to the researcher. The introductory letter was used to obtain the research permit from the National Commission for Science and Technology (NACOSTI). The researcher then visited Nandi County for reconnaissance. Data was collected from 16th March 2019 to 6th September 2023. Therefore, on the appointed day of interviews, the researcher administered the interviews with the help one well-trained research assistant. The researcher and the research assistant interviewed at most six persons each day. Each interview lasted for an average of 30 minutes to one hour. The interview sessions were audio-recorded. In most cases, interviews were undertaken in Nandi language and later translated to English during transcription. The researcher and research assistants also made field notes to enhance capturing of accurate of data.

1.10.10 Data Analysis

Research data was analysed based on the theoretical frameworks to help decipher the role colonial chiefs in colonial era. The researcher read through the first draft of the raw data collected from the field and the relevant materials which were recorded on cards under various themes related to the objectives of the study. This was followed by a careful examination and thorough revision of these notes so as to come up with the chapters of the study. Direct quotations were also employed to reinforce arguments.

The field trips conducted were aimed at investigating how the state impacted on human rights violations that were incorporated in the contemporary society. This was done in an attempt to know the role of the colonial chiefs in transformation of the Nandi Community. The research findings and conclusions were drawn from the themes discussed in the field in corroboration with data available in archival and secondary texts from where conclusions were drawn. This was done in a historical context to provide the means for understanding the roles of colonial chiefs.

Archival data was cleaned to remove irrelevant information. It was then organized according to the study objectives. The researcher read through annual reports, minutes, correspondences, among other archival data, to identify information relevant to the subject of the role of colonial chiefs across the different historical epochs. The data was then classified into various themes derived from the objectives of the study. It was then presented narratively to reinforce or corroborate information obtained from the oral interviews with respondents.

1.10.11 Ethical Considerations

This study was done following the consent from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). During fieldwork, the informants were

introduced to the study and an explanation given to them that the information they provided was under lock and key, confidential and was meant for academic purposes only. The researcher also asked the informants to voluntarily take part in the study at will and that they were also free to withdraw at any moment if they so choose in the course of the interview. The researcher also assured informants that only those who consented to provide information under their names would have them written as participants in the study. The researcher also complied with the university requirements on originality by subjecting the final thesis to plagiarism evaluation and certification. All the secondary sources used in this study were properly cited.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter began with a presentation of the background to the study. This was followed by a statement of the problem and research questions. The chapter has further presented the significance, justification, scope and delimitations of the study. Additionally, the chapter has described the theoretical framework of the study. This was followed by a presentation of the reviewed literature related to the study objectives. Moreover, the chapter has described the research design and methodology of the study. It has also provided the philosophical paradigm and research design of the study. It has also described the study area, the study population, sample size and sampling procedures. Further, the chapter has described the data collection instruments, data analysis procedures and the ethical considerations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

NATURE OF THE PRE-COLONIAL NANDI SOCIETY UP TO 1896

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines how the Nandi community was organized during the pre-colonial period. It demonstrates that as much as the political, social and economic systems were considered 'traditional', particularly by the Eurocentric historians, these systems were ideal to the context and were pragmatic in enabling the Nandi have a peaceful, stable and prosperous society in the period before the coming of the Europeans. In fact, the European coming and their subsequent colonization of the community significantly disrupted their social, economic and political lives. The chapter also examines the sunset years towards the eventual takeover of the community by the British and the intrigues that unfolded, particularly with regards to the latter's reaction to the British entrenchment and the consequences that the reactions led to until 1906 when they were finally subdued.

The Nandi are a subtribe of the Kalenjin, a Nilotic group found mainly in the Kenyan Rift Valley region. According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the Nandi are a Kalenjin-speaking people that resides in the western regions of the highlands of Kenya.[1] Majority of the Nandi people resides in the present-day Nandi County. However, many are to be found across the neighbouring Rift Valley counties of, especially, Uasin Gishu, Kericho, Trans Nzoia, Nakuru, and other areas to the west of Kenya. From the outset, it is important to note that the term 'Kalenjin' is a more recent political construct. The member ethnic groups of the Kalenjin community, such as the Nandi, Kipsigis and Keiyo, among others, did not consider themselves as members of a larger outfit in the

[1] Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia (2013, August 16). *Nandi*. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/topic/Nandi-people

pre-colonial period. Each tribe (now sub-tribe) existed in isolation and treated the others, either as close neighbours or affiliate ethnic groups with closely similar languages. Moreover, it is possible that the British used the name 'Nandi' in reference to either the specific ethnic group of Nandi or the larger Kalenjin groups that share similar language.

The Nandi community presently occupies Nandi County which constitutes the constituencies of Aldai, Tinderet, Chesumei, Emgwen, Mosop and Nandi Hills. According to the KNBS, Nandi County has a population of 885,711 distributed as follows: Chesumei-164113, Nandi Central-147,553, Nandi East-119, and 173, Nandi North-166,171, Nandi South-172,750 and Tindered-115,931.[2] The Nandi also inhabit Uasin Gishu County and specifically in Eldoret North, South, Turbo, Ainabkoi and Kapseret. The Nandi also inhabits part of Trans Nzoia, specifically in Cherangani Sub County. However, for the purposes of this study, the study area will be limited to the Nandi in County. The County lies on a plateau that extends from the Mau Mountain range on the east and south east, to Nyanza plains on the west and from Sosiani River in the North to the Kano plains to the south.[3] At the same time, the southern and western limits of the Nandi plateau are well defined by granite escarpments rising steeply from the plains. Its average elevation is 6,000 feet and easy access is available from the extreme south west. The northern region of the county is open grassland which occasional patches of forest in the west and central areas. On the southern region, there is a dense forest, thorn tree thickets, and secondary bush and grass parklands to the sparsely covered hillsides on the edge of the southern escarpments.

[2] Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2019). *Kenya National Population Survey*. Nairobi: KNBS.
[3] Lagat, P. (1995). *The Historical Process of the Nandi movement into Uasin Gishu District* (M.A Thesis). UON.

2.2 Pre-Colonial Nandi

Just like other communities that lived in pre-colonial Kenya, the Nandi immigrated to their present location from elsewhere. According to Kipkorir, the origin of the Nandi, who belong to the larger Kalenjin ethnic community, has elicited several theories regarding their origin, migration and settlement into their current location.[4] Some historians trace their migration from south-east Khartoum in present-day Sudan. From there, they are believed to have followed the Nile and initially settled around Mt. Elgon area at around C.700B.[5] On the other hand, some still believe that Mt. Elgon (Tulwop Kony) is their original settlement in Kenya.[6] The Nandi, alongside other Kalenjin groups, later spread to their current settlements in various parts of Kenya's Rift Valley around 1600 AD.[7]

According to oral sources which have been corroborated by archaeological, linguistic and anthropological evidence, the Nandi later spread from the foot of Mt Elgon towards the north and south where they found the much-sought fertile land in Uasin Gishu. They came into contact with the Maasai and pushed them northwards and extended their territory into the current Nandi County. Some remained in some parts of Trans Nzoia. As they settled down to a sedentary lifestyle, they evolved social, political as well as economic organization to enable them firmly entrenched themselves in the area. As such, they organized a highly elaborate form of government, education, religion and mode of running the economy. Chelimo states that as the Nandi settled in the places the desired, the next step was for them to evolve a highly systematic form of organization.[8]

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[4] Kipkorir, B. E. (1973a). *Marakwet of Kenya. A Pre-colonial study*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau.
[5] Chelimo, F. J., & Chelelgo, K. (2016). Pre-Colonial Political Organization of the Kalenjin of Kenya: An Overview. *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development, 5*(13), 6-9.
[6] *Ibid*.
[7] *Ibid*.
[8] *Ibid*.

According to Hollis, the Nandi referred to themselves as 'Chemngalindet' or 'Chemngal' before adopting the name Nandi in the mid-19th century.[9] One respondent also affirmed that the Nandi originated from Egypt.[10] They migrated down across Sudan and ended up in Mount Elgon in Western Kenya. From there, the Nandi dispersed. The Kalenjin myth of origin documents that the Nandi were initially part of the Kipsigis while living at present-day Rongai near Nakuru. In the words of Kurgat:

> The Nandi and Kipsigis consider themselves as cousins. They migrated due to drought and Maasai invasion to the area. The Nandi displaced the Uasin Gishu as they moved southwards from present-day Nakuru area. During migration, the group divided into two; the Kipsigis moved south to present-day larger Kericho, while the Nandi settled at present-day Aldai and are now farmers and cattle keepers in Nandi County.

The account of Nandi origin in Egypt has also been documented by Sambu.[11] Deploying the Hamitic Hypothesis, Sambu traces the origin of the Kalenjin tribe to Egypt using a comparative analysis of the Kalenjin language and oral traditions vis-à-vis those of the Egyptians. He concludes that the Kalenjin were perhaps one of the lost tribes of Israel that remained in Egypt and later travelled Southwards ending up in Kenya. According to oral tradition, the Nandi migration was caused by various factors, including natural calamities, famine and the search for better grazing land.

According to Gold, after the first settlements were firmly established by Kakipoch of the Kipoiis clan, fresh immigrants from Kony, Kipsigis, Kamasia and Elgeiyo arrived to join Kakipoch.[12] Those who came from Kipsigis may have included the ancestors of the present-day Kipariso, Chemuri, Kipaa and Tungo clans who claimed to have

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[9] Hollis, A. C. (1909). *The Nandi: Their Language and Folklore*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
[10] Oral interview with Mariko Kurgat on 20/3/2019 (88 years old).
[11] Araap Sambu, K. (2011). *The Misiri Legend Explored: A Linguistic Inquiry into the Kalenjin People's Oral Tradition of Ancient Egyptian Origin*. University of Nairobi Press.
[12] Gold, E. A. (1977). *The intransigent, truculent Nandi and the* chumbek *who stayed: Background to the Nandi Resistance to British rule, 1895-1905*. A paper presented at the joint Annual meeting of the African Studies Association and Latin America Studies Association, Houston, Texas.

originated from Kipsigis. Other groups, notably from the Uasin Gishu Maasai, joined them. These were the ancestors of the Toyoi and Talai clans. The Nandi clans increased in number as new immigrants joined them. Immigrants from various Luyhia groups, notably from Maragoli, Bunyore and Kabras, also joined them and they were absorbed into the Mooi clan.[13] Gusii immigrants also arrived and were integrated into the Kipyegen clan of the Nandi. They trace their origin to the Sweta clan among the Gusii.[14] The findings of the study and the above views from secondary sources show that the present-day Nandi community is comprised of a mixture of people of diverse heritages.

Socially, they believed in the existence of a God whom they referred to as 'Asis'. Other names that were used with reference to God were: 'Tororot, Chebso Namun ni, Chepkoiyo and Chaptalel'. They also believed in a deity called 'Ilat' who was responsible for lightning. They offered their sacrifices at a place called 'Kapkaros' which was usually on top of a hill purposefully selected by elders whenever they settled somewhere.[15] According to Chesaina, they offered sacrifices in times of plenty as an expression of gratitude and in times of misfortunes to appease 'Asis' and their ancestors.

Politically, the Nandi had a highly regimented political organization. In essence, the Nandi were an acephalous community in which major decisions that concerned the community were made by the senior elders. The levels of government started from the family and grew into more powerful systems that governed the entire community.[16] The lowest leadership level of the community emanated from a basic unit namely the family.

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[13] Ochieng, W. R. (1977). *The second word: more essays on Kenya history*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, p. 68.
[14] Ochieng', W. R. (1975). *A pre-colonial History of the Gusii of Western Kenya*. Nairobi: EALB.
[15] Chelimo, F. J., & Chelelgo, K. (2016). Pre-Colonial Political Organization of the Kalenjin of Kenya:
[16] Chesaina, C. (1991). *Oral literature of the Kalenjin*. East African Publishers.

This was called the 'Kapich' (household).[17] At this level, the wives of the household head were expected to construct their houses around their husband's hut with their doors facing the main entrance. A conglomeration of these households formed the homesteads, which was known as 'Kaita'. Power and authority were vested in the man whose decisions were final. The wives played a supporting role of spelling out the duties of the homestead's children. In cases where there were disputes between the family members, it was the duty of the man to ensure that issues were resolved. Furthermore, since the society was patrilineal, it was the obligation of the man to ensure a successful transfer of his estate to his sons. From this point of view, it can be said that the decentralized system of governance was entrenched among the Nandi long before the Europeans entered their land. It thus can be aptly argued that the law, order and justice among the Nandi was administered at the family level and unless cases were extreme, many of them could end up being concluded at this level. At the same time, discipline was instilled to the young members' right from the family level.

From the family level, political authority went to the clan level. Among the Nandi, the clan was composed of several families which were related by blood. The Nandi had a name for each clan and an animal totem known as 'Tiondo' which they were not supposed to hunt or eat. The marriage was exogamous which meant that a man was not allowed to marry from their own clans or that of their mothers.[18] Among the Nandi, the clans that existed included: Kipoiis, Kipamwi, and Kipkokos.[19] The clan was a representation of a political organization under the leadership of a junior elder called

[17] Chelimo, F. J., & Chelelgo, K. (2016). Pre-Colonial Political Organization of the Kalenjin of Kenya
[18] Kipkorir, B. E. (1973b). Colonial response to crisis-The Kolloa Affray and colonial Kenya in 1950. *Kenya Past and Present*, *2*(1), 22-35.
[19] *Ibid*.

'kirwongindet ab oret'. These leaders had powers to not only settle disputes emanating from clan members but also ensuring there was law and order within the clan level.

In an oral interview, Kogo named some of the territorial units (pororiosiek) of the Nandi in the pre-colonial period. These included Kaptumois, Tibingot, Koilegei, Kaboch, Kaptalam, Kabianga, Kamelilo and Kapchepkendi. Kogo noted that colonialism did not alter much of the Nandi territorial units. In his view, the only major change was displacement, but even those who travelled far away from their original *koret* still remained as members of the *pororiet*. Every pororiet was headed by a council of elders (kiptainik, singular: kiptaiyat) but the Talai was headed by a seer (maotiot; plural: maotik). In describing how a council of elders was constituted, Kogo had this to say:

> The council consisted of men who were chosen because of their good works in society. Not just anybody became an elder. Each clan picked one elder to represent them. It was someone older and also considered responsible by the community. Election of the elder was even very democratic. The candidate was allowed to persuade people, like campaigning of today. Each kokwet also had internal leaders, elders who commanded respect from the other elders. These were respected. The council of elders then worked with the *orkoiyot* to lead the people.[20]

These elders controlled the warfare and ensured there was enough foodstuff in stock to sustain the warriors. They also resolved disputes and presided over various ceremonies. They were drawn from the different families. Moreover, every clan provided a leader who was well conversant, knowledgeable and the overseer of the *pororiet*. The above views by Kogo depict the pre-colonial Nandi council of elders as a well-constituted group of community leaders. The pre-colonial Nandi also had a spiritual and military leader called Orkoiyot, who made security and war decisions. The Orkoiyot was the overall leader of the Nandi. Therefore, the legendary Orkoiyot, Koitalel arap Samoei, was the overall leader and symbol of unity of the Nandi during the pre-colonial and in

[20] Oral interviews with Some arap Kogo on 22/03/2019 (81 years old).

the early colonial periods. The fact that the Orkoiyot wielded so much power explains why, as indicated in Kogo's views, the death of Samoei greatly disrupted the political structure of the pre-colonial Nandi society. Evidently, the British understood this fact and took advantage of it to quash the Nandi resistance.

The above assertion agrees with the views of Lagat concerning the effect of the murder of Samoei.[21] According to Lagat, the Nandi relied heavily on the Orkoiyot, Koitalel Arap Samoei, to device tactful schemes to drive out the invading white colonisers. This view is reinforced by the fact that, as attested to elsewhere, the pre-colonial Nandi looked up to their leaders to make decisions and provide direction on almost all the problems the community faced. As such, the killing of Samoei had a devastating effect on the Nandi resistance and subsequently led to the annexation of their land by the British.

Another important group of leaders in the pre-colonial Nandi identified in this study were the spies.[22] The spies gave information which was used to secure victory during times of war. The spies would scout out their enemies secretly. They would observe how the enemies lived, check the animals (oyietab tuga) they kept and where they lived (kaptugut). *Oyietab tuga*, as one of the spying techniques, referred to information on where all animals from the village (kokwet) converged and water for animals were available together with salt lick (ngenda). Every spy selected a good area to inhabit and conduct his espionage activities. [23] They would infiltrate such neighbouring communities as the Luo, Luhya, Abagusii and the Maasai who lived in Sigilai. Due to

[21] Lagat, A. K. (1995). *The Historical Process of Nandi Movement into Uasin Gishu District of the Kenya Highlands: 1906-1963* (MA Thesis, University of Nairobi).
[22] Oral interviews with Some arap Kogo on 22/03/2019 (81 years old).
[23] *Ibid.*

the effectiveness of this spying network, the Nandi fought and defeated the Maasai in a war that broke out in 1900.

The idea of traditional spies has been mentioned in the work of Boinett[24] in his attempt to trace the history of the Kenyan intelligence system. Boinett affirms that in traditional Kenyan societies such as the Nandi, spying was a common and very effective way to secure victory over opponents. As he explains, "Spies operated under the guise of artisans, [performers], beggars and herdsmen, gathering information on their opponents' weapons, warriors and security."

The next level of political administration was the neighbourhood, which was referred to as the 'Kokwet'[25]. This was a place where the council of elders met to administer their services. It was under the largest tree, often away from the homesteads. The *kokwets* comprised of between 15 and 100 families that did not necessarily belong to the same clan. Similarly, a sitting of elders to handle administrative issues was equally called kokwet. Regarding who qualified to be a member of the *kokwet*, Kipkorir[26] explains that all married men from the community living within the neighbourhood qualified to be members of the *kokwet*. In some cases, however, the sitting could be made exclusive for some members. Those men who were still young were only invited to be witnesses unless their opinions were sought by the elders. As regards women, they could only be in attendance passively when required. When a deliberation was weighty, then a requirement was made to have a representative from another *kokwet* to act as a witness. A village elder - *Boiyot ab kok* - chaired a sitting of elders in a *kokwet*. This village elder was installed by elders of his age due to outstanding leadership qualities.

[24] Boinett, W. (2009). The Origins of the Intelligence System of Kenya. In S. Africa & J. Kwadjo (Eds.), *Changing Intelligence Dynamics in Africa* (pp. 15-40). GFN-SSR.
[25] Kipkorir, B. (1973a). *Marakwet of Kenya.*
[26] *Ibid*.

It was not a hereditary position but it was bestowed on those who had wealth, cultural knowledge, humility, wisdom and exceptional oratory skills. He represented the *kokwet* as a spokesman and only relayed decisions arrived at collectively.

The other roles of the *kokwet* revolved around the allocation of land for cultivation as well as handling those issues or matters which was beyond the clan. Whenever community members were undisciplined, this could be relayed to the *kokwet*. In such cases, the ultimate punishment was made by *Boiyot ab Kok*. However, the punishment was administered by the accused age set. There was also a rider-the council could only discipline an initiated person. Those who were not initiated, regardless of their age, were considered a child and could only be disciplined at the family level. However, it the cases were very serious, a deity could be invoked in order to ensure that there was justice in the rulings. Some crimes that were considered serious included witchcraft and sorcery and were punishable by death.

Beyond the *kokwet* existed the region, otherwise known as *pororiet*. This was a unit which brought together several neighbourhoods under the bororiet. As long as there is a friend who was ready to vouch for one's integrity, one would move from one *pororiet* to another. Each of the *pororiet* had a representative from the *kokwet*. At this senior level, the elders who sat deliberated on serious issues as was and raids. At the same time, they also settled disputes between the various *kokwets*. The highest geographic division among the Nandi was the county, otherwise known as 'emet'. Any matter that could not be handled by the *pororiet* was referred to the emet. It acted as a supreme court of the highest political office in the land. Most of its members came from the *piororosiek*. The spokesman was considered a great chief. He must have had a previous record of being a great warrior. He moderated meetings and communicated the council's verdict to an accused person.

In the pre-colonial period, cordial relations existed between the Nandi, Luo and Luhya. The members of these communities used to take local brews together. However, intermarriage did not exist with Luo because the latter were not circumcised. Nevertheless, there were occasional tensions and flares of ethnic conflicts between the Nandi and its neighbours. As the Nandi interacted with other communities, they integrated new systems in their administration. According to Lagat, they came into contact with the Maasai who, at the time, occupied mostly Uasin Gishu.[27] However, their arrival led to the displacement of the Maasai. According to Hollis:

> At the time when the Maasai occupied some of the Nandi grazing grounds, it is presumed that this was the Uasin Gishu grazing plateau and that the Nandi place names on the plateau were superseded by Maasai names. Names such as Ndalat, Lolkiringet, Ndeule and Ol'esoss were originally Maasai.[28]

Lagat avers that, in their process of migrating, the Nandi found that the land was inhabited by the Maasai.[29] The name Uasin Gishu was derived from Maa names Uasin (they say) Gishu (cow). Sutton also adds that at the time when the Nandi came into contact with the Maasai, there were conflicts amongst them which forced the latter to move to other areas to pave way for the Nandi occupation.[30]

Therefore, this contact with the Maasai enabled the Nandi to adapt Maasai systems of administration. This was embedded in the Orkoiyot/Orkoiik. With time, the Nandi came to abhor and respect the orkoiik institution in equal measure. The Orkoiyot all hailed from the Talai clan and were believed to have hereditary powers of divination and witchcraft. As such, these leaders were isolated from the community and were not allowed to sit in any council. During circumcision and raids, the Orkoiyot came in very

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[27] Lagat, A. K. (1995). *The Historical Process of Nandi Movement.*
[28] Hollis, A. C. (1905). *The Masai: Their language and folklore*. Clarendon Press.
[29] Lagat, A. K. (1995). *The Historical Process of Nandi Movement*
[30] Sutton, J. (1994). The Sirikwa and the Okiek in the history of the Kenya highlands. *Kenya Past and Present*, *26*(1), 35-40.

handy. According to Magut[31], the Orkoiyot institution can be traced back to the Maasai. In his book, Magut gives as his evidence the oral traditions among the Nandi as well as a linguistic comparison of names relating to Orkoiyit/Oroiik to Ol-Loibon among the Maasai. Hungtingford corroborates this narrative when he states that at the time of his arrival in Nandi in 1960 was the time when the Nandi and Maasai were having upheavals.[32] To Huntingford, the Oroiik institution began taking root at about 1815 and 1835.

Magut avers that the Nandi Orkooik had the same functions done by those who came before them.[33] These included not only divinations, omen interpretations, but also properly and provision of war medicines and charms. From this perspective, the instruction was politico-religious position. This explains the reasons why they lived secluded lives and acquired a number of mythical attributes which enabled them to exert control over the Nandi. With time, the successive consolidated their influence. As such, in a short span of about 50 years, the institution of the Orkoiyot gained considerable authority. They were believed to be having power to control the weather and secure the general health and prosperity of the people, including the fruitfulness of crops and cattle. As much as their functions were economic and social, they had a political bearing on the political organization of the Nandi.

Politically, the Orkoiyot wielded a lot of power to grant or withhold approval of raiding operations. Before warriors went to war, the Orkoiyot gave protection of the warriors. As a result of this intervention, there was a strong bond between the warriors and Orkoiyot. Changach argues that by 19th century, the Nandi Orkoiyot had begun to

[31] Magut, P. K. (1969). The Rise and Fall of the Nandi Orkoiyot, C. 1850-1957. *Studies in Traditional and Modern East Africa History* (pp. 95-108). Nairobi: EAPH.
[32] Huntingford, G. W. B. (2012). *The Nandi of Kenya*. Routledge.
[33] Magut, P. K. (1969). The Rise and Fall of the Nandi Orkoiyot

present a larger degree of political authority than their predecessors had dared to envisage.[34] By 1890, the Nandi Orkoiik had managed to increase their powers and influence in some political activities. However, this gradual progress towards a centralized form of government in Nandi under the Orkoiyot managed to receive occasional checks by the murder or expulsion of 'orkoiik' who failed to satisfy a certain 'bororosiek'. For example, Orkoiyot Kimnyole was murdered by Nandi *pororosiek* in 1890 ostensibly because of his inability to protect them during a combined raid for cattle.[35] The murder of Kimnyole can be seen in the light of principal-agency theory. In this case, the Nandi had delegated power to him, which, as an agent of the community, he was deemed to have violated by prophesying the defeat of the Nandi warriors at war. His murder therefore can be seen as a result of the conflict of interests or the misunderstanding between the principal (Nandi) and the agent (orkoiyot).

Whenever a decision was to be reached to carry out warfare, Orkoiyot was contacted through an intermediary known as 'Maotiot' so that he blesses warriors and ensure that they succeed in their endeavour by administering some magic water.[36] They then proceeded to the field under the leadership of a commander known as 'kiptaiyat'. The raids were often against their neighbours such as the Abaluhya, Maasai, Luo and their Kalenjin counterparts such as the Keiyo and Marakwet. The fighting warriors came from an age set in power at any given time. The warriors were required to keep fit through adherence to diet, abstinence from smoking and drinking as well as engaging in constant military exercise, hunting manning outposts and grazing grounds.[37]

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[34] Chang'ach, J. K. (2004). *Evolution of Nandi Society*. Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] Lagat, P. (1995). *The Historical process of the Nandi movement into Uasin Gishu* (MA Thesis). University of Nairobi.
[37] Oral interview with Mariko Kurgat, Nandi elder, on 20/3/2019 (88 years old).

Among the Nandi, the traditional leaders and warriors were an elite group. They served special roles in the community and they were regarded as people of higher class due to their social, political and economic authority. Ngisirei avers that the Orkoiyot fostered unity among the Nandi and also encouraged raiding by predicting success for raiders.[38] As such, expansions across the Uasin Gishu plateau were necessitated by increase in population and crave for more grazing land. However, it was halted by the advent of European rule in the 19th century. When the Europeans came into contact with the Nandi, they mistakenly took office of the Orkoiyot to represent supreme authority in the land.

In an interview, Mariko Kurgat affirmed that the Nandi orkoik were greatly feared and respected. As he explained,

> The orkoiyot was basically the next person before Asis [God]. He was not just a leader politically speaking. He was also a warrior and something like a priest to the people. The orkoiyot was regarded as a wise person. Sometimes he was like a prophet because he blessed people before going to war by predicting their success. That is why today when you say the word orkoiyot you are also talking about something spiritual…like a magician or prophet or even witchcraft people.[39]

Affirming the above views, Lagat avers that, as an institution, the 'Orkoiyot' or the participation in certain public affairs by a man whose influence was based on his magical powers, had an old tradition in Nandi history beginning from the time of settlement.[40] Most of the Nandi orkoik came from the Talai clan. The Talai derived their name from the Nandi word 'Tala', meaning meek or humble. As such, the Orkoik merited their leadership positions through their kind treatment of the people. This is in sharp contrast to the observation by Kurgat above, which seems to imply that the word

[38] Ngisirei, J. R. (2017). *British Colonial Transformation of Indigenous Cattle Production and the Socio-Economic Effects among the Nandi of Kenya, 1890-1963* (Doctoral dissertation). Kisii University.
[39] Oral interview with Mariko Kurgat, Nandi elder, on 20/3/2019 (88 years old).
[40] Lagat, A. (1995). *The Historical Process of Nandi Movement into Uasin Gishu District of the Kenya Highlands: 1906-1963* (Thesis Master of Arts, University of Nairobi).

Orkoiyot presently connotes dark supernatural forces like witchcraft. It is possible that the office of Orkoiyot was maligned by the British to dissuade the people from following the traditional leaders. Nevertheless, Kurgat attests that witchcraft in the precolonial Nandi was common, although shunned by the community:

> The members of Kamwaike and Chemuri clans were especially expert in this field. Initially, they played the role of diviners, foretellers of the future and averted ill-luck to people. However, they also had powers to bewitch people or even kill using sorcery. But no community will admit that their ancestors were doing such bad things. In fact in those days, even these sorcerers were respected and defended by the members of their clans. They were also like the orkoik in their own small way.[41]

Magut affirms the above sentiments of Kurgat, arguing that various Nandi *pororiosiek* had their own members of these clans who were their Orkoik (plural of Orkoiyot).[42] Indeed, according to Magut, there are conflicting stories on the origin of the institution of orkoiyot. Magut traces it to Uasin Gishu Maasai, and gives as his evidence the oral traditions among the Nandi as well as comparison of names relating to orkoiik (plural of orkoiyot) and to ol-oiboni among the Maasai.[43] However, Mwanzi traces the origin of the 'Orkoiyot' to the Bantu speaking people, probably the Gusii giving his evidence as the similar institutions practised among the Gusii.[44] These studies allude to the historical contact and borrowing of oral traditions between the Nandi and these other communities in the pre-colonial period.

Data obtained from the national archives indicated that there had been many Orkoik before Koitalel Samoei (at least five others).[45] However, Samoei stands out in the Nandi and Kalenjin historical records because of the resistance he mounted against the British

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[41] Oral interview with Mariko Kurgaton 20/3/2019 (88 years old).
[42] Magut, P. K. (1969). The Rise and Fall of the institution of Nandi Orkoiyot. In B. G. McIntosh (Ed.). *Ngano*. Nairobi: EAPH, p. 95.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] Mwanzi, H. A. (1973). *Politics and Religion among the Nandi in the 19th and 20th century*. A staff seminar paper, Department of History, University of Nairobi.
[45] KNA DC/NDI/I/I. *Annual Reports of 1904*. Kenya National Archives.

and partly because of the way he died. However, it is important to remember that Samoei was the son of another legendary Orkoiyot, Kimyole arap Turukat. As indicated in the KNA records,

> Kimnyole Arap Turukat was the fourth Nandi Orkoiyot in the early 1800s. The Orkoiyot was a spiritual and military leader who was consulted on decisions regarding security particularly the waging of war. Kimnyole is remembered for his powerful prophecies, which forever altered the lives of the Nandi. Oral tradition recalls that his exact year of birth is unknown, but he was the son of Turukat and father of Koitalel Arap Samoei. At his prime, he stood regal, animal skin draped over one shoulder and a stick in hand. His earlobes extended from the weight of the metallic traditional earrings he wore. The colour of his skin was dark as ebony and the muscles underneath were still taut with youth. He was both warrior and leader, commanding fear and respect alike. Kimnyole had two prophecies to his name, the coming of the "white tribe" (the whites) and "the Iron Snake" (the construction of the Kenya Uganda railway). During Kimyole's reign, the Nandi stood out as a strong force to reckon by neighbouring tribes. He fought and defeated the Maasai, confiscated their cattle and turned the Nandi into one of the wealthiest tribes in his time.[46]

It was further established that the downfall of Kimyole began when it dawned on the Nandi that the confiscated cattle brought in another problem, namely rinderpest, which caused the Nandi to turn against Kimyole. The Nandi especially blamed him for not foreseeing and forewarning about the animal disease. The situation was made worse by the fact that many of Kimyole's cattle were not getting sick or dying. After losing many cattle to the disease, legend has it that the Nandi decided to go for more raids. Kimyole advised the Nandi to take as many warriors as possible. As a result, many more warriors died than in past raids, leading to more resentment of Kimnyole by the Nandi. The Nandi began to fear that many of Kimnyole's prophecies were not turning out as expected. Some legends tell that the real cause of Kimnyole's hate was the fact that he had predicted the subjugation of the Nandi by the whites. This prophecy had made some

[46] *Ibid.*

of the elders unhappy. Whatever the cause of his resentment, in 1890, the Nandi stoned Kimnyole to death.

The above findings reveal an interesting attitude of the pre-colonial Nandi towards leadership and their leaders. As already established, orkoiik held much power in the community. However, these powers also came with much responsibility. This responsibility rested on the many expectations that the Nandi had on their leaders.

Regarding their military organization, they had a well regimented military structure. To begin with, the responsibility of raiding other communities and protecting the community from external aggressors was vested on their shoulders. It was centred on an age set and grade system. After every seven years, initiation ceremony was held in which boys were initiated into manhood. After the exercise, they joined an age set known as *ibindo*, which conferred on them the status of warrior grade. There was always one age set between the father and the son. There are seven age sets among the Nandi, each lasting 15 years and it takes approximately 105 years to complete a whole cycle.[47] At the end of every age set, there is always a ceremony known as *Saket ab eito*. The enlisted age sets among the Nandi community include: Maina, Chumo, Sawe, Kipkoimet, Kaplelach, Kipnyingei and Nyongi.[48]

After completion of the initiation process, boys are referred to as *Murenik*, which loosely translates to 'laying down one's life for the community'. These young men who were circumcised together formed a strong bond among themselves (Bakule). Each age set was expected to appoint a life-long leader as they come out of the initiation. The time at which an age set is defending the community is named after him. The overall

[47] Oboler, R. (1985). *Women, Power, and Economic Change: The Nandi of Kenya*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
[48] *Ibid*.

strategy in going to war was drawn up by a team of experienced senior warriors under the leadership of *Kiptaya ab boriet*. At the same time, ascension to military was solely dependent on performance in war and knowledge of cultural taboos. Each age set would have its own leader called *Kaptaiyat ab murenik.* The formation in war would be such that there would be an advance guerrilla (ngoimeti), *birtich* in the middle and *olduido* at the rear. The *birtich* were those who retired from age grade warriors.[49]

Lastly just like the case in other pre-colonial communities, the education system was lifelong and informal. Boys and girls were initially taught by their mother and then later the boys were surrendered to their father. From then, the father would orient the boys on their duties and responsibilities in the society. These would include: cattle rearing, hunting as well as construction. On the other hand, the girls would be taught their responsibilities by their mothers. These would include; household chores, cooking, fetching water as well as how to be responsible as a future wife.

During initiation, there was more education that was given to both boys and girls as they marked their transition to adulthood. They received education on matters touching on their history, culture and values of the community. Boys, for instance, were taught by men who were one age set below their fathers. These teachers were known at *Motirenik* and were carefully selected from very knowledgeable men from the community. Under these men, they learnt cattle keeping, crop storage, astronomy and how to conduct important communal ceremonies. At the same time, it was after circumcision that men were allowed to specialize in trades such as medicine, iron workings and bee keeping.

[49] Chelimo, F. J., & Chelelgo, K. (2016). Pre-Colonial Political Organization of the Kalenjin of Kenya.

2.3 Nandi Reaction to Colonial Establishment

The arrival of colonialists to Nandi greatly harmed the political structure of the pre-colonial Nandi. As indicated by one respondent, "During the pre-colonial period, the Orkoiyot was the overall leader of the Nandi who was both a political and spiritual leader".[50] This view was reiterated by Assimeng's that in most sub-Saharan African societies, traditional authority and leadership found expression in forms such as religious leadership, lineage headship, leadership in extended families and chieftaincy.[51] However, in Nandi, during the early days of the colonial period, the District Commissioner was asked by the governor to appoint colonial chiefs who headed locations. However, later, the British appointed paramount chiefs who headed all colonial chiefs and several locations of the Nandi. The headship of locations was thus limited to the roles of colonial chiefs. Therefore, the term chief as referenced in this thesis also includes the paramount chiefs, the colonial chiefs and headmen or assistant chiefs. The assistant chiefs comprised of headmen. They were assisted by the elders (kiptainik) who were the heads of the various clans in each location. The boundaries for these locations were demarcated using rivers. Therefore, some of the clans traversed different locations. The political roles of the colonial chiefs included to provide administrative directions based on the British colonial agenda. The economic roles of colonial chiefs entailed to facilitate the British government's activities such as provision of ploughs and grinding mills to settler farmers.[52] Assessing the immediate response of the Nandi to colonial incursion, a respondent had this to say:

> These people [the British], they came and did not even care to respect our leaders. They never asked us [Nandi] 'who is in charge of this house

[50] Oral interview with Mariko Kurgat on 20/3/2019 (88 years old).
[51] Assimeng, M. (1996). *Traditional leaders' capability and Disposition for Democracy: The Example of Ghana.* A paper presented during an international conference on Traditional and Contemporary forms of local participation and self-Government in Africa organized by KonradAdenaur Foundation in Nairobi, Kenya 9-12 October, 1996, p. 146.
[52] Oral interview with Peter arap Koei on 21/3/2019 (86 years old).

> and do we have his permission to enter?' They had guns. So many people were afraid… So the wazungus [white people] took our things. See, these pororiosiek are no longer based on clans, but on locations created by the British. You know pororiet was a collection of clans. But you find that some of these locations have many clans in them. And then the chief was supposed to be superior to orkoiyot who was the overall leader. That was impossible. The Nandi did not like these new chiefs.[53]

The above views indicate that the Nandi found the British imposition of new forms of leadership quite disruptive. This explains why the orkoiyot of the time, Samoei, mounted an aggressive resistance to the British colonisers. Whether the Orkoiyot's actions were driven by the desire to retain power for himself or an unselfish interest to safeguard the traditions of the Nandi is unknown. Besides, as already indicated elsewhere, the Nandi gave full agency to their traditional leaders. Therefore, the traditional leaders were concurrently the principals and agents of the Nandi. As such, the actions of the leader were considered as the actions of the entire community.

A review of data from archival sources affirmed that the leadership of the Nandi was greatly challenged by colonialism. As the data obtained from the Annual Report of 1904-1912 showed:

> The arrival of the colonial powers to Nandi was most felt around 1905 when the Uganda Railway was crossing the region. The colonial system challenged mostly the Nandi leadership and social structure. Upon arrival at Nandi on 14th, 1905, the administrator attempted but failed to convene a meeting of Nandi leaders to address the chaos that greeted the colonialists. For the next four years, the British carried on an aggressive administration of the Nandi. Punitive expeditions were dispatched to instil punishment for various outbreaks.[54]

According to the KNA report, the first native chiefs were appointed to aid the administration in submitting the Nandi to colonial rule. However, the attitudes of these native chiefs appeared to be generally friendly towards the Nandi. Aside from these first colonial chiefs tending to be benevolent towards the Nandi, their powers were also

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[53] *Ibid.*
[54] KNA DC/NDI/I/I. *Annual Report of 1904*. Kenya National Archives.

too limited. Unlike the traditional leaders of the Nandi who exercised full powers, these chiefs merely acted as agents of the British colonizers.

The above findings affirmed those of Dzivenu, who argues that during the pre-colonial Africa, majority of traditional societies had well-structured system where colonial chiefs and the council of elders ruled concurrently.[55] The headman, who was the leader of the smallest constituent, was responsible to the village chief. The village elder was subject to the senior or divisional headman. In every village, there were organs for conflict and dispute resolutions through the chief and the council of elders. These organs were also reinforced by the council of elders who headed every clan.[56]

The pre-colonial Nandi also had council of elders whose main roles was to resolve problems at the community level. Native councils consisted of assembly of elders from the different clans. A man having a complaint to make would go to the village elder who would convene a meeting. Both parties to the dispute were then called before the councils. The statement of each party was heard together with that of any witness. No relation or interested party could be allowed to give evidence, the parties to the dispute were then compelled to retire whilst a decision was being arrived at. They were then recalled and after soundly related the decision was given. The winning party then paid a fee of a goat or ox, which was slaughtered and eaten by the elders. No fees could be accepted until the decision had been given.[57]

One respondent was asked to give an account of the Nandi resistance of the British and he had this to say:

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[55] Dzivenu, S. (2008). The politics of inclusion and Exclusion of Traditional Authorities in Africa; Chiefs and Justice Administration in Botswana and Ghana. *Polish Perspectives, 2*(1), 1-30.

[56] Schapera, I. (1949). *Some Problems of Anthropological Research in Kenya Colony*. London: International African Institute, Memoir 2.

[57] KNA DC/NDI/I/I. *Annual Report of 1904*. Kenya National Archives.

> When the British set feet in Nandi, Samoei (orkoiyot) was the leader of the Nandi at the time. Therefore, Samoei led much of the resistance that the Nandi mounted against the British. The resistance began as a mounting pressure against the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway. When the railway builders entered the Nandi land, Samoei rallied his warriors to fight the intruders. The Nandi used guerrilla tactics. They would invade abruptly and sabotage the railway lines and equipment then run-away fast disappearing into the nearby forests. Samoei was a tactful leader as well; he organized his warriors to attack strategic locations of the railway, and most of those attacks proved successful. The materials stolen from rail construction sites were used to make weapons, ornaments and tools. The British followed Samoei to Nandi Hills due to betrayal (kengweta) from within the Nandi by a member of the Kamelilo clan. At first, the British announce that they were calling for a truce. They invited the Nandi leader to a truce meeting. However, the British Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen was lying; he set a trap at the meeting place to capture and kill Samoei. Around 1905 Samoei was killed along with many of his companions. In response, the warriors of the Nyongi age-set destroyed a large portion of the railway line.[58]

As shown above, often, accounts of Nandi resistance of the British usually cite the era of Samoei (1900-1905). However, Pavitt situates the Nandi resistance to the period 1890-1906.[59] Meanwhile, Bishop begins by tracing the Nandi resistance to early prophecies of 1850s.[60] Therefore, it was deemed important to give a proper account of the Nandi resistance in terms of the causes, the process until the end of fighting. Pavitt argues that by the time the British invaded Nandi, they were very informed about the aggressive characteristics of the native community.[61] In his view, the British had done their research well and, in fact, used to warn travellers against crossing Nandi land. In Pavitt's view, the Nandi were known to detest strangers and would often mount sudden attacks on caravans of traders and travellers passing through their land. However, as Pavitt explains, the Nandi had been cautioned against the coming of the white man by their prophets, Kimnyole and Mongo. Therefore, they had every reason to be nervous

[58] Oral interview with Some arap Kogo on 22/3/2019 (81 years old).
[59] Pavitt, N. (1989). *Kenya: The First Explorers.* Aurum Press, p. 121.
[60] Bishop, D. (1909). *Warriors in the Heart of Darkness: The Nandi Resistance, 1850 to 1897.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
[61] Pavitt, N. *Kenya*, p. 121.

of any stranger entering their land. Moreover, another earlier prophet, Mongo, had even warned the Nandi that the white people would be dangerous and it would be pointless to fight them. In the midst of all the fears of prophesies coming true, however, the Nandi were also in a euphoric state having fought successfully and displaced the Uasin Gishu Maasai. As such, their leaders were certain that the Nandi could successfully resist the British.

Matson posits that the decade-long fight between the Nandi and the British was sparked by the careless actions of two unscrupulous white traders, namely Andrew Dick and Peter West.[62] The duo were British traders who sought monopoly over commercial routes from Mombasa to various sections of Kenya's hinterland. The specific incident that Matson refers to involve a caravan of goods and weapons belonging to Dick and West and that was attacked and destroyed by the Nandi. Dick mounted a campaign to track and recover the stolen weapons. The campaign led to the arrest of two Nandi warriors. Dick decided to execute the two warriors; he had them whipped, bound and drowned. Meanwhile, West was busy trying to strike a deal for supply of ivory with the Nandi. Compared to Dick, West had been friendlier to the Nandi delegation who had come to see him. However, in July 16th 1895, the Nandi warriors, angered by Dick's actions, invaded West's camp at night and killed everyone there. Matson alludes that the death of West could be blamed squarely on Dick's irresponsible actions.

The death of West sparked a furious reaction from the colonial government.[63] The government immediately sent several expeditions to fight the Nandi. The strategy of these invasions was to kill or arrest the Nandi warriors, to rob the Nandi of their main

[62] Matson, A. T. (1972). *Nandi Resistance to British Rule, 1890-1906.* Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
[63] Bishop, D. *Warriors in the Heart of Darkness.*

source of livelihood, namely cattle, and to destroy the Nandi settlements and homes. According to Bishop, the first waves of expeditions occurred from 1895-1897 and were the hardest for the Nandi, yet the community would not give in to the British. Therefore, the British organized a third wave of expeditions, which began in 1900. At the time, the Uganda railway line was entering Nandi country. The Nandi saw an opportunity to sabotage the railway project and to obtain more sophisticated weaponry from the metals. They also killed several soldiers of the East African protectorate from Uganda and stole their weapons. In response to these, the British invaded Nandi land with a massive contingent of troops divided into different platoons, each attacking from a different angle. These comprised mainly of soldiers derived from collaborating or defeated African groups from the Maasai, Sudan and Uganda.

The end of the Nandi-British conflict came with the death of Koitalel Samoei in the hands of Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen. Upon noticing that the Nandi would not give in to the British incursion into their land, the colonel invited the Nandi leader for a discussion and possible truce. The meeting was scheduled and the venue was picked. On that day, Samoei came with a small delegation of warriors and traditional Nandi leaders. Without wasting time, Meinertzhagen extended his hand to the orkoiyot and when Samoei shook the hand, the colonel drew his pistol and shot him in the head. The Nandi delegation was also killed immediately by the colonel's soldiers. In a 2008 interview by the East African, a grand-nephew of Samoei, Sosten Saina, gave this account of the murder:

> There were about 22 of them who went for a meeting with the 'mzungu' that day. Koitalel Arap Samoei had been advised not to shake hands because if he did, that would give him away as the leader. But he extended his hand and was shot immediately.[64]

[64] The East African (2008, December 5). Murder that Shaped the Future of Kenya. *The East African*. Nairobi: Standard Group.

The Nandi were distraught by the death of Samoei. Many of the warriors scattered into the forests and would occasionally mount guerrilla attacks against the British. However, in the absence of a leader to unify and coordinate the Nandi resistance, the community finally caved in to the British around 1906.

Respondent Some arap Kogo quoted a song that describes the events culminating in Samoei's death thus:

> Kibut rarweit nandiek (The Nandi destroyed the railway)
> Keo keto chi kabiyet (And they were expelled to Kabiyet)[65]

The song captures the events that followed the death of Samoei. When the warriors proved too aggressive in their sabotage of the railway line, the colonial government decided to push the Nandi to Kabiyet, far from the place where the railway line passed. This marked the end of the Nandi resistance of the British entry into their land.

The above account of the Nandi resistance to the British reveals a number of features of the Nandi political order at the time. First, the pre-colonial Nandi were strong militarily, which was aided by the terrain of their land. Second, the Nandi were united in their fight. No member from the community was willing to collaborate or spy on their community. Therefore, the divide and conquer strategy of the British military could not work in quashing the Nandi resistance. Third, the fight against the British had more reasons than the commonly mentioned resistance of the Uganda railway line. Fourth, the role of Koitalel Samoei came only after 1900, with the death of Kimnyole. Koitalel Samoei is often mentioned in literature as the Nandi leader who mounted the longest and most aggressive resistance against the British. In a related point, the internal squabbles occasioned by efforts to replace Kimnyole contributed somewhat to the

[65] Oral interview with Some arap Kogo Oral Interview on 22/3/2019 (81 years old).

weakening of the Nandi militarily. Fifth, without the support of communities such as the Maasai who were familiar with Nandi land, the British would have perhaps not succeeded in conquering the Nandi. Lastly, the fact that Samoei was willing to sit and listen to British demands gave the colonizers an opportunity to establish strong relations with the Nandi. As such, the murder of Samoei was reckless and unnecessarily.

The Nandi resistance has been discussed in many studies and writings in the past. However, Wolff provides a new perspective by explaining the harsh response of the British to the Nandi resistance. According to Wolff, the decision to introduce settler farmers in places such as Kenya's western region was not purely to generate revenue through agriculture.[66] The main aim was to secure the route of the Uganda railways using settler farming as a means to capture the needed land.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the nature of the Nandi society in the pre-colonial period. What has come out is that the Nandi were a highly organized system which evolved their structures as they continued to immigrate and settle in places where they moved. The chapter has even demonstrated some of the institutions that the Nandi borrowed and modified to become the strongest socio-political institution among them. Furthermore, the chapter has demonstrated how the entry of the British colonialists systematically disrupted the life of the Nandi. This explains why they mounted a fierce resistance against them until when their leader, Koitalel arap Samoei, was killed by the British, hence paving way for their entrenchment and introduction of their system of administration, which entailed using the chiefs in the achievement of their aim. The

[66] Wolff, R. D. (1974). *The economics of colonialism: Britain and Kenya, 1870-1930*. Yale University Press.

next chapter examines the establishment of colonial administration and the role of chiefs from 1906-1918.

CHAPTER THREE

ESTABLISHMENT OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION AND THE ROLE OF CHIEFS, 1906-1918

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the nature of the Nandi in the precolonial period. This chapter examines the process by which, after defeating the Nandi in 1905, the British then proceeded to entrench their system of administration among the Nandi. As they did this, the centrality of chiefs became apparent. The chapter therefore will examine this entrenchment within the context of the roles and place of chiefs in midwifing the transition from the traditional system of administration to the colonial style. The chapter will also examine the specific roles the chiefs played during the World War period until when Kenya changed from being a protectorate to a colony in 1920 with the passing of the Kenya Protectorate Order-in-Council.[1]

3.2 Establishment of Colonial Administration among the Nandi

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the pre-colonial Nandi were fierce warriors who loved their freedom and land. Therefore, the imposition of colonial authority in their land represented a great violation of their ancient cultures and traditions, especially leadership structures and social organization. According to Lagat, one of the most important factors that shaped the initial colonial policy towards the Nandi was their earlier response to that rule and the subsequent establishment of the British in their land.[2] After a bloody confrontation that forced the British to mount a punitive expedition against them, the Nandi were finally subdued in 1905. This instilled a lot of

[1] Atieno-Odhiambo, E. S. (1972). The colonial government, the settlers and the" Trust" principle in Kenya 1939. *Transafrican Journal of History*, *2*(2), 94-113.

[2] Lagat, K. A. (1995). *The Historical process of the Nandi movement into Uasin Gishu, 1906-1963* (MA Thesis, University of Nairobi).

suspicion and scepticism in the British against the Nandi. As it was in other parts of the colony, the British first embarked on a series of enactments of ordinances and laws which were aimed at alienating land from the Nandi. For example, the Crown Lands Bill of 1908 on African land bestowed power to the colonial governor; the power to reserve from sale, lease or other disposal any 'crown land which, in his opinion is required for the use or support of the members of the native race.'[3]

In Nandi, the study revealed that land alienation and displacement occurred soon after 1905, following the defeat of the Nandi Resistance.[4] This affirmed the view by Ngeny that after the death of Samoei, the Nandi were defeated soon. The colonialists then began a project to push the Nandi away from fertile areas in line with the land alienation policies.[5] As a consequence, the Nandi lost land in not only the southern Uasin Gishu plateau, but also in other subsequent areas which transferred to European settlement. In fact, on 1st October 1907, the boundaries of the Nandi reserve were gazetted.[6] Subsequently, the colonial government went ahead and made a pledge to the Nandi elders to the effect that the alienated land would remain in their hands forever.[7] By 1912, the Nandi reserve extended to cover seventeen and a half square miles situated in the Kaimosi area. This was given to the Friends African Mission missionaries who established their centre at Kaimosi.[8]

The alienation of Nandi land represented a significant change for the community. The Nandi lost much of its grazing land in the areas such as the present-day Southern Uasin Gishu plateu and Trans Nzoia. Subsequently, the Nandi community's custom of

[3] East African Protectorate (1908). *Crown Lands Bill, 1908*. The Principal Secretary of State, The Colonial Office, Nairobi.
[4] Oral interview with Simon Arap Kelewa on 4/4/2019 (87 years old).
[5] Ngeny, S. (1972). *Nandi Resistance*.
[6] KNA PC/NZA.3. *Nandi Political Record Book.* Vol 1, Select 31.
[7] KNA/DC/NDI/1/1/20. *Annual Report, 1919-20*. Hemstead DC.
[8] *Ibid*.

collective land ownership was upset, and the imposition of taxes made matters worse. The Nandi people lost their land and autonomy as a result of the colonial administration's efforts, which included local chiefs' involvement in land delineation and alienation.

According to Lagat, by 1917 to early 1918, most of the men from Nandi had embraced the Squatter System by signing labour contracts with the white settlers.[9] This view is shared by Zeleza who argues that the onset of colonial labour also saw the introduction of the working class in the colonial period in Kenya.[10] Similarly, Van Zwanenberg associates the rise of capitalism to colonial labour systems in Kenya from 1919-1939.[11] According to Van Zwanenberg, Africans who had been deprived of much of their land were forced to become squatters and labourers in white settler farms. These later became the elite members of the working-class society in post-independence Kenya. Therefore, in line with the principles of Elite theory, the colonial labour system served to entrench the establishment of social and economic classes in the African traditional societies.

The Nandi people's decision to become squatters was not just a survival strategy; it was also a response to the more significant economic changes brought about by colonial control. They were able to adapt to the new economic conditions imposed by colonization while maintaining some ties to their ancient pastoral lives by signing labor contracts with European immigrants. Because they were trying to maintain aspects of their cultural identity while dealing with the challenges of colonial oppression, their

[9] Lagat, A. K. (1995). *The Historical process of the Nandi movement into Uasin Gishu, 1906-1963.*
[10] Zeleza, P. T. (1982). *Dependent Capitalism and the Making of the Kenyan Working Class During the colonial period* (D.Phil. Thesis, Dalhousie University).
[11] Van Zwanenberg, R. (1975). *Colonial capitalism and labour in Kenya, 1919-1939*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

dual status as laborers and pastoralists emphasizes the complex character of their social evolution during this time.

As all this was happening, the British colonialists were accompanying it alongside the establishment of chieftaincy among the Nandi. The office of the Orkoiyot was maintained. Many of the colonial chiefs were appointed by the colonialists at the onset of colonial rule.[12] What was clear though was that most of the chiefs did not wield the traditional powers and authority that was attached to the institution. In fact, many were not liked, particularly because they helped the British in attaining their interests, especially on collection of taxes. This initial resistance to colonial chiefs was thus an agency problem that the indirect rule in Kenya faced from the onset. According to the data on tax records at the KNA, some of the chiefs who, during this period, helped the British in their collection of taxes included: Kipeles, Barsirian arap Manyel, Kabellen Arap Cheno, Arap Chirchir, Arap Chepsiror, Arap Viatol, Arap Kursoi, Arap Kiamen, Arap Siswa, Arap Sego, Arap Sirma, Arap Kitongot and Arap Narya.[13] In 1910-19, they managed to count 10,116 huts, which collected a total of 40,806 rupees in the years 1910 to 1912 alone.[14] Some of these chiefs were rewarded with personal gifts and official promotions for their endeavour in enforcing tax laws. Thus, they slowly became a new class or elite group of Nandi bestowed with higher social, economic and political power.

This change represented a departure from the precolonial Nandi social structure, which was based on traditional institutions like the Orkoiyot and included a more dispersed allocation of power and authority. A shift toward a more hierarchical and stratified

[12] Kipchirchir, B. J., Tanui, P., & Opondo, P. (2022). Nandi Colonial Chieftaincy as Social Agency, 1902-1963. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science*, *6*(11), 161-174.
[13] KNA/DC/NDI/1/1/20.
[14] *Ibid*.

social structure that was more in line with colonial goals was signaled by the emergence of a new class of colonial chiefs who attained power by collaboration with the British.

According to Kipchirchir, the British collected taxes to facilitate the operations of the government. For this to be attained, they needed manpower that had the wherewithal base on their familiarity with the areas that they were to be in charge of. As such, the chiefs came in handy towards the fulfilment of this goal. To this end, the DC was mandated to try as much as possible to collect taxes in order to cater for the salaries of those under his administration in the District. As such, as agents of the colonial system, the colonial chiefs collected taxes per household. In case a person was unable to pay taxes, the person would be imprisoned. That being the case, many opted to provide labour in order to raise money for the sake of payment of taxes.[15]

The chiefs played a dual role, particularly when it came to land alienation. This dual role gained them fame or spite in equal measure. Kipchirchir avers that, on one hand, they played an important role for the British in terms of ensuring that the land alienation and squatter system laws were implemented.[16] To this end, they were hated because they were perceived to be the point men acting for the British in committing what the Nandi saw as ills to their very own community, which included land alienation and informing their masters of imminent protests that sparked harsh retaliations. Moreover, the chiefs were disliked because they were the ones who enlisted the Nandi to offer forced labour to the Europeans. Besides, the chiefs also contributed greatly in compelling the Nandi to embrace a life of labour under the squatter system. As such, from the onset, colonial chiefs embodied the agency problem within the British indirect

[15] DO Kapsabet FW Isaac. *Nandi Quarterly Reports*, 1905.
[16] Kipchirchir, B. J., Tanui, P., & Opondo, P. (2022). Nandi Colonial Chieftaincy as Social Agency, 1902-1963.

rule. The conflicting interests of the Nandi and the British placed the chiefs in dilemma, which for much of the colonial period they had to negotiate. In most cases, the chiefs survived this dilemma by renegotiating and reinventing their roles over time.

Therefore, to assuage their guilt, the chiefs helped in maintaining the Nandi *pororiet* (clan) system. They, for example, despite having to implement colonial policies, tried to ensure that every clan had land. Some of the chiefs who played this important role of demarcating this land included Chief Arap Cheno alias Kibeles.[17] He managed to demarcate the land between Lesoss hill all the way to Keiyo hills.[18] The chiefs also managed to ensure that there was order in terms of land subdivision at the family level. They would ensure that land and cattle were divided equally in order to avoid squabbles. To this end, the chiefs were social agents who helped to ensure that, despite the changes that were imposed by the colonialists, the social ties that existed in the society were maintained and it ensured that the society was not fragmented as a result of introduction of capitalism.

During colonial control, the chiefs' function as social agents markedly changed from the precolonial period, when authority was firmly ingrained in customs and group decision-making. The efforts of these colonial leaders to preserve the clan structure, despite the limitations imposed by colonial authority, were vital in averting the disintegration of Nandi society, which was under threat from the forces of capitalism and colonial policy. Therefore, these chiefs reflected a complicated link between resistance to colonial influence and adaptation to change, as they attempted to preserve important facets of the Nandi's social cohesion even as they were integrated into a newly constructed hierarchical system imposed by colonialism.

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[17] *Ibid*.
[18] Oral Interview with Kimeli Maritim (79 years old), 29/03/2029.

Berman and Lonsdale disagree with the above view, arguing that colonial chiefs were, in fact, the agents of capitalist exploitation of Africans.[19] According to these authors, capitalism, which was the chief ideology of colonialism, was incompatible with the indigenous African peasant economies. To navigate this incompatibility, the colonial administration created a new class of capitalist African elites who would represent their native communities in adapting to the exploits of capitalism. This class was that of the African chiefs.

Economically, the colonial chiefs ensured that the Nandi benefitted from the technological advancements introduced by the colonialists, especially in farming. One such development was the ox-drawn plough, popularly known as ‘shika kamba’. In the early years of colonialism, the then DC managed to inculcate in the Nandi how to utilize the ox-drawn plough. As much as when he started doing so he was despised and rebuked, later he was able to successfully compel the Nandi to embrace the technology.[20] The Local Native Councils, which were squarely charged with ensuring development at the local level, also played a significant role to this end. They ensured that these ploughs reached the Nandi and were put into use. The chiefs directed people to grow cash crops in order to avert hunger. The chiefs punished people who did not participate in cultivation by whipping and caning.[21] These are just the general roles that these chiefs played in the colonial establishment.

From the Nandi's precolonial economic independence, the chiefs' involvement in promoting the adoption of modern technology and agricultural practices signified a

[19] Berman, B., & Lonsdale, J. (1992). *Unhappy valley: conflict in Kenya & Africa. Book 2, Violence and ethnicity*. James Currey.
[20] KNA/DC/NDI/1/2. *Annual Reports, 1901*.
[21] Kipchirchir, B. J., Tanui, P., & Opondo, P. (2022). Nandi Colonial Chieftaincy as Social Agency, 1902-1963.

significant transition. As go-betweens between the colonial administration and the Nandi people, these chiefs worked to preserve traditional social structures while juggling the demands of colonial rule. This intricate link demonstrates how colonialism changed the Nandi people's social structure and power dynamics in addition to their economic activities.

3.3 Appointment of Colonial Chiefs

The colonial chiefs were appointed by the British colonial government. From the outset, it is worth noting that the colonial administration in Kenya was the agent of the larger British Empire (principal). Therefore, the colonial state was an institution tasked with facilitating the imposition of British imperialist agenda on Kenya. As Berman puts it, the colonial state did not have absolute control over the colony; rather, it executed orders from the metropole.[22] The governor and other agents of the British Empire in Kenya were still answerable to British law and constitution. In fact, Berman identifies this lack of complete control as the root cause of failure to dominate the Kenyan colony by the administrators of the Kenyan protectorate.

Leadership and authority in precolonial Nandi culture were derived from ancient institutions such as the Orkoiyot, who possessed great spiritual and political power. This precolonial organization was significantly altered by the British introduction of the position of colonial chief. The DC was particularly tasked with vetting and appointing suitable candidates for appointment as colonial chiefs.[23] However, the British expected the Nandi community to propose the people they wished to be appointed as chiefs. In most cases, the Nandi were adamant to present their sons for

[22] Berman, B. (1992). *Control and crisis in colonial Kenya: The dialectic of domination*. East African Publishers.
[23] KNA DC/NDI/I/I. *Annual Reports of 1904-1912.*

appointment as chiefs. To them the office of colonial chief was alien. However, where the Nandi complied with this requirement, the community picked the nominee through a line (kebir siroto chemitan) voting.[24] By giving the Nandi the choice to pick candidates as colonial chief, the colonial government sought to manipulate the locals to believe they had the autonomy of choice. This was part of the strategy of domination by proxy employed by the British.[25] As such, the Nandi elders gathered and elected a leader before he was recommended for appointment as chief. As another respondent explained:

> A baraza was called in these locations and after that there are families who have say. In the *pororiosiek* meeting the D.C says we need a chief. The people elect the chief anonymously through the meeting. If the father is still alive, the people would go to him or his grandfather and request for the leadership of the son. 'We need your son to lead these cattle.' He would teasingly say 'he is still young.' They would go then come back and still request the choice of the chief. If the father refused, the appointment of the chief would fall into someone who is not of the same community. The Nandi would not allow their sons to stand for leadership [chieftaincy].[26]

Even though it seemed to involve the Nandi in the selection process, the formation of colonial chieftaincy ultimately undermined traditional authority and replaced it with a system that benefited colonial interests. Although certain chiefs were chosen from inside the Nandi community, their legitimacy came more from their cooperation with the British than from the customary authority of precolonial authorities.

From the data obtained through oral interviews, the study established that colonial chiefs in the Nandi were appointed between 1903 and 1940s. The colonial administration required that every chief be seconded by a headman or assistant chief.[27] The assistant chief gave support services to the chief. He would advise the chief on

[24] Oral interview with Peter arap Koei on 21/3/2019 (86 years old).
[25] Berman, B. (1992). *Control and crisis in colonial Kenya.*
[26] Oral interview with Paul Kipsang Arap Maasai on 16/03/2019 (76 years old).
[27] KNA DC/NDI/I/I. *Annual Reports of 1904.*

matters decision-making. He also consulted with the council of elders to guide him in advising the chief on important decisions.[28] The headmen and chiefs was in charge of a single location while the paramount chief headed many locations. In most cases, each location comprised the place of residence of a single clan. This was an attempt to retain the Nandi administrative system in the precolonial period that followed clan structures. Nevertheless, as will be shown later, the colonial administration did not give much regard for the clans when demarcating locations. This was one of the major political disruptions that the Nandi experienced in the early days of colonialism. The emergence of the colonial chieftaincy severely upset the precolonial Nandi clan structures and government, replacing customary authority with a structure that suited colonial needs. The Nandi's political environment was altered by this transition, which also put their social structure and authority dynamics in jeopardy. As a result, there were significant changes in how the community interacted with one another.

Initially, native chiefs and headmen had no powers when they were appointed under the provisions of the Village Headman's Ordinance of 1902. Later, limited social powers were conferred upon them under section 10 of the Courts Ordinance No. 16 of 1907. Offences by a chief would be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the Village Headmen's Ordinance or the Indian Penal Code, except in exceptional circumstances when the matter would be referred to the provincial commissioner.[29]

From the discussion so far, it is evident that the colonial regime tried to integrate colonial chieftaincy within the social and political organization of the Nandi. First, they allowed the Nandi to propose individuals to be appointed as chiefs. Second, they used

[28] Oral Interview with Kiplimo Arap Mugum on 22/03/2019 (88 years old).
[29] KNA DC/NDI/30/9/1910. *Nandi District Quarterly Report, 31st March 1910*. Kenya National Archives.

headmen to act as a bridge between the colonial chiefs and the council of elders of the Nandi. As such, one can safely say that the British understood that their policy of indirect rule would suffer from agency problems and they tried to pre-empt this challenge.

The process employed by the colonial government to select chiefs often overlooked customary clan hierarchies. In precolonial times, leaders emerged organically from within the community, chosen for their wisdom and ability to foster social harmony. Conversely, the colonial system imposed external authority and frequently appointed individuals who lacked the customary legitimacy of traditional leaders. This approach further alienated the Nandi people from the chiefs, as they perceived these colonial appointees as representatives of a foreign power rather than legitimate rulers, thereby undermining the existing social order.The above findings affirmed those of Schapera that from the earliest days of annexation in Africa, local British officers (mostly the District Commissioners) began to appoint subordinates, a process that was progressively given legal standing from 1902 onwards in a series of native authorities' ordinances. Many of the earliest chiefs and headmen had been appointed from among the foreign African servants and soldiers of the British or from among the members of the local community often managing who offered their services.[30]

The traditional legitimacy of leaders and the established clan hierarchies were disregarded in the colonial process of selecting chiefs. Rather, the colonial government imposed external authority, often selecting people who were either respected or trusted by the population. The Nandi people felt alienated from the colonial chiefs, who they

[30] Schapera, I. (1928). Economic changes in South African native life. *Africa*, *1*(2), 170-188.

saw as agents of a foreign power rather than as legitimate leaders, as a result of this strategy, which also undermined the preexisting social order.

The findings showed that the DC preferred candidates who were knowledgeable, loyal and Christian to be appointed as chiefs. An interview respondent indicated that the British officials, like DCs, could at times appoint those who were vocal to become chiefs. Election was carried in *mlolongo* (lining up) based on the clans. Those clans that first worked for the white man automatically belonged to the farm. Selection of chiefs was not biased. From the archival data, however, it was reported that good character was considered in the election of the candidate to be recommended for appointment as chief.[31] In contrast, in traditional Nandi, character and clan were crucial considerations in appointment of leaders. Colonial chiefs were also appointed in relation to their ability to talk and their stability in social status. Where two or more people were chosen the line-up, age would be followed. The older led first followed by the younger ones. At times, the strength of the clan was also be followed.[32] Candidates from stronger clans were given priority over those from clans that were considered weaker. Another factor considered by the Nandi, especially in later appointments, was the wealth of the individual.[33] A candidate who wanted to be chief and had money had a better sway on the elders and would easily get appointed as chief. This was a sign of the growing influence of western capitalism within the Nandi social, economic and political structures.

[31] Oral interview with Peter Arap Koei on 6/04/2019 (86 years old).
[32] KNA DC/NDI/I/I. *Annual Reports of 1905-1920.*
[33] Oral interview with Pius Kiptarus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019 (76 years old).

Afigbo posits that the warrant chief system emanated as a matter of necessity from the lack of pre-existing chieftaincy traditions in some parts of Africa.[34] There were parts of British colonial territories, such as the Igbo region of eastern Nigeria, which had no tradition of chieftaincy intuitions. The British appointed willing participants or collaborators and gave them "warrants" to act as local representatives of the British administration among their people. The French, Belgians, and Portuguese, practicing so-called direct administration, also appointed provincial chiefs to assist in local administration. The appointment of warrant and provincial chiefs was an invention of traditions that have continued in different forms today.

The precolonial Nandi governance system was in fundamental conflict with the colonial concept of indirect control, which required selecting local leaders to rule on behalf of the British. Given the Nandi's well-established clan systems and customary authority, it would be challenging for any newly nominated chiefs to gain the respect and confidence of the people. This circumstance brought to light the difficulties the British encountered in carrying out their plans for regional control. Thus, in stark contrast to the colonial practice of designating warrant chiefs, the precolonial Nandi leadership model reflected a robust system of government, which in turn caused dissatisfaction and resistance among the Nandi people.

3.4 Nandi Response to Appointment of Colonial of Chiefs

The study found that the Nandi in the colonial period equated the position of chief with that of Laibon (considered the supreme chief) prior to colonial incursion into Nandi.[35] The Laibon position was hereditary. He was chosen from amongst one of the sons of

[34] Afigbo, A. E. (1972). *The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in South-Eastern Nigeria, 1891-1929.* London: Longman.
[35] Oral interview with Kiplimo Arap Mugum on 22/03/2019 (88 years old).

the deceased or retiring Laibon by a general meeting of the elders and warriors of the tribe. Therefore, the Nandi expected that the office of colonial chief would be hereditary. In most cases, the elders selected the son who had been most successful in foretelling the result of raids to be the Laibon. The source of power for the Laibon was their practice of traditional medicine or healing and prophesy. In comparison, much of power of the colonial chief was delegated from the colonial government. Nevertheless, chiefs who successfully endeared to the Nandi commanded more respect in the land. For this reason, the Laibon, as an equal of the chief, represented the kind of traditions that the British detested among the Nandi. This explains why the British did not generally support the positions of Laibons in Nandi. In fact, none of the members of the Laibon clan (Talai) was appointed as chief.[36] Similarly, the position of assistant chief usurped that of headmen. Traditionally, headmen were appointed by selection of the elders of the *pororiosiek* (clans).[37]

The above findings show that the Nandi tried to understand the new political systems in relation to the ones with which they were familiar. They saw the colonial chief as the new form of Laibon and the new assistant chief as the new village elders or headmen. This was their way of understanding the changing socio-political realities of their society at the time.

The above sentiment concurs with those of Isichei, that in their appointment of chiefs, the British failed to realize that some parts of Africa were unfamiliar with the idea of "chiefs" or "kings."[38] Isichei cites that, among the Igbo, for example, decisions were made by protracted debate and general consensus. The new powers given to the warrant

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[36] *Ibid*.
[37] KNA DC/NDI/I/I. *Annual Reports of 1905.* Kenya National Archives.
[38] Isichei, E. (1976). *A History of the Igbo People*. London: Macmillan.

chiefs and enhanced by the native court system led to an exercise of power and authority unprecedented in precolonial times. Warrant chiefs also used their power to accumulate wealth at the expense of their subjects. Therefore, their economic aggrandizement elevated their status to those of elites who would later take over as political leaders at independence. Through this process, colonial officials tended to create or recreate a patriarchal society because only men were appointed as warrant chiefs. The appointment of warrant chiefs created significant problems and engendered large-scale resentment among African people. The warrant chiefs were hated because they were corrupt and arrogant.

Though fundamentally distinct from the warrant chief system, the precolonial Nandi leadership structure is reflected in Isichei's opinions regarding the British selection of chiefs. Isichei points out that the British appointed people who lacked power and legitimacy because there was no chieftaincy tradition in some parts of Africa, such as the Igbo region. The Nandi, on the other hand, had a well-established political organization based on clan systems, in which leaders naturally arose because to their knowledge and capacity to promote social cohesiveness.

The findings further revealed that the position of a chief among the Nandi during the colonial period was mostly unpopular because the authority of that office was imposed on the people. Therefore, at the time, the Nandi colonial chiefs comprised people who were volunteered to the office by the community. These people comprised mainly those who were most active in social activities.[39] One such chief was Arap Cheno, who came from the Aldai. The Nandi themselves feared to be chosen into the office of chiefs because they believed the office bore some curses. It was reported that the community

[39] Oral interview with Samuel Biwott on 16/3/2019 (76 years old).

also volunteered people from other neighbouring tribes and Kalenjin sub-tribes. The Nandi feared to volunteer their sons because they thought the office of colonial chief invited curses from the community (kimume). This view agreed with the work of Berman who observes that, for many reasons, African communities tended to resist leadership forms imposed on them by the colonialits.[40] So, most often, they volunteered the members of Tiriki community. Other chiefs were also chosen from households that were considered unpopular. This was in contrast to the criteria used in election of traditional leaders, which emphasized character and clan as key considerations. One such chief was Arap Chepkiyeng from among the Keiyo who lived in Nandi (Kilibwoni), Kaptalamek. The colonial administration appointed chiefs from other tribes when the Nandi refused to provide candidates of their own. The Nandi referred to such chiefs as *bunyot* or foreigner chiefs, and they came from the neighbouring communities of Keiyo, Tiriki, Luo and Luhya.[41]

The appointment of outsiders as chiefs increased political disharmony and agency problems in the Nandi. The same sentiments have been echoed by Afigbo in relation to appointment of chiefs in colonial Nigeria.[42] First, the Nandi largely rejected those chiefs imposed on them by the colonial administration. Second, this rejection rendered the roles of the chiefs difficult due to lack of community cooperation and support. For example, Arap Chepkiyeng was rejected by majority of the Nandi. For this reason, he tended to be harsher to the community and often supported the agenda of the government without much regard for the welfare of the Nandi people.[43] This partly

[40] Berman, B. (1992). *Control and crisis in colonial Kenya*
[41] Oral interview with Pius Kiptarus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019 (76 years old).
[42] Afigbo, A. E. (1972). The Warrant Chiefs:
[43] Oral interview with Daudi Kipkoech arap Maritim 21/3/2019 (85 years old).

contributed to prolonging the Nandi resistance of colonial rule even after the death of Koitalel Samoei, a sentiment shared by Ngeny.[44]

In precolonial Nandi society, people were chosen for leadership roles based on their courage, wisdom, and ability to promote social peace within the group. Respect was owed to the Orkoiyot and clan elders, and established conventions and group decision-making served as the foundation of governance. This methodology contrasts sharply with the colonial practice of selecting leaders, sometimes from outside the Nandi community, which led to significant political unrest and hostility.

The study further observed that no women were appointed as chiefs in the Nandi. Additionally, most of the chiefs came from the Tiriki community. This was indicative of the fact that the colonial authorities had disrupted the traditional system of leadership of the Nandi where specific leaders came from specific clans. Therefore, as indicated by the study, some of the chiefs did not come from the Nandi community. One interviewee cited the examples of Chief Arap Chepkiyeng who was from Keiyo.[45] During his reign, most Keiyo men went to Nandi and got married. Other leaders, namely Arap Marigi and Kemwori, started boys' initiation in Nandi. Arap Marigi brought most Keiyo to migrate to Nandi in his time. This was why most of the Keiyos became chiefs in Nandi. Prophet Arap Turugat was a Maasai and, in his time, he also brought Maasai people to Nandi. According to the respondent, therefore, Koitalel Samoei was also a Maasai descendant.[46] This claim has also been reiterated by Magut in his work on the rise and fall of the Nandi orkoiyot.[47]

[44] Ngeny, S. (1972). *Nandi Resistance.*
[45] Oral interview with Joseph Arap Keter on 28/3/2019 (77 years old).
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] Magut, P. K. (1969). The Rise and Fall of the Nandi Orkoiyot.

The colonial government's disrespect for the customary Nandi clan system in selecting chiefs resulted in the disintegration of the community's established social structure and leadership hierarchy. The Nandi people resisted colonial rule in large part because of this disruption, which they saw as a threat to their autonomy and cultural identity.

One respondent indicated that if a *pororiet* did not volunteer a chief, the DC called a baraza and demanded for a chief.[48] The *pororiet* elected a chief based on age-sets. However, the *pororiet* had to make a request to the father or grandfather of the candidate to allow his son to be the chief. If the father or grandfather agreed, they settled on their son to head the livestock (tochu). The sub-chiefs were appointed from a different clan from that of the person who became chief.

Past studies confirmed that the Nandi distrusted the office of the colonial chiefs so much so that they did not volunteer their own sons to be elected or appointed. This is reinforced by the view by Ashton that the chiefs during the colonial period acted as internal leaders who reinforced their role as external brokers and war leaders.[49] The majority of research on chiefs views them as unaccountable local despots, contributing to rural economic underdevelopment. The basis of this view is on how colonial policies of indirect rule warped indigenous political institutions by removing key elements of accountability. In Sierra Leone, for instance, greedy behaviour by the chiefs was deemed so severe that it is argued to have been a major cause of the civil war that erupted in 1991. Paradoxically, these chiefs as despots coexisted with an alternative view that chiefs were largely responsive to local demands and needs. These contradictory positions serve to highlight the agency problem that indirect rule suffered in colonial Africa, including in Nandi. As shown by the findings, the colonial chiefs

[48] Oral interview with Samuel Biwott on 16/3/2019 (76 years old).
[49] Ashton, E. R. (1947). Democracy and indirect Rule. *African*, *17*, 324.

never always acted in the best intentions of either the British or the Nandi people. Sometimes they served their own interests.

Due in large part to their robust pre-colonial governance structures, the Nandi people had a great mistrust of their colonial chiefs during their colonial period. Although these chiefs served as a bridge between the Nandi community and the colonial authority, they uised to put their personal interests first, leaving a complex legacy that still influences contemporary ideas about government and leadership in the area. The Nandi's socioeconomic struggles and resistance to colonial domination demonstrate the long-lasting consequences of colonial policies on indigenous political systems.

3.5 Popularity of Colonial Chiefs in Nandi

According to one respondent, chiefs were unpopular among the Nandi for two reasons.[50] One, they were appointed by the white people, meaning they were seen as participating in the alienation of the Nandi land. Two, they were considered as agents of the colonial powers in general. These sentiments echo the findings of Afigbo concerning the unpopularity of the colonial chiefs among the Igbo of Nigeria.[51] Nevertheless, the respondent further explained that the chief was the intermediary of the Nandi and the white settlers. This shows that the chiefs had influence of their own since they had the power to mediate for better relationships between the Nandi and the whites. From the information surmised from the archival sources, the main role of colonial chiefs was to collect information and relay it to the colonial government, as well as relayed information from the government to the native people.[52] This indicates that the chiefs represented an important diplomatic bridge between the locals and the

[50] Oral interview with Mariko Kurgaton 20/3/2019 (88 years old).
[51] Afigbo, A. E. (1972). The Warrant Chiefs.
[52] Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (1902). *The Headman Ordinance, 1902 (The Official Gazette)*. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya.

colonialists. As agents and elites in office, they had some power to reinvent their roles as the go-betweens of the Nandi and the British colonial administration.

The Nandi's precolonial social system provided a strong foundation for their community, which colonial influences later upended. Colonial chiefs played a variety of roles, including standing up for their people's rights within the colonial system, despite the fact that they are usually seen as tools of oppression. This intricacy highlights the intricate interactions between resistance, power, and adaptation that shaped the Nandi experience in the colonial era.

As another respondent explained, the chief was also the local advisor on matters pertaining to the colonizer. He listened to the elders who presented grievances and advised them on how best to address those issues to the DC. He then facilitated meetings between the people and the DC.[53] Therefore, the chiefs remained as the conduit of communication between the colonial government and the Nandi. The above sentiments reiterated those of Edward[54] and Richards[55] both of whom point out that dominant chiefs held civil society and institutions of civic participation in their villages for their own benefit. This is an indication that colonial chiefs understood that their position held some political power. The findings also concurred with those of Ochieng'[56], Bogonko[57], Atieno-Odhiambo[58] and Kiwanuka[59]. Ochieng' observes that the local communities in

[53] Oral interview with Kiptum Arap Temuge on 7/4/2019 (90 years old).
[54] Edward, S. (2008). Remove or Reform: A case of Restructuring Chiefdom Governance in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone. *African Affairs, 107*, 387-403.
[55] Richards, F. (1998). Locating the politics of a Sierra Leonean Chiefdom. *Africa, 68*, 357.
[56] Ochieng', W. R. (1972). Colonial African Chiefs –Were they Primarily Self-Seeking Scoundrels? *Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya*, *4*(46), 62.
[57] Bogonko, S. A. (1985). Colonial Chiefs and the Making of Class: A case Study from Teso, Eastern Uganda. *Journal of International African Institute, 2*, 140-159.
[58] Atieno-Odhiambo, E. (1971). Some Reflections on African Initiatives in early Colonial Kenya. *East Africa Journal, 8*(6), 31-42.
[59] Kiwanuka, S. (1972b). *From Colonialism to Independent*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, p. 106.

Africa expected colonial chiefs to act in their favour. African chiefs were expected to support the wishes of their kith and kin to the hilt, for instance, in their struggle for political freedom and socio-economic emancipation. Bogonko thus notes that, because many chiefs did not do this, they were branded as clamorous collaborators with the European colonialists and as tyrants, self-seekers and non-conservatives. This confirms the view by Atieno-Odhiambo and Kiwanuka that African colonial chiefs were corrupt, inefficient and tyrannical, and blatant collaborators, swindlers and self-seekers who oppressed their African people in an endeavour to promote colonialism and themselves (chiefs). Citing examples, Atieno-Odhiambo further emphasizes that Karuri and Kinyanjui of Kikuyu threw their lot headlong with the colonisers for personal gains and that it was chiefly the collaborators of this inclination who violently helped in subduing Murang'a and Nyeri areas in the period 1902-1905. Moreover, chiefs bullied, robbed and cheated African peasants of their lands, stock and taxes.

The colonial chiefs often bullied, robbed, and cheated African peasants of their lands, livestock, and taxes. They helped the colonial powers subdue areas like Murang'a and Nyeri between 1902-1905. This collaboration and oppression by the chiefs was in stark contrast to the traditional, more democratic systems of governance that existed before colonization

The study further established that at the time of their appointment, there were no specific laws or customs relating to chiefs' property. Later, some of the chiefs took advantage of this lacuna to appropriate wealth and property from their people. Moreover, none of the people appointed chiefs at the beginning had received any formal education. In fact, in most cases, various missionary societies undertook to recruit the

chiefs' sons or brothers into schools at a small fee payable by the parent.[60] Nevertheless, one report from the provincial commissioner indicated that the Nandi chiefs were well disposed towards the government and the majority had good control over their people in spite of the enormous increase in numbers of young and independent Nandi.[61]

The historical background of the Nandi people, especially concerning their chiefs prior to colonial rule, illustrates a complicated relationship between authority, property rights, and education. At first, there were no established laws or customs regulating the property of chiefs, enabling certain chiefs to take advantage of this void for their own benefit by seizing wealth and property from their communities. This scenario underscores a notable gap in governance that was present at the time of their appointments.

3.6 Changing Responsibilities of Colonial Chiefs during the Early Years of Colonialism

Because of the demand to ensure that they align their job descriptions to their masters, the chiefs at this juncture were given specific tasks that they diligently, and with supervision, discharged.[62] One interviewee enumerated the responsibilities of the colonial chiefs to include looking for peace, urging children to attend school, collecting taxes and enforcing laws, including punishments for those who broke the law.[63] These responsibilities were enumerated in the Head Man Ordinance of 1902, which defined the role of colonial chiefs mainly as agents of the state in exerting control over the

[60] KNA DC/NDI/I/I.
[61] KNA PC/RVP/9/1. *Annual Report for the Year ending 31st March 1915*.
[62] Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (1902). *The Headman Ordinance, 1902*.
[63] Oral interview with Pius Kiptarus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019 (77 years old).

natives.[64] In response to the same question, another respondent explained the roles of colonial chiefs thus:

> Educate people on ways of living. The chiefs also called people to Baraza with DC. Sometimes the chief was the interpreter of the DC. The chief also forced people to go to school for the white man's education. One chief also helped the people to join police and army at 1922. Chiefs also helped the white in demarcation of land. They also helped the people to get reparation for stolen land in Nandi. The chiefs also helped people to get identification cards.[65]

In precolonial Nandi society, leadership was traditionally decentralized, with elders and councils collectively responsible for governance and decision-making. This communal approach stood in stark contrast to the centralized, hierarchical model of leadership imposed by the colonial state during the colonial period.

The above remarks suggest that colonial chiefs acted as the conduit between the government and the Nandi. The study findings further revealed that although the first groups of chiefs did not have many responsibilities, as of 1910, the District Commissioner, in his quarterly report noted thus:

> The chiefs and Kaptainik [elders] have performed their duties; I think I may say fairly well. They all however require constant supervision and reminding of that work.[66]

This indicated that the colonialists did not trust that the chiefs would play their agency roles completely without supervision. Therefore, supervision was a way to navigate the agency problem in the British indirect rule. The supervisors ensured the chiefs were not only loyal to the government but that they also delivered the desired results from their assigned roles. In the DC's report, there was also evidence to show that the chiefs and

[64] Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (1902). *The Headman Ordinance, 1902.*
[65] Oral interview with Kimeli Maritim on 29/3/2019 (79 years old).
[66] KNA DC/NDI/30/9/1910. *Nandi District Quarterly Report, 31st March 1910*. Kenya National Archives.

laibons were cooperating with the British. This was captured in the DC's report as follows:

> Arap Cheno and the Laibon have been told to move about amongst the headmen. This they have done and meeting me have been able to let me have good deal of information. Arap Shembai continues to do good work. I asked that he might be made a headman in my last quarterly report. His name I believe was forwarded to his Excellency. Nothing has come yet about it.[67]

However, as the study revealed, the Nandi were still restricted in terms of movement. They were, for instance, not allowed to interact with white settlers without the permission of the DC. The role of the chiefs was to ensure such restrictions on free movement were followed by the Nandi. Nevertheless, it appears from the passage below that sometimes the settlers worked directly with locals to the detriment of the roles of the colonial chiefs. This is evident in the following passage in the DC's report of 1910:

> A Mr Carvie living at Kipsigak near the western boundary of the reserve has invited many Nandi to graze on his land taking payment for it. Mr. Carvie did this without consulting me and I was obliged to inform him that I could not allow the Nandi out of the reserve. The headmen on the border were told not to allow the people out of the reserve. I believe however, that some Nandi went to Mr. Carvie asking him to allow them to graze their cattle.[68]

The Nandi people's traditional land use methods and social structure were severely disrupted by the colonial occupation and land appropriation. The colonial government used the installation of chiefs as a tactic to maintain authority over the Nandi people and administer them in a way that served the interests of the settlers.

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[67] *Ibid.*

[68] KNA DC/NDI/30/9/1910. *Nandi District Quarterly Report, 31st March 1910*. Kenya National Archives.

3.7 Introduction of Colonial Taxation, 1901-1912

During the colonial period, tax payment was mandatory. According to Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA), the direct African taxation of Kenyans in the colonial period was an idea attributed to Sir Arthur Hardinge.[69] He proposed a system of levies that would be implemented gradually over time and with the advancement of the Uganda Railway. Therefore, there were various forms of taxes. The first of these was the Native Hut Tax, which was founded on the Hut Tax Regulations of 1901. At the start, the regulation required every hut used as a dwelling to pay 1 rupee per year. The amount levied for every hut varied across economic regions along the Uganda railway line. For instance, in some parts the amount levied was 2 rupees and as of 1903, the Hut Tax was set at 3 rup

For the purpose of managing their resources and societal requirements, the Nandi created efficient precolonial institutions. But individuals like Sir Arthur Hardinge brought in colonial taxes, which drastically altered their way of life and caused social upheaval and economic hardship.

The next type of tax rolled out was the Poll Tax.[70] This was established under the Poll Tax Ordinance of 1910. It sought to complement the effective collection of hut taxes by targeting those excluded by the Hut Tax policy. Poll Tax required Africans of age above 25 years to pay individual tax. According to respondent Arap Surtan Chirchir:

> The chief summoned people and informed them of the need to pay taxes. Taxes were acquired through disposing of some property; for instance, a sheep was worth 10 shillings and taxes were 20 shillings or more. Therefore, one had to dispose of much property to achieve the set target.

[69] Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) (2018). *Introduction of Hut Tax and Pool Tax*. Retrieved from https://kra.go.ke/en/about-kra/54-our-history/kra-history-1995/86-introduction-of-hut-tax-and-pool-tax

[70] *Ibid.*

> The man of the household was responsible for payment of Hut and Poll taxes.[71]

Taxation played a dual role at this time, supporting colonial power and eroding established social structures in addition to being a means of raising money. The colonial government's agents, the chiefs, played a crucial role in ensuring that taxes were collected. This frequently meant using force and threats against anyone who failed to pay their taxes.

The study further established that taxation had more than just economic implications on the Nandi society. For instance, since taxation was based on huts and households, some of the men evaded taxes by limiting the number of huts constructed in their compounds. This also meant that some men chose not to marry early to avoid building huts. There were also other reasons for delays in marriage generally brought about by disruptive colonial incursion into Nandi land. For instance, most men spent time providing labour. A huge cadre of young Nandi warriors had been killed during the long resistance. Additionally, by 1918, most of the warriors were being conscripted to join the British army in World War I. Nevertheless, the chiefs often investigated and uncovered tax evasion tactics leading to punishments for the evaders of taxes. In return, the chiefs were perceived by the community as harsh agents of the British colonial regime.

According to the study, taxes had an impact on Nandi community that went beyond only negative economic effects. Because taxes were based on the quantity of huts and households, some men built fewer huts in order to avoid paying them. Men who used this avoidance tactic to avoid having to build more huts after getting married also decided to put off getting married. Additionally, because many males were busy with

[71] Oral interview with Chirchir arap Surtan on 4/4/2019 (72 years old).

work needs, the colonial interruptions in Nandi land added to these delays in marriage. The young Nandi warriors suffered heavy casualties as a result of their protracted resistance, and by 1918, a large number of them had been drafted into the British army for World War I. In spite of these obstacles, the chiefs aggressively looked for and prosecuted tax evasion, which made them appear like strict.

Hut tax records between 1910 and 1912 show that the some of the chiefs were excelling in their roles as tax collectors.[72] In some locations, the taxes even increased over time, meaning new or more huts had been carefully registered and taxed over time, courtesy of the efforts of the chiefs. However, some few locations registered a decrease in tax collected over time. This is indicated in the table below.

Table 3.1: Tax Collected by Various Nandi Colonial Chiefs, 1910-1912

Name of location	Names of chiefs or headmen	Huts counted 1910-1911	Rupees collected 1910-1911	Huts counted 1911-1912	Rupees collected 1911-1912	Increase rupees	Decrease rupees
1	Kibellas	662	2031	661	1971	-	57
2,3,4	Arap	529	1434	501	1512	78	-
5	Cheno	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	Arab Chirchir	684	2136	747	2277	141	-
7	Arap Kimamusur	338	918	376	1131	156	-
8	Arap Chepsiror	214	703	369	1089	387	-
9,10,11	Arap Viatol	591	1797	499	1830	-	25
12	Arap Kutia	206	576	207	627	51	-
13,15	Arap Korsoi	284	741	197	800	-	14
14	Arap Kiamaen	143	456	127	373	-	-
16,17	Arap Cheptooz	296	903	271	832	-	-
18	Arp Sisiwa	194	807	175	534	-	2
19	Arap Chetoryot	347	912	521	1014	7	-
20	Arap Sego	822	2585	763	2274	-	-
21	Kapkeresin	537	1701	540	1686	-	-
22	Arap Sirma	397	1077	396	1200	123	-
23	Arab Kitongot	511	1521	688	2061	543	-
24	Arap Tallaz	592	1761	521	1704	32	-
25	Arap Blagat	820	1936	632	1896	80	-
26	Kiboit	173	534	155	474	-	-
27	Kapcheroroin	230	363	250	735	72	-
28	Arap Cherogoir	232	816	273	231	15	-
29	Kipsergoi	550	1917	606	1824	-	-
30	Arap Narya	316	1134	404	1224	90	-
31	Arap Kitongot	504	1566	655	1977	411	-
Total		**10116**	**30384**	**10422**	**31489**	**1536**	

Source: KNA/DC/NDI/I/I[73]

[72] KNA DC/NDI/30/9/1910. Nandi District Quarterly Report. 31st March 1910. Kenya National Archives.

[73] KNA/DC/NDI/I/I. *Quarterly Report 1904-1912.*

Table 3.1 presents the tax collection data of various Nandi colonial chiefs from 1910 to 1912, highlighting their economic responsibilities and challenges faced during the colonial period. Overall, 116 huts were counted in 1910–1911; this number grew to 10,422 in 1911–1912, suggesting a minor rise in the number of households liable to taxes. In line with this, the total amount of rupees collected increased from 30,384 to 31,489, representing a 1,536 rise in tax revenue overall. Despite an increase in the number of huts measured, certain chiefs, like Arap Chepsiror, showed notable increases in tax collection, with an increase of 387 rupees. Others, such as Arap Sego and Kapkeresin, had very little shift in their revenue collections. Arap Kiamaen and Kibellas, among other chiefs, saw a decline in taxes collected, which may indicate problems with tax compliance or the effectiveness of tax collection.

The British policy of indirect rule, where local leaders were tasked with implementing colonial rules and earning income, is shown by the reliance on colonial chiefs for tax collection. The selection of chiefs who were not native to the Nandi community frequently caused mistrust and animosity among the populace since many saw these chiefs as agents of colonial power rather than as capable leaders. The information illustrates the difficulties in collecting taxes in the Nandi community, as chiefs had to balance upholding community support with colonial demands. There appears to be a big gulf between the appointed leaders and the local population, as evidenced by the mention of certain chiefs hailing from the Tiriki community and the Nandi people's unwillingness to offer their sons for chief positions.

The results are consistent with historical narratives that suggest resistance existed when taxes were first implemented during the colonial era. For example, the introduction of poll taxes in 1931 brought attention to the Nandi people's difficulties in paying their

taxes, which frequently led to labor migration to settler farms in order to raise money. The difficulties colonial chiefs had in handling their financial duties and upholding integrity in their positions are highlighted by the colonial administration's requirement for routine audits and supervision of tax collecting procedures.

To sum up, Table 3.1 presents an economic analysis of tax collection throughout colonial authority and highlights the wider effects of colonial governance on Nandi society. The community's opposition to imposed leadership and the reliance on chiefs for tax collection underscore the intricacies of colonial administration and its effects on local governance arrangements. Even while certain leaders might have had a favorable impact on the economy, the general conditions of colonial control created serious difficulties and unhappiness among the Nandi people.

According to data collected from KNA, the British collected taxes to facilitate the operations of the government.[74] Taxation was also a means of forcing Africans to accept to provide labour in white settler farms.[75] Since the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 had declared that all land in the Kenyan Protectorate belonged to the British government, Africans could not use land freely to generate revenue for paying the required taxes. As such, the only recourse available to them became to offer labour in settler farms as a means to raise revenue for paying taxes and subsistence.[76] Thus, taxation helped to subsidize the funding received from Britain. The DC was required to try as much as possible to generate enough taxes to cater for the salaries of those under his administration in the District. These findings concurred with the view by KRA that

[74] *Ibid.*
[75] Anderson, D. M. (1993). Black mischief: crime, protest and resistance in colonial Kenya; See also: Ellis, D. (1976). The Nandi Protest of 1923 in the Context of African Resistance to Colonial Rule in Kenya
[76] Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) (2018). *Introduction of Hut Tax and Pool Tax*.

the British had a colonial policy that served to ensure that Britain could sustain its economy by turning colonies into foreign sources of revenue and market for their economic products back at home.

Taxation served as a crucial colonial strategy that supported the British economy, bolstered the settler-missionary partnership, and compelled Africans to work for wages on settler farms by restricting their land rights and freedom of movement. This framework of taxation and land dispossession continued to have effects even after the colonial era.

As shown in this section, colonial chiefs were the main tax collectors for the British masters in the Nandi community. This role complicated their position as individuals, members of the Nandi community and agents of the British masters. The chiefs struggled to collect taxes without incurring hatred from the Nandi. Yet, being agents of the colonial administration (the principal), they had to undertake their mandate. As such, to assuage their harsh treatment by the Nandi during tax collection, some of the chiefs agitated for the use of taxes collected to enhance the welfare of the Nandi community. As such, colonial chiefs, such as Elijah Cheruiyot, Willy Boit and Arap Cheno, successfully agitated for the provision of educational and health care facilities for Africans.

According to the study, taxes had an impact on Nandi community that went beyond only negative economic effects. Because taxes were based on the quantity of huts and households, some men built fewer huts in order to avoid paying them. Men who used this avoidance tactic to avoid having to build more huts after getting married also decided to put off getting married. Additionally, the disruptions caused by colonialism in Nandi land delayed marriages because many men were preoccupied with the fact that

the chiefs of the Nandi community were the main tax collectors for the British colonial authorities, complicating their roles as individuals, members of the community, and colonial government agents. They had to deal with the difficulty of collecting taxes while attempting to keep the Nandi from becoming enraged.

3.8 First World War and the Role of Chiefs

Greensteins posits that World War I had a considerable bearing on the Nandi society just like it did too many other African societies.[77] According to records at the Kings African Rifles (KAF), 1,197 Nandi were forcefully recruited to fight for the British in the World War I.[78] This was against a backdrop of a population of up to 50,000. At the time, the 'Nyongi' age-set was poised to carry out the task owing to the fact that they had been initiated during the World War period. Most of the recruits were taken to Tanganyika and Mozambique where the British campaign against the Germans was ongoing.[79] As they came back, the veterans returned with their payback, which, as much as it was not as expected, enabled them to purchase cattle as well as acquire bride wealth. However, as much as a good number of the Nandi enlisted for military service, many were reluctant to offer labour to the British. This can be seen in a communiqué by Sir. E. Northey to chiefs which instructed them to conscript the Nandi labourers up to 200 in number. This was under the Native Authority Ordinance' to work on a local road building project.[80] This directive bestowed heavy demands on the chiefs who worked under the DC in implementing these policies. As will be noted, after their return, the Europeans feared that the Nandi veterans would be a dangerous lot. This is

[77] Greenstein, L. J. (1978). The Impact of Military Service in World War I on Africans: The Nandi of Kenya. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *16*(3), 495-507.
[78] KNA/KAR/AF/12.
[79] Okia, O. (2008). The Northey Forced Labour Crisis, 1920-1921: A Symptomatic Reading. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 41*(2), 263-293.
[80] *Ibid*.

because of the fact that the veterans had experienced war first-hand and it was thought that this experience would inspire their insurrections against the British. Shiroya adds that the common perception was that without modern technology, a European was no better than an African.[81] Furthermore, there was a belief that that having seen the white men kill other white men, the African would sooner realize that they too could do the same. This explains why the environment after World War I was thus one in which the European population was worried about a civilian unrest.[82] Stichter concurs that the movement of labourers from Luo, Luhyia and Kikuyu communities into Rift Valley was mainly because the colonial administration found it difficult to conscript labour from the local Kalenjin and Maasai communities in the region.[83]

The First World War had a significant impact on Nandi civilization, as it did on several African communities. Records from the King's African Rifles state that 1,197 Nandi people were forced to enlist in the British throughout the conflict. Nandi was reported to have 40,000–50,000 people living there. The Nyongi age group, which was formed shortly before the battle, constituted the majority of those occupying these military ranks. A large number of trainees were sent to participate in actions against German forces in Tanganyika and Mozambique. Some chiefs tried to soften the bad perceptions of them during tax collection, even though they had to comply with the colonial administration's demands. They promoted using tax money to raise the standard of living for the Nandi community eminent leaders

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[81] Shiroya, O. J. E. (1992). *African Politics in Colonial Kenya: Contribution of World War Veterans, 1945-1960.* Nairobi: Educational Research and Publications.

[82] Ellis, D. (1976). The Nandi protest of 1923 in the context of African resistance to colonial rule in Kenya. *The Journal of African History*, *17*(4), 555-575.

[83] Stichter, S. (1982). *Migrant Labour in Kenya: capitalism and African response, 1895-1975*. Nairobi: Longman.

This therefore made the work of the chiefs to be proactive in that they had to be at the forefront in informing the DC about the developments that were taking place in the community. Since some of the chiefs had themselves participated in the recruitment of servicemen, they understood these people all too well. For example, the DC at the time appointed chiefs from each clan (pororoet) and in doing so, he targeted ex-soldiers and ex-police. This was deliberately done to attain two main objectives. The first one was to tame these ex-soldiers because of the suspicion among the British that they had the requisite experience that would enable them to pose a threat to the authorities. By giving them these positions, they could not only be monitored closely, but also occupy them hence prevent them from engaging in insurrection and related activities. Besides, as agents of the colonial regime, these veteran chiefs would be despised by the local communities. Secondly, the Europeans wanted to use them because they had experience and exposure to the expectations and intents of the Europeans owing to their having interacted with them during the war.

The colonial authorities strategically leveraged the experiences of ex-soldiers and ex-police to maintain control and prevent unrest among the Nandi people. By appointing these individuals as chiefs, the colonial regime aimed to stabilize its rule while minimizing the risk of rebellion, albeit at the cost of local resentment and a complex relationship between the chiefs and their communities.

At the onset of colonialism, the Nandi livelihoods were disrupted systematically by the entry of the British. Hunting and gathering was banned subsequently by the Europeans as part of the government's restrictions to movement in order to control political insurrection in the Nandi reserve.[84] Therefore, to achieve this end, the colonial chiefs

[84] *Ibid.*

were tasked with the duty of restricting the movement of the Nandi into nearby forests. They even used spies to ensure that such movements were effectively deterred. The chiefs, however, permitted the Nandi to practice bee keeping, which, by the time, was also embarked by the European settlers. Furthermore, they also allowed some of the Nandi to go into the forest to fetch firewood and medicinal plants.[85] However, this was also timed when the chiefs introduced bribery as some had to be bribed in order to allow the Africans to move into the forests. Therefore, the chiefs were already exhibiting the excesses of western capitalist exploitation. They warned those Africans who were allowed prior to going into the forest against being seen by 'kanga' or spies who always stood guard in certain sections of the forest. Besides, during the time, there were widespread campaigns by the colonial government to conserve the soil. As such, the chiefs were mandated by the DC to enforce the rule of soil conservation with the help of the Agricultural Extension Officers. The chiefs were tasked with the responsibility of overseeing the construction of gabions and terraces in order to prevent soil erosion that came about as a result of intensifies farming activities. The Agricultural Extension Officers reported to these colonial chiefs on the progress of the developments that were taking place on a frequent basis. The visits by the Agricultural Extension Officers to the African chiefs came as a result of the latter's protests against the officer's failure to visit African farmers. Once the complaints were worked on, the chiefs would then carry out follow-up visits to ensure that the farmers adhere to the advice given to them by extension officers.

The Nandi people lived mostly as pastoralists until the British arrived, depending largely on herding cattle for their food. In addition, they engaged in hunting and

[85] Kipchirchir, B. J., Tanui, P., & Opondo, P. (2022). Nandi Colonial Chieftaincy as Social Agency, 1902-1963.

gathering, which was an essential component of their food. The Nandi were known for their formidable defense against outside threats, having successfully repelled raids by Arab traders and other nearby tribes.

Additionally, the Nandi colonial chiefs at this time also regulated the cutting down of trees by Africans, particularly in those areas that were restricted. In so doing, the chiefs, who included Arap Nyatita, continued with the work of the traditional pre-colonial practice of environmental protection.[86] When the colonial government gazetted areas as government lands, the chiefs were tasked with the responsibility of sensitizing the Africans against violating government laws and ensuring that environmental conservation was attained.

Even at a period of enormous social upheaval and change brought about by colonial control, the Nandi colonial rulers managed to preserve a careful balance between ecological preservation and human activity. Their deeds revealed a profound appreciation for the value of environmental preservation as well as a readiness to modify long-standing customs in order to address the demands of a changing global environment.

With regards to livestock keeping, it can, first, be noted that livestock was the main preoccupation and source of livelihood among the Nandi in the pre-colonial era. The Nandi kept large herds of cattle and these were seen a source of wealth. However, when the Europeans settled in Nandi, they came up with regulations aimed at limiting how cattle were kept by the Nandi. This was partly aimed at ensuring livestock diseases were prevented. The Nandi colonial chiefs during this period therefore played a role in the control and management of livestock diseases. An instance is when the Nandi chiefs

[86] *Ibid.*

taught people about veterinary services. The chiefs further went ahead to supervise the activities with the assistance of headmen as well as agricultural extension officers. Some of them advocated for digging of cattle dips as a means of controlling ticks, particularly at Kapchepkendi and Kamelilo. When diseases broke out, such as Anthrax, chiefs would summon the Nandi to take their livestock for dipping.[87] At the same time, since the chiefs significantly relayed any information from the people to the extension officers on any outbreak and action would be taken appropriately. He could do this by ensuring all villages (kokwet) brought their animals to be vaccinated. They also acted against those who defied the call to vaccinate the affected animals.[88] Besides, the chiefs ensured that the animals were branded so that they could easily be identified.

The Nandi's move from pre-colonial to colonial cattle management demonstrates a substantial change in customs brought about by outside laws. Even while cattle continued to be essential to their economy and culture, the establishment of colonial rule changed customs and created new difficulties for managing diseases and caring for animals. During this time, Nandi chiefs played a crucial role in helping the people navigate these changes by helping them adjust to the new reality imposed by colonial control while still working to uphold their traditional ideals about livestock rearing.

Still on the issue of livestock, there was hue and cry among the Nandi about the declining cattle population in the reserve in 1912. This was as a result of the Nandi movement out of the reserve to neighbouring settler farms. Besides, livestock, there was shortage of labour and as such, the chiefs found it difficult to fulfil the demands given to them by the government to recruit labour. Chief Arap Koitalel, for example, complained that settlers in the nearby Uasin Gishu were constantly requesting him to

[87] Oral interview with Simon Arap Kelewa on 4/4/2019 (87 years old).
[88] KNA/DC/ND/18. *Annual Report 19/17/18*. National Archives.

supply them with labor.[89] This occasioned complaints from settlers about restrictions by tribal authorities forbidding Nandi squatters to take their cattle on farms in 1916.[90]

The importance of cattle riches and communal land ownership were the main concerns of precolonial Nandi society. Nevertheless, colonization disrupted this way of life by taking land, requiring labor, and reducing the quantity of cattle. Despite the Nandi people's determination to uphold their customs, they were eventually unable to prevent the profound transformations that were forced upon their community as a result of these colonial forces.

This concurs with the findings of Ochieng' that the Nandi chiefs (agents) did show genuine concerns for their people even as they endeavoured to advance the mandate of the indirect rule system of administration (principal).[91] Furthermore, these Nandi colonial chiefs oversaw how livestock were upgraded. Initially, breeding was only done by European settlers. However, just as was the case of Extension services, African chiefs also advocated for the introduction of breeding. As a result, Europeans introduced various breeds of livestock. To this end, the chief's role was to ensure that there was no mixing of breeds between those of whites and the Nandi. Similarly, they ensured that animal diseases were prevented or controlled. Besides, they coordinated vaccination campaigns. According to an oral source, the first cattle dips were constructed with the assistance of chiefs. This helped in placing them in good books with the Europeans. For example, in an editorial in 'The Leader of the British East Africa' in March 1st 1913, it stated that the 'Nandi are the only neighbouring people from whom cattle can be procured.'[92] This also helped in accelerating squatterdom

[89] Lagat, P. (1995). *The Historical Process of the Nandi movement into Uasin Gishu District.*
[90] *Ibid.*
[91] Ochieng', W. (1975). *Outline of the History of Rift Valley up to 1900*. Nairobi: KLB.
[92] Leader of the British East Africa, March 1913.

among the Nandi. Once the Europeans had confidence in the Nandi, they allowed them to squat on their farms. In fact, Ainsworth argued that squatting alleviated some of the disruptive effects of the land alienation where the Nandi tried to return back to their land with little change in their traditional way of life.[93]

The Nandi chiefs effectively advanced the interests of their communities, oversaw advances in livestock, and fostered innovations in agriculture even though they operated under the system of indirect authority. During the colonial era, the Nandi's socioeconomic change was greatly influenced by these activities.

According to Ainsworth, squatting during this time helped to preserve the pre-colonial Nandi system of controlling herd. To this end, the chiefs were instrumental in regulating against epidemics that occurred in the Nandi reserve. Besides, the chiefs enhanced a strong link between the squatters and the reserve political economy. The First World War saw an enormous increase in the drive to squatterdom among the Nandi. Greenstein, however, avers that the Nandi who had served in King's African Rifles returned from the war with a long list of grievances against the colonial government.[94] They had been promised pension by their officers, which they never received. In fact, in 1920, most of them had expressed dismay at the alienation of some 64,000 acres of good pastoral grazing land, which translated to 16 percent of available land that was there for grazing in Nandi. This act of denial of land was perpetuated by the same government that they had been serving using colonial chiefs as agents. Furthermore, another bone of contention among the Africans, particularly ex-soldiers, was the restrictions placed on the movement of cattle because of a rinderpest epidemic. Since

[93] KNA/PC/AZA/2/2/2. *PC Nandi District Inspection Report*. John Ainsworth, 22nd Sept, 1915
[94] Greenstein, L. J. (1978). The Impact of Military Service in World War I on Africans.

some of the chiefs were ex-World War soldiers; they were torn between balancing their expectations and those of their masters.[95]

The Nandi revolted militarily in 1895 and again in 1905–06 to oppose colonial control. They were finally tamed, nevertheless, and made to work as workers and producers of agricultural goods as part of the colonial economy. These colonial processes changed the pre-colonial Nandi society.

Nevertheless, most of the chiefs during this period chose the path of the colonial administration. For example, regarding cattle rustling, most chiefs ensured that laws against cattle rustling were implemented to the letter. In some cases, the Nandi could steal cattle from white settler farms, which attracted stiff penalties from the colonial administration. This was made possible by the firm stance taken by the chiefs against the practice. When cattle raiding was banned, theft among the Nandi livestock took a sudden sharp increase. This led to a meeting between the governor and the chiefs. To demonstrate their intolerance to the practise, the colonial chiefs suggested that the crime should attract a death penalty while others proposed a ten-year jail sentence. However, whenever cattle raids took place, the Nandi would not reveal the identities of the perpetrators to the chiefs. This made it difficult for the chiefs to be effective in their work. Since the cattle raids posed a threat to the jobs of the chiefs, the perpetrators were tortured and taken to prison. This is because the DC would summon the chiefs to give an explanation on the whereabouts of the stolen animals. The chief would in turn summon all the people and interrogate them so as to reveal the identity of the thieves. This would continue until when the chiefs would eventually arrest the thieves. From these instances, it is clear that the Nandi chiefs transformed their roles to become agents

[95] Huntingford, G. W. B. (2012). *The Nandi of Kenya*. Routledge.

of social transformation. They not only guided their people into abiding by the law, they also ensured that those who broke the law were brought to book. In so doing, this helped in revolutionizing the community in conforming to the modern ways of conducting themselves. Under the keen eyes of the chiefs, the practise of wanton cattle rustling was significantly reduced.

During the colonial era, the Nandi chiefs were instrumental in changing the perception of cattle rustling in their community. They continued in upholding the law and prosecuting offenders in spite of the difficulties they encountered. Although their actions contributed to the practice's decline, the pastoral economy of the Nandi was severely impacted because cattle raiding was the only way to restock depleting herds.

3.9 General Roles of the Nandi Colonial Chiefs, 1906-1918

The study found that the main role of colonial chiefs was to undertake administrative duties on behalf of the British. This was the essential modus operandi of the indirect rule. However, as one respondent indicated, often these chiefs struggled in their role because of local resistance and because they themselves had split consciences on some of the roles they were assigned.[96] Where communities tended to reject the chief or refuse to do his bidding, the British resorted to forceful means. When that happened, the chiefs led expeditions to force the Nandi to accept their leadership. In most cases, the chiefs relied on the kanga to enforce their agenda. The *kanga* were armed with rifles issued from the DC's office. The guns were feared most by the Nandi, who could not understand where the bullets came from. Their experiences during the years of resistance at the dawn of 1900s had taught the Nandi that guns were dangerous. Initially, the British established its administration in the Nandi by introducing the DC and DO

[96] Oral interview with Daudi Kipkoech arap Maritim on 21/3/2019 (85 years old).

who were based in Kapsabet. The DC was answerable to the Governor who was based in Nakuru. The role of the DC was to appoint the chiefs and assistant chiefs and to assign them duties as per the colonial agenda.

British colonial control significantly altered the connection between colonial chiefs and the precolonial Nandi community. Prior to colonization, the Orkoiyot, in particular, possessed significant influence and were deeply ingrained in the cultural and spiritual life of the Nandi people. They led a well-organized social structure. In Nandi society, the Orkoiyot had a crucial role in making decisions, resolving disputes, and maintaining social harmony.

The findings showed that the colonial chief was a local advisor of the people on matters of the colonial government. This was not in line with the Headman's Ordinance that required the chiefs to simply relay information to the natives.[97] However, the chief also relied on the advice of locals in his engagements with the colonial government. Old men of rank or dignity were at hand to assist the chief to carry out their work on the matters concerning the community. The women also gave advice to the chief concerning the community.[98] The colonial chiefs also mediated in conflicts between the white settlers and the Nandi. Whenever their responsibilities to the colonial government contradicted their duties to the Nandi, most of the chiefs tried to balance their dual responsibilities. For instance, Chief Arap Chirchir defended the Nandi secretly against white settlers. Other chiefs who also supported the Nandi secretly were Arap Katono Mosop, of Kapchepkendi and Chief Arap Malel of Koilegei.[99] It is thus evident that the Nandi chiefs recognized their elite position and exercised some degree of their own

[97] Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (1902). *The Headman Ordinance, 1902.*
[98] Oral interview with Kiplimo Arap Mugum on 22/03/2019 (88 years old).
[99] Oral interview with Sosten Kirwa arap Kimwey on 5/4/2019 (69 years old).

power away from the dictates of the colonial principals. This scenario echoes Berman's sentiments on the dialectics of domination between the native colonial agents and the colonial governments in Africa.[100]

Nandi chiefs managed their responsibilities to the colonial government as well as their people, maintaining a certain amount of independence and power despite the colonial administration's efforts to include them into their system. Throughout the colonial era, the traditional Nandi system of chief power and community involvement persisted, albeit in altered ways.

The study also found that the chiefs were mandated to summon the Nandi to meetings. They also passed crucial information to the people and relayed information from the people to the white settlers and the DC.[101] The chiefs' role was to take reports to the DC, then the DC took them to the PC, then the PC relayed the report to the Governor.[102] The Governor was in direct contact with Her Majesty, the Queen of England.

One important means of indirect governance among the Nandi was the colonial chiefs. They undermined established power structures and governance frameworks while facilitating the implementation of colonial policies and aiding in the transformation of Nandi society.

The above findings concurred with those of Irungu[103] who affirms that colonial chiefs comprised one of the three tiers of local leadership and politics established by the British in Kenya to facilitate the success of indirect rule. The other two were the local native councils and local tribunals. The role of these chiefs, according to Irungu, was

[100] Berman, B. (1992). *Control and crisis in colonial Kenya: The dialectic of domination.*
[101] Oral interview with Joseph Arap Keter on 28/3/2019 (77 years old).
[102] Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (1902). *The Headman Ordinance, 1902*
[103] Irungu, S. (2019). *The Role of Colonial Chiefs in Kenya: Their Impact on Kenya's Security Standards, Educational System and Agricultural Sector.* Mount Kenya University.

to spearhead the interests of the British on the political, economic and social fronts. Irungu nonetheless admits that colonial chiefs made both positive and negative contributions to the African natives in Kenya.

These customs were upset when colonial chiefs were introduced. The primary objective of the colonial system was to impose foreign governance models that frequently disregarded preexisting political structures, despite the fact that certain chiefs may have made an effort to incorporate local norms. As people struggled with the changes imposed by colonial control, this led to tensions both inside the communities and between colonial chiefs and traditional authorities.

According to one respondent, due to their long resistance, the Nandi were subjected to the reserved regions.[104] Meanwhile, much of the fertile land that had belonged to the Nandi was given to white settler farmers. Where the Nandi resisted this move, the colonial administration used the chiefs and kangas to pacify the people. Therefore, the Europeans took most of the Nandi men to provide labour. The colonial chiefs were mandated to recruit labour from the Nandi. The Nandi were a proud people and they hated working as labourers and squatters. The colonial chiefs understood this fact and often drew labour from other Kalenjin sub-tribes, like Keiyo, and ethnic groups, like the Luhya and Luo. As part of the implementation of the new squatter system, the colonial chiefs also restricted the number of animals that the Nandi could keep. The squatter system was among the key reasons for the Nandi protest of 1923.[105] The Nandi chiefs were however not allowed to take part in decisions regarding settlement schemes.

[104] Oral interview with Sawe arap Mengich on 23/3/2019 (73 years old).
[105] Ellis, D. (1976). The Nandi Protest of 1923 in the Context of African Resistance to Colonial Rule in Kenya.

Therefore, they had no say in the manner in which the colonial regime displaced the Nandi.

For the Nandi people, the colonial era was a time of great upheaval since it upended their traditional ways of life and sparked strong opposition to foreign rule. Their responses to colonial intrusion and the imposition of external systems intended to undermine their social and economic frameworks were significantly shaped by their identity as a proud and self-governing people. According to one interviewee, the British were very vigilant with the Nandi after the latter had given up their resistance:

> It is for this reason that the DC was stationed in Kapsabet. The DC then appointed the kanga or tribal policemen. The colonial chiefs assisted in picking the most suitable men to serve as kanga. At the grassroots, the operations of the kanga were under the guidance and supervision of the chief. The soldiers-maintained law and order. Any disorderliness in the society was dealt with by the chief.[106]

It had become typical of the British to deploy administrative police to enforce laws as they had proven useful in other places, such as Nigeria and Uganda.[107] Further established that every Nandi colonial chief had administration police (kanga) at his disposal. The kanga were armed police officers who could be deployed to resolve complex problems.[108] As indicated by the study findings, the DO was the one deploying the kanga but the chief was the overseer of the kangas' activities.[109] The term 'kanga' meant 'spy', and every chief was assigned four of these soldiers as per the Village Headman's Ordinance.[110] The *kanga* were also an equivalent of the criminal investigation department officers. As the study revealed, the kangas gathered intelligence and relayed information to the DO and DC for subsequent action.[111] The

[106] Oral interview with Sosten Kirwa Arap Kimwey on 23/3/2019 (69 years old).
[107] Afigbo, A. E. (1972). *The Warrant Chiefs: indirect rule in south-eastern Nigeria, 1891-1929.*
[108] Oral interview with Chief Elijah Arap Chepkwony on 20/03/2019 (88 years old).
[109] KNA/DC/ND1/1/2.
[110] Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (1902). *The Headman Ordinance, 1902*.
[111] Oral interview with Simon Arap Busienei on 6/4/2019 (73 years old).

kanga also spied for the DO and the DC. They reported any event or activity that the chief had passed. Therefore, the use of kanga was another strategy adopted by the British colonial administration to resolve the agency problem in its implementation of indirect rule. Together with the colonial chief, the *kanga* would constitute the members of the Nandi elite as the independence struggle reached its peak.

With their assimilation into the British East Africa Protectorate in 1906, the Nandi resistance came to an end. Even with this setback, their guerrilla tactics had presented a serious threat to British forces, making them reevaluate their tactics and nearly losing multiple times. As a result, the Nandi remained a formidable opposition to colonial authority for many years afterward.

It was further reported that the kanga acted as the chiefs' body guards, locally referred to as 'Buda guards'. For the British, appointment of African agents was based purely on loyalty, and education was only offered to those who were deemed extremely crucial in effecting the colonial agenda.[112] Therefore, most of the kangas were retired Kenya African Riffles soldiers. They were mostly uneducated. For instance, in Kaptel there was a bodyguard from Chepterwai called Arap Ravaewatin, Kairoto Kapnyanyar family. He acted as a messenger and assisted in clan issues. He protected the society and worked in liaison with the chiefs.[113]

The leaders of the precolonial Nandi culture were dependent on a network of loyal followers, including warriors and elders, who performed vital roles in community protection and government. The emergence of colonial dynamics, however, fundamentally changed these conventional positions. The Nandi people's social

[112] Geschiere, P. (1993). Chiefs and Colonial Rule in Cameroon: Inventing Chieftaincy, French and British Style.
[113] Oral interview with Christopher Arap Limo on 10/4/2019 (76 years old).

structure was altered during the colonial era when the selection and performance of bodyguards, or kangas, was heavily influenced by allegiance to the British government.

The study findings revealed that the Nandi colonial chiefs were mostly the propagators of the imperialist ideology of their colonial masters. However, their position also afforded them the chance to ground themselves as the spokespersons of their people before the colonialists. As such, over time, most of these leaders gained power on account of their offices. Their power was further legitimized by the fact that they and their children were among the first Africans to embrace Christianity and western formal education. This section examines some of the roles that pitted colonial chiefs as the politicians or political agents in the colonial period in Nandi.

The Nandi people's social structures and customs were profoundly changed by the introduction of colonial power. Colonial chiefs were a creation of the British as part of their indirect rule policy. These chiefs were in charge of enabling the goals of the colonial authority and making sure the African populace in the area supported them.

As indicated in Chapter Two, prior to the colonial period, ethics and laws among the Nandi were founded on various taboos.[114] These taboos were reinforced through constant repetition. For instance, it was a taboo for an old lady to sleep with boys. A boy too was not allowed to sleep with a lady older than him. Conversely, a woman was forbidden from having sex with a child or a boy.[115] Taboos thus set the moral or ethical limits of individuals in the community. They acted as the unwritten laws of the land.

[114] Chelimo, F. J., & Chelelgo, K. (2016). Pre-Colonial Political Organization of the Kalenjin of Kenya.
[115] Oral interview with Malakwen Arap Ruto on 15/04/2019 (87 years old).

However, in the colonial period, the chiefs were tasked with the administration of justice, mostly based on the laws of the colonizers. The colonizers introduced written laws that governed everything, including labour, settlement, movement, ownership of property, among other relationships. Of course, these colonial laws hardly recognized the traditional moral codes and ethics. This study found that the colonial chiefs handled their people fairly well and showed a decided inclination to assist the government as far as possible by maintaining order and fighting crime in their respective jurisdictions.[116] The colonial powers flowed downwards from the governor, to the PC, then the DC, DO and finally to the chief and assistant chief.[117] Therefore, whenever there was a problem or communication from the colonial authorities:

> The chief called the people to a meeting and told them that such and such thing is required. The chiefs ensured that the message was always very strong and caned those who were late to the meeting. A person who attended meetings while drank would also be caned.[118]

The results of the study further indicated that the main role of colonial chiefs was to ensure there was peace in the community. They did this by enforcing the laws of the colonial authorities and resolving disputes at the local level.[119] The study respondents indicated that every chief had some soldiers (administrative police, kanga, and regular police) to help them in their roles.[120] The colonial authorities had also erected a major police station in Kapkowo (present-day Burnt Forest). The reported criminal offences were minimal, and this could be attributed to the fact that most local people preferred to resolve conflicts without involving the police or chief. As earlier explained, the Nandi did not entirely trust the colonial chiefs, even those appointed from their clans or tribe. Therefore, in most cases, disputes did not reach the office of the chief but were

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[116] KNA/Nandi District, 1911.
[117] East African Protectorate (1908). *Crown Lands Bill, 1908*.
[118] Oral interview with Kiplimo Arap Mugum on 22/03/2019 (88 years old).
[119] Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (1902). *The Headman Ordinance, 1902.*
[120] Oral interview with Mariko Kurgat on 20/3/2019 (88 years old).

sorted out locally in what was known as *kinya magargar*. The village elders presided over such conflict resolution sessions. Only more serious cases were deferred to the colonial chiefs. For instance, the elders only submitted issues to the chiefs after the culprits proved too difficult to obey their orders. Some of the major issues that ended up in the offices of chiefs or reached higher authorities were cattle raids or stock theft. There were also land disputes.[121]

The study highlights the conflict that existed between Nandi customs and colonial power. The local populace's mistrust of colonial leaders and preference for native dispute resolution techniques frequently hindered their attempts to uphold law and order and mediate disputes. The Nandi people fought to maintain their cultural identity and right to self-determination, which illustrates the resilience of traditional governance systems even in the face of colonial rule.

As this research established, the colonial chiefs acted as the main conduit between the Nandi community and the District Commissioner appointed by the colonial powers.[122] This position also enabled these chiefs to amass power and wealth for themselves. They were practically the interpreters of colonial policies, meaning they could influence how the Nandi related with the British. As one respondent explained:

> Whenever the DC wanted to convene a meeting (baraza) with the local people, he would inform the chief. The chief would then inform the headman (assistant chief) who was also the leader of the age-set (kiptayatab siritet). The headman would then summon the people to the meeting with the DC. Therefore, the chief conveyed messages of impending meetings (kagoit siok) from the DC. Attendance of barazas convened by the DC was compulsory. Those who absconded such meetings were punished by caning by the DC himself. The task of arresting those who disobeyed such government directives fell in the hands of the 'trouble police', locally known as kanga.[123]

[121] KNA/Nandi District, 1911.
[122] *Ibid.*
[123] Oral interview with Some arap Kogo on 22/3/2019 (81 years old).

Precolonial Nandi society was based on the age set system, and the *kiptayatab siritet* played a significant role in informing the community of directives and messages from the Nandi leadership. This well-established system of age-group leadership was exploited by the colonial authority to effectively interact and govern the Nandi people.

Some of the chiefs played key roles that shaped the political future of the Nandi people. For example, towards independence, Chief arap Basi called upon the Nandi to buy pieces of land and register. This saw many Nandi elites, including the chiefs themselves, purchase huge tracts of land that they and their descendants own to this day. Majority of these rich Nandi men also became the first political leaders of the Nandi after independence. Key examples include Paramount Chief Jean-Marie Seroney, Chief Joel Malel (who owned the entire land occupied by present-day small towns of Kapseret, Langas and Racecourse in Eldoret) and Senior Chief Tengecha from Kipsigis. Chief arap Basi also advocated for peaceful coexistence with the white settlers.[124] He further oversaw the construction of more cattle dips and the growing of tea. As one respondent indicated, such initiatives helped to empower the Nandi as many of the present-day leaders acquired land during his time.[125] The positive contributions of colonial chiefs to their jurisdictions have been acknowledged in places like Nigeria[126] and South Africa.[127]

The Nandi people's political trajectory was significantly shaped by the interplay between pre-colonial practices and colonial innovations. Leaders such as arap Basi not only promoted rapid economic expansion but also laid the groundwork for long-term political structures. Their impact may still be seen in Nandi society today, highlighting

[124] Report by Symes-Thompson on Chiefs in Nandi District.
[125] Oral interview with Musa Kibet on 22/3/2019 (77 years old).
[126] Afigbo, A. E. (1972). The Warrant Chiefs.
[127] Evans, I. (1997). *Bureaucracy and Race.*

the importance of leadership and land ownership in the historical framework of the community.

Another respondent noted that Chief Arap Tulel was the most aggressive of Nandi colonial chiefs.[128] He ensured people paid taxes. Taxes were paid in the chief's office. People could pay using liquor (local brews) or chicken. Tulel also took care of raiding and destroyed houses if people were unwilling to reveal the perpetrators of crimes committed. It was reported that he led many expeditions of kanga officers to destroy many villages after livestock were stolen from the white settler farms by suspected Nandi youths. These findings affirm those of Irungu who notes that implementing taxation laws was one of the main functions of colonial chiefs in Kenya.[129] Another Chief, Arap Titi, took over all locations in Aldai and put them under Kamelilo. Chief Joseph Arap Chepseba also oversaw collection of taxes.[130] He summoned meetings (barazas) to discuss critical issues. He profiled people based on villages so he could identify those who attended the baraza. Those who failed to attend the meeting were either taken to prison or assigned to provide labour in road construction, cleaning of offices or any work available.

The colonial chiefs' actions signaled a significant break from the Nandi's pre-colonial system of government, which placed an emphasis on traditional leadership and group decision-making. Understanding the pre-colonial history of Kenyan communities is crucial since the impact of these changes may still be seen in the political and social dynamics of the Nandi people today.

[128] Oral interview with Pius Kiptarus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019 (76 years old).
[129] Irungu, S. (2019). *The Role of Colonial Chiefs in Kenya.*
[130] Oral interview with Pius Kiptarus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019 (76 years old).

As already mentioned, the colonial authorities detested the Laibons and preferred to deal with the chiefs, headmen and elders. The Laibon's power was vested in the Nandi traditional religious beliefs, superstitions and witchcraft. This made the Christian and colonial authorities to despise the Laibons. As such, the British often preferred to appoint natives who were either pagan or Christian converts. This also gave the chiefs opportunity to compete for appointment. As such, leadership shifted from the traditional understanding of community service to become a product of contestation informed by personal social, political and economic interests and status. For some of them, converting to Christianity was a sure way to ascend to and retain their positions as colonial chiefs. A good example is how headman Arap Kessio of location 15 lost his power. He was deposed in December for various acts of misconduct reported throughout the year. In his place was appointed Elijah Cheruiyot Arap Chepkwony. He too had proven himself by converting to Christianity. The latter was an adherent of the African Inland Mission, Kapsabet. He had shown considerable qualities and abilities during his period of service as a hut-counter in the district. The appointment was part of the scheme of the colonial administration, as previously all such appointment had been held by pagans.[131] In support of this appointment, the DC noted thus:

> I attach to this appointment immense importance as I feel that should it prove successful; others should follow and result in a new era in the administration of these extremely headstrong tribe. Rightly or wrongly, I believe that the Christian adherents will be immune to the Laibon influence, which I consider is responsible for the lack of authority in government interests of the present headman.[132]

In the above statement, the DC was specifically referring to Laibon Manyei who was gaining considerable influence among the Nandi. It is also interesting that at that time

[131] KNA/DC/ND1/1/2.
[132] *Ibid.*

the DC felt that the Nandi were still a "headstrong tribe". This description of the Nandi implies that the British were always cautious as far as the Nandi were concerned.

The above findings echo those of Michalopoulos and Papaioannou who investigated political institutions and chiefs' accountability in pre-colonial Africa.[133] They found that more centralized rather than more decentralized (federalist) political organizations had better development outcomes in the post-colonial era. These scholars speculate that the club-like features of chiefdoms made chiefs less accountable rather than more accountable. This work underscores the manner in which colonial chiefs used their political powers. Therefore, the present study affirmed the contribution of colonial chiefs to the social, economic and political transformation of the Nandi in Kenya.

Palagashvili explored some of the reasons behind the rise of the elitist political strength of the colonial chiefs.[134] First, the fact that these men were put on salaries by the British placed them on a higher socio-economic status in their communities. Second, the consolidation of chiefdoms expanded their jurisdictions, making them more powerful. Third, the colonial government allowed some of the chiefs to get away with crimes, especially if those crimes were against Africans. In most cases, the British found it easier and expedient to work with chiefs that they (the British) had already installed instead of seeking to appoint new ones. The result of these three explanations meant that, one, chiefs were no longer reliant on their communities for payment for services rendered. Two, they also amassed wealth for themselves, which they later used to leverage their ascension to political office.

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[133] Michalopoulos, S., & Papaioannou, E. (2015). On the ethnic origins of African development chiefs and precolonial political centralization. *Academy Management Perspectives*, *29*(1), 32-71.

[134] Palagashvili, L. (2018). African chiefs: comparative governance under colonial Rule. *Public Choice, 174*, 277-300.

The Nandi pre-colonial political structure was characterized by a centralized authority that, although useful in some respects, nevertheless created the conditions for problems with accountability and governance both during and after the colonial era. The change in colonial chiefs' leadership from traditional leaders highlights the tremendous impact of outside pressures on regional governance systems, which in turn changes the sociopolitical dynamics of the Nandi and other communities across Africa.

The study found that the Nandi colonial chiefs commanded a lot of authority. For instance, as indicated by one respondent, headman (assistant chief) Arap Chepsiror headed Itigo Sub-location where Katono was the chief.[135] The duo controlled and protected the interests of the Nandi people. Katono regulated the brewing and consumption of *busaa*, prevented theft of animals and any other crimes. The chief, together with the headman, therefore acted as security officers.

Arap Chepsiror and Katono, two Nandi colonial chiefs, gained prominence as a result of a combination of colonial administration constraints and traditional leadership practices. Their roles as guardians of local customs and security enforcers highlight the challenges of maintaining traditional authority in the midst of a rapidly changing political landscape, highlighting the profound changes that occurred within Nandi society throughout the colonial era.

It was also reported that the colonial chiefs also offered arbitration on disputes. Most of the cases were handled by the headmen (Assistant Chief). Kapchepkendi resolved issues in Kabiyet headed by Chief Arap Katono. In one incident, for instance, the Koilegei clan took their issues to Chepterit, then shifted to Kabandan (Kap-Hunter, in reference to DC Hunter). As reported by one interviewee:

[135] Oral interview with Pius Kipsang Arap Sabul on 22/3/2019 (77 years old).

> Chief Katono reported to the DC that the headman Arap Chepsiror had colluded with cattle rustlers. This was to prevent him from ascending to chieftainship. This worked in favour of Arap Kirwa of Kamelilo clan. Headman William Arap Chepsirai lost his position to Arap Mengich from Itigo in similar circumstances. Arap Chepsiror protested and went to Uasin Gishu, Lelmolok.[136]

While precolonial Nandi society had its own ways of settling conflicts, the colonial era introduced a more formalized arbitration system headed by chiefs and headmen. During the colonial era, maintaining order and reducing conflicts among different ethnic groups were made possible by this new structure.

Prior to colonialism, and as indicated in Chapter Two, crimes that had occurred were deliberated upon during other ceremonies, especially during circumcision. Traditional methods of arbitration ensured justice for all, and restored peace to the community as a whole.[137] The elders intervened by 'mob justice' as a matter of discipline. The community determined the fate of the accused. In the colonial period, much of this procedure was followed. However, in case the culprit declined to heed elders' advice, he was automatically referred to the chief. The chief used interrogation methods to probe suspects, and most of those referred to him owned up to their crime. For this reason, some of the chiefs were feared so that any suspect threatened to be taken to a specific chief would instead prefer to confess and be punished by the community.[138] At the time, the trial procedure began at the community level; then it proceeded to the headman, then the chief, the DO and finally the court.

Aspects of the precolonial Nandi approach that were retained by the colonial dispute resolution system included community involvement, the role of elders and chiefs in questioning, and the procedure for elevating cases to higher authority. However, it

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[136] *Ibid.*
[137] Chelimo, F. J., & Chelelgo, K. (2016). Pre-Colonial Political Organization of the Kalenjin of Kenya.
[138] Oral interview with Arap Surtan Chirchir on 4/4/2019 (72 years old).

replaced the previous community-based justice system with a more organized court system at the highest level.

It was also found that in some cases, the colonial chiefs still allowed tribal curses, oathing and divination to be used to prosecute crime. In such instances, the chief was informed to summon a meeting to investigate an incident, for instance, if someone had been killed or theft involved. During the meeting, investigations was pursued and in case the suspect denied committing the crime curses were invoked against him. The same was done where no suspect had been caught. In such a scenario, the Nandi used curses to make the culprit to reveal themselves. Among the Nandi, the cursing was done by specialists from the Talai clan that produced most of the seers and diviners.[139] The culprit soon demonstrated their guilt by acting in mysterious ways, such as eating grass or displaying signs of madness. If he called for pardoning, the headman hosted a meeting of reconciliation where he was helped to remedy his mistakes.[140]

The pre-colonial Nandi approach to crime shows how their traditional beliefs, communal leadership, and colonial chiefs' influence interacted in a complex way. This illustrates a robust cultural framework that maintained fundamental customs while simultaneously adapting to external challenges.

Another role of the colonial chiefs reported in the study was that of providing binding agreements between those who wished to borrow and lend cattle or other property. This often happened where the man of the household requested a friend to give a cow to sustain the family. It was customary in traditional Nandi society for men to request each other for such support. Where the borrower declined to repay the debt, the owner placed

[139] Magut, P. K. (1969). The Rise and Fall of the Nandi Orkoiyot, C. 1850-1957.
[140] Oral interview with Arap Surtan Chirchir on 4/4/2019 (72 years old).

curses and walked away. The household man intervened in case of a curse due to non-payment of the debt. The headman was called upon to ensure justice was done in each case. However, in the colonial period, the fact that such transactions were done under the witness of the chiefs guaranteed that the borrower would pay back the animal. Therefore, colonial chiefs acted as witnessing authorities for agreements that would be binding for all parties involved. This authority served to strengthen the legitimacy of colonial chiefs among the natives.[141] If he failed to pay back, then the chief would institute legal actions, including detention or imprisonment. As such, the old method of cursing the defaulting borrower slowly began to disappear.[142] One should note here that the Nandi are very conscious of the power of curses. For this reason, many would never willingly take actions or decisions that threaten to harm another. To date, even when mysterious illness or a series of deaths occur in a family, the Nandi still first resort to investigate if one or some members of the affected family wronged someone in the past. Such collective consciousness of the effect of wrongdoing down the generations makes many Nandi people afraid to break the law.

The colonial chiefs' participation in cattle trade and conflict settlement represented a significant break from the Nandi community's precolonial traditions. This shift strengthened the chiefs' power while simultaneously introducing new legal frameworks that eroded the effectiveness of long-standing conflict settlement procedures. As a result, this change had a significant impact on how the Nandi people thought as a group.

It was further reported that during the colonial period, the Nandi often quarrelled over clan boundaries, which caused tension. Prior to colonisation, such land disputes were

[141] Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and subject.*
[142] Oral interview with Arap Surtan Chirchir on 4/4/2019 (72 years old).

rare because arable land was available in plenty.[143] Besides, land boundaries were very elaborate since each *pororiet* (clan) only contained members of the same clan. However, as mentioned earlier, the colonial demarcation of locations meant that some members of certain clans encroached into the lands previously owned by another clan. Moreover, there was scarcity of land, as much of the arable land had been confiscated by the government for the white settlers. Every clan, through their headman, summoned the elders of the other clan to resolve the crisis. In case of further disagreement, they went to court of appeal like Kilibwoni, Kabiyet. Examples of clans and their boundaries were: Kaboch (lived in Ndubeneti), Kaptalam (lived in Kabore, Tulon), Kilibwoni (lived in Terige Kaptalam), Terige (lived in Kaboch), Sinendet clan (lived in Kamelilo), and Kaptumo (lived in Ckepkumia, Kaptumois).

The ancient land ownership and usage patterns of the Nandi were significantly changed by the colonial demarcation of land in Kenya. Instead of being based on communal and clan-based principles, the new model was characterized by individual property rights and colonial control. This momentous shift affected not just land access but also the Nandi community's and other indigenous communities' social cohesiveness and economic stability in the long run.

Some other reported causes of disputes in colonial period Nandi were witchcrafts and fighting.[144] An oath was conducted to resolve such crises. The chief presented the case to the court of appeal on behalf of the Nandi. There were also conflicts arising from trespasses.[145] This applied only in the white settler farms. The Nandi never had such restrictions on trespassing. However, if a person was found loitering aimlessly in

[143] Lagat, A. (1995). *The Historical Process of Nandi Movement into Uasin Gishu District of the Kenya Highlands.*
[144] Oral interview with Sosten Kirwa Arap Kimwey on 23/3/2019 (69 years old).
[145] KNA/PC/RVP/6B/1/3B12.

another's land, he would be thought of as a potential sorcerer out to harm the livestock of the land owner. The landowner would first ask the trespasser to explain his presence in the land. If the loiterer is unwilling, then investigative measures were launched and oathing was conducted to establish the truth. The Kipande was also introduced by the colonialists to prevent trespassing. The Nandi could not understand why they needed a piece of paper to be allowed to travel across the land that had always belonged to them. This was a very discomforting legal requirement to them. If the vice of trespassing persisted the chiefs used the kanga to deal with law breakers. The chief often summoned the people to the presence of the DC to sort out the issue of trespassing.[146]

The Nandi community underwent significant changes during the colonial era as a result of new sources of conflict and techniques for resolving them that were not part of their norms. The colonial government imposed new laws and processes that frequently clashed with the traditional customs of the Nandi, despite the fact that they had developed methods for handling conflicts within their society.

The various roles of colonial chiefs enumerated in this section echo the findings of Logan who states that in the colonial period in Africa, traditional authority co-existed with popular support, and enjoyed considerable support from rural people.[147] Colonial chiefs also presided over issues of justice, peace and reconciliation among their people and some of them recognised and integrated the traditional laws of the land. As was also established in this study, Odinkalu argues that the justifications as to why issues of justice were addressed in the chief courts are attributed to a number of reasons.[148] First,

[146] Oral interview with Sosten Kirwa Arap Kimwey on 23/3/2019 (69 years old).

[147] Logan, C. (2013). The roots of resilience: Exploring popular support for African traditional authorities. *African Affairs*, *112*(448), 353-376.

[148] Odinkalu, C. A. (2005). *Pluralism and the fulfilment of Justice Needs in Africa.* Open Society Institute-AfriMAP. Retrieved from http://www.afrimap.org/english/image/paper/file42d4e89066c3d.doc

most disputes were settled at a single day's sitting with a verdict announced on the same day. Second, it was cheap; for instance, in southern Ghana one had to present only a small quantity of beer or alcoholic beverage to initiate proceedings in a chief's courts. Therefore, this approach provided the cheapest way of disposing cases within days of its occurrences. This shows that colonial chiefs, at a fee in the form of bribery, sometimes prevented cases from escalating to the colonial authorities.

The intricate interactions between traditional authority and colonial government throughout the colonial period are shown by the responsibilities played by colonial chiefs among the Nandi people of Kenya. Through a system known as indirect rule, African leaders were installed as colonial chiefs by European powers in order to facilitate control over local populations. By using this approach, colonial rulers were able to maintain the appearance of local authority while nevertheless maintaining total control.

In contrast to Logan, however, Power argues that although colonial chiefs were responsible for maintaining law and order in their areas, they were not allowed to conduct court cases.[149] Nevertheless, in the Shire Highlands in the Southern region of Malawi, both Chiefs and village headmen began to act beyond their formal power as they acted as judges, imposed fines and in some cases even collected labour from their villages.[150] The colonial authorities initially reacted to this by employing repressive measures and two amendments were made in 1917; one it was declared an offence not to report criminal activities to the DCs, and two, chiefs could be fined 5 pounds or

[149] Power, J. (1992). Individualism is the Anti-thesis of Indirect Rule: Cooperative Development and Indirect Rule in Colonial Malawi. *Journal of Southern Africa Studies, 18*(2), 329.
[150] *Ibid*.

sentenced to six months in jail for not following the orders.[151] Colonial interference significantly disrupted the old government structures in the Nandi region and the Shire Highlands, creating complex relationships between native leaders and colonial authority.

The above findings were also in agreement with those of Irungu[152], in his study on the role of colonial chiefs in Kenya. Irungu found that colonial chiefs were instrumental in providing the security needed for social and economic progress. The chiefs struggled to eradicate crime, made binding rulings on disputes, sensitized the public on law-and-order issues through the chiefs' barazas, and advocated for peace with neighbouring communities and white settlers. The chiefs also helped the DC to recruit men to serve as kanga whose roles were also to provide security.

The Nandi community's traditional governance structures had an impact on the roles played by colonial chiefs. The established Nandi leadership system that existed prior to colonial authority greatly influenced the chiefs' acceptability and efficacy, even though the British assigned them the responsibility of maintaining security and enforcing colonial laws.

3.10 Evolution of Colonial Policy, 1906-1918

Kenya's colonial policies changed significantly between 1906 and 1918, especially in regards to land use, taxation, and government. For the colonial chiefs of the Nandi group, these modifications had far-reaching effects.

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[151] Erik, G. (2011). Indirect Rule and Colonial Intervention: Chiefs and Agrarian Change in Nyasaland, ca. 1933 to the Early 1950s. *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, *44*(2), 254.

[152] Irungu, S. (2019). *The Role of Colonial Chiefs in Kenya: Their Impact on Kenya's Security Standards, Educational System and Agricultural Sector.* Mount Kenya University.

During this time, the introduction of direct taxes – particularly hut and poll taxes – became a crucial component of colonial politics.[153] In order for the African population to pay their taxes, many were forced to look for wage labor on settler farms. These levies were intended to integrate the African population into a cash economy. The Nandi people were greatly aggrieved by the tax load and opposed these imposed changes, seeing them as exploitative. Because the colonial authority relied on chosen chiefs to collect these levies, their interactions with the indigenous inhabitants were further complicated.[154]

Significant unrest was introduced to the Nandi community during the colonial era. British reforms changed their long-established pastoral economy and social structure dramatically. Pushback from their own community resulted from the colonial chiefs' complex role in imposing these changes.

In 1906, the colonial state passed the Diseases of Animals Ordinance. Throughout this time, the Diseases of Animals Ordinance of 1906 remained in effect, indicating the colonial government's emphasis on controlling agricultural output and defending the rights of settler farmers. Regular declarations about animal health were made in order to contain outbreaks that would harm livestock, which was essential to the settlement economy.[155] From the study findings, it was repored that the 1906 Diseases of Animals Ordinance was heavily enforced by the Nandi colonial chiefs. They were in charge of ensuring that all animals under their control received treatment by supervising the immunization of animals against illnesses like anthrax. They also carried out the

[153] Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (1902). *The Headman Ordinance, 1902 (The Official Gazette)*. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya.
[154] Ochieng', W. (1975). *An Outline History of the Rift Valley of Kenya Up to A.D. 1900*. Kenya Literature Bureau, pp. 63-65.
[155] Government of Kenya. *The Official Gazette of the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya*. August 18, 1920, No. 727.

colonial government's orders to quarantine animals during illness outbreaks. The chiefs also urged residents to bring their animals so they could be dipped in order to get rid of ticks and other parasites. They notified veterinary officers and colonial authorities about illness outbreaks, and they penalized violators of the code by bringing them before local tribunals or seizing their animals.

An important part of the colonial government's efforts to control agricultural output and safeguard settler interests was the Diseases of Animals Ordinance. But the Nandi chiefs' execution of it had a significant impact on the Nandi people's traditional livestock husbandry methods and social structures. This ordinance used as a weapon for colonial dominance over the Nandi community, undermining traditional knowledge and ways of life.

The Land Ordinance of 1915 and subsequent regulations facilitated the appropriation of land from local communities and granted long-term leases to European settlers. This effectively created a monopoly on land use by British settlers, leading to the establishment of native reserves that were often located in less fertile areas, further marginalizing the local population. These land policies had a direct impact on the Nandi people, who were commanded by their colonial chiefs. All land, including that which is occupied and set aside for Africans, was deemed to be Crown land by the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915, which repealed the earlier Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902. This effectively turned Africans, even on the land they had historically held, into "tenants at will" of the state.[156]

[156] Okoth-Ogendo, H. W. O. (1991). *Tenants of the Crown: Evolution of Agrarian Law and Institutions in Kenya*. ACTS Press.

The Nandi people's traditional land tenure patterns were significantly changed by the land laws implemented during the colonial era, particularly the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915. In addition to pushing the Nandi to the fringes, the colonial authority created native reserves and declared all land to be Crown land, which set the foundation for long-lasting disparities in land use and ownership that still have an impact on communities today.

The 1918 Kenyan Resident Native Laborers Ordinance played a crucial role in determining the nature of work relations between European colonizers and African laborers, especially when it came to the Nandi colonial chiefs and their communities. African laborers were obliged to offer labor in exchange for lodging and salaries under the terms of this law, which established the link between native labourers and European farmers.[157] The colonial policies that evolved during this time had a great impact on the Nandi people, who were led by their chiefs. The law was introduced in tandem with a larger colonial plan to restrict labor and subjugate African people. Traditionally in charge of their people, Nandi chiefs saw their authority eroded when the colonial government implemented labour laws that gave precedence to European agricultural requirements over customs.[158]

Significant changes were made to the traditional way of life of the Nandi communityby the 1918 Kenyan Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. The colonial government undermined the legitimacy of Nandi leaders and imposed a forced labour system, reversing the social and economic structures that had provided decades of support for the Nandi. Together with other colonial measures, this legislation caused the

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157 Anderson, D. (2000). The struggle for land and freedom in Kenya: The Nandi and the colonial state. In *The Politics of Land in Kenya* (pp. 461-481). James Currey.
158 Berman, B. J. (1990). Control and resistance in colonial Kenya: The Nandi and the Mau Mau. In *The African Experience: A History* (pp. 150-175). Longman.

precolonial Nandi society and created a new exploitative system that prioritized the rights and welfare of European settlers over those of the indigenous population.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the establishment of colonial rule among the Nandi and the subsequent introduction of chieftaincy. The chapter has condensed how the colonial chiefs acted as transition pivots from the traditional leadership to the colonial chiefs. It has demonstrated how the chief at this time was living in a dilemma; having to balance between the interests of his community and that of their master, with the latter taking precedence. The specific economic, political and social roles of these chiefs have been examined within their context.

A significant change in social structure and governance is indicated by the Nandi's transition from precolonial to colonial authority. Colonial chiefs played a variety of responsibilities that showed attempts to strike a balance between colonial aspirations and the needs of the indigenous population, despite the fact that they were generally seen as instruments of colonial authority. Understanding this dynamic is crucial to comprehending the longer-lasting legacy of leadership in post-colonial Kenya as well as the broader effects of colonialism on indigenous governance systems.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHANGING ROLES OF NANDI COLONIAL CHIEFS IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD, 1919-1939

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, it was demonstrated that since the introduction of colonialism, chieftancy among the Nandi underwent a transition from traditional to colonial. This occurred because the indigenous Nandi governance structures were demolished and, in their place, the colonial formal structures introduced. This put the Nandi chiefs at crossroads between balancing the interests of their community and those of the colonial government. Either way, the chiefs were left with only one option-to completely submit to colonial authority.

The period between the conclusion of World War I and the onset of World War II was pivotal for Kenya in various respects. On July 23, 1920, Kenya transitioned from a protectorate to a full colony, which necessitated the British to solidify their administrative systems to align with their colonial objectives. This shift significantly amplified the influence of colonial chiefs, who were tasked with enforcing British policies. Furthermore, Kenya faced an economic downturn in the late 1920s, prompting the colonial government to increase taxes on African populations and implement forced labor conscription through the Nothey Circulars of 1919. This situation placed colonial chiefs in a challenging position as they struggled to enforce these new measures on communities already burdened by severe economic and political hardships stemming from early colonial rule.[1]

[1] Wrigley, C. C. (1967). Kenya: Patterns of economic life 1902–1945. In V. Harlow & E. M. Chilver (Eds.), *History of East Africa* (Vol. 11, pp. 233-264). Oxford University Press.

By the end of the year, global trade had disintegrated, leading to a significant decline in revenue for the colonial government. The Kenya colony was unable to receive financial assistance from Britain, largely due to the severe impact of World War I on the British economy. Additionally, white settlers were negatively impacted by the economic downturn. By 1921, not only had the lofty expectations for progress diminished, but many European producers were also confronted with a financial crisis.[2] All this put pressure on the colonies to increase their economic output both for export back home to Britain and for the self-sustenace of the colonies. As such, the colonial administration increasingly saw a need to intensify labour recruitment, expand white settler lands, and increase production both in the farms and industries. All these would translate to more harsh economic policies that pitted the colonial chiefs against the people.

The colonial administration sought ways to boost revenue, prompting modifications in their policies to tackle the issue. Consequently, the economic progress achieved by white settlers up until approximately 1920, along with a subsequent economic decline from 1920 to 1922, greatly influenced the strategies implemented by the colonial government.[3] The colonial chiefs were hardly involved in the development of these strategies, yet they were expected to not only explain but also enforce them on the native people. In Kenya, the colonial administration's Department of Agriculture reinforced the Dual Policy for agricultural advancement, which was initially proposed in 1906 but not implemented. The policy highlighted the importance of African participation in Kenya's economy and the efficient use of their land to improve the country's agricultural

[2] Brett, E. A. (1973). *Colonialism and underdevelopment in East Africa: The politics of economic change 1919-1939*. London: Heinemann, pp. 178-179.
[3] Tanui, P. J. (1996). *Agriculture in Nandi under colonial rule 1895-1963* (M.Phil. Thesis). Moi University, Eldoret.

resources and wealth. Consequently, starting in 1922, there was a push to mass-produce local commodities with consistent and high demand.[4] Therefore, colonial chiefs were forced to exert pressure on labourer in white settler farms.

The Great Depression, which began in 1928, significantly influenced economic policy during this period. In 1928 and 1929, crops were severely damaged by locust infestations, and between 1931 and 1934, a major drought further exacerbated agricultural challenges. Concurrently, global commodity prices plummeted. Initially, the colonial government responded by offering support to European farmers. However, as the economic downturn persisted without yielding positive results, the government shifted its focus towards fostering African development.[5] This move was a relief for Africans, and colonial chiefs could finally become a force for good for their people. Colonial chiefs became agents whose role was to single out priority development areas in African reserve lands and to which the colonial investment could be best channelled. The depression generally made the colonial government realize the indispensable value of the African peasant production. Throup points out that:

> The depression caused the Kenyan government to question the unquestionable, and to ponder whether Kenya really was a "white mans country", as settlers had so confidently proclaimed.[6]

The chiefs played a crucial role in facilitating various activities due to the support of the colonial administration.[7]

During the 1930s, the Great Depression and soil degradation had a major impact on policy decisions. Settlers wielded their political power to shape colonial economic

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[4] Wrigley, C. C. (1967). Kenya: Patterns of economic life 1902–1945. In V. Harlow & E. M. Chilver (Eds.), *History of East Africa* (Vol. 11, pp. 235). Oxford University Press.
[5] Talbott, I. D. (1990). *Agricultural innovation in colonial Africa: Kenya and the great depression* (Vol. 18). Edwin Mellen Press, p. 15.
[6] Throup, D. W. (1982). *The origin of Mau Mau*. Institute of Commonwealth Studies.
[7] Ranger, T. (1985). *Peasant consciousness and guerrilla war in Zimbabwe*. James Currey.

policy, advocating for their interests. Africans also found ways to express their concerns through uprisings, such as Harry Thuku's in 1923, and the establishment of Local Native Councils in 1924.[8] Colonial chiefs played a crucial role during this period of upheaval. They acted as intermediaries between colonial authorities and local communities, which positioned them uniquely to influence policy decisions.

After the First World War, Africans who had participated in it came back and wereenlightened. This enlightenment made them to begin pointing out what they considered to be injustices against the Africans. This new enlightenment became a basis for the (re)negotiation, contestation and (re)invention of the imposed forms of leaders such as the colonial chiefs. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, as this was happening, the colonial chiefs not only worked with the system to achieve the intended outcomes, but also, in their capacity contributed to the social, economic and political transformation of the society during this period in various ways. By examining the relationship between the colonizers, colonial chiefs and the Nandi community at different levels of the political, social and economic roles, this chapter also demonstrates the principle of Agency and Elite theories, namely the conflicting roles of the principals and agents.

The experiences of the Nandi chiefs during the interwar years shed light on the complex difficulties that Kenyan local leaders experienced as a result of colonial control. These chiefs found themselves caught between the demands of the colonial state and the ambitions of their own people as traditional authority systems were put to the test by the imposition of foreign government and the changing political landscape. Their deeds,

[8] Gatheru, R. M. (2024). *Kenya: From colonization to independence, 1888-1970*. McFarland.

whether in cooperation or opposition, show the complex ways in which Kenyan local leadership responded to and influenced the country's colonial past.

4.2 The Nandi Uprising, 1923

In the early 1920s, a confluence of factors precipitated what is historically recognized as the Nandi Uprising. The Nandi community expressed significant discontent with the colonial administration, driven by various grievances. Key among these was the alienation of land in 1919. After World War I, Governor Northey set aside land to settle ex-soldiers, aiming to increase the number of white settlers in Kenya. This initiative involved alienating land from the Nandi community for the white settler scheme. The Nandi protested against this alienation, which led to conflict between the community and the colonial regime. As a result, the Nandi lost much of their grazing land and many of their salt licks. This situation is highlighted by remarks made by Chief Elijah arap Cheruiyot to the Carter Commission at Kapsabet on October 6, 1932:

> All saltlicks were given to the Nandi after fighting and have since been taken away. Why should we pay for land that used to belong to us? Do you consider us as friends or enemies still? Besides the land of the Nandi has been reduced so much that all the growing men of Nandi have gone on to Shambas.[9]

The Nandi colonial chiefs played a significant role in the land alienation process during the early 1920s, which contributed to the Nandi Uprising. They were often caught between the colonial administration's demands and the expectations of their communities, leading to a complex dynamic where some chiefs cooperated with colonial authorities in land allocation, thus facilitating the alienation of Nandi lands for white settlers.[10] This collaboration was driven by a desire to maintain their positions of power and influence within the colonial framework, despite the growing resentment

[9] LNCM May 1941. KNA: PC/RVP/6A/11/28

[10] Ellis, D. (1976). The Nandi protest of 1923 in the context of African resistance to colonial rule in Kenya. *The Journal of African History*, *17*(4), 555-575.

from their people over land loss and increased taxation.[11] Ultimately, this betrayal by their own leaders exacerbated the grievances of the Nandi community, fueling the uprising against colonial rule.

Increased taxation significantly contributed to the Nandi uprising, with taxes tripling between 1909 and 1921. The colonial administration aimed to compel the Nandi to enter wage labor, but the economic slump at the beginning of the 1920s led to heightened tax burdens intended to raise revenue. Additionally, a change in tax collection rules in 1921 enforced by colonial chiefs mandated that taxes be collected twice a year, further straining the Nandi community, especially as quarantine laws had already disrupted their cattle trading, leaving them without sufficient cash to meet these new tax demands. Oboler remarks on these historical events as follows:

> To make matters worse, cash was in short supply in Nandi after fears that rinderpest might spread in the wake of an epidemic. This caused a stock quarantine to be imposed on the Reserve from 1921 to 1923. The Nandi prevented from selling livestock outside the Reserve, had no cash and taxes had to go unpaid.[12]

Apart from the cash crunch which led to non-payment of taxes, the quarantine also made it impossible for the Nandi to meet grain shortages, which was always done by selling stock to the neighbouring communities.

The Northey labor circulars were a significant factor in inciting conflicts against the colonial administration in Kenya. Despite the severe famine and various disease outbreaks affecting the population since 1918, the colonial government aggressively pursued labor recruitment for white settler farms. These circulars, enforced by colonial chiefs and police, effectively legalized forced labour in Kenya, leading to considerable

[11] Mutai, F. K. (2014). *Ethnicity and political participation in Kenya: a case study of the Nandi 1962-2012* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).
[12] NDAR 1944. KNA: DC/NDI/1/4.

resentment and resistance from the Nandi people toward colonial policies. Meanwhile, colonial chiefs wielded significant authority, often using coercive measures to compel villagers to provide labor, which exacerbated tensions between the local populations and the colonial government.

In 1923, a ceremony known as *saget ab eito* was scheduled to be held in Nandi. This traditional event symbolized the transfer of military authority to the succeeding age set. Historically, prior to colonial influence, the ceremony was often accompanied by extensive cattle raiding campaigns, which served to demonstrate the readiness of the new age-set warriors to assume power. The event was characterized by displays of Nandi military strength, where outgoing warriors would challenge incoming ones through various wrestling matches and combat techniques. Successfully passing these tests was essential for the young warriors to validate their capability as the next generation of esteemed fighters.[13]

Despite attempts by colonial chiefs to elucidate the significance of the *saget ab eito* event for the Nandi people, the government remained apprehensive, fearing that the Nandi warriors, under the leadership of Orkoiyot Barsirian Arap Manyei, might exploit the occasion to incite disorder. This caution stemmed from lessons learned during the Harry Thuku Uprising of 1922. As a result, the colonial authorities ordered the immediate arrest of Orkoiyot Barserion arap Manyei and four other elders just days before the ceremony was set to occur. Following these arrests, permission to conduct the ceremony was revoked, preventing it from taking place altogether.[14] The arrestees were then deported to meru in Central Kenya.

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[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Kitching, G. N. (1980). *Class and economic change in Kenya: The making of an African petite bourgeoisie 1905-1970*. Yale University Press, p. 146.

The unrest in Nandi prompted the colonial administration to change its policy. D. Ellis describes the situation at that time as follows:

> The protest promoted almost immediate change in government policy toward the Nandi …immediate removal of quarantine, the return of alienated land not occupied, reduction of hut tax pending removal of quarantine, immediate …access to the Kiboiin salt lick …the return of cattle still held by the government, and the appointment of Kiptainik as paid government headmen. Nearly all these suggestions were implemented.[15]

The Nandi colonial chiefs played a crucial role in facilitating changes implemented by the colonial government following the unrest. They acted as intermediaries between the colonial administration and the Nandi community, helping to communicate the grievances of their people while also ensuring that the government's policies were effectively enacted, which included the return of alienated lands and reduction of taxes.[16] By aligning their interests with those of the colonial authorities, these chiefs not only gained a degree of power and legitimacy but also helped mitigate further conflict, demonstrating their complex position within the colonial system as both agents of their community and loyal subjects of the British.[17]

4.3 Taxation and the Role of Nandi Chiefs

The British tightened their grip on the Nandi as they sought to entrench their rule. Ellis[18] avers that the primary contributing factor to the Nandi protests was the land factor coupled with a sharp increase in taxation as well as the change in the collection date in 1921. The end result was that the Nandi refused to give their remittances. As discussed in the previous chapter, taxation had more than just economic implications on the Nandi

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[15] Wrigley, C. C. *Kenya: The patterns of Economic life 1902-1945*. p. 253.
[16] Ng'etich, B. K. (2024). Exploring the Relationship Between Colonial Governance and Nandi Leadership in Kenya, 1905-1918. *Social Science and Humanities Journal, 08*(11), 5923-5944.
[17] Ng'etich, B. K., & Tanui, P. (2023). Effects of Colonial Rule on the Reconstruction of Nandi Inter-ethnic Relation, 1895–1918. *Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies*, *7*(9), 94-109.
[18] Ellis, D. (1976). The Nandi Protests of 1923 in the context of African Resistance to colonial rule in Kenya. *Journal of History of African Affairs*.

society. For instance, since taxation was based on huts and households, some of the men evaded taxes by limiting the number of huts constructed in their compounds. This also meant that some men chose not to marry early to avoid building huts. This led to an alteration of the socio-cultural structures of the Nandi households. Nevertheless, the chiefs, as agents of the colonial regime, often investigated and uncovered such tactics leading to punishments for the evaders of taxes. Hut tax records show that the some of the chiefs were excelling in their roles as tax collectors.[19] In some locations, the taxes even increased over time, meaning new or more huts had been carefully registered and taxed over time, courtesy of the efforts of the chiefs. However, some few locations registered a decrease in tax collected over time, which could be attributed to either the failure/refusal of colonial chiefs to collect taxes or a reduction in huts to be taxed.

The experiences of the Nandi colonial chiefs provide insight into the complex relationships that characterized colonial government in Kenya, where internal aspirations for self-governance and foreign colonial powers presented obstacles for traditional leadership. During this crucial period, their choices about supporting or opposing colonial authorities had a big impact on Nandi history.

According to data collected from KNA, the British collected taxes to facilitate the operations of the government. Taxation was also a political or administrative function, a means of forcing Africans to accept to provide labour in white settler farms. Since Kenya had become a British colony, all land belonged to the British government; Africans could not use land freely to generate revenue for paying the required taxes. As such, the only recourse available to them was to offer labour in settler farms as a means to raise revenue for paying taxes and subsistence. Thus, taxation helped to subsidize the

[19] KNA DC/NDI/I/I. *Annual Reports of 1905-1920.*

funding received from Britain. The DC and chiefs were required to try as much as possible to generate enough taxes to cater for the salaries of those under his administration in the district. The role of colonial chiefs was therefore to facilitate tax collection and enforce tax laws. This role pitted them as being antagonistic to the economic freedom of choices of the Nandi, on the one hand, and agents of economic base of colonialism, on the other. For this reason, colonial chiefs embodied the principal-agency dichotomy, having to navigate various conflicting agenda at the personal, community and colonial administration levels.

4.4 Labour Control Measures and the Role of Nandi Chiefs

To complicate the matter further, the Europeans went ahead to impose a stock quarantine to counter rinderpest in 1921 and 1923. Anderson notes that many Nandi cattle died due to the outbreak of the pandemic and this was among the reasons for the 1923 protest.[20] The colonial chiefs were also used to impose this quarantine. As a result, the Nandi were prevented from selling stock outside the Nandi reserve.[21] This decision led to the Nandi frustrations as they had no cash yet they had the obligation of paying taxes. Because of the fact that prior to the quarantine, grain shortages were met by selling stock, it became very unbearable for them. Restrictions on animal husbandry meant low economic gains for the Nandi amidst increasing taxation. At the same time, the Nothey circulars of 1920 and 1921 resulted into labour conscription increase, which also escalated their situation leading to bitterness against the colonial government.

[20] Anderson, D. M. (1993). Black mischief: crime, protest and resistance in colonial Kenya. *The Historical Journal*, *36*(4), 851-877.
[21] *Ibid*.

4.5 Colonial Land Policies

According to Van Zwannerberg,[22] the First World War period later saw the passing of many policies that disenfranchised the Nandi. For example, in 1913, the Land Act was passed. This act effectively granted Europeans long-term leases on fertile lands. This effectively monopolized agricultural resources. In 1919, Kipande was introduced in order to restrict movement of Africans and make them dependant on European farms. Furthermore, the Resident Native Laborers Ordinance of 1918 stripped squatters of their rights. In 1915, the Crown Lands Ordinance was instrumental in facilitating land dispossessions which effectively negated African land rights.

The Northey Circulars were issued by Sir. Edward Northey, the Governor of British East Africa from 1919-1922. These circulars were framed with the sole intention of instructing colonial officers in the reserves to encourage African laborers to work on European farms.[23] Having begun his work in 1919, Sir. Northey's focus as a gorvenor was post-war recovery. He went ahead to establish an ex-soldier's resettlement scheme. This scheme offered discounted land to the British soldiers. This led to an influx of British soldiers into the colony. At the end of 1919, there was a total of 4016 Europeans who later increased to 9,051 at the end of 2021[24]

In 1919, the Native Authority Ordinance saw the increase of the number of days per annum in the number of men engaged in wage labour who could be availed to engage in public works or private labor from 24 to 60. To complicate the labor issue to extent of creartinmg a controversy, Sir. Northey issues a circular to colonial officers urging

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[22] Van Zwannerberg, V. (1975). *Colonial Capitalism and Labor in Kenya, 1919-1939*. East African Publishing Company.
[23] Cunningham, T. (2023). *Kenya, C.1909-C1919. The 'Gospel of Work and the able-bodied men*. Native History Workshop, p. 95.
[24] *Ibid.*

them to encourage men, women and children to work for Europeans. This earned Sir. Northey a reprimand and he was re-deployed to Zanzibar.[25]

The inevitable outcome of the measures, as Maxon[26] explains was multifold. The colonial government ended up systematically alienating fertile lands, including Nandi which significantly shattered access to land by the Africans. Besides, the taxes that the Africans were subjected to imposed considerable pressures to them to provide labor to the Europeans. Above all, it led to African resistance against the measures as they were manifested in the Nandi resistance. As a consequence, the Nandi expressed their bitterness and frustrations towards the colonial chiefs who represented the interests of the colonial master. As such, as agents of the principal colonial masters, the colonial chiefs were already facing the dilemma of conflicting interests. The peak of land alienation in Nandi was after 1920. Three years later, in 1923, the project of land alienation, coupled with that of taxation, sparked what is now known as the Nandi Uprising.[27] The Nandi protested against the alienation of much of their fertile land, such as Kipkaren Valley, which had deprived them of grazing grounds. The study established those colonial chiefs played significant role in the implementation of land alienation and squatter system. According to Simon arap Kelewa,

> Colonial chiefs were hated mainly because of these two colonial projects. The situation was made worse by the fact that every resistance by the Nandi tended to invite the confiscation of more land. The Nandi attributed their defeat and severe punishments to the spying role of the chiefs. The chiefs informed the government of planned attacks and protests. They also forced the people to provide labour.

[25] Cunningham, T. (2023). *Kenya, C.1909-C1919: The 'Gospel of Work' and Able-bodied Men*. Native History Workshop, p. 95.
[26] Maxon, R. M. (1033). *Going their separate ways: Agrarian Transformation in Kenya, 1930-1950.* Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
[27] Ellis, D. (1976). The Nandi Protest of 1923 in the Context of African Resistance to Colonial Rule in Kenya. *The Journal of African History, 17*(4), 555-575. Doi: 10.1017/S0021853700015061.

Evidently, economically the colonial chiefs contributed greatly to forcing the Nandi to embrace a life of labour under the squatter system. The outcome of these developments was that there emerged antagonistic interplay between the Nandi and the colonial government. Political tensions, mainly instigated by harsh economic policies that were enforced through colonial chiefs, were thus rife in this period, which culminated in the 1923 Nandi uprising. Much of the anger from the Nandi community was directed at the colonial chiefs, the visible agents of the colonial system at the grassroots. Therefore, at the centre of these tensions were colonial chiefs. To complicate the matter, the colonial government seemingly and deliberately interfered with the *saget ab eito* ceremony, which was a community event held to mark the transfer of leadership from one generation to another. The colonial chiefs informed the government that the Nandi were going to have a major ceremony. Immediately, the colonial government saw the event as an opportunity for the Nandi to gather en masse and strategize to oppose the political and economic policies of the state.[28] Consequently, the ceremony was indefinitely cancelled and Orkoiyot Barserian Arap Mayei, alongside other elders, were arrested and deported to Meru.[29] This move underscored two key aspects of the principal agency problem. One, it is possible the colonial chiefs did not bother to explain the nature of the ceremony to the colonial administration to avoid the misinterpretation of the event as a political gathering. Second, and the more likely explanation, is the colonial government did not bother to heed the colonial chiefs' explanation on the nature of the ceremony. This means even the colonial government did not fully trust or depend on the colonial chiefs as of 1920s.

[28] Oboler, R. (1985). *Women, Power, and Economic Change.*
[29] *Ibid.*

Meanwhile, land alienation continued to be witnessed. Despite justifications from the colonial government, land in the Nandi reserve shrunk and this lessened the community's grazing lands. Land alienation was part of the larger political agenda of the colonial state to subdue the Nandi. Therefore, in enforcing land alienation, the colonial chiefs partly participated in the political subjugation of the Nandi. In 1920, the then Nandi District Commissioner, C.S Hemsted, attempted to justify the alienation of Nandi from the reserve by reporting that: "The alienated land from the reserve (Nandi), was not beneficially occupied or required by the Nandi".[30] In fact, the Kenya Land Commission (1920) claimed that the Nandi chiefs had given consent to the state to alienate land. This announcement attracted more wrath against the chiefs from the Nandi. The outcome of this was movement of the Nandi to other areas such as Uasin Gishu and Trans Nzoia, as well as the 1923 protests. It is therefore evident that in the first decade of their appointment, colonial chiefs did not enjoy much trust or freedom of agency from the colonial administration. The chiefs did not also do much to prevent grievous political and economic policies and actions, such as land alienation, meted out against the Nandi by the colonial government. Despite all this, the colonial chiefs continued to play many social, economic and political roles.

4.6 Changing Roles of the Colonial Chiefs

As revealed in the study, the colonial chiefs played roles that were intertwined socially, economically and politically. As agents, they were expected to discharge their jobs as outlined by their master, namely the colonial government. At the same time, the Nandi community equally expected the chiefs to serve the interests of the African natives. Therefore, the colonial chiefs often adopted social and political tactics to navigate their difficult roles. For instance, they used social events such as circumcision and marriage

[30] KNA/DC/NDI/1/2. *Annual Reports, 1901*. National Archives.

ceremonies, religious gatherings and barazas to relay both economic and political messages. In so doing, they did not incur the wrath of the colonial administration. The chiefs also began by placing greater emphasis on implementing those policies that received little resistance from the Nandi, such as promoting health. Before colonialism, for example, the Nandi did not have any conception of the germ theory of diseases. However, they were aware from experience that certain plants and animals were harmful. For instance, as indicated by Kiptum arap Temuge,

> … the Nandi forbade their people from eating animals that had died on their own. Diseases were thought of as products of breaking of taboos, disobeying god or witchcraft. Solutions for illnesses included divination, undoing of witchcraft spell and the use of traditional herbs and incantations. Therefore, the Nandi idea of doctors was the traditional medicine men and women and witch doctors.[31]

However, the British dismissed and outlawed most of these traditional practices soon after annexation of African territories. According to Chebii, Muthee and Kiemo, the practice of traditional medicine was not amenable with the type of governance system introduced by the British in Kenya. This explains why attempts to modernize traditional medicine in Kenya have never taken root.[32] This change in the social order of the Nandi regarding health and well-being was facilitated by colonial chiefs who enforced laws regarding foraging for medicinal herbs in forests. As such, the process of change was always politically operationalised, first by enacting laws and ordinances and then using colonial chiefs to implement and enforce those laws. The colonial chiefs instead sought to sensitize the Nandi on western forms of medicine, thus gradually eroding traditional beliefs and practices in medicine, which was part of the socio-economic agenda of the colonial regime. During the colonial period, respondent Temuge indicated that hospitals

[31] Oral interview with Kiptum arap Temuge on 7/4/2019 (90 years old).

[32] Chebii, W. K., Muthee, J. K., & Kiemo, K. (2020). The governance of traditional medicine and herbal remedies in the selected local markets of Western Kenya. *Journal of Ethnobiology Ethnomedicine, 16*(39). https://doi.org/10.1186/s13002-020-00389-x

were introduced to the Nandi with the help of colonial chiefs. The chiefs, with the help of the missionaries, also did much to educate their people on the causes and treatment of illnesses. They also encouraged the Nandi to seek medical treatment in the dispensaries and hospitals provided by the government and missionaries.[33] From these findings, it is evident that the Nandi colonial chiefs did much to transform the health practices of the Nandi people[34].

Commenting on the introduction of western medicine in Nandi in the mid-1920s, Samson Arap Kirwa averred: "It is not that the wazungu's cared for the well-being of the Africans. They wanted to make sure the Nandi did not spend time being sick, and instead be available to provide labour in settler farms."[35] Therefore, the introduction of western medicine was an economic agenda for the colonizers. Another respondent gave an account of the first hospitals constructed with the aid of colonial chiefs in Nandi:

> The persons in charge of health care in colonial Nandi were Mr. B.H. Brown (DC) and a health officer known as Mr. Douglas. The first hospital that served Africans was built at Kapsabet in 1946, the second dispensary at Keubi and the third at Kilibwoni, Chebisas (Aldai). Before these hospitals were constructed, the Nandi relied on traditional medicine, although in very few occasions the white settlers could invite doctors to treat the squatters in their lands when sick. But many health centres in missionary areas were mainly for the white people. Most of the hospitals were ran by the Christian missionaries. In fact, wherever there was a mission centre, a hospital was also present.[36]

In contrast to the above views, another respondent indicated that by 1939, thanks to the advocacy of some local chiefs, the government had established clinics and dispensaries in Kapsabet, Kaiboi and Kilibwoni.[37] Evidently, most of the clinics that catered to

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[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Chebii, W. K., Muthee, J. K., & Kiemo, K. (2020). The governance of traditional medicine and herbal remedies in the selected local markets of Western Kenya. *Journal of Ethnobiology Ethnomedicine, 16*(39). https://doi.org/10.1186/s13002-020-00389-x

[35] Oral interview with Samson Arap Kirwa on 04/04/2019 (94 years old).

[36] Oral interview with Samuel Biwott on 16/3/2019 (76 years old).

[37] Oral Interview with Stephen arap Maruson 23/3/2019 (64 years old).

Africans in Nandi were constructed between the periods of 1939 and 1947. However, Nandis who worked in settler farms often received treatment in facilities operated by the colonial officials. Indeed, it was also reported that, in 1947, the present-day Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital (MTRH) was established in Eldoret.[38] As reported, the Hospital was operated by whites only and it catered mainly to the white people. However, over the years, the chiefs also proposed the construction of local clinics and hospitals in different regions of the Nandi to cater to the natives.[39] Clearly, the Nandi colonial chiefs seemed to have embraced fully the practices of western medicine and sensitized their people on them. It was unclear if these chiefs knew or did not know if the introduction of western medicine was in the interest of promoting the economic interests of the colonialists. The above view on the role of colonial chiefs in health was confirmed by the following remarks from one of the respondents:

> Prior to 1949, when some clinics had been erected, especially by the missionaries for the locals, many children under the age of five died in the Nandi. Therefore, thanks to the efforts of colonial chiefs, together with the missionaries, the introduction of clinics and dispensaries helped to reduce infant mortality among the Nandi during the colonial period.[40]

The study found that the colonial chiefs encouraged the Nandi to seek medication in the established health facilities. However, as indicated by one respondent, most of the Nandi people were reluctant and often preferred to use herbal medicine men (chepkerichinik).[41] The laibons also reinforced this resistance since they derived social power and political influence from the practice of traditional medicine and divine incantations[42]. As such, the colonial chiefs, by promoting western forms of medicine and discouraging herbal medicine, stood in sharp opposition with the laibons. In some

[38] Oral Interview with Peter arap Koei on 21/3/2019 (86 years old).
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] Oral Interview with Daudi Kipkoech arap Maritim on 21/3/2019 (85 years old).
[41] Oral Interview with Samuel Biwott on 16/3/2019 (76 years old).
[42] KNA/DC/NDI/1/2. *Annual Reports, 1901-20.* National Archives.

cases, the chiefs used hospitals to demonstrate their political influence over the laibons. This was noted by one respondent: "Chiefs were always competing with laibons. Laibons lost their position when western medicine men came. Chiefs took advantage to drive laibons away."[43]

To promote hygiene, the colonial government also used the chiefs to compel the Nandi to dig pit latrines. The chiefs were also mandated with ensuring that the natives kept their environment clean. This, according to Biwott, "included [promoting or enforcing] maintenance of personal hygiene by regular washing of self and clothing, proper dress code and house and compound cleaning. Of course, this was part of the civilizing mission of the missionaries and the colonisers".[44] The study also found that colonial chiefs played a significant role in promoting the use and maintenance of hospitals and health centres. As indicated by one respondent, "The chiefs were tasked with ensuring the safety and utilization of the hospitals. They also played the role of forcing people to go to hospital. Also, they supervised vaccinations against such diseases as measles, cholera and malaria."[45] Therefore, it is clear that the colonial chiefs played a significant role in the transformation of health practices of the Nandi.

Animal health was also an economic and social agenda in colonial Nandi. As such, the study findings revealed that the Nandi colonial chiefs played a role in animal health. As explained by Marus, concerning animal health,

> …the chiefs also oversaw the vaccination against anthrax and other illnesses. Where animal and human quarantine was imposed, the chiefs enforced it. Outbreaks of new diseases were announced at chiefs' *barazas*. Those who defied quarantine orders were fined by confiscating their animals and were also taken to the local tribunal.[46]

[43] Oral interview with Augustine Arap Chereset on 28/03/2019 (97 years old).
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] Oral Interview with Stephen arap Marus on 23/3/2019 (64 years old).
[46] *Ibid.*

The study findings on the contribution of colonial chiefs to health care in Nandi affirmed those of Irungu.[47] In his study on the role of colonial chiefs in Kenya, Irungu posits that colonial chiefs mobilised the colonial regimes to construct health centres. The chiefs secured land for construction of such facilities. They also encouraged the locals to seek treatment and embrace immunization services. These facilities provided health services (such as treatments and immunization) as well as education on health care. According to Irungu, the increased use of health facilities enhanced the life span and living standards of Kenyans. This further saw the rapid rise in the country's population.

It was also observed from the findings that most of the hospitals in colonial Nandi were constructed during the period of World War II (1939-1945). This could be explained by the fact during this time there was an influx of settler farmers in the Kenyan colony owing to the need to increase resources needed by the British Empire to support the War. As such, to cater to the increasing number of settlers and subsequently African labourers in settler farms, the colonial government must have seen the need to provide functional hospitals to both the whites and Africans in Nandi land. These hospitals thus served both social and economic interests of the colonial regime. Therefore, the events surrounding the War were instrumental in shaping the social, political and economic roles of colonial chiefs in Kenya. The return of Africans who had been conscripted into war and the influx of settler farmers generally served to give greater agency to the colonial chiefs.

[47] Irungu, S. (2019). *The Role of Colonial Chiefs in Kenya: Their Impact on Kenya's Security Standards, Educational System and Agricultural Sector.* Mount Kenya University.

4.6.1 Chiefs and the coming of Formal Education in Colonial Nandi

From the study findings, it was deduced that the history of education in Nandi follows the movement of Christian missionaries from their entry point in Mombasa, Kenya, to the point when they landed in present-day Nandi land. According to Maiyo, the first phase of this inward spread took off from the Coast, to Nairobi, Meru, Kikuyu and then Mijikenda. Another phase spread from Kamba land to Maasai, Kispigis, Kisii/Kuria, Luo, Luyia, Mt. Elgon, Tambach, Iten, Eldoret and Kapsabet.[48] Maiyo notes that formal education in Kenya dates back to 1888 when the Imperial British East African Company was permitted to explore the British spheres of influence.[49] In 1895, Kenya was declared the British protectorate. From the onset, formal education was seen as a means to realize the aims of colonization in Kenya, which were largely economic. Prior to colonization, the missionaries spearheaded the introduction and spread of formal education across Africa. Moreover, to the missionaries, the aims of education was to help entrench Christianity among the native Africans. However, with the establishment of colonialism, education was championed through colonial administrative structures, which included the chiefs and assistant chiefs at the grassroots.[50] The main aim of this education agenda was to equip Africans with functional knowledge and skills to work in the colonial systems, including administration and labour frontiers.

As shown in this study, majority of the first people to embrace western education in Nandi were the colonial chiefs and their families. This move served to entrench their leadership heritage within the Nandi culture for a long time. One can therefore argue that by embracing colonial/western formal education – and by extension embracing

[48] Maiyo, J. K. (2019). *Local Native Councils and the Development of Western Education among the Nandi of Kenya, 1923-1963* (B.Ed. Project). Mount Kenya University.
[49] *Ibid*.
[50] *Ibid.*

Christianity – colonial chiefs managed to strengthen their agency. They situated themselves in a position where they could be trusted more by the British. With time, they also established themselves as custodians of the political and economic interests of Africans. As the findings further revealed, this greater agency gave them power to renegotiate and reinvent their roles within the colonial administrative system.

From the study findings, it was reported that the first schools in Nandi were constructed in Kapsabet around 1926.[51] Education among the Nandi during the colonial period was spearheaded by missions, specifically African Inland Missions (AIM) and the Catholic Church Missionary Society (CMS). This finding reiterates what Maiyo has posited, that the missionaries "were the most essential actors in the establishment of mission education in Nandi country".[52] This observation has also been made by Ronoh concerning the history of education among the Kispigis. According to Ronoh, during the colonial period, the missionaries played key roles in the establishment, administration, and staffing and curriculum development.[53] Ronoh also traces the development of girls' education to the work of missionaries. These missionaries received protection from the colonial government. For example, AIM introduced education around Namgoi (present-day Chebisas) while in present-day Chepterit, Father Godwin, a German, worked hard to establish formal education from 1939-1950. These schools were based mainly on religious teachings. As such, as indicated by one respondent, "every mission had their own trained teachers".[54] Another respondent also indicated that a Catholic priest by the name of Father Joseph Khun from Germany,

[51] Oral Interview with Stephen arap Marus on 23/3/2019 (64 years old).
[52] *Ibid.*
[53] Ronoh, T. K. (2000). *A history of colonial education among the Kipsigis of Kenya, circa 1895-1963.* Humanities and Social Sciences. Ffdumas-01277225. https://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/dumas-01277225/document
[54] Oral Interview with Samuel Biwott on 16/3/2019 (76 years old).

together with Antony Voughan from Poland, started Chepterit Primary School in 1939.[55] According to Marus, the Catholics also established Chepteni School in 1936. Other schools started by the AIM in Nandi during the colonial period were Namgoi, Kosirai and Mutwot.[56] In all these initiatives, the roles of colonial chiefs included to facilitate the acquisition of land for establishment of schools, to encourage the Nandi to enrol in the schools and to work with the *kanga* (African colonial police) to secure the learning institutions, teachers and learners[57].

The study further established that the Nandi initially completely resisted entry into formal schools for their children. As reported by one respondent:

> Most children who went to school were not the aborigines of Nandi. Those Nandi who were exposed or enlightened joined school. However, the children from the Nandi mostly declined to go to school. Worse still, girls were not allowed to go to school. Nevertheless, despite all these restrictions, a few girls managed to attend schools.[58]

It was also found that the resistance to formal education was most severe among the Talai clan. This resistance led to the closing down of Kapsisiywa, Kabiyet and Kaiboi Schools due to non-enrolment. These findings were reported in the minutes of a *Baraza* held on February 9th, 1938:

> At Kapsisiywa, the attendance at the out school had fallen off and the PC warned the people that the Talai clan would never progress or keep up with their neighbours without education. At Kabiyet, the Kaiboi School was still closed and the people could not expect their children to progress or ever to obtain responsible work without education. The Kaiboi School will be re-opened if the people prove they really want it and will support it.[59]

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[55] Oral Interview with Stephen arap Marus on 23/3/2019 (64 years old).
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] Irungu, S. (2019). *The Role of Colonial Chiefs in Kenya: Their Impact on Kenya's Security Standards, Educational System and Agricultural Sector.* Mount Kenya University.
[58] Oral Interview with Pius Kiparus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019 (76 years old).
[59] KNA PC/RVP/9/1. *Record of Barazas held by the Hon. Provincial Commissioner, Rift Valley Province at Koyo and Serem on the 9th February, 1938 and at Kapsesiewa and Kapiet* on the 10/2/1938, pp. 1,2,3,4.

The resistance to formal education among the Talai was fuelled by the harsh treatment of the clan by the colonialists. The Talai clan was the main source of the Nandi community leaders.

Around 1940s, Kapkiyai recounted that other schools initiated in Nandi were Kimaren, sponsored by Catholics situated in Kobujoi and belonged to Kapchepkendi. Maraba School under District Education Board (DEB) was opened up to all religions. The school was situated in Kaptumek in location 19, under Kapsile clan (Pororiet). Kaptumek School was situated in a region resided by the Kapsile clan. It had been initiated within the boundary of Kepchepkendi and Kaboch clans. It was sponsored by the Catholics. Another school was Chepkebuke in location 16, which belonged to Kaptumois and had been sponsored by African Inland Mission (AIM). According to Kapkiyai, the chiefs were quite active in the founding of these schools.[60] This could explain why most of the schools were established based on the locations headed by the colonial chiefs. To date some of the schools are named after the colonial chiefs who ruled at the time of their founding.

The study also found that religious affiliation and race played key roles in the establishment and enrolment of learners in schools in Nandi. For instance, as Biwott observed, DEB and government schools never affiliated themselves with any specific religion, e.g. Kabiyet, Kaiboi and Kilibwoni. However, Government African Schools (GAS) were later established, which segregated learners based on race.[61] Therefore, there were already dynamics of secular versus religious influences of formal education in Nandi at the time.

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[60] *Ibid.*
[61] Oral Interview with Samuel Biwott on 16/3/2019 (76 years old).

Clearly, the extent and the quality of education in Nandi was dependent to a considerable degree on the willingness or unwillingness of the colonial chiefs, elders and local people of influence to cooperate with educators be they government officials or missionaries. Many chiefs clung to their own patterns of education for their children, which they held to be distinct from and opposed to the new forms of western education offered to them. Others eagerly embraced the new type and after their own conversion to Christianity vigorously promoted the growth of exclusive schools for the sons of chiefs along with the missionaries. These first crop of Nandi students would later constitute the political elite in the community.

The above findings concurred with those of Irungu who examined the role of colonial chiefs in Kenya.[62] In his study, Irungu found that colonial chiefs facilitated the construction of schools for Africans and sensitized locals to enrol in those schools. Some of the chiefs, according to Irungu, even donated lands for construction of schools. These schools helped many Kenyans to acquire skills that helped them to find work and hence transform their societies with their earnings. It was these schools that helped to cultivate the Kenyan minds who would take over the reins of government after independence. It is also important to note that the Nandi who embraced formal education became more effective labourers and administrators, hence agents, of the colonial agenda.

Ngeno, Barasa and Chang'ach argue that colonial education policies were characterised by conflicting interests.[63] On the one hand, the missionaries wanted Africans to learn basic reading and writing skills to enable them to read the Bible and propagate

[62] Irungu, S. (2019). *The Role of Colonial Chiefs in Kenya: Their Impact on Kenya's Security Standards, Educational System and Agricultural Sector*. Mount Kenya University.
[63] Ngeno, K. R., Barasa, S. O., & Chang'ach, J. (2020). Political Ramification on Educational Policy in Colonial Kenya. *International Journal of Research in Education Methodology, 11*, 77-84.

Chriatianity. The colonialists' agenda, in contrast, was to ensure Africans could be relied on to interpret and implement colonial policies in their lands. On their part, some Africans rejected colonial education merely on the grounds of its being part of the imposed idea from the British. Other more enlightened Africans, especially those who had faught in the World War I, knew that formal education was not designed to enhance the life of the African but to make the natives easier to subjugate. Nevertheless, overall, the British sought to inculcate western morals and technical competences in Africans and thus make Africans more reliable workers in the settler farms and colonial industries. This complicated the lives and work of colonial chiefs who were the frontline champions of western education at the grassroots. On the one hand, these chiefs had to encourage Africans to enrol in schools while, on the other hand, some of them had to dissuade Africans from abandoning their cultures and embracing the Whiteman's ways.

Furley has also found that, in Kenya, colonial headmen and chiefs were not so keen to foster missionary education but preferred to press colonial Government to expand purely secular forms of education.[64] This was a resistance of Christianity and its cultural influences. The response varied but quite frequently the expansion of schools and the establishment of more senior schools was the result of much prodding and petitioning by council of elders. Conversely, areas where chiefs were hostile to education remained without schools for an astonishingly long time.[65] Therefore, the establishment of schools, and other development projects, was also used as a political strategy to enlist the cooperation of the natives. Nevertheless, as observed in the current study, many of

[64] Furley, O. (1963). Education and the Chiefs in East Africa in the Inter War Period. In *University of East Africa Social Sciences Council Conference-History Papers* (pp. 66-83). Makerere Institute of Social Research.
[65] *Ibid.*

the Nandi colonial chiefs were not resistant to education, which explains the pervasive presence of schools established in the colonial period in the Nandi land.

The promotion of education is also cited in the reviewed literature as one positive contribution of colonial chiefs to the socio-economic transformation of African natives. For instance, Furley has shown the positive role of chiefs and other elders in mainland Tanzania who, in the inter-war period, led the Local Native Authorities there to build their own elementary schools from their own treasuries.[66] For Uganda, it was the kings and chiefs who opposed the introduction of technical education, and demanded, accelerated and perpetuated the growth of academic education in the protectorate. In particular, Furley demonstrates that the history of such prominent missionary and secular schools as Kisubi, Namilyango, Mengo, Budo, Hoima and Busoga between 1900 and 1940 is inextricably linked with the efforts of the Kabaka of Buganda, the Mukamas of Toro and Bunyoro and the Kyabazingas of Busoga. Similarly, Bogonko affirms that colonial chiefs helped to build schools, dams and wells and construct roads, all of which helped to transform their communities socially and economically.[67]

In the Western Kenya, Luo Chiefs were equally some of the key sponsors of the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA) on December 23, 1921, which campaigned for a degree of higher education and for a government school or schools. YKA was under the patronage and chairmanship of such chiefs as Daniel Odindo and Ogada Odera between 1921 and 1923 when more meetings were held.[68] At those gatherings the chiefs did not leave the government in any doubt as regarded the need for the redress of African grievances against colonialism. Above all, they stressed the need for a government

[66] *Ibid*.
[67] Bogonko, S. A. (1985). Colonial Chiefs and the Making of Class.

school for Central Nyanza.[69] Associations such as YKA were thus political in their outlook and championed for better social and economic interests of the Africans. The Nandi uprising of 1923 may be seen in the same light; it was a reaction to political, economic and social sanctions meted out by the colonial government. Therefore, it is evident that in the inter-war period, colonial chiefs were increasingly driven to supporting the political, social and economic interests of their local communities.

4.6.2 Nandi Chiefs and Changing Cultural Norms

As mentioned in Chapter Two, during the colonial period, the Nandi still practised their traditional ceremonies, such as circumcision. The white settlers and the Christian missionaries despised most of these ceremonies. However, as indicated by Marus, the chiefs mostly understood the value of such ceremonies.[70] They were occasions where the elders and leaders transmitted and reinforced the moral codes and cultural norms of the community. Colonial chiefs thus utilised these ceremonies to communicate important messages from the government as well as to gather the views of the people on some government policies. Therefore, the government attempts to eradicate or modify such ceremonies became a point of contention between the Nandi colonial chiefs and the colonial system. According to one respondent, prior to colonialism, the circumcision period among the Nandi lasted for almost three months:

> The long ceremony involved many activities, much of which covered training on basic skills such as blacksmithing, raiding and pottery. However, the colonialists began to limit the duration of such ceremonies to reduce the length of time the Nandi could gather at any given time. Besides, the British regarded such ceremonies as distractive to the work that the Nandi were expected to undertake in white settler farms and other economic sectors that were of importance to the colonial state.[71]

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[69] *Ibid.*
[70] Oral Interview with Stephen arap Marus on 23/3/2019 (64 years old).
[71] Oral Interview with Daudi Kipkoech arap Maritim on 21/3/2019 (85 years old).

The above views show the growing influence of colonialism on the Nandi socio-cultural events. According to Marus, during colonialism,

> …circumcision ceremonies were only conducted after seeking a permit from the authorities. The chiefs facilitated such applications. The permit (barwetab chemuriet) and law was dispensed by the chief. Local brews (busaa) were used during the circumcision ceremony and only meant for old men and women. Chiefs could however intervene when liquor was served to children. Through the chiefs, the government also controlled the amounts of *busaa* people could consume during circumcision ceremonies.[72]

The above remarks underscore the role played by colonial chiefs in restructuring the features of the circumcision ceremonies of the Nandi. The colonial entry into Nandi land had some significant impact on the circumcision ceremonies. The colonial administration, having experienced the Nandi warrior mentality during the long resistance, was cautious to allow lengthy gatherings. These gatherings were seen as meetings where Nandi warriors could potentially incite other Nandi people to rebel against the government. To the colonisers, these events were not just social in nature; they were also political. Therefore, during the colonial period, the Nandi circumcision ceremonies lasted a shorter time than previously.

The above changes to the circumcision ceremonies invited a backlash among sections of the Nandi community during the colonial period. This is attested to by a respondent in respect to the events that occurred in one circumcision ceremony:

> Arap Marigei from Nandi, who was the head of circumcision, once confronted Arap Muron from Keiyo, who was the overseer, concerning the changing state of circumcision. Marigei protested the short duration allowed for the ceremonies. He also noted that some features of the ceremony had been stripped away by the orders of colonial chiefs who considered certain procedures as unchristian or uncivilised. Nevertheless, having noted the changes in the ceremonies, backed by the colonial chief, the overseer ushered in the candidates and he approved the circumcision to proceed.[73]

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[72] Oral Interview with Stephen arap Marus on 23/3/2019 (64 years old).
[73] Oral Interview with Some arap Kogo on 22/3/2019 (81 years old).

This was an indicator of some degree of acquiescence with the changing trends in the structure of important ceremonies brought about by the colonial incursion into the Nandi society. This acquiescence was spearheaded by the colonial chiefs. Evidently, when colonial powers landed in the Nandi, much of the procedures involved in circumcision ceremonies were disrupted. There are two possible explanations for these changes. First, the new initiates had to be recruited fast to become warriors to fight in the resistance of the British. Therefore, the elders did not also have time to study the atmosphere or the stars to determine the appropriate time for circumcision. Second, after annexation of Nandi, the white settlers considered the time spent by natives on ceremonies as a waste. They instead wanted the Nandi to spend more time in labour at the farms or industries for economic reasons. Therefore, once again, the colonial chiefs as agents faced the dilemma of enforcing difficult changes to an important cultural ceremony of the Nandi.

The above views were confirmed by the remarks made by Ruto in an interview. According to this respondent, at the advent of colonialism, most of the circumcised youths joined labour in local settler farms and colonial industries. Some were co-opted into the colonial police regimen. These new kinds of transitions also meant that most of them did not marry soon after circumcision. These changes were also reinforced by the Christian missionaries who abhorred not only traditional circumcision ceremonies (specifically female circumcision) but also the early marriage of girls.[74] As such, colonial chiefs as agents of the British facilitated the erosion of cultural norms and practices among the Nandi.

[74] Oral Interview with Malakwen arap Ruto on 15/04/2019 (87 years old).

Another key social event affected through the agency of colonial chiefs was that of wrestling. In Nandi, wrestling was organized and undertaken by middle-aged people. For the younger men, wrestling was a means to show off before the girls who were their potential spouses. Wrestling also helped the community to identify and train the best warriors who at times became leaders of various ranks in the pre-colonial Nandi political structure. However, as one respondent indicated, colonial chiefs hardly permitted wrestling events:

> During the circumcision of girls, the clan warriors fought to show their skills and where such fighting went beyond reproach the chiefs intervened. The men also stepped on fire (kelong) to impress their girls. The white settlers did not intervene in all the exercises carried out. However, the chief also warned of any subsequent conflicts following such wrestling or competition events.[75]

The study further established that, in Nandi, there were special ceremonies for burial of those who committed suicide. As indicated by Chirchir, if a person decided to take his/her life (Kamarikit met), families affected came together and performed some rituals to eliminate attendant curses. In the colonial period, the chief was informed before undertaking such rituals. Similarly, in other funerals the chief also had to be informed to justify why people were gathering. The Nandi were not expected to seek permits for funerals. However, the colonial regime expected the chiefs to make accurate documentations to explain such gatherings.[76] This shows that, to some extent, the colonial system trusted that the chiefs would provide accurate information on such gatherings. It is nonetheless noteworthy that the task of issuing permits was among the most menial jobs that the colonial chiefs were entrusted by the government.

According to Temuge, the ceremony undertaken where someone had committed suicide was very elaborate:

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[75] Oral Interview with Pius Kiptarus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019 (76 years old).
[76] Oral Interview with Arap Surtan Chirchir on 4/4/2019 (72 years old).

> The chief summoned the people to address the problem; the family was interrogated to provide some circumstances leading to the death of the victim. If the victim who hanged himself was established to have died due to certain reason, a close relative was called upon to climb the tree where the victim's body was. He was commanded to pick a small stick and told to beat the dead. He proclaimed to the body that nobody was responsible for the death. The body was then released to the ground. A goat was then slaughtered; the community dug out the tree on which the victim had hanged himself. Cow dung was thrown onto the ground where the tree had fallen. In the meantime, the elders roasted meat. The body was disposed of in the bush. A specialist prepared some special herbs to wash the hands of the family and community members. This symbolised the cleansing away of blame for the death of the one who had committed suicide. Throughout this process, the chief co-operated with people. He also helped the colonial authorities to understand why the Nandi needed to take time to undertake such elaborate ceremonies.[77]

Therefore, as far as social ceremonies were concerned, colonial chiefs acted (or were expected by the Nandi to act) as interpreters of the Nandi cultural practices to the British. Yet, the study findings show that many key events and ceremonies were impaired by the introduction of colonial chiefs in Nandi. To a large extent, one can argue that colonial chiefs lacked the freedom and power to act against the harsh and corrosive socio-economic and political policies of the colonial administration. Yet, these chiefs were on the receiving end of the backlash emanating from the frustrated and oppressed Nandi people. As such, it might be safe to say that colonial chiefs could only serve their own personal interests whenever they could not reconcile the conflicting interests of both the principal colonial masters and those of the Nandi people.

Marriage was also an important social event in the Nandi during the colonial period. As indicated in Chapter Two, among the Nandi in the pre-colonial period, circumcision was a precursor to marriage for both boys and girls. Therefore, traditionally, girls were married off immediately after circumcision. Dowry was paid after circumcision.

[77] Oral Interview with Kiptum Arap Temuge on 7/4/2019 (90 years old).

Therefore, circumcision for women also signified readiness for marriage. Dowry was mentioned in form of cattle, sheep and goats. During pre-weddings (koito), animals to be given out were mentioned. Marriage ceremonies were organized traditionally.[78] However, as this study established, many of the features of the Nandi marriage were affected by the advent of colonialism. In the colonial period, the chief became a central figure in the marriage ceremonies of the Nandi. Kurgat enumerated the roles of colonial chiefs in marriage ceremonies as follows:

> First, he had to be consulted to provide permits for all gatherings leading up to and after marriage ceremonies. For this reason, the colonial chiefs advised the elders to undertake the ceremonies well. However, some of the missionaries intensified their protest against such ceremonies as circumcision and early marriage of young women. Therefore, the chiefs had to find a balance between the views of missionaries and those of the Nandi on circumcision and early marriages of boys and girls. Some missionaries even argued that dowry payment was wrong since it amounted to sale of girls. The colonial chiefs who had embraced Christianity communicated and enforced these protests among the Nandi.[79]

According to respondent Kurgat, other challenges also made it difficult for the Nandi marriage ceremonies. "Some of the men who were supposed to marry after circumcision were either taken to fight in wars, recruited into the kanga or lost in labour." The chiefs facilitated all these changes since they identified the suitable men for these functions. Consequently, some of the men took too long to marry. This means that geopolitics of WWI impaired with the Nandi cultural rite of marriage. Besides, it was increasingly becoming difficult to pay dowry because the British had limited the number of livestock that the Nandi could keep under the rules of the Squatter System. As such, economic dynamics also played a role in transforming the Nandi marriage rite in the colonial period. The fact that some girls had chosen to become Christians and were unwilling to be circumcised also made it difficult for the young men to find a

[78] Oral Interview with Pius Kiptarus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019 (76 years old).
[79] Oral Interview with Mariko Kurgat on 20/3/2019 (88 years old).

suitable bride. Besides, the British, especially the white settlers, did not respect the marriage ceremonies of the Nandi. They saw all the procedures involved as being demeaning to women. They also protested that the Nandi spent too much time in ceremonies instead of providing labour in the farms.[80] All these restrictions and changes were effected courtesy of the colonial chiefs and the kanga, meaning that colonial chiefs contributed to the erosion of the marriage traditions and practices of the Nandi.

The study further established that the Nandi colonial chiefs also played some roles in regard to wife inheritance. In pre-colonial Nandi whenever a husband died (toloita), the eldest brother of the deceased inherited the wife and children. The colonial authorities, through the colonial chiefs, outlawed this practice under the influence of Christianity. Other changes that were introduced by the Christian missionaries and were reinforced during the colonial period included marriage from other tribes and Christian weddings. Due to increased inter-ethnic interaction, the Nandi ended up intermarrying with other ethnic communities.[81]

4.6.3 Colonial Chiefs and Socio-Cultural Politics of Dress Code and Gender Roles

According to Stitcher, the Nandi dressing styles were a function of their culture and social events.[82] However, the study found that new forces came into play to alter the dressing code of the Nandi during the colonial period. These alterations had implications on the Nandi culture. As indicated by one respondent,

> When the colonialists came, they began to enforce what they would call 'decent' and 'civilised' forms of dress codes. The traditional Nandi dresses began to be secondary as new types of clothes were enforced. Those who worked in white settler farms or industries were expected to wear clothes that matched their work. Similarly, the police officers were expected to wear khakis while the chiefs were required

[80] *Ibid.*
[81] Oral Interview with Some arap Kogo on 22/3/2019 (81 years old).
[82] Stitcher, S. (2000). Gender and development in Kenya: The role of women in socio-economic change. *Journal of African Studies, 1*(4).

> to don formal attire befitting of their leadership roles. The girls, ladies or women began to wear skirt (*marindet*). On their heads, they put on *kitambaa* and weaved their hair. Old men began to put on shorts and long trousers. Boys likewise put on shorts/shirts, vests and trousers. Footwear was also improved as most people began to put on socks and shoes. However, the older dressing styles were not discarded. Chiefs and other top leaders would still wear the traditional skins, especially when they were with their people. They put on these traditional skins on top of their colonial attire.[83]

The new types of dressing were determined by the western notions of decency and also the functions that Africans were required to undertake. For instance, the tribal soldiers were required to wear uniforms while farm workers were to wear protective clothing. Uniforms thus became a means of identification with one's profession, such as nursing, farming, teaching and religious life. The above findings underscore the changing trends of dressing precipitated by colonialism. Moreover, the findings show that traditional wear, especially for colonial chiefs, became a means for identifying with and validating themselves before the natives. Therefore, they dressed in European style to please the colonisers and dressed in traditional regalia to impress their Nandi natives. According to Berman and Lonsdale, dressing code thus became an instrument for achieving political convenience or relevance.[84] The study found that colonialists were not impressed with the traditional dressing styles of the Nandi, which they considered uncivilized or primitive. According Kapkiyai, during this time, the *leso* and a blanket were worn during the *baraza*. The chief announced the incoming of western costumes.

Dressing styles also began to reflect the varying economic capabilities of groups or clans and individuals. As such, dress code became a means of perpetuating western forms of social and economic classes among the Nandi. It was a form of socio-economic stratification reflected in the ability to afford certain attires. Those who embraced the

[83] Oral Interview with Malakwen Arap Ruto on 15/04/2019 (87 years old).
[84] Berman, B. J., & Lonsdale, J. (1992). The politics of control: The Nandi and the British in Kenya. In Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa (pp.222). London: James Currey.

leso and a shorts were considered reasonably well-off. However, the well-to-do wore raincoats.[85] According to Pius Kipsanga Arap Sabul, "the Nyongi age-set put on a sheet wrapped around the body worth one shilling. The elderly wore blankets worth two shillings. The chief summoned a *baraza* to persuade the Nandi to buy sheets. Arap Sisiwa was the pioneer seller of such sheets."[86]

The above findings concur with those of Hensen who avers that the cultural norms that shaped the British colonial encounters were grounded in Christian ideals of morality or decency.[87] For this reason, the missionaries who saw African dresses despised them immediately. They embarked on the mission of properly clothing or dressing the natives. The colonial chiefs were used to enforce these notions of morality and decency. The colonial chiefs became the avenues for enforcing and modelling these new so-called decent dress codes. The colonisers insisted that Africans should dress decently and in line with their status and work. Similarly, Ochieng' avers that economic classes that were witnessed at the dawn of independence in Kenya were part of the colonial legacy.[88]

Similarly, Aris argues that dress code in Africa often carries certain political and historical connotations that are rooted in the missionary and colonial times.[89] According to Aris, dress code, in the colonial and post-colonial times, represents one's social status, power dynamics and is a means for articulating certain political or ideological orientations. By enforcing a specific dress code on Africans, the colonialists sought to

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[85] Oral Interview with Pius Kiparus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019 (76 years old).
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] Hensen, K. T. (2017). *Colonialism and Imperialism.* Retrieved from https://fashion-history.lovetoknow.com/fashion-history-eras/colonialism-imperialism
[88] Ochieng', W. R. (1989). *A Modern history of Kenya, 1895-1980: In honour of B.A. Ogot*. Nairobi: Evans Brothers.
[89] Aris, G. (2007). *The Power and Politics of Dress in Africa. Undergraduate Humanities Forum 2006-7: Travel*. Retrieved from http://repository.upenn.edu/uhf_2007/1

impose their power and identity on the natives. They also served to erode the value placed in traditional attire to that of mere identification with the natives. This was perhaps the birth of the culture of convenience.

In agreement with the above views, Mwesigire avers that part of the British imperial ideology was to label the whole ways of life of the Africans as uncivilised.[90] In this way, clothing or dressing became a platform for waging ideological warfare between Africans and the colonisers. Slowly but surely, Africans were made to feel that their clothes were inferior, so were they before their colonial masters. Some who accepted the colonizers' clothes were rewarded by being appointed chiefs or headmen. The white people's clothes became the defining feature of sophistication, power and elitism. This explains why the younger generation of the Nandi, and many other groups in Africa, are clueless about the fashion choices and dress functions of their progenitors who transitioned through the colonial period.

Colonial chiefs also took part in shaping the politics of gender relations and roles in Nandi. The study found that during the colonial period, the Nandi women worked in the settler farms with their husbands.[91] This was in contrast to their role in pre-colonial Nandi, which was restricted mainly to the home. However, they also had to ensure their families were fed. They could do some odd jobs like preparing the land, but they never influenced most of the farming issues. They were, for instance, not allowed to hold or translate gossips (rotek) that men spoke about the white settlers. If they declined to listen they were thoroughly beaten. Women were also required to adorn themselves by putting on some special necklace (Taet), and if they declined they were harshly beaten.

[90] Mwesigire, B. (2015). Decolonising dress and fashion: African wear in Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda. *This Is Africa.* Retrieved from https://thisisafrica.me/lifestyle/decolonising-dress-fashion-african-wear-ghana-nigeria-kenya-uganda/

[91] *Ibid.*

Women were also not allowed to attend meetings; however, they were only allowed in case they had witnessed an issue, in which case a woman could only speak while seated.

Asked to explain the roles of colonial chiefs in defining the new place of women in Nandi society during the colonial period, Temuge had this to say:

> Chiefs were the new leaders that helped resolve conflicts including those at home. So, some women could report their husband's beating to the chief and the chief called them to a meeting. Also, women who misbehaved, like disrespecting traditions, or the husband or even using witchcraft, were punished by the chief after investigation. Some of the chiefs also urged men to give resources like cows or land to women, especially widows and single mothers with families to support.

The study also found that colonial chiefs intervened in extreme cases of domestic violence. This was attested to in a DC report from KNA as follows:

> Only two cases of homicide occurred during the year as compared with six in 1949 both these cases were reduced to manslaughter by the Supreme Court. One was acquitted and the other convicted. In addition one murder case which occurred in 1949 was cleared up and the accused a Nandi woman had killed her husband while he was asleep, by chopping his head off gave herself up after spending a time of exile in Uganda. She was sentenced to life imprisonment.[92]

The above findings on the roles of women were in support of the view by von Bulow that the Nandi women played roles that were important for the continuity of family and community. Moreover, the findings were in support of those of Tanui, that Nandi women had less power than their men.[93] As indicated by Temuge above, Nandi women relied on men and the chiefs for resources and social support. As such, they could not control much of the agricultural resources. This shows that Nandi women did not benefit much in form of rights to property during the colonial period.

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[92] KNA DC/NDI/1711. *Annual Report, Nandi District, 1952*, pp. 1-7, 10-11, 16, 35 pp.1-7, 10-11, 16, 35.

[93]Tanui, P. J. (2015). A Gender Analysis of the Influence of Colonial Policies on Access to Land and Agricultural Technology among the Nandi in Kenya, 1895-1954. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 5*(9), 217-219.

Among the Nandi, there was never a female colonial chief. It is interesting that the colonial regime, along with their Christian missionary counterparts, despite its ambitious agenda of spreading western civilization, tended to support or entrench patriarchy where it suited their agenda and as a means of propagating its political and economic power against Africans. One therefore sees a parallel between the oppressive natures of the colonial regime on Africans with that of the subjugation of women by the patriarchal African male.

4.6.4 Colonial Chiefs and Inter-Ethnic Politics

In the pre-colonial period, cordial relations existed between the Nandi, Luo and Luhya. The members of these communities used to take local brews together. However, intermarriage did not exist with Luo because the latter were not circumcised. Nevertheless, there were occasional tensions and flares of ethnic conflicts between the Nandi and its neighbours. According to one respondent, however, the advent of colonialism heightened tensions between the Nandi and its neighbouring ethnic groups:

> First, the Nandi resisted the British for long. So, they began to distrust all those communities that had been subdued or had collaborated with the colonisers. The resistance also gave the Nandi some level of superiority complex, which made them think they are better than other tribes. To some extent, the British also isolated the Nandi from other tribes in order to deny them [Nandi] support from the other ethnic groups. This was part of the project of indirect rule.[94]

The study found that the effect of isolation of the Nandi from the other tribes was slow socio-economic and political development. This was affirmed by the concerns raised by the Provincial Commissioner in a Baraza held at Kapsabet in June 25th, 1938:

> Neighbouring tribes were getting far ahead of the Nandi in their general development and if Government was constantly occupied in question of keeping law and order it could be unable to give sufficient assistance towards the further progress and prosperity in the Nandi.[95]

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[94] Oral interview with Pius Kiptarus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019 (76 years old).
[95] KNA PC/RVP/9/1. Minutes of a Baraza Held at Kapsabet on June 25th, 1938.

These concerns show that the British were more interested in securing law and order in Nandi than in promoting other social, economic and political agenda in favour of the local communities.

After annexation of the Nandi, however, the main role of the colonial chief was to advocate for peaceful coexistence between the Nandi and its neighbours. Therefore, the chiefs appointed some locals to take care of the environment and Nandi boundaries. Those appointed to guard the boundary reported any incidents to the chief. As indicated by Kipsaina Kisoryo:

> In case of murder of a neighbour either from Luo or Luhya, the chief summoned a meeting (baraza). The Nandi also bribed members of these neighbouring communities to betray their own people, especially during cattle rustling. The betrayer from Luo or Luhya was rewarded with one of the stolen cows. Some of the chiefs who supported the community helped in the process of bribery because they were allowed to move around better than others. The free movement of the chiefs also helped them to act as emissaries who could be send by the community to negotiate for peace with neighbouring ethnic groups.[96]

The study found that the decisions of the colonial chief concerning all disputes were final. In fact, the Nandi expected the chiefs to be assertive, just like their traditional leaders. According to Kisoryo, the Nandi despised timidity in leaders. Therefore, colonial chiefs from the Nandi understood that they were to show authoritarianism. They were expected by both the Nandi and the colonial regime to make decisions fast, maintain social order and command respect. For this reason, the Nandi chiefs were not praised more for being kind or respectful to their people than for being decisive, brave and able to pull crowds in any given direction.[97] Some of the chiefs were in fact hated for being too harsh on the people. This reiterates the earlier observation that the Nandi expected their leaders to act in their best interests. The lynching of Kimyole, as pointed

[96] Oral Interview with Kipsaina Kisoryo on 12/03/2022 (94 years old).
[97] *Ibid.*

out in Chapter Two, symbolised a vote of no confidence on a leadership deemed to have failed the community.

The general disdain for colonial chiefs may be explained by the tendency among the Nandi to despise the elderly and less authoritarian leaders and prefer younger and more aggressive leaders. This was compounded by the fact that many of the colonial chiefs were elderly members of the Nandi community. This observation was made in an archived DC report thus:

> The influential element amongst these people is not the elder generation as with other tribes, but the younger warriors, the guardians of the safety of the tribe in the good old days when raiding was the sole aim and object of a man's existence. Old men, instead of being looked for wisdom and advice, are practically speaking, ignored, if not actually despised as being relics of an age which may have served its time but which is now most certainly out of date. Their influence, in consequence with the younger generation, is small and their value as agents for the dissemination of government wishes or instructions negligent.[98]

Therefore, age was a critical factor in determining the effectiveness of a colonial chief as an agent representing the best interests of either the colonial administration or the Nandi community.

The respondents reported that land appropriation and displacement was the key genesis of tribal conflicts in the colonial Kenya. This finding affirmed those of Masakhalia[99] who notes that prior to colonialism there was little contact between major ethnic blocs in Kenya. By blocs Masakhalia refers to tribes from the west (Luo, Luhya, Kalenjin and Kisii) and the so-called GEMA tribes (Kikuyu, Embu and Meru). These are the groups that have experienced much of Kenya's tribal tensions and conflicts since the colonial period. Therefore, to Masakhalia, the British brought tensions between these blocs in

[98] KNA/DC/ND/13. *Annual Report, 1920*. Reference No 17/2 District Commissioners Office Kapsabet, June 10th 1921. The Senior Commissioner, Kisumu.
[99] Masakhalia, A. E. (2011). *Focus on Tribalism in Kenya.* Open Democracy.

two ways. First, taking fertile land from these groups led to displacement. As a result, groups from GEMA were forced to move in search of land. The forceful displacement also entailed the transfer of one ethnic group into the region initially occupied by another, which resulted in ethnic tensions. Second was labour recruitment. The movement of people from different regions into white settler farms implied contacts among different tribal groups. This view was affirmed in the present study which found that there were a number of Luo and Abaluhya who lived and work on Nandi farms in the district.[100] The colonial chiefs played a role in enforcing these measures that contributed to tribal tensions. They were responsible for drawing boundaries and recruitment of labour. However, these chiefs also arbitrated in conflicts involving the different ethnic groups.

Another source of tribal conflict reported in the study during the colonial period was livestock theft. This was evidenced in the following entry in the report from the DC:

> The tribal relations with North and Central, Nyanza were excellent throughout the year. In May 41 cases of stock theft involving movement of stolen stock into Nandi from Teriki and Kabras were reported and, as a result, a joint meeting of Nandi North Nyanza chief was arranged in July. Final agreements concerning the action to be taken to reduce stock theft was reached and a large number of arrests had been made during the latter half of the year by chief Arap Titi and Joseph.[101]

The above remarks also illustrate that colonial chiefs could be relied upon by the government to arbitrate cases of livestock theft across ethnic boundaries.

In agreement, Muiga argues that negative ethnicity in Kenya is a direct result of the British indirect rule.[102] In his view, prior to colonialism, tribal groups did not exist as

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[100] KNA DC/NDI 2/2. *Nandi District Annual Report 1965*, pp. 3-10.
[101] KNA DC/NDI/7/1. *Annual Report, Nandi District 1950*, pp. 2-16.
[102] Muiga, K. (2019, August 6). Colonialists didn't fail to root out Africa's tribal politics. They created it. *African Arguments*. Retrieved from https://africanarguments.org/2019/08/colonialism-tribal-ethnic-politics-africa/

definable entities but the mere difference was language. Boundaries between groups were not marked. Some groups were so close that individuals could switch back and forth from one tribe to the next. Even acts of aggression such as cattle rustling were thought of as rotational sports. Therefore, tribe did not connote a political entity. In fact, this view is emphasized by Mamdani thus:

> Did tribe exist [in Africa] before colonialism? If we understand by tribe an ethnic group with a common language, it did. But tribe as an administrative entity that distinguishes between natives and non-natives and systematically discriminates in favour of the former against the latter – defining access to land and participation in local governance and rules for settling disputes according to tribal identity – certainly did *not* exist before colonialism.[103]

Mamdani's views underscore the fact that negative ethnic relations and tribalism are products of colonial manipulations of ethnicities in Kenya. The notion by Muiga that cattle rustling was considered a form of rotational sport was affirmed by the findings of this study. It was observed that the Nandi had a tradition of raiding cattle from Kano Plains in Nyanza, as indicated in the following KNA report entry:

> It has been the tradition of the tribe to raid cattle from their Kavirondo neighbours of the Kano Plains. But when an explanation is demanded as to why this lawlessness is not checked the invariable reply is made that the fact of the raid is not known. Of course, the truth is being suppressed; the thefts are known well enough, and not only are they not being discouraged but they are actually being winked at and sympathized with.[104]

The above remarks underscore the suspicion that the DC had towards the Nandi and the colonial chiefs. He seemed to believe that the chiefs and the people were aware of the perpetrators of cattle rustling but were unwilling to report them to the government. This is despite the fact that, to the Nandi, the concept of raid as an illegal act was alien. It is

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[103] Mamdani, M. (2012). *Define and rule: Native as political identity*. Harvard University Press.

[104] KNA/DC/ND/13. *Annual Report, 1920-1921*. Reference No 17/2 District Commissioners Office Kapsabet, June 10th 1921. The Senior Commissioner, Kisumu.

perhaps for this reason that the colonial chiefs did not seem to consider such raiding a criminal offense worth reporting to the colonial administration.

However, as the findings of this and other studies have shown, colonial systems entrenched and reinforced tribalism as part of the divide-and-concur strategy. They did this by defining administrative boundaries using tribes. Moreover, they reinforced tribalism by appointing native leaders, that is, colonial chiefs as their agents in those administrative units. They also created laws to define the relations between these ethnic groups.[105] Berman observes that colonial chiefs turned into ethnic Big Men (elites) who regarded themselves as the spokespersons of their tribes on political matters.[106] These Big Men perpetuated discourses of tribal superiority to other supposedly inferior tribes. The colonial regimes took advantage of such dialectics to further divide and concur Africans. Therefore, colonial chiefs became an excellent means for executing indirect rule in the Nandi. Even their pursuit of personal agenda further presented them as willing agents of colonial encroachment of the native lands and cultures.

4.6.5 Chiefs' Enforcement of Administrative Rules and Laws

The Nandi colonial chiefs were tasked with enforcing government rules and laws in their locations. However, often, to avoid resistance from the Nandi, these chiefs adopted traditional approaches to implement government laws and policies. For instance, the practice of oathing continued in Nandi during the colonial period. In the colonial era, the Nandi undertook oaths when a case was heard by elders and, in some cases, in the execution of the chiefs' rulings. Asked to explain the function of oathing, one respondent had this to say: "Oathing helped to reinforce the decisions made and make

[105] Muiga, K. (2019). Colonialists didn't fail to root out Africa's tribal politics: They created it. *African Argument.*

[106] Berman, B. J. (1998). Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism. *African Affairs, 97*, 305-341.

the laws binding to all persons."[107] If a case became more challenging to the elders, it was deferred to the colonial chief. If, for example, some livestock had been stolen, a big fire was prepared and the suspects were asked by the elders and the chief to swear upon it. Some women intervened by informing on their people, for instance that the animal stolen was available. The chief was always present during such oaths. If one was identified as a culprit, a fire was imposed and the chiefs decided on the actions to be taken on a given oath. Those convicted of crimes were handed over to the chief for further punishment. The chief was mandated to punish the culprits. In extreme cases, where the victim was not able to concede the crime, curses were administered. Evidently, the colonial chiefs respected and still justified before the British the importance of the Nandi traditional methods of administering justice through oathing.[108] On this note, they acted in the best interests of the Nandi.

Connected to oathing was also the use of magic or diviners, of which the chiefs were aware and ignored or feared to dismiss. The study found that the Nandi in the colonial era visited the magicians or diviners to get dues to a sick person. They also relied on diviners to locate lost items. The diviners used magic to locate the lost items. If a person suspected that he or she had been bewitched he/she would go to a magician or diviner. Chiefs did not openly promote such acts as they were not allowed by Christian missionaries. However, they were not quick to punish those who consulted diviners or magicians or to dismiss the diviners.[109] Therefore, it is safe to conclude that colonial chiefs did not do much to affect the practices of oathing and consultation of magicians and diviners in colonial Nandi.[110]

[107] Oral Interview with Malakwen Arap Ruto on 15/04/2019 (87 years old).
[108] Oral Interview with Pius Kiptarus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019 (76 years old).
[109] Oral Interview with Malakwen Arap Ruto on 15/04/2019 (87 years old).
[110] KNA DC/NDI/7/1. Annual Report, Nandi District 1950, pp. 2-16.

The chiefs also used religious ceremonies and practices to promote law and order in the Nandi. The Christian religion had already arrived in Nandi by the time the colonialists came. However, as the study found, Christianity had not spread far and wide in Nandi land. Prior to the advent of Christianity, the Nandi used to subscribe to god known by many names such as Asiis, Chebokipkoiyo and Chebonamuni. Most of the Nandi still believed in such a deity during the colonial period. From the research findings, the Nandi colonial chiefs rarely interfered with their people's traditional beliefs. Therefore, the Nandi continued to engage in many of their traditional religious practices even during the colonial period. For instance, during times of drought, women smeared themselves with ashes (omenjoget) and prayed to Asiis to bring rain.[111] However, colonialism did much to interfere with the general practice of traditional religions. As one respondent explained:

> Most of the Nandi shrines (kapkoros) were abandoned after the death of Koitalel Samoei. This could also be explained by the fact that the Nandi were pushed off from their original settlements following their defeat by the British. Subsequently, some of the shrines were later turned into churches.[112]

The study further established that, with the aid of the chiefs, the colonial government helped to spread Christianity further into hinterland Nandi. Of course, the agenda of the colonial administration was never to Christianize Africans but to use religion to pacify the Nandi and thus allow the peaceful continuation of their political and economic exploits[113]. According to Peter arap Koei,

> …the British saw an opportunity in Christianity to pacify the Nandi. Therefore, it was during the colonial period that more missionary centres were erected. For instance, the AIM established its centre in

[111] Oral Interview with Stephen arap Marus on 23/3/2019 (64 years old).
[112] Oral Interview Joseph Arap Keter on 28/3/2019 (77 years old).
[113] Berman, B. J. (1998). Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism. African Affairs, 97, 305-341.

> Kapsabet while the Catholics set up camp in Chepterit. These centres were safeguarded by colonial forces.[114]

The respondents also indicated that the Nandi colonial chiefs were mandated to encourage and, in some cases, force the Nandi to become members of the religious denominations. For instance, as indicated by one respondent, "Chief Malel and Arap Katono advocated for the Nandi to join AIM. Chief Chepkiyeng also advocated for the Nandi to join the Roman Catholic Church at Kaplamai (Cheribisi)."[115] Therefore, these chiefs encouraged the Nandi to abandon their African traditional beliefs. In some places, the Nandi shrines were abandoned or destroyed by the orders of the chief. Some of the shrines were turned into *barazas,* the places where chiefs held public meetings. Similarly, religious rites, such as circumcision, were also discouraged.[116] These findings show that colonial chiefs also acted as agents of religious transformation on behalf of the missionaries and the colonial government. As such, the Christian missionaries at times formed part of the greater principal colonial system.

From the findings of the study, it was further indicated that AIM established a church in Kobujoi while the Catholics established a church in Chepterit. The DC convinced the missionaries from Kobujoi to shift to Kapsabet. The chiefs were the organizers and facilitators of such shifts. The British also used blackmail and bribe to prevent the Nandi from going to their shrines[117]. Some of those who turned to Christianity were appointed chiefs or headmen. The Nandi still visited shrines to pray for things like drought, epidemics among others. Most of the chiefs who had converted to Christianity were not in support of such practices of visiting shrines, as a directed from the white settlers.[118]

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[114] Oral Interview on Peter arap Koei on 21/3/2019 (86 years old).
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] *Ibid.*
[117] Muiga, K. (2019). Colonialists didn't fail to root out Africa's tribal politics: They created it. African Argument.
[118] Oral Interview with Simon Arap Kelewa on 4/4/2019 (87 years old).

It is evident from this finding that the white settlers also exercised the power of principals over colonial chiefs.

Some of the chiefs were the first members of the Nandi community to embrace the white man's religion. As the study findings showed, in fact, some became chiefs mainly because they had been seen, through such acts as embracing Christianity, as being loyal to the colonial authorities.[119] Therefore, based on their personal interests, some of the colonial chiefs embraced religion of their choice. For example, Kurgat noted that Chief Micah Bomet became a member of the African Inland Church (AIC). Another chief, Chief Katono, subscribed to the Catholic Church, most of whom were found in Kabiyet. Although these chiefs supported the programmes by the white settlers, majority of the Nandi were still resistant to Christianity. Therefore, for these chiefs, embracing Christianity was one way to negotiate for power in the greater colonial administrative system.

The spread of Christianity courtesy of the agency of colonial chiefs had some significant impact on the Nandi (and the entire Kalenjin community's) traditions. For instance, "Chief Micah Bomet refused to be circumcised due to religious influence. However, the Nandi elders [forcefully] initiated Chief Micah together with the wife so as to lead the people. Chief Micah belonged to Kaptumios and Tibingot".[120]

As indicated in this section, the colonial chief facilitated Christian missionaries' efforts to do away with the Nandi shrines. Many of the chiefs embraced Christianity and became agents of religious transformation of the Nandi[121]. There were several shrines in Tindiret. However, some of the chiefs were afraid to interfere with traditional rituals.

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[119] Oral Interview with Mariko Kurgat on 20/3/2019 (88 years old).
[120] *Ibid.*
[121] Hensen, K. T. (2017). *Colonialism and Imperialism*. Retrieved from https://fashion-history.lovetoknow.com/fashion-history-eras/colonialism-imperialism

Some of the chiefs also only interfered in the rituals by stripping away practices they considered too unchristian. In one incident, for example, "a chief used force to recall the initiates from traditional seclusion (menjo) during the circumcision rite". [122] Evidently, colonial chiefs as agents of religious change in Nandi facilitated the disruption of many Nandi traditional religious practices.

4.6.6 Other Contributions of Chiefs

The colonial administration effected certain socio-economic and political changes as part of the civilising agenda and to attempt to tame the Nandi aggressive character. Thus, colonial chiefs became agents of socio-cultural transformation in Nandi. The study found that among the legal and administrative roles of the colonial chiefs was to discourage immoral behaviours. Such behaviours included excessive alcoholism, stealing and idleness. The British government used the chiefs to fight against the brewing of local drinks (busaa). Peter arap Koei recounted thus:

> Those who broke this law were taken to court. However, there were also double standards in regard to the ban on alcoholism. In some cases, the chiefs convinced the British to allow the Nandi to brew their *busaa*. On their part, the British allowed this practice because they realised that as long as the Nandi were drunk, they would be less resistant to their colonial agenda. Besides, there were chiefs who also loved to drink. However, those chiefs who drank too much often lost their jobs in the white settler farms. In fact, some of the chiefs were sacked for drinking too much. Some of the chiefs also used to accept bribes in the form of alcohol.[123]

From the above remarks, it is evident that the Nandi colonial chiefs were also warry of too much drinking and often cautioned their people against such habits.

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[122] *Ibid.*
[123] Oral Interview with Peter arap Koeion 21/3/2019 (86 years old).

The study further established those colonial chiefs encouraged individuals and families to work hard to satisfy their needs. The chiefs sought to empower the people economically. This finding was derived from the views by respondent Sabul thus:

> They [colonial chiefs] punished the lazy in society. They considered idleness, especially among young and energetic men, as a crime and often brought the full force of their office to bear on those they found loitering aimlessly. Those who never worked were taken before the meeting (baraza) where the chief passed crucial information on development. Most of the chiefs connected criminal acts such as stock theft with such laziness and loitering. They therefore condemned laziness and asked people to work hard so that they would not have to steal from their communities or from the white settlers.[124]

Hard work, especially among men, was an aspect of traditional Nandi society transmitted from the pre-colonial period with the help of colonial chiefs. Traditionally, Nandi men were expected to work hard to make enough wealth to satisfy their needs and those of their families. As such, the colonial chiefs helped to reinforce this character among the Nandi, although the concept of hard work in the new colonial system meant labouring for the wellbeing of the colonial system. It was exploitation. In promoting hard work, therefore, colonial chiefs were inherently perpetuating the exploitation of the general love for labour among the Nandi.

The research results also indicated that the Nandi colonial chiefs supervised the transfer of family property across generations. This could be through inheritance or parents empowering young men with land or livestock to kick-start their lives. As indicated earlier, every young man was encouraged to work hard for their own resources (land and animals). In fact, the Nandi believed that a man who never worked hard to build own wealth was not entitled to ask for inheritance. Yet, in most cases, parents were still lenient and saw it fit to pass down their wealth to their sons. However, if one of the sons insisted to be given a share the father's land or cows – a practise that the Nandi

[124] Oral Interview with Pius Kipsang Arap Sabul on 22/3/2019 (77 years old).

detested very much – family conflicts tended to arise needing arbitration. In case one of the sons became violent, the father reported the incident to the colonial chief. The chief was present during the sharing of the resources.[125] Conflict over resources increased with the entrenchment of colonialism, especially after 1920, as most of the fertile land and good livestock had been confiscated to pave way for the white settlers.

It was also reported that the colonial chiefs helped the Nandi to prepare for famine. Prior to colonialism, this role belonged to the village elders. During such times, the village elder summoned the village and visited the community to request for produce. The gathered proceeds were then shared (sociolivity [kesumet]).[126] During the colonial period, the chief thus oversaw the gathering and distribution of such relief food.[127] It is interesting that the Nandi continued this practice despite colonialism having taken away much of their productive land and subjected them to the squatter system.

4.6.7 Specific Chiefs and their Political, Social and Economic Contributions

From the findings of the study, some specific Nandi colonial chiefs are worth mentioning because they played notable social, economic and political roles during the colonial period. For instance, Chief Arap Cheno (1905) is remembered most for demarcating the present-day Nandi boundaries. He was a literate man and he almost became the overall paramount chief of the Nandi.[128] Similarly, Chief Elijah Cheruiyot Chepkwony (1948) taught the Nandi about environmental issues. He also oversaw the construction of schools, latrines and ploughing. He had learned up to Standard Two. He was appointed Chief in the early 1940s, soon became a clerk at the DC's office in Kapsabet and in 1946 was promoted to Chairman of the DC. He propelled the Nandi

[125] Oral Interview with Akui Kwambai on 14/3/2022 (70 years old).
[126] Oral interview with Gedion Arap Lagat on 8/4/2019 (90 years old).
[127] Oral interview with Daudi Kipkoech arap Maritim on 21/3/2019 (85 years old).
[128] Oral interview with Isaac Arap Kirwa on 6/9/2023 (90 years old).

up to Kenya's independence. He participated in various developments such as vaccination of animals and planting of tea in the 1950s. He was appointed chairperson of the county (LNC). He also motivated the Nandi to go to school and participated actively in Kenya's independence politics. He worked with renowned Chief Arap Titi-Serem.[129]

It was also reported that Chief Malel was appointed in 1958 to oversee Kabandan Mosoriot. Respondent Chepkonga Kibor described him as an angry man. In his time, he demanded for the construction of a plot centre, auction dispensary and teachers' college. He also oversaw the construction of Kosirai Primary School, which was completed in the time of Chief Willy Boit.[130]

Further, Chief Willy Boit was appointed in the 1950s to head Kapnyeberai. He was a well-travelled man by the time of his appointment. His mother had taken him to Mombasa at a young age when she had separated with her husband and had to seek refuge. In the 1920s, when Willy's time came to be circumcised, he returned to his paternal home (Kapnyeberai). His father who had established himself in Nairobi married a second wife in the 1930s, the mother to the former PC, Paul Boit. By 1955, Chief Willy was very active in Kenya's independence politics. Chief Willy educated his family members well. Although the Nandi still declined formal education during his time, he helped to construct health centres, schools and churches in different areas of the Nandi. He also fought against alcohol consumption and advocated for vaccination of animals. Still, many of the Nandis were forced to vaccinate their animals during his time as chief[131]. They were afraid to lose their animals to confiscation; so, they selected

[129] Oral Interview with Arap Surtan Chirchir on 4/4/2019 (72 years old).
[130] Oral Interview with Chepkonga Kibor on 14/3/2022 (89 years old).
[131] Berman, B. J. (1998). Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism. *African Affairs, 97*, 305-341.

weak animals to be vaccinated and left healthy ones due to outbreak of anthrax. Chief Willy also facilitated the introduction of ploughing by oxen. He initiated co-operative societies to enhance the Nandi economy.[132]

The study also found that Chief Surtan arap Tulel-Terik was known more as an aggressive and harsh chief.[133] He was very loyal to the British. He had become so famous that people used to pronounce the coming of Chief Tulel to their relatives. When he came to the Nandi, he was accompanied by a friend, Arap Kasiran. They were received and served with brews during their visit. He used to take reports to Eldoret (Sisibo). He intervened in crimes like animal raiding in the *baraza*. Elders (Kipatainik) interrogated the victims in the *baraza*. They isolated the clans. Those who did not attend the *baraza* were subjected to work on the roads. Chief Surtan arap Tulel-Terik forced the Nandi children to go to school. Most of the Nandi declined to send their children to school. He stammered. He also compelled people to go to hospital for vaccination against measles, chicken pox and scabies. He established a dispensary in Kibwareng'. The hospital was later named after him, Tulel Dispensary.[134]

The study also found that during the inter-war period, colonial chiefs facilitated the expansion of food and cash crop farming in Nandi. The chiefs were used to force the Nandi to adopt new crops. They also played a role in sensitising the Nandi farmers to improve their farming practices. [135,136] Prior to colonisation, the staple food for the Nandi had been sorghum and millet. The finding on the introduction of cash crops in Nandi reiterate those of Van Zwanenberg[137] who argues that cash crop farming was

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[132] *Ibid.*
[133] Oral Interview with Sawe arap Mengich on 23/3/2019 (73 years old).
[134] *Ibid.*
[135] Oral Interview with Francis Mutwol on 14/3/2022 (88 years old).
[136] Oral Interview with Pius Kimayo o 14/9/2023 (87 years old).
[137] Van Zwanenberg, R. (1975). *The development of cash crop farming in Kenya, 1900-1945*. University of California Press.

largely the preserve of white settler farmers.[138] Nevertheless, African farmers were stratified according to how much land they could access, its viability and their ability to till it. For instance, as Van Zwanenberg notes, African farmers who had sufficient land, access to markets and initiative cultivated cash crops. Those who had only enough land for subsistence cultivation or who lacked transport facilities became migrant workers, and those who did not have sufficient land even to produce their own food became squatters. The latter group provided the bulk of labour in the white settler farms.

The study found that the period from 1930s saw great transformation in agriculture in Nandi land. The completion of the Uganda railroad by 1930 opened the Lake Victoria region to settlement by stimulating plantation agriculture for the export of commercial crops.[139] This process was facilitated by the colonial chiefs. Subsequently, rapid population growth through immigration and improved health conditions then started the pattern of large-scale deforestation and agricultural conversion that continues to the present day.[140]

As indicated by the study findings, the colonial Nandi remained largely livestock farmers, but they also planted sweet potatoes and millet.[141] They also used a plough known as *kiptororit*. The Nandi stored food in the pots (chemargoriat). They exchanged the produce with the neighbours such as the Luhya, who supplied the Nandi with tobacco (barter trade). Maize was introduced during the colonial period.[142] In an interview, it was revealed that initially, the white settlers told the Nandi to plant maize.

> The Nandi referred to Maize as "bandiat". Hunting and gathering was still prevalent but it was not a reliable source of food. The colonial

[138] Van Zwanenberg, R. (1972). *The agricultural history of Kenya to 1939*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
[139] Maxon, R. M. (1990). Agriculture. In Ochieng', W.R. *Themes in Kenyan History*. Nairobi: Heinemann.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] Oral interview with Kimaiyo Arap Mutai on 20/3/2019, 98 years old.
[142] Oral Interview with Pius Kiptarus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019, 76 years old.

> government had affected a ban on hunting and foraging, safe for a few white settlers who were allowed to hunt for meat. However, some of the white settlers were free to go into the forests to hunt and gather honey. The chief directed the people to grow crops to avert hunger. Cereals were supplemented with traditional vegetables like *sakyat, mborajet* and milk.[143]

Later, when tea crops were introduced in areas like Nandi Hills, the chiefs advised the colonial government not to force the Nandi to provide labour since the Nandi despised the notion of being slaves. The government, fearing for unnecessary protests from the Nandi, resorted to recruit labour from the Luhya and Luo to provide labour in tea estates. The Nandi were instead recruited to provide security services around the tea factories and estates. One Asian, Mr. Kaghira, hired the Nandi to provide labour and the Nandi chiefs castigated him severely. However, in time, some of the chiefs encouraged the Nandi to embrace the life of manual labour to augment their sources of livelihood.[144]

Later, the Nandi also provided labour in sugarcane plantations.[145] Mr. Hunter also supplied potatoes (butatik) later to the Nandi. The chiefs asked the Nandi to set aside some land for planting potatoes. On their part, the chiefs took big pieces of land. Potatoes for planting were distributed across the clans (pororiet). The chiefs punished individuals who did not participate in potato cultivation by whipping or caning. The chiefs gradually urged the government to supply ploughing equipment to Africans to promote mechanised agriculture.[146] They further identified those who defied government directives on farming. Such natives were summoned or forced to the DC's office to undertake manual labour and caning by chiefs. Because of this forced

[143] Oral Interview with Pius Kiptarus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019 (76 years old.
[144] *Ibid.*
[145] Oral Interview with Christopher Some on 12/9/2023 (81 years old).
[146] Van Zwanenberg, R. (1975). *The development of cash crop farming in Kenya, 1900-1945*. University of California Press.

agriculture, wealth accumulation increased in the Nandi.[147] The above findings agree with those of Grishow that by 1920s onwards colonial administrations increasingly intervened in rural areas with the aim of changing farming methods lacking major technological and institutional changes and, for this reason, they initiated to use chiefs and village headmen to disseminate information and propaganda.[148] Therefore, indirect rule became the solution whereby "development could be achieved without disrupting traditional community."

The results of the study further indicated that, unlike other exotic food crops, maize production spread fast among the Nandi. In an interview, Simon Arap Kelewa noted that Cassava was introduced by the white settlers though it never did so well. This was not helped by the fact that the Nandi were being compelled to grow these foreign crops. For instance, Mr. Hunter introduced growing of trees. He provided people with free plough pulled by oxen. People declined to heed to this development and took off with their animals. Mr. Hunter appointed chiefs from each clan (pororiet) and those targeted were ex-soldiers and ex-police. The chiefs, in turn, used force to compel people to plough with oxen. Later, the Nandi were impressed with the development and adopted it to till their lands. Each location was supplied with two ploughs and Yiro Yorks. The chief supervised the supply and use of such equipment.[149]

Reiterating the above findings, respondent Peter arap Koei noted that the British introduced maize crops in Nandi. Some of the maize had been bought from Canada. The respondent also added that the Nandi colonial chiefs ensured that agricultural extension officers were provided to the native farmers. These officers were mostly

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[147] *Ibid.*
[148] Grishow, D. (2008). Rural 'Community', Chiefs and Social Capital: the case of Southern Ghana. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, *8*(1), 70.
[149] Oral interview with Simon Arap Kelewa on 4/4/2019 (87 years old).

available to white settler farmers. Affirming these findings, another interviewee noted that the colonial chiefs taught agricultural officers who then instructed the people how to use ox-drawn ploughs.[150] The British also introduced tea in 1949 in Nandi Hills. As earlier mentioned, tea planting and plucking labour was sourced mainly from the Luhya, Luo and Kikuyus and were supervised by the chiefs. Tea plantations were owned by the white settlers. The first tea factories had been erected in Nandi Hills in 1948. In the words of one interviewee:

> …by 1949, tea was brought to Nandi hills. The labour in tea plantations were provided mainly by the Luo and Kikuyu. The colonial chiefs began to encourage the Nandi to seek labour opportunities in tea plantations. However, since only the whites were allowed to plant the cash crop, the chiefs also discouraged the Nandi from attempting to plant tea.[151]

Concerning the overall role of chiefs in farming practices, one respondent indicated that the preparation of land was done by hand or oxen and then maize and millet were planted together. The chiefs always urged people to use oxen. They also taught people to protect their crops. For instance, a stick or bran of thorns were used to cover the seeds. The chiefs' role was to ensure cleanliness of the area, timely and proper sowing of seeds and observation of soil conservation in farm cultivation and use. In the native reserves, production of crops was mainly for subsistence. Chiefs discouraged Africans from competing with farm products from white highlands[152]. Concerning animal husbandry, Africans were not allowed to mix their livestock with those of the white settlers. Yet, Africans were encouraged through their chiefs to embrace new breeds of animals. The chiefs were also tasked with identifying and curbing the spread of animal diseases.[153]

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[150] Oral interview with Peter arap Koei on 21/3/2019 (86 years old).
[151] Oral interview with Noah Sang' on 11/9/2023 (88 years old).
[152] KNA DC/NDI/7/1. Annual Report, Nandi District 1950, pp. 2-16.
[153] Oral interview with Mariko Kurgat on 20/3/2019 (88 years old).

Affirming the above views on the role of colonial chiefs, Joseph arap Keter reported that under the guidance of colonial chiefs, terraces were built to protect soil erosion. The chief organised for the construction of terraces and gabions. The chiefs also organized the provision of agricultural extension officers whose responsibility was to assess and suggest improvements of agricultural activities. The chief and the headmen (assistant chiefs) accompanied the officers whenever they visited the native reserves. According to another respondent, these agricultural extension officers taught the Nandi to construct bomas (livestock pens) for easy gathering of manure. They also trained the people on terracing, maintenance of forests, the planting of new crops such as millet, sorghum and maize.[154]

From these findings, it is evident that much of the positive contributions of colonial chiefs as agents of the British in Nandi was registered on the economic front, especially in matters farming. The chiefs facilitated the long-term transformation of agricultural practices of the Nandi people. As the findings in this chapter have shown, much of the movement of white settlers into Nandi happened in the interwar period (1920-1945). This was facilitated by two factors, namely the final subjugation of the Nandi resistance, which ended in 1905, and the formal annexation of Kenya in 1920. As such, much of the division and alienation of Nandi land, which was facilitated by the colonial chiefs, took place in this period. According to Van Zwanenberg and King, land division in the colonial period was anchored on three factors, namely the availability of land, the extent of agricultural viability of that land, and the nature of technology to be used to till it.[155] As the findings have shown, the colonial government regarded all fertile land occupied

[154] Oral interview with Kiptum Arap Temuge on 7/4/2019 (90 years old).
[155] Van Zwanenberg, R. M. A., & King, A. (1975). *An economic history of Kenya and Uganda 1800–1970.* Springer.

by the Nandi are fallow and readily available. As such, the colonial administration used the Nandi chiefs to forcefully annex the land for the white settlers.

4.7 Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the changing roles of Nandi colonial chiefs in the inter-war period, 1919-1939. The Nandi Uprising of 1923 marked a significant moment of resistance against colonial rule. It highlighted the chiefs' dual role as both intermediaries for colonial policies and representatives of their communities. As taxation policies were enforced, chiefs became crucial in managing local economic interests while simultaneously navigating the pressures exerted by colonial authorities. As such, the period saw the chiefs grappling with their responsibilities, which included tax collection and labor recruitment, ultimately shaping their influence within the Nandi society.

Throughout the 1919-1939 era, the introduction of formal education and changing cultural norms further transformed the roles of Nandi chiefs. The chiefs acted as facilitators of education, which began to alter traditional power dynamics and cultural practices. They also played a significant role in addressing socio-cultural issues, such as dress codes and gender roles, reflecting broader shifts within the community as they adapted to colonial influences. This evolution illustrates how colonial chiefs were not merely agents of colonial oppression but also key figures in negotiating cultural changes and advocating for their people's interests amidst external pressures.

In conclusion, the contributions of Nandi colonial chiefs during the inter-war period (1919-1939) were multifaceted, encompassing political, social, and economic dimensions. Their ability to enforce administrative rules while also addressing the needs of their communities demonstrates a dual legacy that challenges the perception of colonial chiefs solely as collaborators with oppressive regimes. By examining

specific chiefs and their contributions, it becomes evident that they played an integral role in shaping Nandi society during a time of significant upheaval and transformation. The complexities of their leadership underscore the importance of recognizing indigenous agency within colonial contexts.

CHAPTER FIVE

COLONIAL POLICY DURING THE WORLD WAR II PERIOD AND THE ROLE OF CHIEFS, 1939-1945

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the colonial policies that were tailored towards the Second World War and the attendant roles of the Nandi chiefs in implementing them. This period is significant because of several reasons: First, during this period, changes were taking place at the international scene, which were occasioned by the events that took place after the Second World War. During the war, many Nandi soldiers were recruited to participate in the Allied campaign, particularly in Burma. The Nandi chiefs, like other chiefs in the colony, were active grassroot conscriptors of the able-bodied men who participated in the war. At the same time, the chiefs also played an active role in the maintenance of internal peace as well as ensuring that there was adequate food supply for the soldiers. This was through confiscation of cattle for military purposes as well as mobilization of labor for settler production for the support of the war.

5.2 Mobilization into Military Servivce

Colonial chiefs were instrumental in the recruitment of King's Africa Rifles (KAR) soldiers who were sent to join the British battalion in the World War II. One respondent averred that a group of KAR soldiers from Nandi were conscripted and sent to not only Burma (present-day Myanmar), but also to North Africa and Magadascar.

> Our people were taken to fight for the British in Burma. It was difficult at first for the Nandi to accept to join the military. But the British insisted. They considered the Nandi to be warriors because of the resistance. So they took many Nandi young men. At first the men were not issued with guns until they left the country. But with time, KAR fighters were trusted with guns and bullets. Many of them did not

> return and it is something people rarely talk about. The few who returned have not been recognized today…[1]

The Nandi chiefs played a crucial role in putting the kipande system into place as part of the colonial administration's larger plan during World War II (1939–1945). With so many different logistical and combat tasks requiring a large manpower pool, these chiefs played a crucial role in the British military's labour recruitment efforts. These local leaders were essential to the colonial authority because they kept their villages orderly and made sure labour demands were satisfied.

The colonial government imposed strict labor quotas on the chiefs, who in turn enforced the kipande system. This meant enforcing strict penalties, such as arrest or forced labor, for local men who did not register and carry their kipande at all times. This enforcement brought to light the chiefs' dual function as go-betweens for their communities and colonial powers, navigating both traditional authority and colonial governance requirements.

The above report mirrors what Maxon reported regarding the participation of East Africans, and Kenyans in particular-in the war:

> On 11 September 1941, the 22nd East African Brigade deployed to Madagascar to support Great Britain's campaign against Vichy, France. In 56 days of fighting, the 22nd East African brigade had 33 killed and 96 hospitalized because of wounds or sickness. In North Africa, some 30,000 East African Pioneers supported the Eighth Army by fighting fires, participating in demining campaigns, and manning flak guns. Approximately 45,000 East Africans, many of whom were from Kenya, served in Ceylon, Burma, and India. Altogether, 1,924 East Africans lost their lives during these campaigns[2]

The above sentiments echo those of Gutteridge that the conscriptions of soldiers was so resented that on the eve of World War II the French judged it wise to buy African

[1] Oral interview with Henry Kaptalam Kiplilak on 2/9/2023 (90 years old)
[2] Maxon. R and Ofcansky.T (2000) Historical Dictionary of Kenya. Scarecrow Press: London

cooperation with the promise of voting rights to all Africans who completed their military service.[3] Unlike the French, however, the British relied on colonial chiefs to enhance recruitment of KAR. Schiff notes that the cooperation between African chiefs and British recruitment officers was crucial to meeting the troop requirements of the King's African Rifles (KAR), which by May 1942 had quadrupled in strength to a force of over 30,000 soldiers.[4]

According to Ashley, the African man had absolutely no influence on the causes of the Second World War.[5] She points out that the militarism of Japan and the bellicose deeds of Adolf Hitler intensified the Second World War. The Treaty of Versailles had not completely removed the possibility of another war springing out between the European nations. In actuality, Hitler effectively undermined the terms of the Treaty of Versailles after taking office as Chancellor in 1933, and he was supported in his aggressive moves by 234 Italy's Benito Mussolini. The British prime minister at the time, Neville Chamberlain, made an effort to promote peace, but in the end his efforts were unsuccessful. Many African soldiers lost their lives in the fighting. They were manned by a large number of British colonial soldiers, many of whom were deployed to fight in Europe.[6] However, as Ashley notes further, before France's surrender, one important African military contribution to the war effort was not expected. In March 1940, the War Cabinet decided that, apart from South Africa, British Africa's main military contribution should be the creation of an African division that could be used in Africa and the Middle East, combining with other imperial units from formations such as the

[3] Gutteridge, W. (1975). *The Military Legacy of Colonial Rule*. Paper presented at International Conference of African States on The Military Past and Present, University of Ghana, August 1975. 5.
[4] Schiff, E. W. (2019). *Effects of the Two World Wars in Shaping African Colonial Soldiers' Perceptions of Colonialism*. University of California, Los Angeles.
[5] Ashley, J. (2006). *The British Empire and the Second World War*. London: Hambledon Continuum, the Tower Building.
[6] *Ibid.*

Indian Army and the Australian Imperial Force. Prior to the war, plans intended for moving two brigades from West Africa to East Africa to provide support in the event that Italy entered the war.[7]

The KAR's lack of reputation in East and Central Africa meant that recruitment efforts had to allay fears.[8] The notorious Carrier Corps, a labor and porterage regiment that fought in East Africa during World War I and left a poor impression on many, damaged the military's reputation. How far colonial attitudes had progressed over the next twenty years is demonstrated by the fact that Africans serving in the army from 1939 to 1945 received treatment that was markedly better than during the previous world war. In British Africa, recruitment relied on the support of local authorities, propaganda, the allure of military duty, and the possibility of financial gain. Just like in Jamaica, African homes were highlighted.[9]

In Kenya, the largest tribal group in the 5KAR battalion as of December 1938 were the Nandi from Nyanza Province in the west of Kenya. There were 61 Nandi out of a total 330 African combatant ranks.[10] The Nandi were also well represented in 5 KAR and in the Transport Corps. The Nandi men were chosen primarily due to their physical qualities, as Major G. B. Whitworth described them as athletic good at bush craft and tracking and very fleet of foot.[11] The Nandi were also praised by Major T. R. King who served with KAR throughout the Second World War.[12] King said the Nandi had a warlike tradition and had stood up well against the Maasai from the vantage point of their escarpment overlooking Lake Victoria. The Nandi was also a tribe which the

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[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Warner, J. A. (1985). *Recruitment and Service in the King's African Rifles in the Second World War* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Bristol).
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*

British had found difficult to subdue around the turn of the century. Their territory was just to the north-east of Lake Victor and their hostility had often endangered the communications links between Uganda and the Coast.

Nevertheless, one KNA report posts that, in the KAR, the Nandi were resentful because none of them was promoted to the non-commission ranks.[13] The Nandi proved to be competent soldiers in the KAR and in a pamphlet from the series 'The Peoples of Kenya', published for the education of British officers in 1944, they were described as 'people in whom there is much good'.[14]

Previous studies have outlined some of the major downsides to the use of colonial chiefs in KAR recruitment. First, due to widespread discontent about being coerced into military duty, the continued cooperation between recruitment officers and African chiefs – who served as the main recruiters – weakened the chiefs' influence among their communities.[15] Second, the colonial government's overreliance on chiefs to enlist soldiers for the KAR and other military groups throughout the war caused the chiefs' standing and power in their villages to decline.[16] Moreover, colonial rulers soon realized that the rapid expansion of the KAR and the common recruitment practices, which often involved coercive coercion, had serious societal consequences and could eventually jeopardize the stability of their rule.[17]

[13] KNA/PC/NZA 2/3/8. Kenya Natives in Military Service, Analysis by Unit, 30 April 1942.
[14] The Peoples of Kenya, 1944.
[15] Phiri, B. J. (2022). The African Participation and Experiences in the First and Second World Wars in Northern Rhodesia: A Historical Perspective 1914–1948. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, *57*(1), 47-59.
[16] Brands, H. (2005). Wartime Recruiting Practices, Martial Identity and Post-World War II Demobilization in Colonial Kenya. *The Journal of African History*, *46*(1), 103–125. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4100831
[17] *Ibid.*

5.3 Maintanance of Internal Peace

During the Second World War, the British government mobilized all its resources and efforts towards the Allied campaign. Before the entry of the United States in the war in 1941, the British military muscle had been over stretched by the Germans and they were on the brink of defeat. This position imposed a lot of strain on their colonies in terms of effective administration. As a result, the British colonial government had to rely heavily on the African chiefs to ensure that internal order is enforced. The nandi chiefs therefore were called upon to ensure that there were no incidents which would jeopardize peace and security within their jurisdiction. In an oral interview with Malakwen, a resident of Kaptumo in Nandi south, it was revealed as follows:

> Our chief was very ruthless. If you were found on the wrong side of the law, his men would be sent to arrest you and you would be taken to the chief's post at Kaptumo where you will be flogged. This instilled a lot of order in the Nandi society. Enforcement was mobilized to deal with illegal brewing and smoking.[18]

At the same time, the chiefs regularly briefed the DC at Kapsabet and as the Annual District Report of 1943 reveals, the chiefs provided a detailed account of any criminal activity that transpired within their jurisdictions[19] Besides, the chiefs also served as a link between the colonial government and the local authorities, ensuring that wartime policies and directives were disseminated effectively. Besides, they also relayed information about the progress of the war as well as what the colonial government expected from the people.[20]

Chiefs in Nandi dealt seriously with theft of all kinds, especially cattle. At the time, cattle theft was rampant among the Nandi. There were many reported cases of cattle

[18] Oral interview with Mzee Malakwen Daniel, 80. Kaptumo Village.
[19] Annual District Report-Nandi District, 1943.
[20] Keter, J. K. (1994). *The Role of African Chiefs in the Colonial Administration: The Case of Nandi District, Kenya (1900–1963).* University of Nairobi.

theft, particularly from the neigbouring Kakamega and Kisumu Districts. The stolen stock always found their way in Nandi and this led to serious concearns raised by the DCs of the respective districts in 1943.[21] In order to check these activities, there were by-laws that the chiefs were expected to implement. First, any butcher who intended to slaughter a cow or goat had to get a license from the chief. In addition, he had to make it public by shouting to people to hear about the intention to slaughter the animal in a hilly place. This was not just a way of sdvertising their product, but also ensuring that members of the public who were in doubt of the animal would verify it before it is slaughtered. Anybody who slaughtered meat without following this procedure was dealt with by the chiefs[22]. In addition, chiefs were called upon to assist as court asesssors during the judgement of certain sensitive criminal cases. As much as their contribution was considered important in the whole process, the overall judgement of the colonial masters always carried the day. To exemplify the powers that the chiefs held, the Native Authority Ordinance of 1939 read as follows:

> 'Every chief shall administer as he is legally competent to administer and in particular, he shall administer the provisions of this ordinance and any other by laws made by the District Council'

This ordinance gave sweeping powers to the Nandi chiefs during the World War II period which included declaring curfews within their jurisdiction, arresting and presenting law breakers and taking any other punitive action to prevent breakdown of law and order. Because of the high expectations that the British government placed on the chiefs, they were viewed as full-blown village despots possessing absolute powers.

[21] Annual District Report-Nandi District, 1943
[22] Keter, J. K. (1994). *The Role of African Chiefs in the Colonial Administration: The Case of Nandi District, Kenya (1900–1963).* University of Nairobi.

They became the bandwagons of a decentralized despotic system, a regiment of extraeconomic coercion.[23]

5.4 Confiscation of Livestock for Military Purposes and the Role of Chiefs

Apart from recruiting, the main effect of the war in the nandi land was the supply of cattle to the Livestock Control Board for war efforts. Most of the elderly informants who had witnessed the war complained bitterly about their animals being taken away at very low prices. The chiefs played a central role towards this effort. Without using force, the district annual quota during the war could not have been met since prices paid by Livestock Control were too low. In fact, in the year following the declaration of war, complaints about this requisitioning were vociferous and at the end of the year the district had failed to produce the number of cattle ordered. In 1941 alone about 2,062 heads of cattle were bought at an average price of about Shs. 46/60. Of this number 53 came from squatters, 20 from a Tea Company and 1,989 from the reserve[24]. By 1942 the cattle supplied to the Livestock Control Board totaled to about 1,502 at an average price of about Shs. 50/= per head. This meant that some Shs. 75, 0001= entered the district to the nandi, compared to Shs. 96,0001= from 2,062 animals sold in 1941[25].

The decrease in numbers was attributed to the outbreak of foot and mouth disease that restricted movement and led to the cancellation of sales. But the nandi, after realising that better prices prevailed in the Sondu market, pushed their oxen there to fetch higher prices. The following figures prove conclusively that it was the biggest beasts that were taken to Sondu since the average price of 534 cattle bought from squatters on nandi

[23] Ashley, J. (2006). *The British Empire and the Second World War*. London: Hambledon Continuum, the Tower Building.
[24] DC/NAN/1/1911946, p. 4.
[25] *Ibid.*

farms was about Shs. 45/00; while that of 692 cattle bought in the reserve was Shs. 51/80; and that of 276 cattle bought in Sondu market was Shs. 55/20.[26]

In 1943, a total of about 3,698 animals were supplied to the Livestock Control Board, noting that this figure was smaller than the required quota. By 1944, roughly 11,352 cockerels and 83,420 eggs were included in the district's list of exports. About 4,804 heads of cattle were supplied to the Livestock Control Board ([27]. Besides selling their animals the nandi also gave cash contributions to the war efforts. But the most interesting thing was that an increasing number of the nandi were joining in the flourishing livestock trade. The number of Stock Traders Licenses jumped from 45 in 1941 to 130 in 1942. If the colonial administration aimed at depleting the nandi livestock and exploiting them, then the contrary seems to have occurred. The nandi used their earnings during the war and their profits in the stock trade to reinvest in cattle again, mostly heifers, some gotten from as far as Uganda, though most of them came from the Kavirondo districts, but availed at the Sondu market[28]. All these happened with the close supervision of the chiefs, particularly those in Terik and Aldai.

Meanwhile the colonial administration did nothing to improve the level of animal husbandry. While the white settlers were generally shifting from mixed farming to dairy farming and improving their herds and methods of animal husbandry through government assistance, the nandi were grossly neglected through token assistance in free inoculations and the setting up of the Animal Husbandry Station were witnessed. With the assistance of the nandi chiefs, the veterinary department was largely geared to assisting the settlers in clearing the bushes, fencing paddocks, establishing dips and up-

[26] DC/KER/1/15/1942, p. 12.
[27] DC/NAN/1/17/1944, p. 4.
[28] DC/NAN/1/15/1942, p. 12.

grading their livestock with pure-breed Ayshire bulls introduced from the Molo area. It has already been noted how settler concentration and expansion in dairy farming led to the eviction of squatters and their livestock from the settled area. This was achieved in 1945 with the passing of the Cattle Cleansing Ordinance which the nandi squatters bitterly contested as it coincided with a dry season when grazing was always bad in the reserve. A total of about 25,000 heads of cattle were destined to be removed from the settled area into the reserve[29] with such consequences which will be dealt with later in the work. All the records were kept by the chiefs.

Apparently, the colonial administration was only interested in the nandi livestock in meeting their war efforts without doing much to improve their quality. Before 1942 all inoculations had to be paid for, but 1942 marked the commencement of free total anti-rinderpest with goat virus inoculations. As a result, the number of livestock inoculated jumped to roughly 73,000 in 1942 compared to only roughly 10,000 in 1940 and rising to 23,727 heads of cattle in 1941. But foot and mouth disease and black quarter attracted payment and 8,000 and 26,000 inoculations were done respectively in 1942[30]. In 1943, about 103,328 compulsory goat virus inoculations against rinderpest were carried out in the reserve and 7,700 cattle in the settled area belonging to the nandi were equally covered[31]. In 1944, rinderpest compulsory goat virus inoculations comprised 19,151; blackquarter vaccination, 18,000; and anthrax, 7,000[32]. In 1940, the Animal Husbandry Station was started with the aim of educating the nandi in animal husbandry. But the utter neglect of the nandi livestock industry is reported in 1943 that the kapsabet Station was "...under the supervision of a keen but unqualified school master [otherwise] ... not

[29] DC/NAN/1/18/1945, p. 6.
[30] DC/NAN/1/15/1942, p. 12.
[31] DC/NAN/1/16/1943, p. 13.
[32] DC/NAN/1/17/1944, p. 10.

one single effort [had] been made to improve or help in any way the livestock position of this cattle minded tribe"[33]. The same sentiments were reported in 1944 that "...apart from inoculations, vaccinations and so on, no signs of veterinary activity have been observed apart from the effort"[34]. With this it is therefore evidenced that the war years were unfavourable towards the nandi livestock industry. While the colonial forces did nothing substantial to improve their livestock and only wanted to deplete them for war efforts, the nandi, through their own initiative and industriousness, managed to replenish their livestock through livestock trade and by reinvesting all their earnings in livestock acquisition. The replenishment was so effective such that after the war the colonial administration sought to count, brand and cull the livestock. Given the predominance of European interests, cattle ownership among the Africans still remained perforce a form of saving, a medium of currency and an insurance against famine rather than an actual commercial resource.[35]

One of the things that bothered the colonial administration, and the chiefs in particular was cattle raiding. Stock rustling continued throughout the war in spite of the imposition of a Special Police Levy in 1939 to deter cattle raids across the nandi border border. This levy remained in force for three years until March1942 when it was realised that it did not achieve much. But then it was still to continue under the Tribal Police Ordinance on reduced rates, largely in order to avoid a sudden drastic reduction in the number of Tribal Police available.[36] Even then, cattle rustling was rampant during and after the imposition of the Special Police Levy with 1942's cases reaching alarming rates. There was rustling amongst the Luo, luhya with equal indifference and the

[33] DC/NAN/1/16/1943, p. 13.
[34] DC/NAN/1/17/1944, p. 10.
[35] Stichter (1982), p. 99.
[36] KNA/DC/NAN/1/15/1942, p.8

situation acquired the proportion of "unrest" The nandi were fined a total of about Shs. 36,000/= for cattle rustling in 1943. At last it was realised that only education and profitable employment could deter the nandi from livestock rustling and not more fines as the latter provided great impetus for the them to recoup their losses through more animal raids. For example, about livestock rustling cases were dealt with in 1943 compared with roughly 177 in 1942.[37] The advent of the Kenya Police in 1944 only managed to reduce the incidence of livestock- rustling and not eliminating it completely. By 1945 a total of about 195 Kenya Police Officers existed in the reserve, but livestock rustling remained a serious issue, as about 229 cases of livestock rustling were reported.

As seen, the management of cattle in Africa was handled inconsistently by the colonial authorities during World War II. Although there was a need for enough cattle to support needs during the war, the rules put in place at the same time limited the sector's expansion. Veterinary quarantines imposed limits on cattle movements both during and after the war hindered the growth of a strong livestock economy. It was not permitted to drive livestock to marketplaces for sale or transport them to salt licks, grazing grounds, or watering spots. In an interview, Mr. Arap Kiyai noted that:

> When the Nandi people resisted or refused to follow the confiscation orders, chiefs played a role in administering punishment. They had the authority to impose fines, imprisonment, or other penalties on individuals who opposed the colonial authorities. This potential for punishment served as an additional incentive for the Nandi people to relinquish their livestock.[38]

All of the colonial Empire's potential resources, including soldiers and supplies, had to be mobilized for military reasons during WWII. Consequently, massive increases in colonial agricultural production were made for military needs Berman. Being self-

[37] KNA/DC/KER/1/16/1943, p. 4)
[38] Oral Interview with Mr. Arap Kiyai on 22/06/2024.

sufficient in all necessary foods was indispensable. In addition to creating what Great Britain desired most during the War, self-sufficiency in all necessities was encouraged.[39] As such, in the colonial period, Kenyans were forcefully recruited as fighters and workers in the army. Approximately 98,000 Kenyans participated in the military forces in one capacity or another, both domestically and overseas.[40] Colonial chiefs were tasked with identifying and conscripting physically fit males for the war, which negatively impacted agricultural productivity.

Coercion of Kenyans, and other Africans, into the British military was a practice that began in World War I.[41] In World War II, heavy taxation and the need for increased agricultural productivity seemed to be contradicted by the agenda of recruiting strong men into the British war project. To support the increased recruitment of Nandi men into labour and KAR, the colonial chiefs were used to intensify the confiscation of cattle from the natives. A respondent Mr. Kipkios noted that:

> Chiefs were respected members of their communities with great authority and influence who were tasked with keeping the peace and enforcing the law. The colonial authorities exploited this authority by delegating to chiefs the responsibility of supervising the confiscation of livestock. Chiefs used their position of power and influence to convince the Nandi people to give up their cattle.[42]

Even if many did not want to sell their livestock, pressure and intimidation were common tactics. There were 387,708 sheep and 178,814 beef cattle on the Tugen-inhabited plains.[43] This was thought to be a rather high number, which provided the military with justification to compel the acquisition of livestock for the war effort and

[39] Zeleza, T. (1985). The political economy of British colonial development and welfare in Africa. *Transafrican Journal of History*, *14*, 139-161.
[40] Owino, M. (2021). Kenya and the Second World War: A review of the historiographical landscape. *History Compass*, *19*(3), e12649.
[41] Burton, D. (1987). The taxation of Africans: Transvaal 1902–1907. *African Historical Review*, *19*(1), 47-60.
[42] Oral Interview with Mr. Kipkios on 22/06/2024.
[43] KNA/BAR/1/2/7. Baringo District Annual Report, 1919.

the funds necessary, appropriated in the form of taxes.[44] In an interview, Mr. Kipkirong argued that:

> Chiefs served as important liaisons between the native populations and the colonial authority. They were responsible for informing the populace of commands and directives from the administration. The chiefs were in charge of alerting the Nandi communities about the colonial authorities' plan to seize livestock and making sure the local populace followed through on the order.[45]

By placing chiefs in strategic positions, the colonial authorities were able to collect taxes during these monthly auctions. Thereafter, pastoral populations like the Maasai, Kalenjin, and those living in the Northern Frontier District (NFD) started doing this on a regular basis.

In an interview, Mr. Choge of Kaptumo also revealed the following:

> The British colonialist used the Nandi cattle to acquire the much-needed resources in terms of food to support the war effort, particularly in the East African campaign. During this time, the British used the Nandi cattle to stock enough food reserves. At the core of this was the role of the chiefs. The chiefs were mobilized to confiscate cattle, particularly from those who were violating the existing laws on cattle management. These were taken to their outpost in Kapsabet and hauled to Voi where they used them to support the war effort.[46]

According to another interviewee, Arap Kipkinyor:

> Chiefs served as important liaisons between local populations and the colonial authorities. They were responsible for informing the populace of commands and directives from the administration. The chiefs were in charge of alerting the Nandi communities about the colonial authorities' plan to seize livestock and making sure the local populace followed through on the order.[47]

5.5 Enhanced Food Production of Local Produce

Chiefs also operated within the context of agricultural production in nandi. The role of the nandi in agricultural production was greatly intensified and they were further

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[44] Ochieng, W. R. (1985). *A history of Kenya*. Macmillan Kenya.
[45] Oral interview with Mr. Kipkirong 15/06/2024.
[46] Oral Interview with Mr. Choge Keburo area of Kaptumo
[47] Oral interview with Mr. Choge of Kaptumo 23/06/2024.

entrenched in commodity production. By the beginning of the war, maize was so far the most important economic crop grown by the nandi, not only for local consumption in the tea estates but also for sale outside the district. By 1940 the increase in maize production had been maintained and represented about 33,314 bags in excess of 1939, the total for 1940 being at 97,931 bags[48]. The colonial government was eager to institute the correct methods of husbandry; the use of compost was also being promoted. In fact, the chiefs were tasked to mobilize and sensitize people on this matter. Work concerning the correct setting of ploughs was increasingly being demonstrated and the colonialists thought that methods of husbandry suffered from lack of knowledge which hindered the yield of the most important crop, namely maize. It was hoped that by intensifying cultivation through better methods of farming the district would produce more than the 4.5-5 bags per acre than in production. It then became the concerted policy of the colonial administrators to intensify maize production in the nandi land to conform to the general colonial policy of producing more food for the war efforts. Though this policy was hampered by lack of trained personnel and the prevailing low prices at times, the nandi nevertheless seized the opportunity to expand maize cultivation in response to the prices. By 1941 the maize prices at Kapsabet had dropped to about Shs. 2/= per 200 lbs. bag. And so in 1942 there was a great decrease of maize planted, perhaps only half of that planted in 1941, this being the result of poor prices in 1941-42 and lack of manpower due to military conscription[49]. The introduction of the Maize Control Board (MCB) in July 1942 led to an increase in prices but this was too late to increase the harvest. The MCB ensured 225 the inspection of maize to good quality standards, thus increasing the prices. Kanogo and Zeleza however see this as a move aimed at curtailing

[48] DC/NAN/1/14/1940, p. 11.
[49] Stichter, S., (1982). *Migrant Labour in Kenya: Capitalism and African Response 1895-1975*. London: Longman.

African competition in the local and international markets. Towards the end of 1942 shortage of various commodities, including maize, began to be felt and a black market came into existence[50]. In November a crisis in the maize position occurred when the Tea Estates which normally required about 5,200 bags of posho a month found themselves in a precarious position of having on an average less than seven days supplies on hand. Urgent steps had to be taken to meet the situation by importing from both South Kavirondo and elsewhere in the colony via the railway line. A total of about 4,892 bags were brought in.

The food shortage of November-December does not however imply that the nandi were not producing enough maize. The 1941 nandi Reserve maize crop was, for the first time, sufficient to supply all the district's internal needs in 1942 and allow for an export. But in July to October 1942, it appeared that this was practically the only dry maize in the colony and the MCB ordered a certain amount to be taken out of the district, the ultimate total being nearly 18,000 bags. This left the district short of maize to carry over the October-December period while waiting for the 1942 crop to come on to the market. Eventually about 4,892 bags had to be imported to avert a potentially threatening food shortage situation[51]. Inspection of maize was continued and maintained in 1942 and a total of about 97,453 bags of the 1941 high quality crop were sold at the buying centres. Prices, however, were low in the first half of the year, but the advent of Maize Control in July saw an increase to about Shs. 51=. This somewhat satisfactory increase however came too late to affect the 1942 crop which was by far less than that of 1941 and the total maize brought amounted to about 54,120 bags only. The year 1943 saw a

[50] DC/NAN/1/15/1942, p. 3.
[51] DC/NAN/1/15/1942, p. 11.

tremendous increase in the cultivation of maize and it was projected that the district could export more than 100,000 bags in 1944.

When the crop was brought in 1944 an astonishing 192,718 bags were bought by MCB at various buying centres. This was not withstanding that a considerable amount of maize found its way into the hungry Luo country. Indeed the "harvests of war" as duped elsewhere by Gordon (1946) were realised that year. The astronomical crop of 1943 led to the building and opening up of more trading and buying centres. Besides, the LNC passed a resolution prohibiting the export of manure from the reserve to enhance maize production. Any suggestions to limit the crop would have caused an unprecedented uproar. By the close of World War II maize production was still high with about 187,905 bags sold in 1945. In April 1945, maize from the district was included in consignments sent to South Africa, indicating a greatly improved quality of the maize produced[52]. By the end of World War II maize production had attained a position of total monoculture except for a few other crops grown in the district. The enormous amounts of maize produced and exported indicated the increased level of the entrenchment of the nandi in colonial commodity production and their integration within the colonial economic set up as producers of the required food and raw materials.

Through the mobilization of chiefs, other crops produced by the nandi included wimbi, Irish potatoes, Rose cocoa and Canadian wonder beans, parsnips, cauliflower, onions, cabbage, pigeon peas and tomatoes. Wimbi, the traditional crop had not been totally discarded and had important uses, especially for the brewing of maiyek and the making of kimnyet for old people. It therefore existed side by side with the all-important maize and other acquired crops. By 1942 the reserve was also growing an excellent quality of

[52] DC/NAN/1/18/1945, p. 8.

wheat estimated at about 2,000 bags for which Shs. 18/= were being paid for a 200 lbs. bag.[53] By 1943, 30 bags of beans and 5,517 bags of potatoes were inspected for sale. The following year, 1944, witnessed an increased production for 171 bags of beans, 7,744 bags of potatoes and 558 bags of wheat were inspected and sold by the nandi[54]. During 1945 propaganda for the growing and consumption of wheat had some success when approximately 1100 bags were produced. By 1945, therefore, the production of other crops besides maize had been equally intensified. Agricultural production, in general, kept expanding to keep with the wider colonial policy of producing enough food for the war efforts.[55] As Bowles notes, such extension of acreage for tribute production was liable to cause soil exhaustion and erosion. Indeed this was the situation in nandi and soil conservation measures were advocated and carried out during and even after the war.[56] The DC found it difficult "...to understand why North Kavirondo and nandi have to supply practically all the maize for East Africa and why Uganda and Tanganyika do not grow enough for at any rate their own requirements."[57] It was realised that such heavy demands on the nandi in maize production would eventually lead to irreparable destruction of their soil and soil conservation measures were instituted. By 1940 the LNC, on its own initiative, passed the Standard Resolution on soil conservation which they had rejected in previous years.[58] However, soil conservation measures were faced with two major problems – first, the lack of adequately trained agricultural personnel and secondly what the colonialists called "the usual initial suspicion of the natives".[59] But starting from 1940 the majority of the

[53] DC/NAN/1/15/1942, p. 11.
[54] DC/NAN/1/17/1944, p. 9.
[55] Brown, L. H. (1968). Agricultural change in Kenya: 1945-1960. *Food Research Institute Studies*, *8*(1), 33-90.
[56] Bowles, B. D. (1976). Peasant production and underdevelopment: the case of colonial Kenya. *African Review*, *6*(2), 113-128.
[57] DC/NAN/1/18/1945, p. 9.
[58] DC/NAN/1/14/1940, p. 5.
[59] DC/KER/1/17/1944.

Native Instructors were instructed to devote their whole time to soil conservation activities as soil erosion was steadily increasing throughout the reserve. In 1945 a party of the nandi and Kipsigis were taken to the Wakamba reserve by the administration. They returned "...full of concern lest their own country should be reduced to a similar state". As a consequence, the LNC then unanimously passed various sound soil conservation resolutions and locational committees were set up to implement such resolutions. A small but growing body of landowners provided an example to their fellows of benefits and profits to be derived from good farming systems. The role of the agricultural officer and chiefs in the conservation of the soil cannot therefore be viewed as a way of improving agriculture in the area, but as an attempt to avert an agrarian crisis caused by the colonial need for surplus production of food crops. Above all, the chiefs were at the center stage towards ensuring that these agricultural policies instituted by the colonial government were implemented as intended.

5.6 Colonial Wage Labour and Role of Nandi Chiefs

With increased need of production, the demand for wage labour in the colonised Kenya intensified. The hiring of local labour for white settler farms and colonial industry was mostly dependent on colonial chiefs. Their responsibility involved urging young males in their villages to find employment, frequently framing this as a way to promote harmony with the settlers. According to one key informant: “Chiefs were pressurized by the DC to ensure the [Nandi] people were living in peace with the settlers. One way to achieve this peace was to ensure young Nandi men worked well for the whites in the farms and factories. The chiefs were not happy with workers who did not respect the rules of work, and they would often punish such men.”[60]

[60] Oral Interview with Mr. Choge of Keburo area of Kaptumo, Nandi South Sub-County, on 15/06/2024.

Chiefs were also responsible for calling labourers, advising them on proper behaviour at work, and enforcing compliance with colonial laws by punishing non-compliance. However, according to a KNA report, the chiefs often struggled to enforce good behaviour among the Nandi labour recruits. The chiefs' dual role as both their own communities' spokesmen and those of colonial authority emphasizes the complexity of their roles during this time. This was made worse by the fact that the chiefs were also at the forefront in enforcing tax measures aimed at coercing Africans to embrace wage labour.

The above findings reiterate those of previous research that avers that chiefs were instrumental in the creation of wage labour systems in colonial Africa. According to Fechner, in order to fill "free labour contracts" for European settlers and investors, colonial administrators frequently asked chiefs to provide a certain number of workers. Similarly, Cooper avers that colonial chiefs played a crucial role in organizing and managing labour for colonial economic objectives, but there was a complex relationship between labour coercion, declining pay, and the chiefs' positions within the labour system.[61] In agreement, Cunningham observes that, in the 1940s, African labourers' real salaries fell in spite of the rising demand for labour.[62] Low productivity levels and the financial restrictions imposed by colonial laws were both factors in this decrease. Increased agricultural output was profitable for settlers, but it did not result in higher pay for African workers. Therefore, a combination of colonial policies, economic changes, and the commercialization of African agriculture contributed to the formation of a wage labour force.

[61] Cooper, F. (1989). From free labor to family allowances: Labor and African society in colonial discourse. *American Ethnologist*, *16*(4), 745-765.
[62] Cunningham, T. (2023, April). Missionaries, the State, and Labour in Colonial Kenya c. 1909–c. 1919.

5.7 Production of Food for the Army for War Efforts

According to Burton, African efforts were required in 1939 in three areas: the armed forces, food production on their own farms, and labor force. The military authorities forced the labor force to perform essential backup work for the troops on farms, estates, and plantations owned by Europeans.[63] During the Second World War (1939-1945), the colonial state, represented by the African leaders, took the initiative to feed the soldiers. Because of this, the African population at this time perceived the imposition of taxes through compulsion and threats as a punitive measure that needed to be rejected. Before World War I, the colonial authorities in Kenya employed this particularly well-liked tactic to ensure compliance and facilitate the collection of poll and hut taxes.[64]

These views were also echoed by Maxon and Ofcansky:

> During and after World War II, Kenya's economy was altered by the initiation of import substitution manufacturing. The 1950's also witnessed an important change in the agricultural sector as the state adopted measures to stimulate greater production from African households, including land consolidation, permission to grow high-value cash crops, and the expansion of extension services. This helped to unleash peasant production over the next two decades. Consequently, despite the departure of most European farmers after independence, agricultural exports rose markedly, with the majority coming from the peasant sector.[65]

The inability of the typical African male wage worker to afford and maintain animals made the problem worse. While there was a universal aversion to selling animals, coercion and intimidation were frequent occurrences. There were a lot of animals in the Tugen region: 178,814 beef cattle and 387,708 sheep. The military thought these numbers were high enough to warrant taking these animals by force in order to use

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[63] Burton, D. (1987). The taxation of Africans: Transvaal 1902–1907. *African Historical Review, 19*(1), 47-60.
[64] *Ibid.*
[65] Maxon, R., & Ofcansky, T. (2000). *Historical Dictionary of Kenya*. London: Scarecrow Press.

them in the war effort. A common method of collecting the compensation for this livestock was through taxes.[66]

In Kenya the situation was especially controversial. The Governor of Kenya urged that Kenya's part in the Imperial war effort should be one of food production. His request reflected the viewpoint of the white farmer settlers who were well represented in Kenya's Legislative Council. On April 14th 1939, the Governor of Kenya spoke to the Legislative Council; 'Wars are won, not only by using a rifle in the firing line but by keeping up the supply of food and material.'

In the other East African territories, general rather than specific instructions were given regarding the full contribution to be made to the Empire's war effort. In response, military authorities welcomed volunteers into the KAR and civil authorities encouraged African war gifts. A spontaneous gesture came from the Chagga tribe of Moshi, Tanganyika, who offered a proportion of their harvest to the war effort. It was their custom for those at home to send food to warriors and their contributions was duly distributed among the African ranks of the KAR at Moshi.

The Nandi also positively responded to the colonial campaigns to have Africans produce food for the war effort from early 1940s. Maize remained the main crop produced in Nandi reserve and the war period witnessed an increase in production of this crop. An increase in maize production led to competition for land space in the reserve for both grazing and maize production. Youe points out that this served to futher increase reliance on squatter holdings for cattle grazing.[67] An interview with Choge

[66] KNA/BAR/1/2/7. Baringo District Annual Report, 1919.
[67] Youe, C. (1988). Settler Capital and the Assault on the Squatter Peasantry in Kenya's Uasin Gishu Disrtict, 1942-63. *African Affairs*, *87*(348), 393-418.

revealed that during this period, Chief Elijah brought the planting of Irish Potatoes to Kaptumo:

> Chief Elijah wanted to establish a school having defected from AIC mission. He therefore set foot to Maseno to meet the Church Provine of Kenya (CPK) missionaries at the station. His request to establish a school were initially rejected. However, the request to open a church was accepted with conditions. He was asked to come with 100 signatures of willing members. He therefore deviced a way of acquiring the signatures. He went to visit Chief Tengecha of Kericho and while there he was able to learn a lot about Irish Potatoe farming. He came with the seedlings and asked people to cultivate. Once the crop was ready, he was duistributing part of the harvest to them with only one condition-sigh as you take the potatoes. When he took the signatures back to Maseno, the request to establish a church was accepted.[68]

Seen from the perspective of the Principal Agent Theory, what Chief Elijah did was that he used his position to introduce meaningful change. The act of going to Maseno was driven by an insatiable appetite for education. As much as the requests were laden with conditions, eventually, he was able to attain the change that he desired. Hencefourth, the establishment of the Church Province of Kenya and the subsequent establishment of schools in Kaptumo is credited to the hard work, zeal and determination and the need to change the society in Chief Elijah.

[68] Oral Interview with Mr. Choge of Keburo area of Kaptumo, Nandi South Sub-County, on 15/06/2024.

CHAPTER SIX

POST WORLD WAR II COLONIAL POLICIES AND THE CHANGING ROLES OF CHIEFS, 1945-1963

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the transformation of Nandi chiefs' roles in the context of post-World War II colonial policies, highlighting the significant socio-economic changes that occurred between 1945 and 1963. The aftermath of World War II marked a pivotal moment for Kenya, as the British colonial administration sought to recover from the economic devastation caused by the war. The British government, burdened with substantial debt and a weakened economy, turned to its colonies for increased productivity to bolster its financial recovery.[1] In this environment, colonial chiefs were assigned critical responsibilities aimed at enhancing agricultural output. They were tasked with mobilizing local farmers to increase food production, particularly staples like maize and beans, to support both the local population and British military efforts during the war.[2] This dual role positioned chiefs as intermediaries between colonial authorities and their communities, where they had to navigate complex dynamics of compliance and local governance.

The economic strategies implemented by the colonial government included the African Land Development (ALDEV) Programme and the Worthington Plan, both aimed at improving agricultural practices in African reserves.[3] These initiatives, however, often led to adverse outcomes, such as land confiscation for white settlers and increased

[1] Tanui, P. (1996). *Agriculture in nandi District Under Colonial Rule, 1895-1963* (M.Phil. Thesis, Moi University).
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Van Zwanenberg (1975).

forced labour recruitment.[4] While some chiefs benefited from government support by acquiring land and adopting mechanized farming techniques, many local farmers faced challenges due to restrictive policies that failed to address their needs effectively.

The emergence of nationalist sentiments after World War II further complicated the role of colonial chiefs. The formation of the United Nations and growing demands for decolonization pressured colonial powers to reconsider their governance strategies. Despite constitutional reforms that allowed for limited African representation in legislative bodies, such as Legislative Council (LEGCO) and the Council of Ministers, the fundamental roles of chiefs remained largely unchanged. They continued to operate within a colonial framework while adapting their strategies to maintain authority and address community grievances.

As resistance movements like Mau Mau gained momentum in response to socio-economic injustices, the colonial state declared a state of emergency in 1952.[5] This period saw the introduction of the Swynnerton Plan, which aimed to transition African farmers from subsistence to commercial agriculture by consolidating landholdings and providing technical assistance. Chiefs played a crucial role in implementing this plan, facilitating land consolidation and promoting compliance with new agricultural policies.

In summary, the post-World War II era was marked by significant shifts in the roles of Nandi chiefs as they navigated the challenges posed by colonial policies while attempting to serve their communities' interests. Their evolving roles reflected broader trends in colonial governance and resistance movements, ultimately shaping the

[4] Onyambu, M. (2022). *Engendering Land Access, Control and Ownership in Kisii County, Kenya* (PhD Thesis, Moi University).
[5] Tanui, P. (1996).

agricultural landscape of Nandi and contributing to the complex dynamics of Kenya's path towards independence.

6.2 Post-War Reconstruction Strategy and the Role of Chiefs

The European colonialism on Africa played a major role in the continent's relative poverty at the end of the 20th century.[6] Acemoglu and Robinson further argue that the economic development of Europe and the European colonies in North America and Australasia can be attributed to the Europeans' preference for extraction over mass settlement, which led to the introduction of institutions such as private property rights and supportive government systems.[7] The most notable example of colonial extraction in Africa was the appropriation of land for European plantations or settlers. This tactic was employed to force Africans to sell their labour to colonies, thereby forcing them to sell their land at a low cost. In other words, in cases where African land ownership was retained, one would observe that significant portions of the services sector were effectively monopolized by Europeans. Next, colonial administrations used force to compel laborers to work for the government or for European private companies.[8,9]

The original sin of colonialism in Africa was not establishing a fully-fledged capitalist system based on private property, which would have created the pressures towards accumulation and competition required to propel self-sustaining economic growth[10] Phillips makes this observation from the perspectives of both bureaucratic and elite

[6] Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2017). The economic impact of colonialism. In S. Michalopoulos and E. Papaioannou (Eds.), *the long economic and political shadow of history volume I. A global view* (p. 81). London: Centre for Economic Policy Research.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Fall, B. (1993). *Le travail forcé en Afrique occidentale française (1900-1946)* (No. 41, pp. 329-336). Université Libre de Bruxelles.
[9] Northrup, D. (1988). *Beyond the bend in the river: African labor in eastern Zaire, 1865-1940*. Ohio University Center for International Studies.
[10] Phillips, A. (1989). *The enigma of colonialism: British policy in West Africa*. London: James Currey.

theories. This ended up creating a system to support this end and hence the role of chiefs to support this system.

To accomplish its goals, the colonial government desperately needed to co-opt some local personnel who could be counted on to organize populations in their respective areas to respond spontaneously to colonial policy. As local functionaries for the colonial government, the chiefs' actions turned into mere instruments of imperialism. This viewpoint is far too simplistic since it fails to recognize the significant influence that chiefs had on local politics. In many instances, chiefs utilized their newfound authority to seize control of all established political and judicial institutions in addition to serving as the colonial government's local emissaries. Rather than being eclipsed by the older buildings, they were so powerful that the influence of the older ones was significantly reduced.

No studies have given detailed exploration of colonial Chiefs in previously chiefless societies such as the Nandi. Scholars and administrators often deplored their existence because they disrupted the political traditions of pre-colonial Africa. Others have contended that African communities simply disregarded these upstart chiefs and worked around them, settling disputes in the established ways. At best these chiefs have been regarded as little respected middlemen between the alien colonial government and local communities.

In evaluating their role in society, Moindi argues that scholars have given colonial functionaries varied treatment. According to Moindi, many historians, notably Muriuki, Atieno-Odhiambo and Kiwanuka, have generally portrayed colonial African chiefs as mere instruments used by the British to reach the colonized.[11] However, much power

[11] Moindi, K. (1997). *The Work of an African Chief in Kenya*.

the chiefs may have retained under colonial rule – and some retained a great deal – one fact was clear to them as to their subjects: Ultimate authority now lay with the white man. Moindi views the colonial chiefs as agents of social change; he does not view the chiefs as being collaborators.[12] This is supported by Ondieki who describes the African colonial chiefs as agents of social change.[13] It is important to note, however, that despite the criticisms against them by some scholars, African chiefs played significant roles in the economic transformations of their people.

As already mentioned elsewhere, the Nandi chiefs were tasked with tax collection, maintenance of law and order and supply of cheap labor for public and settler requirements. The chiefs were thus very important as agents of colonialism in advancing economic development that included labour supply and marketing of products. In Homa Bay, they urged the people to grow crops as well as supply labour to the European enterprises whenever they were required to do so.[14] Their roles certainly could not be diminished and this study has filled this gap. Peasant farmers were slowly adopting modern agriculture, especially cotton and groundnuts. The colonial chiefs were again in the fore front in urging their people to grow these crops. The Indians acted as middlemen in the marketing of these market-oriented crops. They continued to levy taxes on the people that inherently bolstered the colonial coffers. These taxes were used by the colonial government in the manner they deemed fit without any guarantee to Nandi's fledgling socio-economic sector at the time. Of

[12] Ombati, V. F. O. (1994). Development of secular Education in south Kavirondo District of Kenya: The case of government Africa school Kisii, 1934-1963 (Unpublished M. Ed Thesis, Kenyatta University).
[13] Ondieki, C. N. (1975). *Chiefs as Agents of Social Change in Gusii during the Colonial Period, C.1905-1963* (B.A. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Nairobi).
[14] Omondi, M. (2020). *Impacts of Colonialism on Traditional Land Tenure Systems and Agricultural Practices in Awendo Sub-County, Kenya, 1903-2010* (Doctoral dissertation, Rongo University).

course, some of the taxes, according to some oral interviews, only benefited the Chiefs themselves.

Irungu contends that colonial administrations entered the post-war era during World War II with a renewed public resolve to be perceived as actively promoting the growth of the economy over which they governed, for a variety of reasons.[15] Thus, it may be claimed that a significant portion of the colony's budget was allocated to ongoing expenses, such as education and agriculture, while other areas such as these received smaller amounts. Furthermore, it is clear that the direct rule system that made chiefs into rent seekers was employed to exploit these levies to the advantage of the chiefs, their families, and cronies at the detriment of the people. Previous research has supported the way in which chiefs handled tax collection and their opaque spending practices.[16]

Around the time of World War Two, as the British colonialists were extending their tentacles into Nandi another group of Europeans, the Christian missionaries, were also expanding into the area. They built more schools and began to convert people to Christianity. Thus, the Nandi had become a part of a large world, a colonial world based on political and economic system entirely different from that to which the local people were accustomed. The Christian missionaries had the upper hand in establishing, financing and controlling formal education development in Nandi before the emergence of government missionary cooperation at the turn of the twentieth century. Rono

[15] Irungu, S. (2019). *The role of colonial chiefs in Kenya: Their impact on Kenya's security standards, educational system and agricultural sector*. GRIN Verlag.
[16] *Ibid.*

observes that the main education curriculum emphasized by the missionaries and supported by the colonial government educational policies was techno-religious.[17]

6.3 Clamour for Education and Social Amenities and the Roles of Chiefs

Around the time of WWII, there was increased interest in education among the Nandi. This new enthusiasm arose when the nandi witnessed the new social economic advancement opportunities which had been brought about by the introduction of formal education. Hence, they subsequently flocked to mission schools in an endeavour to acquire the new skills which were rewarded with high pay in the employment markets. As argued by Leys, Africans developed an interest in formal education when settlers began to pay relatively highly for reading and writing ability on the new farms.[18] The Government began to look for clerks and employees who could obey instructions. One reason for the concentration on education was the increasing demand. However, Ombati holds the view that when Africans became dissatisfied with the type of education they were subjected to in the mission schools through the Local Native Councils which were inaugurated in 1925, they collected and voted money for the establishment of Government African School in 1934.[19] With the establishment of these types of schools, a new era of literary or secular education was ushered established.

Bogonko acknowledges the importance of chiefs in the provision of education. He gives an assessment of the role played by colonial chiefs in the spreading of western education in Kenya as a whole. Indeed, it would be logical to expect that societies that did not sanction chiefs would not be politically stable under men appointed by an outside

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[17] Ronoh, T. K. (2000). *A History of Colonial Education among the Kipsigis of Kenya, circa 1895-1963* (MA Thesis, Egerton University).
[18] Leys, C. (1971). Politics in Kenya: The development of peasant society. *British Journal of Political Science, 1*(3), 307-337.
[19] Ombati, V. F. O. (1994). Development of secular Education in south Kavirondo District of Kenya: The case of government Africa school Kisii, 1934-1963 (Unpublished M. Ed Thesis, Kenyatta University).

power. The current work did not consider development of education in Nandi. Bogonko stresses the role of Christian missionaries in secular education but ignores the important role chiefs played in development of education. Schools and churches were key features of the impacts of missionary activities in the colonial Kenya. The schools were built for acquisition of knowledge for the African children. Churches were built for moral and spiritual nourishments of the converted ones. Some of the chiefs had received their early education in missionary schools. The construction of schools enhanced literacy among the children of the colonial subjects as they acquired knowledge, skills that enabled them to seek employment opportunities. This led to increase in numbers of Kenyan elites.

6.4 Land Reforms and the Swynnerton Recommendations

The issue of land was closely intertwined with the plight of African soldiers returning from World War II. Just like in other parts of the colony, the African volunteers were enlisted to join the army with the promise of being given land as compensation. The chiefs at the time played a significant role towards mobilizing labour. However, after the war, there was a big challenge related to land. The shortage of land and insufficiency in food supply resulted in a major discontent among the indigenous communities. The colonial government soon realized that the European settlers would not enjoy any security in their land unless some form of stable property arrangement was provided for the indigenous people. It therefore became necessary to raise the jurisdical status of the Native Reserves in order to safeguard the security of the white settlers.[20]

In colonial Kenya, the 1938 Crown Lands (Amendment) Ordinance was a significant piece of law designed to control land tenure and handle matters related to land

[20] Wayumba, G. (2017). A historical review of land tenure reforms in Kenya. *International Journal of Scientific Research and Engineering Studies (IJSRES)*, 2(1), 45-51.

ownership. The British colonial authority made more efforts to control land allocation, especially in regions with substantial agricultural potential like Nandi, where this ordinance was implemented.

Principal Ideas of the Ordinance entailed the following: The first one was Land Registration. By offering a formal structure for land transactions, the legislation aimed to make land registration easier. Its goals were to simplify administrative procedures and establish land ownership. Impact on Indigenous Peoples: Native American populations were either deprived of their land or subjected to limitations on how they might utilize it, which caused tensions with the regulation, which frequently favored European settlers and companies. Put into the Nandi Context, this legislation had direct ramifications for the Nandi people, who traditionally held communal land rights. The laws frequently violated these rights, which caused the Nandi population to become more resistant and alienate themselves from their land. Besides, there was a lot of Colonial Control. The decree was a component of a larger plan for colonial control over resources and territory, which fueled social unrest and economic inequality. In short, the Crown Lands (Amendment) Ordinance (1939) had a long-lasting effect on Indigenous tribes' rights to land and significantly influenced land policies in colonial Kenya. The back stopped at the chiefs in ensuring that these laws are implemented to the fullest. An interview with Ezra Kirui revealed the following:

> The land laws during this period were very discriminatory. The Nandi was disenfranchised and were left to live as squatters on their own land. The chiefs were under very strict instructions to enforce these laws and those chiefs who were found not to be toing the line were summarily dismissed by the colonial authorities.[21]

The Ordinance also ensured that there was property Registration and Control. This was goaled towards promoting European settlement, control Crown property leases, and

[21] Oral Interview with Felix Kirui, Kaptumo, 70 years.

expedite land registration procedures in colonial Kenya. The ordinance had an Impact on Indigenous Land Rights. By formalizing land alienation practices that had started earlier and restricting their access to customary lands, it severely disenfranchised Indigenous populations, particularly the Nandi. As this was occurring, the place of Nandi chiefs changed to difficulties as colonial policies progressively reduced their power and control over communal land. Traditionally, Nandi chiefs possessed great influence over land and community.

The first intervention involved programmes designed to decongest the African areas through settlements on vacant crown land and reconditioning of the degraded land. To implement the programme, a Development and Reconstruction Authority (DARA) was set up in the middle of 1940s, assisted by an African Land Utilization and Settlement Board (ALUS), later renamed, the African Land Development Board (ALDEV).[22] These programmes did not succeed for the following reasons; first, the inherent suitability of the land earmarked for resettlement was not ideal; at the same time, the coercive manner in which the reconditioning schemes were administered rendered them ineffective; besides, the general cultural aversion to the dislocation of families, clans and lineages in the process of resettlement dented the effectiveness of these programmes.[23]

Specific hallmarks of the colonial land policy were the instability in the regulatory and administrative policy making during challenging economic times. For instance, the economic depression of the 1930s forced the government to adopt the dual policy that promoted African peasant production to finance the bureaucracy and subsidize settler

[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*

agriculture.[24] The twin agrarian system during the Second World War in the late 1940s saw the emergence of the peasant production sector as a parallel and important production system. [25] Other significant challenges are the failure of the farmer organizations and their substitution with marketing and regulatory boards which consequently affected the prices of farm produce.[26] For instance, the collapse of the world market for dairy products saw the establishment of the Kenya Dairy Board in 1959. Further, in 1965 the substitution of the maize marketing board with the maize control board was as a result of the drought and famine.[27]

6.5 Role of Chiefs during the Declaration of State of Emergency in Nandi

During the state of emergency, the Nandi chiefs had to endure navigating Colonial Pressures. For example, the colonial government sought to weaken traditional authority by imposing new legal frameworks and administrative structures. As such, the Nandi chiefs had to navigate these pressures, often balancing their communities' needs with the demands of colonial authorities. With regards to community mobilization, many Nandi chiefs sought to mobilize their communities against colonial policies, advocating for their rights and land interests. Some chiefs attempted to assert their authority and resist colonial encroachment on Nandi land and culture.

In an interview with Solomon Cheruiyot, the following was unearthed:

> It was a delicate balancing act that the chiefs underwent during the state of emergency. They had to on one hand ensure that they enforce the emergency regulations while at the same time ensuring that this

[24] Throup, D. W. (1985). The origins of mau mau. *African Affairs, 84*(336), 399-433.
[25] Maxon, R. M. (1992). The establishment of the colonial economy. In W. Ochieng and R. M. Maxon (Eds.), *An economic history of Kenya* (pp. 63-74). Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
[26] Kenyanjui, S. (1992). European Settler Agriculture. In W. Ochieng' and R. M. Maxon (Eds.), *An Economic History of Kenya* (pp. 111-127). Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
[27] Leys, C. (1975). *Underdevelopment in Kenya*. *The political economy of neo-colonialism 1964-1974*. East African Publishers.

> does not prejudice their people's interests. One such chief was Senior Chief Elijah.[28]

Besides, there was a diabolic interplay involving collaboration and conflict: While some chiefs collaborated with colonial authorities to safeguard their positions and resources, others resisted or worked covertly to support the Mau Mau movement. This dual approach created tensions within communities, as some leaders were seen as traitors while others were viewed as defenders of their people's rights. These intrigues that were occurring during the Mau Mau period had a trickledown effect on the political consciousness of the Nandi. This made the chiefs to begin responding to the changing grievances among the Nandi as was demonstrated in an interview with Solomon Cheruiyot:

> The repercussions of the Mau Mau insurgency imposed a new approach and change in the discharge of the duties of the chiefs. For example, Chief Julius Pekyibei arap Bett begun downplaying deeper political motivations behind the clashes and as such he had to on one hand suppresses clashes while on the other managing the expectations of their people regarding colonial policies during this time.[29]

The Mau Mau insurgency has far reaching impacts. It brought the State of emergency which led to repression, including arrests and detentions of community leaders. Many Nandi chiefs faced direct consequences, either being detained or coerced into compliance with colonial policies. Besides, it also led to the creation of a Legacy of Resistance. However, despite the challenges, the Nandi chiefs played a crucial role in fostering a sense of identity and unity among the Nandi people during this tumultuous period, laying the groundwork for post-colonial political movements.

As has been demonstrated, the State of Emergency was primarily declared in response to the Mau Mau Uprising, which originated among the Kikuyu but affected the entire

[28] Oral interview with Solomon Cheruiyot.
[29] *Ibid.*

colony, including the Nandi. This uprising arose from grievances related to land dispossession, colonial oppression, and socio-economic disparities. This event had effects on the Nandi Chiefs in several ways: First, there was the disruption of Traditional Authority: The colonial government sought to weaken traditional leadership structures. Nandi chiefs, who had historically held considerable authority, encountered challenges as colonial policies aimed to diminish their influence and control over their communities. At the same time, there was increased Repression: The colonial administration enforced strict measures, including the arrest and detention of community leaders, among them Nandi chiefs. Many chiefs faced imprisonment or were pressured to align with colonial authorities to retain their positions.

In some cases, the Nandi chiefs went against their oath of office by siding with the leftists by encouraging Community Mobilization and Resistance. To this end, some Nandi chiefs worked to mobilize their communities against colonial policies, advocating for their rights and land. Others found themselves torn between loyalty to their people and the necessity of appeasing colonial officials, resulting in internal tensions. At the same time, there was a nexus between collaboration and Resistance: While some chiefs cooperated with the colonial government as a means of protecting their communities' interests, others openly or covertly supported the Mau Mau movement, leading to divisions among chiefs and their communities.

In the end, the state of State of Emergency left a far-reaching legacy: The experiences during the State of Emergency significantly influenced Kenya's political landscape. The responses of Nandi chiefs during this period played a role in shaping future political movements, contributing to the broader fight for independence. To this end, this demonstrates the dual nature that these chiefs were to navigate through in the discharge

of their duties. Therefore, whereas the State of Emergency in Kenya from 1952 to 1956 presented substantial challenges for Nandi chiefs, who had to navigate the complexities of colonial rule and the emerging resistance. Their actions during this tumultuous period were crucial in shaping the identity and political dynamics of the Nandi community leading up to independence.

One of the responses to the challenge of the issue of land was the enactment of the Swynnerton Plan. The Swynnerton Plan was therefore a culmination of a gradual process of agricultural reorganization of the African areas which immediately started after World War II.[30] The period between 1955 and 1960 has been described as a rapid development phase or the phase of the development of small holder farming. According to the Swynnerton Plan, settlement schemes were imperative for an intensive type of agriculture and so land adjudication and privatization were noticeably increased in the African reserves.[31] The Swynnerton Plan has been hailed by some as an agricultural success story because of its land reform programme. Consequently, the Swynnerton Plan amplified differentiation among the rural peasants creating a landless and poor peasantry on one hand, and a rich landed peasantry on the other.[32]

With regards to the Nandi, according to Koskei, the King's African Rifles (KAR) war veterans complained that they had never receieved any form of pension despite having fought for the British locally and abroad. Most of them died due to old age and neglect. Those still alive had nothing to smile about, although they put their lives at stake and fought gallantly for the British. One of them is Timotheo arap Songok, 96, from

[30] Kamau, G. (2007). *Researching with farmers: a study of KARI participatory research practices in context*. Wageningen University and Research.
[31] Ashley, J. (2006). *The British Empire and the Second World War*. A&C Black.
[32] Kelsall, D. T. (2013). *Business, politics, and the state in Africa: Challenging the orthodoxies on growth and transformation*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Kiplombe in Uasin Gishu County, who was among those conscripted by the British to fight in the Second World War (1939 to 1945). In an interview, he stated thus:

> At that time, Africans were so strong that the British recruited us to help them fight their enemies, they came to our village in Nandi and ordered for young men. Nobody was supposed to turn down their call because they held high positions. Together with my age mates, I obliged.[33]

Because of the hard tasks that the ex-soldiers were subjected to, their health suffered a great setback. Many, like Songok, continue to suffer unrelenting pain in the legs and poor eyesight. He recalls the day British officers visited his village seeking to recruit young, strong men to the army. He reveals that the British preffered the Kalenjin, Luo, Kamba and Turkana to join the KAR because they perceived them to have innate strength to fight as soldiers. He further avered that those conscripted were offered specialised training by the British at what known as the Jinja Armed Forces Training College in Uganda before being enlisted with various brigades. However, despite their gallantry and the suffering they went through, Songok laments that KAR soldiers have never been recognised by either the Kenyan or the British government. The father of 12 says that he retired from the force in 1951 and returned home empty-handed. “My house leaks heavily during the rainy season and it will be appropriate for the government to assist me construct a modern one”.[34]

Another interviewee, James Birgen arap Rotich, 90, revealed that he joined KAR in 1943 and returned home in 1948. However, despite his service to the British government, his grandchildren ask cannot account life and times as a fighter, the only evidence he has for this service are the medals of honour strapped on the khaki coat he was given by the British officers and nothing more.[35] This scenario is an apt

[33] Oral Interview with Songok Timotheo (96 years) on 13/07/2024.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] Oral interview with James Birgen arap Rotich (90 years) on 13/07/2024.

demonstration of how the Africans who served the British were treated with contempt. He further laments that the chiefs who recruited them gave them many promises but when they came back, they were not in a position to explain to them how they were living in squalor. In fact, a majority of the British ex-soldiers were given land in Nandi. Mr. Choge explained that the DC at the time mobilized chiefs to ensure that the land earmarked for the British ex-soldiers was availed while the Africans, particularlythe Nandi who also served alongside the British were left with none. It was observed that Birgen, a father of four, uses a walking stick for mobility due to leg pains following aggressive activities during his hay days in the service.

6.6 Changing Roles of Women during and after the Second World War

During the World War Two period, the African society underwent tremendous changes that impacted on how the society operated. With regards to women, their roles changed. At the heart of these changes lay the role of chiefs in managing these changes. To begin with, the Nandi women played many roles during the war, which transformed the gender dynamics of the community in the post-war period. They took greater responsibility in management of the household, agricultural activities, and catering to their families.

Many young men in Nandi were recruited to serve as servicemen in the British Army. Most of them were able-bodied, newly married and as such had to leave the responsibility of taking care of the family to the women. Consequently, the traditional roles of women as housewives changed to that of co-providers. Women were forced to go and look for means of survival and be able to take care of the children that they were left with. At the same time, the African chiefs had to ensure that the families of the departed servicemen were adequately taken care of. Besides, not all men who enlisted

to the war came back; a good number died, hence leaving the women as widows and hence play dual roles. In an interview, Choge revealed that:

> The World War 2 saw a considerable number of Nandi men losing their lives. Others came back injured and some were never seen again. As such, women either decided to take the painful path of raising the children as sigle mothers, while others got married as second wives. However, either way, their roles traditionally underwent tremendous change. Those who managed to raise children as single mothers late on received accolades and respect from the community.[36]

According to Oboler, the experiences of Nandi women during the World War II did create a paradigm shift that impacted on their traditional roles that they had been accustomed to. In so doing, they became more independent and assertive. However, after the war, there was a relapse back to their traditional roles as the men came back to assume their traditional roles[37].

In search of work possibilities brought on by the War, it was reported that several Nandi women moved to cities like Nairobi and Nakuru. According to reports, many of these women turned to prostitution as a way of subsistence.[38] This trend appeared as a result of the lack of men and the financial strains that families experienced during this turbulent period[39].

As a whole, the World War II experiences of Nandi women influenced the slow shift in gender norms. Even while customs persisted, the war sparked a change that gave women more agency in the social and economic domains. The tenacity exhibited by women throughout this time period paved the way for later generations, impacting their involvement in the community and the economy.

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[36] Oral Interview with Mr. Choge Keburo area of Kaptumo.
[37] Oboler, R. (1982). *Women, men and property change in Nandi District, Kenya* (Thesis, UON).
[38] Greenstein, L. J. (1978). The Impact of Military Service in World War I on Africans: the Nandi of Kenya. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 16*(3), 495-507. doi:10.1017/S0022278X0000255X
[39] Ward, R. (1941). Kenya women in wartime. *East Africa Annual*, 1029.

The war ushered in a lot of changes on the Nandi society. Before, women were not playing active roles in the community. Their work was restricted to only domestic. In most cases, the women were only supposed to be care takers of the home with the men playing other roles such as providing for the family and security as well as mobilizing and taking charge of manual work. At the same time, women were not allowed to own property since the Nandi society was a patrilineal society. However, during the war, women begun taking part in labour mobilization, provision for the family and with time, they even gained the mandate of controlling the property of their husbands, particularly whose husbands died in the war. This change impacted heavily on social and cultural systems of the Nandi society.

6.7 Role of African Chiefs in increased Participation of Africans in Affairs of the Colony

During the Second World War, the British war cabinet made a tremendous decision that impacted on Africa's contribution to the war effort. Jackson reports that the recruitment of new combatant units for the service was discussed.[40] As a result, many Africans were recruited by the British army as Kings African Rifles. In fact, there was massive military conscription in East Africa, which was greater than in any other part of Africa.[41] Throughout the colony, as this was happening, the chiefs were at the centre stage; they supported colonial administration officials in recruiting able and capable people who would be mobilized to the war front. The potential recruits were promised rewards after the war. The recruitment exercises saw District Commissioners, chiefs, army officers

[40] Jackson, A. (2006). *The British Empire and the Second World War*. A&C Black.
[41] *Ibid*.

and smartly dressed African servicemen visiting community gatherings that were coordinated by the local chiefs.[42]

K'Odipo argues that economic reasons were the major drivers of Africans joining the military front. They expected to earn from the military. Socially, they were motivated by the lifestyle of the retired soldiers who owned beautiful things in their homes such as beds, curtains and blankets. At the same time, the Africans believed that military service would provide them with the best opportunities not only to save money, but also to demonstrate how courageous and masculine they were to their peers. However, Owino notes that as much as the main aim was to improve their social and economic lives, after the War, many of them were disenfranchised.[43] They felt betrayed and exploited. Their experience was that which started with full optimism and ended with complete disappointment. This begun to play out in the events that came after the Second World War as expressed in the quest for independence and self-governance.

At the international scene, the colonial government had begun heeding to the United Nations Charter that was signed on 26th June 1945, which ushered in the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people in Article 1 (2). For example, the new Colonial Secretary, Creech Jones, wrote a correspondence to governors that was revolutionary. In the communiqué, he emphasized that the new post war period ushered in a new approach in the administrative style that they were to adopt. This approach was to be based on efficiency and democracy and, more importantly, it was to be local.[44] He stated that since 1940, there was much progress as far as increasing the leverage on

[42] K'Odipo, W. (2022). *Socio-economic and political roles of African chiefs in Nyanza Province during the colonial period* (PhD Thesis, Moi University).
[43] Owino, M. (2004). *'For your tomorrow, we gave our today': A history of Kenya African soldiers in the Second World War*. Rice University.
[44] KNA/1/23/1947. *Dispatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governors in African territories*. National Archives.

Africans by giving them more responsibilities in the government machinery. This also would mean that the Africans in administration had to be rewarded and given incentives to enable them to be more efficient and effective. The end goal of the Colonial Secretary in his correspondence was that he espoused an efficient and democratic system of local government as this would lead to political development of the African territories.[45] Lastly, he encouraged the Native Authorities to quickly adapt themselves to the needs of the modern world. As such, he emphasized that many posts at the district level were to be filled by Africans who were suitable.

Therefore, these changes impacted directly on the chiefs. They were given more recognition, leverage and responsibilities. In fact, their responsibilities expanded in order to be in tandem with the post-World War period. For example, in 1951, the District Commissioner, P.D Abrams, in commending the work done by chiefs in Nandi District, stated that the most outstanding achievements of these chiefs revolved around apprehending stock thefts.[46] Of mention by the DC were chiefs Titi and Joseph. On the other hand, chiefs Elijah and Micah were also commended for being responsible for the building of three dams in their respective areas.

> I remember a DC visiting and he held a baraza in which he reiterated the critical roles chiefs play in transformation of the society. Those chiefs that were marked to be hard working were promoted and commended for their good efforts by the DC.[47]

Similarly, in order to be able to foster the acquisition of more administrative skills in the chiefs, the chiefs were taken for refresher courses. For example, in 1951, chiefs Arap Korir and Joseph attended courses for chiefs at Jeans school, Kabete.[48]

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[45] *Ibid*.
[46] KNA/DC/NDI/7/1. *Annual Report Nandi District, 1950*. National Archives.
[47] Oral Interview with Mr. Choge Keburo area of Kaptumo
[48] *Ibid*.

Furthermore, to demonstrate the increased roles of chiefs within this new post war context, they were expected to participate in district shows. In 1950, more than 10,000 people went to Chemundu on the 4th of November at the coordination of their respective chiefs to attend the show.[49] Exhibits were the main part of the show. Cattle, sheep, goats, hens, produce and handwork were brought in from every location in Nandi, and this was coordinated by the chiefs. In the end, the participants were given prizes based on those who got high marks. All the six locations were represented, namely Chemundu, Kaptumo, Kabiyet, Serem, Sangalo, Kosirai, Kilibwoni, Maraba and Kapsisiywa.[50] Among the chiefs who scored high marks were chief Micah with 75, chief Elijah of Kaptumo with 74 and chief Katono of Kabiyet with 55 marks.[51] At the same time, the primary schools were domiciled under the chiefs with Chief Arap Katono being in charge of 18 schools, Chief Arap Korir had 10 while Chief Arap Titi had 6.[52] In fact, the Provincial Commissioner presented Chief Arap Titi with a certificate of merit during estimates meeting of the Nandi ADC.

The commendation of the chiefs made the District Commissioner, J.K.R Throup, implement a raft of welfare measures that were aimed at improving their working conditions. For example, he ensured that the salaries of the chiefs were increased. At the same time, he promoted chiefs Elijah and Micah to grade C and six others were promoted to grade B while chief Arap Beles was promoted to grade A. At the same time, the DC allowed Chief Elijah to travel to England for the victory parade and, on his return, he toured the Kericho District to give his impression of England. The Annual Report of 1950 describes Chief Elijah as a very good chief who is keen to see everything

[49] *Ibid*.
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] *Ibid*.
[52] *Ibid.*

such as education and building of shops progresses quickly.[53] On the other hand, Chief Joel Arap Malel was also commended for his roles in trade. Chief Elijah was nominated to the African Settlement Board and as much as he was frequently away from the district, he was described as an intelligent, respected, firm and progressive chief.[54]

The increasing number of Africans receiving greater responsibilities and payment from the colonial government ushered in a new crop of native elites, of which colonial chiefs were the most visible. Secondly, increasing the authority of African leaders signified increased agency of these officials, which was a first step towards political independence. The colonial master (principal) was gradually relinquishing power to the colonial chiefs (agents). Agitation for independence ideally meant the removal of the principal's interests and the usurpation of the position of the principal by the agent. However, as will be further demonstrated in this chapter, the colonial masters were already sowing seeds to ensure their interests would continue to be served by the African leaders after independence. According to one interviewee, the Nandi struggled to meet their tax obligations in the colonial period:

> The colonial chiefs collected taxes, which was 30 shillings per household around 1948-49. Those who did not have money to pay taxes had the option of surrendering some of their animals. However, tax evasion was punishable by imprisonment. Most people undertook manual labour to raise money for paying taxes to the colonial government.[55]

As the findings of this chapter underscore, the colonial chiefs represented an important economic base for the British economic interests in Kenya. In fact, study findings from KNA revealed that by 1950s, much of the local spending of the revenue obtained from

[53] KNA DC/NDI 1/2. *District Annual Report 1953*. National Archives.
[54] Correspondence from the District Commissioner to the Provincial Commissioner-Rift Valley in 1952.
[55] Oral interview with Peter arap Koei on 21/3/2019 (86 years old).

the Kenyan protectorate went into the recruitment and maintenance of the colonial chiefs, their assistants and the kanga. This is revealed by the report presented below.

Table 6.1: Revenue and Expenditure Comparative Statement of Expenditure Recovered During the Financial Year 1952 & 1955

Administration Nzoia Province Emoluments	Total amount allocated	1955	1952
Chiefs and headmen	10640.00	9788.97	10544.00
Tribal police	3905.00	5904.04	5275.10
Hot counters	1640.00	1655.00	1800.00
Interpreters	1108.00	1108.00	1880.00
Office boys and messengers	240.00	236.00	240.00
Station hands	5400.00	9956.72	4115.84
Road foremen	800.00	800.00	5959
Other charges			
Rewards & rations	100.00	115.00	65.00
Local transport & travelling	2600.00	2568.88	2458.57
Travelling allowance	-	-	58.20
Contingencies	60.00	81.51	36.15
Tools & implements	-	-	13.18
Carts, harness & livestock	-	-	19.50
Uniforms	00.00	51.51	58.18
Expenses of tribal police	600.00	599.29	567.15
Postal charges	-	-	70.40
	24710.00		
	Total	**25100.00**	**24502.70**

Source: KNA DC/ND1/1/4[56]

The table shows that colonial chiefs acted as critical agents of the British indirect rule as far as the economic, political and social interests were concerned. In the period 1945-1963, therefore, the colonial administration had begun to appreciate the contribution of these chiefs to the colonial agenda in Kenya. A total of 25,100 was expended on chiefs in 1955 and 24,502 in 1956 by the colonial chiefs. This was used to fund various functions such as uniforms postal charges, tools, impliments and salaries to the chiefs and headmen.

[56] KNA DC/ND1/1/4. *Annual Report, Nandi District, 1933*. National Archives.

According to the respondent, Peter arap Koei, Poll Tax was ordered to be paid per family head. By 1948-49 tax was collected and everyone had to pay. Chiefs had to identify the people to pay tax by their age, and the collected taxes were taken to DC. By 1953 taxes per head was Kshs. 25.[57] The interviewee further explained that the chiefs, with the help of the administrative police (AP) (Kaya), arrested those who declined to pay taxes. Many people sought refuge in settler farms in Uasin Gishu due to strict measures instituted by Chief Tulel against failure to pay taxes. According to the interviewee, many Nandi had learned to evade or directly resist taxation in the 1940s.

The above finding concurs with the view by Zeleza who, in his analysis of colonial chiefs in Gold Coast, argues that, in the latter years of colonialism of West Africa, "chiefs were chased from collecting market dues."[58] Concerning Kenya, Zeleza adds that many peasants were already resisting colonial policies, including taxation and were poised to join the Mau Mau struggle *en masse*. Zeleza attributes this resistance to increased labour unrests following the end of the Second World War.

Another interviewee explained how Poll Tax was implemented in Nandi during the colonial period:

> Payment of taxes were mandatory to estimate the number of family members each member came with a stick and this facilitated to estimate the population hence ease payment of taxes. Through the headmen the chief summoned the meeting to estimate the number of people. Counting was based on the clans attendance the meeting was compulsory.[59]

[57] Oral interview with Peter arap Koei on 21/3/2019 (86 years old).
[58] Zeleza, T. (1985). The political economy of British colonial development and welfare in Africa. *Transafrican Journal of History*, *14*, 139-161.
[59] Oral interview with Sosten Kirwa Arap Kimwey, on 5/4/2019 (69 years old).

Poll taxation in Nandi was formally established under Resolution no 2/1931, passed at a meeting of Nandi Local Native Council held on 13th and 14th August, 1931, which was presided over by the Capt. F.B. Hislop, District Commissioner. The Resolution was proposed by Chief Arap Chepkiyeng and seconded by chief Arap Melil carried unanimously. It provided that: for the year 1932, there be levied a local native rate of 1 shilling; the rate shall be levied as a poll rate on every adult male Nandi in the Nandi District, and the rate shall be paid on or before the 31st July 1932.[60]

The introduction of tax collection through colonial chiefs was not without challenges. This was revealed by study findings from KNA, which showed that colonial chiefs at times did not keep accurate records of revenue collected. For instance, an audit inspection of 1932 showed what had been suspected, that the method of revenue collection from chiefs' offices was extremely sketchy. Therefore, the colonial administration adopted a system whereby no loopholes existed and which would obviate further defalcations.[61] As indicated by arap Koei:

> The government conducted regular auditing to ensure transparency in revenue collection. It also used close supervision of colonial chiefs and recruited local informers and spies to report on misappropriation of funds.[62]

Aside from direct taxation, the study also found that the colonial government generated revenue through plot rents and licences such as donkey licenses and cycle licenses. Others included animal taxes during auction.[63]

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[60] KNA PC/RVP/6B/1/3B/2. Native Affairs Department Nairobi, 4th January, 1932, Ref No. NADM. 15/1/21/3/2/4. IV PP 1-2, 20-23.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] Oral interview with Peter arap Koei on 21/3/2019 (86 years old).
[63] KNA PC/RVP/6B/1/3B/2.

6.8 Role of Chiefs in the Expansion of the Economic Space for Africans

It is evident that even by the years following World War II, colonial chiefs were still greatly distrusted by their principals, the British, for a number of reasons. The chiefs had over time acquired their own power as intermediaries and elites of colonial processes. Second, the colonial chiefs who had been war veterans were less afraid of the British and would easily appropriate the collected taxes for their own projects. These findings concurred with those of previous research. For instance, according to Hamilton[64] and Mandani[65], chiefs, as the agents of the British indirect rule, gathered power from their followers and passed it to the central state in form of taxes. Therefore, collection of taxes for the British was the first main economic responsibility of the chiefs. This responsibility also imbued some social and political powers on these chiefs. Nevertheless, as shown in this study, chiefs' economic powers gained through tax collection helped to transform the Nandi community both positively and negatively. On the one hand, the Nandi were forced to adopt a life of labour in order to pay taxes. As earlier noted, the Nandi despised physical labour; so, this was a major transformation on their part. On the other hand, taxation served to impoverish the Nandi much of whose land and livestock had already been confiscated by the government. On a positive note, the Nandi embraced new ways of turning their labour and natural resources into economic benefits using technology, a tradition that continues to this day.

The above findings resonate with the views of Clayton and Savage who examine the problem of colonial labour in Kenya through the lens of war service and experience.[66] According to them, the war veterans were unwilling labourers and the colonial

[64] Hamilton, C. (1998). *Terrific Majesty: The power of Shaka Zulu and the limits of Historical invention*. Harvard University Press, p. 260.
[65] Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and Subjects Contemporary Africa*, p. 9.
[66] Clayton, A., & Savage, D. C. (2012). *Government and labour in Kenya 1895-1963*. Routledge.

administration preferred to assign them other roles, such as kanga or colonial chiefs. Clayton and Savage nevertheless note that it was the evolution of labour struggles that largely contributed to welfare colonialism and later spearheaded the independence struggle in Kenya.

The study further revealed that another major land demarcation in Nandi took place in 1950s-1960s under settlement scheme. As indicated in Chapter Two, in pre-colonial Nandi, land was communally owned. Each clan kept animals in their territories (pororiosiek; singular: pororiet). In the colonial dispensation, however, the chiefs helped in delineation of boundaries for the clans. Therefore, the chiefs tried as much as possible to retain the boundaries established traditionally through the clan system.[67] However, as arap Chirchir pointed out, land ownership had changed greatly in Nandi:

> The land system had changed greatly by then. Plus the available land was little and not very fertile. So these chiefs struggled to avail good land to every clan. Most of the chiefs took huge tracts of land to themselves. Their families and friends also benefited a lot and many other Nandi people became landless.[68]

The above views were affirmed by Joseph Arap Keter, who noted that some chiefs took up large parcels of land for themselves because they were in good terms with the British.[69] Keter gave the example of Chief Malel who converted to Christianity and was subsequently highly favoured by the colonialists by being given a huge tract of land. He owned a huge tract of land from present-day Eldoret International Airport, across Racecourse area, all the way to present-day Eldoret town.

It was reported that some of the chiefs who took part in the demarcation of the Nandi land in the 1950s were, among others, Mr. Letangwa, Arap Cheno and Arap Kibeles.

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[67] Oral interview with Arap Surtan Chirchir on 4/4/2019 (72 years old).
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] Oral interview with Joseph Arap Keter on 28/3/2019 (77 years old).

Demarcation began from Tabolwa to Mulango. The boundary was established when Arap Kibeles or Arap Cheno threw a stick and the white man followed where the stick was thrown and it became the boundary[70] The demarcation also followed rivers. For instance, Chief Arap Cheno, who was a Terik, used a horse and marked the land from Lessos Hill and Kabiyeet to Keiyo Hills.

6.9 Colonial Chiefs and the Rise of the African Middle Class

From the interview results, many examples were cited of colonial chiefs who made contributions in so far as the rise of the middle class was concearned through their work and lifestyles. For example, Chief Arap Cheno had a great impact on the Nandi political structures.[71] The interviewee, Arap Koei, narrated that Chief Cheno was appointed by the British in 1905. Around the same time, Chief Naburuki was appointed following the death of Koitalel Samoei. With the help of these two chiefs, the British pushed the Nandi to present-day Kaptumo area, to ensure easier control. After appointment, Chief Cheno was given a white horse (*nyumbu*) and nicknamed Chief Lelmengit. The chief spearheaded the subdivision of land from Mogong by fencing up to Ndalat, Turbo. At Ndalat, he placed a beacon (*singilet*). From Lessos, he went to Kipsigak, Nandi hills, and facilitated the assignment of Nandi land to the white settlers. Therefore, Chief Cheno facilitated the subdivision of the Nandi land into the various sections witnessed today.

Another interviewee reiterated that Chief Arap Cheno acted as paramount chief. He subdivided the regions (boundaries) so that under his rule Tinderet became shamba (white highlands). Other areas annexed during his time were from Olessos to Kabiyet to Kaiboi to Sarora to Kapkoimur Cheptonon, Chepterwai to Kipkaren River.

[70] Oral interview with Simon Arap Kelewa on 4/4/2019 (87 years old).
[71] Oral interview with Peter arap Koei on 21/3/2019 (86 years old).

Nevertheless, he was critical of such boundary drawings. He worked closely and often in the company of DC Kipkigi (Whiteman). Cheno was a very powerful chief and marshalled excess powers. In one of his trips with the DC, they were shot at in Kapwareng (kapkangani).[72]

It was also reported that Chief Arap Beren was appointed in 1930. He presided over Kapsisiywa, inhabited by the entire Tibingot clan. He deliberated government directives and was a lukewarm leader. Chief Antony Kilibwoni, of location 6 belonged to Kaboch clan. He sensitised the Nandi on the settlement. He himself was a Nandi from Kapchemuit. Chief Arap Kandie hailed from Kapkoros to Cheborork. He was a Terik. He settled the Maragoli in Nandi. Nandis wanted to dispel the Maragoli but the chief intervened. His major contribution was that he advocated for the growing of tea.[73]

Chief Elijah was in power from 1946. He was among the most educated of Nandi chiefs, having gone to class II and had served as a clerk at the DC's office. He was elevated to chief in 1948, then senior Chief in 1957 and Chairman of ADC. He was the overall leader of chiefs and he greatly encouraged the Nandi to adopt modern farming methods. He also facilitated the building of schools at Kaptumo, namely Kaptumo Secondary. He was Chairman of the LNC and was among the first Nandi to plant tea in the 1950s. Professor Emily Choge is a grandchild of Elijah.[74]

Another notable Nandi colonial Chief was Arap Titi. He was a senior chief and led strongly on his part. Similarly, Chief Arap Malel was a retired army officer who by 1946 joined the ranks of the Nandi colonial chiefs. His headquarters was at Hunters. He set aside a plot of the establishment of present-day Mosoriot Teachers College and

[72] Oral interview with Malakwen Arap Ruto on 15/04/2019 (87 years old).
[73] Oral interview with Kimaiyo Arap Mutai on 20/04/2019 (98 years old).
[74] Oral interview with Daudi Kipkoech Arap Maritim on 19/4/2019 (85 years old).

Mosoriot Dispensary (present-day Mosoriot KMTC). Under his tenure, an auction for cattle was also established in the area. He assisted in construction of schools, such as Kosirai Secondary School.[75]

Chief Willy Boit was appointed in the 1950s to head Kapnyeberai. He was a well-travelled man by the time of his appointment. His mother had taken him to Mombasa at a young age when she had separated with her husband and had to seek refuge. In the 1920s, when Willy's time came to be circumcised, he returned to his paternal home (Kapnyeberai). His father who had established himself in Nairobi married a second wife in the 1930s, the mother to the former PC, Paul Boit. By 1955, Chief Willy was very active in Kenya's independence politics. Chief Willy educated his family members well. Although the Nandi still declined formal education during his time, he helped to construct health centres, schools and churches in different areas of the Nandi. He also fought against alcohol consumption and advocated for vaccination of animals. Chief Willy also facilitated the introduction of ploughing by oxen. He initiated co-operative societies to enhance the Nandi economy.[76]

The results also revealed that Chief Joseph Arap Chepsepa was also appointed in the 1950s. His major achievements included ensuring increased security using 'Kangas', introduction of news taxes, and encouragement of people to pay the required levies. He ensured the Nandi attended Barazas and punished absentees by subjecting them to physical labour. He himself loved work, as he was often spotted working on the roads or slashing grass around the office or any other work.[77]

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[75] *Ibid.*
[76] Oral interview with Daudi Kipkoech arap Maritim on 21/3/2019 (85 years old).
[77] Oral interview with Pius Kiptarus Kapkiyai on 4/4/2019 (76 years old).

According to information obtained from KNA, Chief James Tanui of Kemeloi location was appointed to replace Chief Jonathan Maiyo in 1961.[78] Chief James had previously held the position of resident of the Kemeloi African court and had also been headman in location 17. He was a progressive farmer and his main difficulty was to maintain effective control over his two senior Headmen, Henry Kichwen and Kipserem Cherer. As already reported the morale of chiefs tended to be low during and immediately after the general elections at the beginning of the year. Chief James was a great negotiator. He soon improved matters, as the KNA report indicates that, as the year went on, chiefs and headmen were generally in good heart and doing well in their duties.[79]

Chief Gideon Arap Korir received his badge from the provincial commissioner when he opened his fine new stone house at Sang'alo in July of 1961. Therefore, he was among the first people in Nandi to construct a stone house. The same year, Chief Elijah achieved the best results in tax collection in cattle inoculations and in the farm assessment competition. In contrast, Kilibwoni location had a bad year under Chief Simeon Mugun and apart from its victory in the inter-locational sports completion, its performance was very poor indeed.[80]

A big Baraza was held where new chiefs were elected, including Chief Arap Tulel to head Belgut location at the boundary of Nandi and Luo. He hailed from Kapchepkendi clan. Arap Tulel (Surtan) was always on the move. The chief moved with Arap Kasirau to keep him company. Some beer was prepared for the chief (Surtan). He would drink the beer with his group.[81]

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[78] KNA PC/RVP/9/1. *Annual Report – Nandi District 1961*.
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] Oral interview with Daudi Kipkoech arap Maritim on 21/3/2019 (85 years old).

6.10 The Performance of Nandi Chiefs after 1945

During this period, stock theft proved to be a major problem that the colonial administration considered with a lot of priority. At the heart of the solution towards addressing the menace lay the role of the chiefs.[82] To demonstrate how serious the issue of stock theft was, on July 1958, the governor Sir. Robert Brooke-Popham visited Nandi in the company of the provincial commissioner, Hodge and District Commissioner, H.A Carr. In attendance were all the Nandi chiefs, *Kiptainik,* Local Native Councillors and approximately 3,000 Nandi.[83] The governor ordered that with regards to cattle, movement through a location should be reported to the chiefs. If those cattle prove to have been stolen and the thieves are caught, the informer was to be rewarded suitably.[84] He also issued a stern warning to the people that if no effort is made to report strange cattle, then the government would have to levy a collective fine in the event it is proven that they were stolen.

Cattle theft was seen as a major impediment to the progress of the Nandi. This is seen in the governor's remarks when he asserted that he aspired to seen the Nandi progress by educating their children and utilizing the out-schools in the reserve.[85] In a response to the governor's speech by request, the chiefs heeded to what they were directed. For example, Chief Arap Chepkiyeng lamented that the problem with stock thieves in the district was that when they always come back after being released, they would engage in the same practice again. He went on to aver that the chiefs would always arrest the offenders but the imprisonment given was inadequate and upon their return from prison, these stock thieves would persuade their friends that it is a worthwhile endeavour.[86]

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[82] KNA/PC/RVP/9/1 Record of a Barasa held at Kapsabet by the Governor on 29th July 1958.
[83] *Ibid*.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid*.
[86] *Ibid.*

This leads to the inference that as much as the chiefs were trying their best to implement the law in order to apprehend and deter the vice, the administrative collaboration with other agencies such as the judiciary proved their work and efforts futile. On his part, the governor interjected by asking Chief Chepkiyeng to recommend what he considered as an adequate jail term for stock thieves, to which he responded by recommending 10 years' imprisonment. Chief Elijah, who was also in attendance, voiced his agreement with Chief Arap Chepkiyeng stating that more stringent measures needed to be taken in order to deal with stock thieves. For him, death penalty was the most appropriate deterrent to stock thieves. He went on to say that although the number of stock thieves was low, they needed to be dealt with severely in order to completely obliterate the vice. Evidently, the direct access to the governor gave the chiefs increased sense of power and authority. Therefore, being given the chance to participate in suggesting judicial and legislative measures to deal with stock theft imbued in them a new air of bravado.

In 1954, the colonial administration began the implementation of the Swynnerton Plan. The Plan sought to intensify the agriculture-led economic development of the Kenya colony. [87] Therefore, the colonial chiefs were instrumental in facilitating the implementation of the Plan. Their main roles included identification of areas that were viable for increased agricultural investment by the state. They also helped to demarcate areas that needed reclamation, such as swampy land, those infested with tse tse flies among others, and subsequently advised the colonial administration on strategies to harness increased productivity from these lands.

[87] Swynnerton, R. J. (1955). A plan to intensify the development of African agriculture in Kenya. *A plan to intensify the development of African agriculture in Kenya.* Nairobi: Government Press.

Earlier on, on 25th June 1958, the Chief Native Commissioner, E.B Hosking, together with the then acting Provincial Commissioner, S.G Hodge, held a similar meeting at Kapsabet in which all the Nandi chiefs also attended. Others who attended included Senior Kaptainik and members of the Nandi LNC. Chief Elijah did not attend as he was reportedly sick.[88] The PC started by commending and condemning the Nandi in equal measure. On one hand, he recognized that there was some improvement in the behaviour of the Nandi, particularly with regards to a reduction in stock theft incidents. In the same vein, he also castigated elements in the community who had not abandoned the practice. In comparing them with their neighbours, he told them that these tribes were progressing fast because of their abandonment of such practices and instead embracing education and development.[89] He ordered the DC to make arrangements for well-known stock thieves to reside in convenient areas where they could report to their leaders under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance.

On his part, Chief Chepkiyeng said that most of their difficulties were in the settled areas as a number of stock thieves resided in those areas under insufficient control.[90] Chief Tuimur Arap Kibii pointed out the difficulty of tracing stolen stock in those days when thieves of different tribes combined together in their activities. He went on to state that the Nandi, Lumbwa, Elgeiyo, Kamasia, Nyangori and even Luo thieves assisted one another and divided up mobs of stolen cattle and hid them widely in separate areas. Chief Arap Tulei expressed the opinion that one reason for increased stock theft was that there were inadequate sentences imposed by the courts in neighbouring districts. These courts encouraged the vice and, in the end, accelerated

[88] Minutes of a Basaza held at Kapsabet on June 25th 1958.
[89] *Ibid*.
[90] *Ibid*.

the incidents.[91] These incidents put the roles of the chiefs in dilemma. On one hand, they were compelled by the administrative machinery (from the Provincial Commissioner to the District Commissioner and the Governor) to scrupulously enforce these laws and ensure that the strictest measures were visited upon the perpetrators of stock theft.

On the other hand, they had to contend with the fact that they were living amidst their own people within the context of stock theft and, as such, had to go beyond just enforcement of law and order and demonstrate leadership attributes and qualities which would be impactful in significantly transforming their respective communities. This therefore, means that their attributes, as perceived by their bosses as well as the people they served, were critical. As is going to be noted, most of these colonial chiefs defied the negative perceptions that were cultivated about them by both the colonial administrators and their people to come out as meaningful transformative agents within this period in the history of the Nandi.

As is going to be demonstrated, it is apparent that the colonial bureaucrats harboured deep, well thought out, subjective and compelling perceptions on the Nandi colonial chiefs. These came about in the process of their execution of their mandates in the periods between 1946 to late 1950s. These perceptions were reflected in how they wrote about the chiefs' discharge of their duties as well as their general conduct. For example, in 1956, the District Commissioner of Nandi, J.K.R Throup, commended three Nandi chiefs, namely Chief Elijah, Chief Arap Tulei and Titi, who came from Aldai; the southern part of the reserve. At the same time, the DC averred that with the exception of Chief Chepkiyeng, the other Nandi Chiefs were 'nonentities'.[92] For him, these chiefs

[91] *Ibid.*
[92] KNA/NDI/1956. *Annual Report*. National Archives.

were not self-driven in the discharge of their duties in the year ending 1956. He singularly cited Chief Elijah of Emgwen as the only 'Christian Chief in the Nandi' who worked hard despite the meagr epay of Sh. 8. Earlier, the same Chief Elijah had been commended for doing excellent work in ensuring that the law and order in his location was on a higher level than in any other location. Chief Arap Katono was described as 'sensible, energetic and progressive' and most helpful to the police in investigating stock theft. The same was said of Chief Arap Korir, Tego and Titi. However, the work of Chief Arap Serem was seen to be unsatisfactory in his location.[93] In a report by the DC, he described chief Serem as unreliable, inefficient and unpopular among his people. This reason led to him being given a warning by the DC, particularly after an offence that occurred in a drinking party.[94]

Of all the Nandi Chiefs, it seems as though the administrative machinery had a penchant inclination to Chief Elijah. For example, in 1946, the Annual Report described him as a 'good chief who is keen to see everything goes ahead quickly and that he did a lot for his location in Aldai between Koyo and Kaptumo during the last thirteen years'.[95] In fact, he was promoted to grade C together with Chief Micah while six others were promoted to grade B. The remaining chief, Arap Beles, was promoted to grade A and awarded the Kings Medal for Chiefs. As much as it was acknowledged that the pay the chiefs was accorded was low, the chiefs continued to portray positive attitude to the colonialists, except for Chief Joseph who, according to the Annual Report, was said to be high tempered and rude to departmental officials. At the same time, Chief Arap Korir was also reported as being lazy and requiring stirring every now and then.[96] Chief Arap

[93] *Ibid*.
[94] *Ibid*.
[95] *Ibid*.
[96] *Ibid*.

Serem, on the other hand, did his best to do his job in that year in spite of the fact that he had the largest population under him in comparison to other two.

Clearly, the perceptions of the British on the colonial chiefs were based on the measure of how the latter were loyal in perpetuating the best interests of the British. One can safely say that a chief who proved loyal to his Nandi people was perceived negatively by the British. Those chiefs who were loyal to the British, even to the detriment of the Nandi, were most praised and rewarded by the colonial government. As such, in executing their duties, some of the chiefs had to contend with negative connotations from their people, even when they received accolades from the colonial government. A case in point was Chief Arap Katono of Ndalat. Despite being referred to by the colonial administrators as 'genuinely progressive', his own people regarded him as the 'man who sold his country to the Europeans'.[97] In the report, it was noted that he was distasted by his people until at some point they refused to talk with him. On the other hand, Chief Joseph, whose area was principally noted for its high proportion of stock thieves, succeeded in maintaining reasonable law and order and on many occasions rendered valuable assistance to both the Kapsabet and Kisumu Police.[98]

An interview with Maritim Arap Murei[99] revealed similar findings on the period after the Second World War. According to Murei, Chief Chirchir headed Kaboch *pororiet*. He summoned meetings and encouraged people to improve agricultural activities. Further convinced people not to interfere with the White settlers since they were about to leave for Britain and requested them to secure land from them. Around 1952, he convinced the Nandi to relocate to Uasin Gishu to secure huge tracts of land. Kaboch

[97] *Ibid*.
[98] KNA/PC/RVP/6B/1/3B12.
[99] Oral Interview with Arap Murei, 85. Kilibwoni.

clan were requested to accept to accommodate Kapchepkendi clan since they suspected them to be thieves but were later accepted. Headman Arap Buigut used to convey information to chief Chirchir to allow Nandi to migrate to Uasin Gishu. The Kangas (police) acted as spies to the Whites and were quite common in drinking dens. Those suspected of theft were arrested and punitive measures taken against them. Chief Joseph Ngarori headed Kaboch, Kapchepkendi and Kaptumois. He was very strict on trespassers (kanyaka) as they were suspected of theft. He actively participated in tax collection with passion. The Nandi positively accepted to pay taxes pegged at ksh. 20 per head. He facilitated labour mobilization. Every action by Nandi was anchored on tax payment. Around 1961, chiefs Joseph Kapngarori and Chirchir facilitated the success of Jean Seroney who ventured into independence politics. Seroney advocated for Nandi together with their chiefs to secure land. Most of the farms were in Uasin Gishu. In the words of Murei:

> Provision of labour on European farms were based on the pororiet members that possessed kipande for easy identification. The Kanga collaborated with chiefs to arrest those who violated the rules. Chief Joseph and Chirchir were the custodians of law and order and protected European interests. Around 1944-45, chiefs recruited Nandi men to Kings African Rifles (KAR). The exercise was carried out by most Nandi chiefs. Most Nandi chiefs among them Joseph and Chirchir moved to Uasin Gishu to secure land after independence. Chief Anthony used to kill animals crossing his land and anybody who trespassed his land was punished. His actions were treated as a taboo among the community and his actions affected his family members. It is believed all his six children passed due to curses by the community.

It was also established that cattle dips were dug with the orders of Chief Katono in Kapchepkendi and Kamelilo.[100] The first cattle dips were initiated in 1949 in areas like Kabiyet, Aldai and Kilibwoni.[101] By 1952, more land had been demarcated for digging more cattle dips. All animals were treated in Chemamul (Baraton). The animals were

[100] Oral interview with Samuel Biwott on 16/3/2019 (76 years old).
[101] Oral interview with Peter arap Koei on 21/3/2019 (86 years old).

uniquely numbered (macchiato) or branded to avoid scrambles and losses. The people from Kapchepkendi were renowned for being so strong, for example Mr. Kevolo could handle the animals, some weighing 300kgs, for dipping single-handed. Because the Kapchepkendi were energetic, most of them were picked to work in European farms.

Another respondent recounted the role of the chief in dealing with outbreaks of animal diseases:

> If animals were sick, for instance from anthrax (Kipkeitet), the chief summoned the people so as to find out the cause of the disease. An elder would cry out loud: "uui Kirwok mogoiwet" (members meet in the tree). By noon, people demanded to know the cause of the meeting. He informed them that a young child cried 'pleading not to be left without a stick'. The Orkoiyot listened keenly and announced that "Kirogo mokimetoe lakweno osi kesom asis" (we don't deny our children a stick and then ask god for more). He summoned all the clan prophets (maotik) to interpret the issue. When prophets converged, he told them that a vaccine was available. He ordered all clans to vaccinate animals. This increased the Nandi's production. The chief was at the centre of all these events. This especially happened during the reign of Chief Elijah Cheruiyot. Each chief presided over the exercise.[102]

From the data obtained from the KNA, various resolutions and regulations supported the colonial chiefs in their contribution to livestock farming in Nandi. For instance, one resolution agreed to maintain and construct saltlicks. The proposal was made by Arap Tego and seconded by Arap Kendagor, both colonial chiefs. The District Commissioner recommended the resolution of the Nandi Local Native Council meeting on the following grounds:

> For the case of drainage and improvement of saltlick, work was commenced in December on the draining of the Baraton saltlick, on the vote of sh. 1200/- work was carried on into the New Year, but the funds proved inadequate. In addition to labour two automatic steel gates were purchased on the advice of the executive engineer, public works department, Eldoret. Although funds proved inadequate to complete the jobs, the work being of such importance to the Nandi,

[102] Oral interview with Kiptum Arap Temuge on 7/4/2019 (90 years old).

> work continued at the request of the tribe taking advantage of the day months.[103]

The above views show that colonial chiefs took initiatives to improve the quality of livestock farming in Nandi. At the same time, Chief Serem, who had a difficult area, was, according to the report, the worst performing chief in the year as his efforts on bush clearing and cattle sales were almost entirely due to the efforts of his headman, Ludoviko Arap Misoi.[104] Chief Joel was considered adequate on routine matters, but he tended to get involved in gossip while chief Micah did reasonably well in terms of being sincere and pleasant but he appeared to lack drive.

In 1947, there were positive reports on the performance of the chiefs. For example, Chief Arap Korir ran the best locational meeting while Chief Arap Beles, the Laibon Chief, with somewhat specialized duties, carried out these duties with outmost distinction. The only fault that the colonial administration attributed to him in that year was that he asked for more land.[105] In a bid to improve inter-tribal relations, there were efforts in the year that led to the meeting of chiefs from North Kavirondo District with the Nandi Chiefs. These meetings discussed the question of stock theft as well as cross-border peace.[106] Since these two things were of outmost importance among the two tribes, it was the roles of chiefs to ensure that there was seamless peace and tranquillity that would provide fertile environment for progress to occur. On this, it can be seen that the Nandi chiefs were conscious of their relationships with their neighbours and would stop at nothing just to ensure that in cases where there were incidents that disrupted their peace, they would willingly mediate and ensure that things did not escalate. Therefore, it can be said that being at the lowest level in the administrative pecking

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[103] KNA PC/RVP/2/35. *Native Affairs Department*, Nairobi 13th July 1932.
[104] *Ibid*.
[105] KNA/PC/RVP/6B/1/3B12.
[106] *Ibid*.

order, they had to engage in a delicate balancing act that would involve following orders that were imposed by their bosses (principals) while at the same time mobilizing the community to ensure that there was harmony and tranquillity. As they did this, they had to contend with subjective perceptions from either side – the colonial government and the communities they served.

6.11 Role of Chiefs at the Eve of Independence

It is possible to argue that independence politics in Nandi began with the initial resistance movement. However, after the resistance was crushed around 1905, and the colonial authorities took much of the Nandi lands, the spirit of resistance was greatly impaired. By 1920s, much of the Nandi land had been completely annexed along with the rest of Kenya. Yet, it is also in the 1920s that Kenya saw an upsurge of local associations that championed various causes, such as opposing taxation, resisting the Kipande and squatter systems, among others. The major national struggle for independence in Kenya therefore happened after the end of World War Two in 1945. The year 1952 thus was a landmark moment when the colonial government was forced to declare a state of emergency to quell the Mau Mau uprising.[107]

The period leading to independence was filled with a lot of intrigues. First, Nandi District was a hub of political activities that were fuelled by KADU politicians. These politicians, who included Jean Seroney and Shadrack Kimalel, advanced the argument of regionalism, or Majimbo, which found populism among many of the citizens in the District. This was also the period in which constitutional discussions were at their peak and these politicians played a very significant role at the national and local scene in mobilizing people to incline to this line of thinking. Therefore, this charged political

[107] KNA/NDAR. *KNA/Nandi District Annual Report, 1964*. Kenya National Archives.

environment affected the roles of the chiefs in several ways. It is apparent that the politicians were voicing their dissatisfaction against the ills of the colonial government, which the chiefs belonged to as its agents at the local level. Therefore, the chiefs were torn between continuing with their roles as they were established by the colonial administrative structure and adjusting to the highly dynamic and charged political environment. Some of these chiefs chose neither side; opting instead to pursue their interests by joining politics and or acquiring more land for self-aggrandizement. Overall, the chiefs became a target for political attacks by the emerging group of African leaders in Kenya. Either way, they continued to play their roles and in effect were very significant in ensuring that there was administrative transition from the colonial government to the African government.

By early 1960s, Kenya was dominated by heated political discussions about the nature of the impending independence. The colony had already gone through the tough period of the 50s when militant struggle had caused many deaths, detention and isolation. Independence was imminent. There was some compulsory retirement of some chiefs as their roles during the colonial period had expired. Other major political events were the impending change of the constitution, the dissolution of Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) and the advent of Jamhuri on the anniversary of independence on December 1964.[108]

In an interview with James Kebenei[109]the following was revealed regarding chiefs during this period:

> From 1947-48, the D.C was Mr. Hunter who together with chief Malel and Ass. Chief Arap Amai demarcated locations like Kabandan, location 8 (Koilegei), Kabiyet, Kapchepkendi, location 4. They introduced agricultural activities and the chiefs played a very critical

[108] *Ibid.*
[109] Oral Interview with James Kebenei, 84 years on 11/09/2023, Mosoriot.

> role in their operations. Land demarcations caused a lot of tension among the Nandi people and chiefs Malel and Katono were involved in the exercise. Tax collection were under the chiefs and Headmen picked some rafters to represent the number of people per household. Around 1945, tax was charged twenty shillings per head under restrictions and chiefs and kangas oversaw the exercise. Tax payment were on yearly basis. Around 1955-57, former president Daniel Moi used to reside in residents of Isaac Kosgey, Gedion Tarus, African Inland Church elders (A.I.C) and chief Malel while in Kapsabet school. Rift valley Provincial Commissioner… based in Nakuru approached Isaac Kosgey to field a candidate to the Legco and Daniel Moi was fronted to the position and unanimously supported by Chief Malel and Education Officer Gedion Tarus.

Support for Moi's leadership was based on ability of those who fielded him in terms of wealth possessed. For the case of chiefs, one was accepted to field Moi based on the developmental projects like construction of schools, dips and roads among others. After securing the position, Moi rewarded chief Malel with large tracts of land in Eldoret, Racecourse and Langas area totalling to four thousand hectares. Chief Katono was awarded land in Kap Gedion, Tachasis, with two thousand hectares. Chiefs Malel, Sisiwa and Katono encouraged the Nandi to secure land in Uasin Gishu after the departure of White settlers. Towards and after independence, most of the chiefs continued to oversee their work. More chiefs were increased due to growing population. Elected leaders like Jean Seroney never interfered with chiefs' roles.

The year 1961 came with its own share of challenges. This was because of the death of three Nandi Chiefs, namely Senior Chief Chepkwony (MBE), Chief Jonathan Maiyo and Eligi Bitok.[110] This had a major remarkable impact on the district. For a fact, Chief Elijah had been accepted as the most prominent leader and member of the Nandi in the last 15 years and he had a successful living symbol of the changeover from the traditional ways to Christianity, education, individual ownership of land and

[110] KNA PC/RVP/9/1. *Nandi District Annual Report, 1961*. Nairobi: National Archives.

civilization generally.[111] On the other hand, Chief Jonathan was one of the upcoming politically conscious leaders. His prestige was enhanced in 1960 by his election as Vice President of the Nandi African District Secretariat. Chief Jonathan had been on a six months course in the Local Government of England and he assumed the leadership of the educated and forward-looking Nandi.[112] In fact, to elucidate his role in this community transformation, the funeral ceremony at Kapsabet was attended not only by a large crowd of local people of all races, but also by Mr. Masinde Muliro – the Minister for Trade and Community (a member of KADU) – as well as the Provincial Commissioner, a representative of the Chief Commissioner and Chiefs from South Nyanza, North Nyanza, Elgeiyo Marakwet and elsewhere. According to the Nandi District Annual Report of 1961, the Nandi had never seen anything like the funeral, emotions and shock caused by sudden loss of their leaders. The kind of attention that was given to the funerals of the chiefs suggests that their roles were acknowledged by both the colonial administration as well as the Nandi Community members.[113]

On the political scene, 1961 was a year in which a lot of mobilization was done ahead of the forthcoming general elections. The two main candidates for the Nandi constituency were JM Seroney and Mr Shadrack Kimalel. Seroney affirmed his support for KADU. On February 27th, elections were held in which an unexpectedly large population of the Nandi electorate turned out to cast their votes (80%).[114] Seroney won by a landslide with 15,000 votes against Kimalel's 1,547. The victory of Seroney was attributed to his abilities as a lawyer as opposed to Mr. Kimalel who was a Makerere-trained teacher. These findings concurred with those of Nicholas Boit[115]

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[111] *Ibid.*
[112] Report by Symes-Thompson on Chiefs in Nandi District.
[113] *Ibid.*
[114] *Ibid.*
[115] Oral Interview with Nicholas Boit (87 years old), Sangalo.

> By 1956, most of the Rift Valley chiefs supported Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) and KANU was supported by Central Kenya chiefs. In 1961, the Kalenjin formed Kalenjin Political Alliance under KADU for all Rift Valley communities. The chiefs' roles from Nandi summoned Nandi people to join the alliance. Some chiefs campaigned for Jean Seroney as Tindiret Member of Parliament. Chiefs Eliki Elijah Terer, Sangalo, Anthony Murey, Kosirai in early 1963. After election of Seroney to parliament he confirmed his support to the chiefs in Nandi.

On his part, Stephen Maru stated the following:

> The Nandi chiefs supported KADU. They provided and as well security. Those in the reserves their roles were minimized to religion and education. By 1961, Nandi politicians like Jean Seroney, and Daniel Moi had been given political positions. The chiefs were vital in campaigns and the most active were Elijah Cheruiyot and Katono. Towards and after independence, most of the chiefs' roles were not compulsory. Most of them were actively engaged in politics. After the election of Seroney, chiefs were not interfered politically in any way. Taxation was still valid after independence.[116]

These developments came with a paradigm shift in the roles of chiefs in Nandi. Seroney was very uncompromising in his attitude towards the past decisions made by Chiefs and Local Native Council. For example, in March 1961, during the African District Council debates, Seroney, with unchallenged self-confidence, demanded answers to some decisions that they made in the past.[117] As a result, in their locations, the chiefs and headmen became depressed and, as such, were unwilling to enforce unpopular measures.[118] However, once the chiefs realized that the new government would carry on as usual and that they had nothing to fear, they continued with their duties seamlessly. On a positive side, one of the demands that KADU managed to attain was the release of political prisoners. One of the main Nandi prisoners who was a former Chief, Barserian Arap Manyei, who was released from Mfangano Island and allowed to go back to his location. This was also the year in which Kapsabet-Eldoret road was

[116] Oral interview with Stephen Marus (84 years old), Kosirai.
[117] KNA PC/RVP/9/1. *Nandi District Annual Report 1961.*
[118] *Ibid.*

officially commissioned at in the ceremony; Senior Chief Arap Katono was in attendance.[119] In terms of changes, Chief James Tanui replaced Chief Jonathan Maiyo of Kemeloi location. Chief James was known for his farming skills which earned him the accolade as a progressive farmer who was a role model for many of his community members.[120]

In an oral interview with Cllr. (Retired) John Maritim[121], the following was said about the Nandi chiefs during this critical period:

> Law enforcement by chiefs were so dire. During the period of auctions, chiefs and Kangas (police) were present to provide law and order around 1960. Among the chiefs in action were Mugun, Kilibwoni, Malel, Kosirai, Katono, Kabiyet, Jonathan Titi, Kemeloi, David Rugut, Chemundu, Elisha Rono, Aldai and Kurgat, Kapkangani. They exercised massive powers and had direct access to the District Commissioner. After the release of Orkoiyot arap Manyei from Gwasi Island around 1960, he was planning to relocate to Thompsons in Laikipia to secure land but chiefs Malel and Elijah Cheruiyot prevailed upon him to move to Laikipia and instead advised him to relocate to Kapsisiywa but chiefs Anthony and Mugun was in support of his idea moving to Laikipia.
>
> A bus from Kaimosi Farmers Training College was secured to ferry the chiefs to Nairobi to meet the Queen for unspecified mission. But from a privy source, they intended to deal with Manyei because of fear of inciting Nandi people against colonial government. Some chiefs among them Elijah Cheruiyot, Simion Mugun, Jonathan, Anthony and a clerk to Local Native Council boarded a Volkswagen but while in O'Lessos, Chief Anthony complained of excessive heat in the vehicle and requested to alight and the rest occupants proceeded and while in Rongai, a white lady emerged from a feeder road and rammed into the chiefs' vehicle and all the occupants were crashed and perished instantly.

Similarly, to demonstrate their positive role in societal transformation, Chiefs Gideon Arap Korir and Elisha Arap Rono received his badge from the Provincial Commissioner at Sangalo.[122] At the same time, Chief Elisha achieved the best results in tax collection,

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[119] *Ibid*.
[120] *Ibid*.
[121] Oral interview with Cllr. John Maritim (84 years), Mosoriot.
[122] *Ibid*.

cattle inoculations and in the farm assessement competition. However, in the same year, there was a sharp contrast in Kilibwoni location under Chief Simeon Mugun where its performance was very poor. The 1961 report states that Kilibwoni has always been the most difficult of all the locations and one chief after another used to receive unfavourable reports. Nevertheless, in other parts of the district, the chiefs and Sub-Chiefs tended to show improvement generally. When their farms were marked by farm assessment clerks, most of them showed that they were practicing what they preached insofar as agricultural development was occurred.

In 1961 and 1962, the chiefs in Nandi District continued to play their roles both as agents of the National government as well as community transformation. In doing this, the chiefs contended with the changing social, political and economic transitions that were taking place at the national scene. This in itself was challenging as can be deciphered from an oral interview with Naftali Cheseret:[123]

> Arap Chepkiyeng was the chief then. Towards independence, chiefs' authority was not very authoritative. As such, the effectiveness of chiefs was difficult. The people were divided and began to sneak out as the days were approaching to freedom. Messages were delayed and most people did not get the right as the distortion was also applied. Efficiency in work was slow in factories and other employments as the excitement by the people was in the air. Chiefs continued to work but were now aided by the Kangas. They did not change much but the general government was slow by itself.
>
> They were behaving differently as the centre of leadership did not look strong as it used to be. The people were behaving in a manner of lack of concentration as the thought of the fate of the people. There was uncertainty of the people to rule themselves. The people who came from the Second World War influenced some on the acquisition of land and property. Others did not believe. They thought the colonialists would leave everything behind or sell some bit of land. They also believed that the White settlers would not sell all the land. On taxation, it became weak as the panic for independence affected both blacks and whites alike. This also affected the trading community of Indians and the Arabs who enjoyed the visitors' commercial activities in the coastal towns in the country. Some lost direction as

[123] Oral Interview with Naftali Cheseret (89 years old), Kilibwoni.

> they did not know what they were going to do. Others went back to the reserve and also some went to towns for the life of thought was good. The lifestyle of the colonialist scattered the blacks. Jean Seroney castigated the chiefs as they were the administrators of the colonial government given much power. They could hold a suspected criminal for a longer time. Chiefs' standing orders were too oppressive to the people.

The general tension of independence described in the above quotation also represented the fate of colonial chiefs at the time. There was much uncertainty as the interests multiplied; the British were planning to exit Kenya, locals were unsure who would be the new principals and the colonial chiefs were unsure if they would become the new principals or agents of a new system. Nevertheless, it is apparent that these chiefs managed, albeit with challenges, to play this dual role satisfactorily. Fortunately, the administrative structure of the central government was retained and the chiefs continued to play their roles without interruptions. At the same time, the new government did not hastily replace the administrators, there was a slow transition from European to indigenous administrative changes, which entered into the early years of independence.

6.12 Political Awakening and the Roles of Chiefs at the Advent of Independence

The study found that the 1950s had many activities that were of great importance to the transformation of the Nandi people and culture. Many visitors came to Nandi that year under the invitation by colonial chiefs, the DC or white settler farmers. The year thus saw several visits by different personalities of great importance.[124] For example, His Excellency, the Governor visited the District on the occasions during the year in April to announce the rebirth of the Kipkaren and Kaimosi farms. He also visited in January for the formal opening of the Nandi War Memorial Hall and the dedication of the roll of honour. Guests included neighbouring District Commissioner and many European farmers. The Kenya police who provided the guard of honour with the tribal police were

[124] KNA DC/NDI/7/1. *Annual Report, Nandi District 1950.* National Archives.

represented by the Commissioner and a senior officer of the Kenya African Rifles (KAR) together with a detachment from the 3rd and 5th battalions of the regimen representing the forces. A parade of 150 ex-service men provided a most impressive link with the past. After the ceremony, His Excellency held a *baraza* with the Nandi in which he gave considerable encouragement to increase their efforts at agrarian betterment, thus reinforcing the role of colonial chiefs in agrarian revolution in the Nandi. It was doubtful if such large crowds had ever before been seen at Kapsabet.

In February 1950, the District was also visited by the Honourable Minister for Agriculture and National Resources, the Hon. Director of Mechanical Services and the Chief Matron. The Minister encouraged the Nandi to embrace modernised Agriculture and new crops such as tea.[125] This encouragement also bolstered the contribution of the Nandi colonial chiefs to mechanisation of agriculture in the community.

In March 1950, the Chief Native Commissioner spent two days touring Nandi District. Among other things, the chiefs and other local leaders took him to see Hansen Elijah's goldmine and the new forest roads in the south of the district. He was apparently and rightly shocked with the appearance of the dipping areas. It was pleasing to report under the farming section that the appearance had now changed for the better. A party of 20 leading Nandi elders and chiefs visited Nairobi for the Charter celebrations on the 30th and 31st 1950.[126] Through this delegation, the chiefs had the opportunity to advocate for the welfare of the Nandi people at the national level.

In May, visitors to Nandi District included the District Commissioner, Machakos, accompanied by his livestock officer and seven Kamba elders who toured the district

[125] *Ibid.*
[126] *Ibid.*

for three days. The usual Empire Day and Labour Day ceremony at the government African school on the 24th was attended by the District Commissioner. In June, the colonial farm unit made a film of the Nandi stock and better pasture management. A party of Nandi chiefs and community members attended the annual passing out parade at the infancy training school in Nakuru.[127] This trip further exposed the Nandi chiefs to new knowledge on economic transformation.

In July, the Provincial Commissioner spent four days touring Nandi District. That month, the Hon. J.K. Chemallan returned from a six weeks' visit to the United Kingdom. He was the third Nandi to have made the visit. In August, Mr. and Mrs. Dugdale, the Administrators, were entertained to tea by the Nandi African District Council (ADC) and the District team. A party of 20 Meru and Kiambu elders visited the district and were shown the communal bush clearing work and dipping area.[128] There was no doubt that the visits by the three Kikuyu and one Kamba party helped to widen the Nandi outlook and requests by the African District Council (ADC) for visits.

In September, Mr. Tracey of the African Music Society visited Kapsabet and made recordings of traditional Nandi songs. This served to preserve the Nandi cultural performances. It was hoped that the recordings of the traditional tribal music made by Mr. Tracey would be available on records for sale in the near future. The political records of the Nandi district covering the period 1902-1949 leaned to the East. In October, the Nandi District Commissioner and all the Nandi chiefs attended the opening day of the royal agricultural show in Nakuru. In November, the first Nandi district shows were held at Chemundu. The show was opened by the Minister for Agriculture and Natural Resources and was magnificently supported by the Nandi and all

[127] *Ibid.*
[128] *Ibid.*

departments in the District. The two agricultural events helped to reinforce the practice of agriculture among the Nandi, which had been championed by the colonial chiefs.

In December, the marriage of Samwel, son of Chief Elijah, the senior Nandi chief, and the opening of the father's house at Kaptumo on the 22nd ushered in the first half of the century. The day symbolized the progress made during the last fifty years in a most striking way, contrasting African Christian marriage to pagan ritual and a modern brick house built between the old KAR emplacements used during the Nandi rising, to the old unhealthy dwelling.[129] Therefore, the marriage at Chief Elijah's home marked an important landmark in the cultural transformation of the Nandi.

The tribal relations with North and Central Nyanza were excellent throughout the year. In May, 41 cases of stock theft involving movement of stolen stock into Nandi from Terik and Kabras were reported and, as a result, a joint meeting of Nandi North and Nyanza chief was arranged in July. Final agreements concerning the action to be taken to reduce stock theft was reached and a large number of arrests had been made during the latter half of the year by chiefs Arap Titi and Joseph. As such, colonial chiefs played a significant role in alleviating stock theft.

A number of gold thieves were arrested by Nandi chiefs and Kanga during the year. It was obvious from their attributes when caught that the Nandi were beginning to be treated with respect. That year, the Nandi museum at Kaptumo received more exhibits at the beginning of the year because of the grant received from the ADC. This museum was exhibited by Chief Elijah at the Nandi Show.

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[129] *Ibid.*

The period 1945-1963 also marked a time when the Kenyan state was beginning to define itself. The colonial chiefs, who had been the most visible African leaders in the colonial period, were instrumental in shaping the ideologies that would define the political, social and economic environment of post-independence Kenya. Leys argues that it is impossible to discuss the challenges facing Kenya's overall development without revisiting this most defining moment when the ideas that would shape the post-independence government agenda and priorities were mooted.[130] In his book, Leys questions the nature and significance of independence attained to the majority of Kenyans. He also problematizes terms used in post-independence Kenya, such as leadership, development, underdevelopment, among others. In his view, a lack of proper theory of leadership and development that integrates African and Kenyan realities is partly the reason Kenya remains underdeveloped.

6.13 Conclusion

The chapter has provided a comprehensive examination of the evolving roles of Nandi colonial chiefs from the end of World War II to the dawn of independence in Kenya. This period was characterized by significant socio-political changes influenced by both global and local dynamics. The aftermath of the war saw a reconstruction strategy that necessitated the involvement of local leadership, particularly the chiefs, who were pivotal in implementing policies aimed at social and economic development. Their participation in initiatives such as the Swynnerton Plan highlighted their dual role as both agents of colonial administration and advocates for their communities, navigating the complexities of governance under colonial oversight while striving for community transformation.

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[130] Leys, C. (1975). *Underdevelopment in Kenya*. East African Publishers.

Moreover, the chapter delved into the increasing demands for education and social amenities, illustrating how chiefs became instrumental in addressing these needs. They facilitated access to education and healthcare, which were crucial for fostering a more educated populace and improving living standards among the Nandi people. Additionally, the chiefs played a significant role during critical moments such as the declaration of a state of emergency, where their leadership was tested against rising political tensions. This period also saw a shift in gender roles, with women increasingly participating in social and economic spheres, influenced by wartime experiences and post-war reconstruction efforts.

As Kenya approached independence, the role of Nandi chiefs underwent further transformation. They became key figures in political awakening, balancing their traditional authority with emerging nationalist sentiments. The chapter emphasizes that while colonial chiefs often faced distrust due to their association with colonial rule, many managed to leverage their positions to advocate for their communities' interests. Ultimately, this exploration underscores the complex legacy of colonial chieftaincy in Nandi, reflecting both the challenges and opportunities that arose during a pivotal era in Kenya's history as it transitioned from colonial rule to self-governance.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the summary of the study before deriving the conclusions of the study. Thereafter, the chapter presents the recommendations which emanate from the study findings. This study sought to analyze the role of colonial chiefs as from 1906 to 1963. The year 1906 was purposefully selected because t marked the year when the British colonialists had finally managed to subdue the Nandi after a fierce 6-year battle. This was after they managed to assassinate Koitalel Arap Samoei.

7.2 Summary of Findings

The first objective of the study examined how the Nandi community was organized during the pre-colonial period. The study unveiled that as much as the political, social and economic systems were considered ‘traditional’, particularly by the Eurocentric historians, these systems were ideal to the context and were pragmatic in enabling the Nandi have a peaceful, stable and prosperous society in the period before the coming of the Europeans. The Nandi political organization was notably sophisticated, characterized by a council of elders who governed community affairs and a system of age-sets that provided social cohesion and a framework for leadership. This organization allowed for effective conflict resolution and resource management, which contributed to a stable and prosperous society. The Nandi were not merely passive recipients of colonial rule; they actively engaged with their environment, utilizing their warrior culture to defend against external threats.

Moreover, the Nandi's socio-economic systems were intricately linked to their cultural practices, such as clan-based structures and totemic beliefs that fostered unity among members. Each clan's exogamous nature ensured genetic diversity while reinforcing

social bonds through marriage practices that respected clan boundaries. This intricate social fabric was disrupted by British colonial policies, which imposed foreign governance structures and undermined traditional authority. The Nandi's resistance to colonial encroachment was marked by significant events leading up to 1906, culminating in violent confrontations that reflected their determination to preserve their autonomy. The eventual subjugation of the Nandi not only altered their political landscape but also had lasting repercussions on their identity and social organization, highlighting the resilience of indigenous systems in the face of colonial disruption.

The second objective of the study examined the process by which, after defeating the Nandi in 1905, the British then proceeded to entrench their system of administration among the Nandi. As such, the study examined the colonial chiefs in early years of colonialism. The study of the Nandi's transition from traditional governance to colonial administration reveals complex dynamics influenced by the roles of local chiefs. Following their defeat in 1905, the British implemented a system of indirect rule, appointing colonial chiefs to serve as intermediaries between the colonial government and the Nandi people. This arrangement was initially met with resistance as many Nandi viewed these chiefs as collaborators with an oppressive regime. However, over time, some chiefs managed to navigate their dual roles effectively, balancing the interests of their communities with those imposed by the colonial administration. Research indicates that these chiefs played a pivotal role in facilitating social and economic changes, such as land management and taxation systems, which were essential for consolidating British control while also addressing local needs.

Moreover, during World War I, the chiefs were tasked with recruiting combatants for the war effort, further entrenching their position within the colonial framework. This involvement not only highlighted their importance in mobilizing local resources but

also demonstrated their ability to influence community dynamics under colonial pressures. The chiefs' participation in recruitment efforts was critical for maintaining order and compliance among the Nandi, who had previously shown strong resistance to colonial rule. The findings suggest that while these chiefs acted as agents of colonial authority, they also sought to retain some degree of agency within their communities, reflecting a complex interplay of loyalty and pragmatism. Ultimately, this period marked a significant transformation in Nandi society, where traditional leadership structures were redefined under colonial governance, leading to lasting impacts on social organization and political identity.

The third objective of the study sought to determine the political, social and economic roles of Nandi chiefs during the Inter-War period (1921-1939). From the findings, one significant aspect was the Nandi chiefs' involvement in implementing colonial policies, which often included unpopular measures such as land alienation and tax collection. These chiefs acted as intermediaries between the colonial government and the local population, enforcing directives even when they faced backlash from their communities. This dynamic created a complex relationship where chiefs had to balance loyalty to the colonial administration with the expectations of their people. Those chiefs who failed to comply with colonial demands risked dismissal, highlighting the precarious nature of their authority and the pressures they faced as agents of colonial rule.

In addition to their political roles, Nandi chiefs played a crucial part in social and economic changes within the community. They facilitated the introduction of new agricultural practices, which were essential for enhancing food security and economic stability during this period. Furthermore, through their leadership, they promoted education and healthcare initiatives that aligned with colonial interests but which

eventually also served to modernize aspects of Nandi society. The chiefs' involvement in these areas not only transformed local governance but also laid the groundwork for future political mobilization among the Nandi people. Despite being seen as tools of colonialism, some chiefs retained a degree of popular support, suggesting that their contributions were recognized as beneficial in certain contexts. This duality in their roles underscores the complexity of indigenous leadership within colonial structures and its lasting impact on Nandi society.

The fourth objective of the study was to explore the roles of the Nandi colonial chiefs during the period beginning 1939 to 1945. The study findings highlighted a complex interplay between local governance and colonial administration during a transformative period in Kenya's history. As World War II unfolded, the chiefs became pivotal in mobilizing their communities for military recruitment, reflecting both their authority and the pressures exerted by colonial powers. This recruitment was not merely a response to colonial demands but also an opportunity for the chiefs to assert their relevance in a time of crisis, as they navigated the expectations of both the colonial government and their communities. The chiefs' involvement in the war effort positioned them as intermediaries, balancing the interests of the colonial administration with the needs of their people, which often included advocating for local grievances and ensuring that community welfare was considered amidst wartime exigencies.

The last objective of the study was to examine the roles of colonial Nandi chiefs in the post-war period or the period leading to independence, 1945 to 1963. Post-war, the socio-political landscape continued to evolve, particularly with initiatives like the Worthington Plan of 1946 and the Swynnerton Plan of 1954 aimed at enhancing agricultural productivity both among the white settlers and Africans. The colonial government was tasked with generating revenue to offset the debts and losses incurred

by Britain during the war. The chiefs played a crucial role in this transition, facilitating the implementation of policies designed to promote commercial farming while simultaneously striving to maintain traditional social structures. Their ability to adapt to these changes was essential in preserving community cohesion during a time when colonial policies threatened to disrupt established social norms. The chiefs had to engage in a delicate balancing act: fulfilling administrative duties imposed by colonial authorities while fostering community transformation that aligned with emerging nationalist sentiments. This duality underscores the chiefs' significant agency within the colonial framework, as they renegotiated their roles and authority in response to both local expectations and broader political changes leading up to Kenya's independence. As independence drew near, some of the chiefs had already established themselves as powerful leaders and would soon transition into the first political leaders after independence.

In conclusion, the study was able to demonstrate that the colonial chiefs not only had dual roles, but also their roles changed with time as the years towards independence progressed. Initially, they were principal agents to the colonial administrative hierarch. However, with time, they became transformative agents in their respective areas of jurisdiction both socially, economically and politically. Therefore, the role of the colonial Nandi chiefs ought to be x-rayed within this context and appreciated so that their real contribution can be known.

7.3 Conclusion

The study was aimed at examining the roles of colonial chiefs in Nandi. The beginning of the study period was as from 1906. This was when the Nandi were finally subdued by the British after a fierce resistance that saw the assassination of their leader Koitalel Arap Samoei by the British. The end period of the study was 1963 when Kenya got

independence from the British government. Being a historical study, it relied heavily on archival works, oral accounts as well as authoritative books and articles. It was established that as much as the chiefs occupied offices in the lowest cadre in the British Administration hierarchy, they wielded immense power and influence among the Nandi. In the pre-colonial period, the Nandi were acephalous in that there existed several councils which dealt with the administration of the community. The highest authority within these councils was the territorial council that was known as the '*kokwet*'. With time, however, the Nandi evolved the '*Orkoiyot'* institution which became the solidifying factor among them. The *Orkoiyot* wielded socio-political influence among the Nandi.

As has been discerned, the colonial chiefs operated in two realms. The first one was from the colonial administrative realm. This enabled them to be '*de jure'* chief agents who were tasked with implementing the government policy. Even if some of the policies did not resonate well with the people, these chiefs had no choice. The second realm was that of their people. It was discerned that the chiefs also had the interests of their people at heart and tried as much to use their influence in the colonial administration to exert positive social, economic and political changes in their people. These ranged from introduction of schools, health centres, infrastructure and modern farming as well as Christianity. They also were at the forefront in de-campaigning against repulsive and retrogressive activities such as cattle theft, thereby enabling their people to embrace legitimate activities that would stimulate progress in the community.

7.3.1 Objective 1: Status of the Nandi Community in the Pre-colonial Period

The objective was aimed at establishing the general status of the pre-colonial period in the Nandi society. The chapter was able to demonstrate that the Nandi had a highly evolved social-political system. This entailed a highly systematic and well-coordinated

acephalous society. The society had councils right from the clan level, community level and territorial level. This helped to address the daily emerging issues in the community. At the same time, the institution of Orkoiyot, which was introduced later in the community, became a very powerful position. The holder had not only political power, but also semi-divine and prophetic authority which he used to influence the direction of the community. In fact, the long and protracted Nandi resistance was attributed to the influence of the orkoiyot, who at the time was Koitalel Arap Samoei. This explains why, after his assassination, the Nandi resistance was quashed by the British.

The chapter also outlined the economic organization of the Nandi. In particular, it was demonstrated that the Nandi were a sedentary community which relied on mixed farming. At the heart of their economic lives were cattle keeping. They revered their cattle to a high degree and this at times even explains why cattle theft was prevalent among them. To compliment farming, they also engaged in intra and inter community trade, more so with their neighbours who included the Luhya, Lou and Kipsigis. Socially, the chapter elaborated on the customs, housing, ceremonies as well as the Nandi traditional ceremonies as well as the role of medicine men among the community. The aim of this chapter was to provide an overview of the Nandi society as a precursor to understanding how it was disrupted, transformed and changed by the advent of colonialism, particularly with the regards to the roles of chiefs in this transition.

7.3.2 Objective 2: Colonial Chiefs in Early Years of Colonialism

This objective focused on the roles of chiefs in the early colonial period (1906-1920). This period is considered important because it was characterized by the establishment of colonial administrative structures. In this period, several critical incidents occurred which affected the roles of chiefs. The first one was the First World War. During this

war, many Africans were recruited to go and fight on the British side. This was coordinated by the chiefs. At the same time, this was a period in which there was a transition from traditional leadership to colonial. As such, the chiefs played dual roles: implementing colonial directives on one hand and facilitating the acceptance of this transition among the Africans.

7.3.3 Objective 3: Political, Social and Economic Roles of Nandi Chiefs during the Inter-War Period (1921-1939)

This chapter examines the role of chiefs between 1920-1945. This period marked the changing of Kenya from a protectorate into a colony. This decision birthed a series of measures that were implemented by the colonial government. These included: taxation, restriction of Africans in reserves as well as squatterdom. These measures were implemented at the lowest level by the chiefs. This was also a period in which those Africans who had been enlisted in the Kings African Rifles to fight in the war came back enlightened of their rights. Therefore, the unpopular measures were resented. In Nandi, for example, this resentment was manifested in the Nandi revolts of 1923. Besides these developments, there were other developments that were taking place among the Nandi community and were coordinated by the chiefs. These included: introduction of healthcare, new farming methods, culture as well as land subdivision and survey. In assessing these developments, specific roles of chiefs were also outlined.

7.3.4 Objective 4: Nandi Chiefs during the Period Beginning 1939-1945

During this period, Nandi chiefs mobilized the Africans to go and serve in the KAR in Asia. Many Nandi able-bodied men were enlisted into the army. This dealt a blow to the social and economic systems of the Nandi at home. There was also increased pressure for agricultural productivity in the colonies. The colonial administration therefore resorted to reduce agriculture in the African lands by confiscating livestock

from the Nandi and increasing taxation. The result was more Nandi men went into labour contracts in white settler lands. Meanwhile, a majority of the men were also recruited into the KAR as soldiers. As they came back from the campaign, the promises they had been given on compensation became a dumb squib and many had to contend with challenging lives. At the same time, their mobilization also affected the Nandi society because women were expected to fill the gaps left by the men who either died during the war, came back injured or who were too traumatised by war to work, especially having served for the British without any form of compensation.

Furthermore, in this period, the chiefs received accolades from the colonial government as well as their respective communities because of their transformative roles. At the same time, others received spite and scorn from both their seniors as well as their community members owing to their style and fashion of discharging their duties. Either way, the chapter demonstrated how the chiefs helped to accelerate the mood for independence. In some cases, they were disillusioned as they were not sure what would become of them. However, once they were assured that their mandate would be unchanged after independence; they continued to discharge their roles appropriately. Specific chiefs and their roles are also mentioned. Reports from the Annual District and Provincial reports were employed in bringing out these roles within the context of change and transition from colonial to independence.

7.3.5 Objective 5: Roles of Colonial Nandi Chiefs in the Period Leading to Independence, 1945 to 1963

The study established that in the period leading to independence, the colonial government begun to prepare the country for self-rule. The world war and its aftermath created awareness among Africans on their rights and need to be self-governing. This was done through constitutional reforms such as the Lennox Boyd and Littleton

constitutions. Therefore, the Nandi chiefs had to quickly adapt to these changes. They had to lessen their grip and accept the many changes that were taking place in Nandi. The political temperatures went up and through such politicians as Seroney and Moi, the chiefs were forced to contend with the wing of change. Therefore, it was demonstrated that these chiefs had to play a transitory role of ensuring that Africans aired out their views.

7.4 Recommendations

This study examined the roles of chiefs within the prism of two theories namely: Principal Agent theory and the Bureaucratic theory. It was considered ideal to examine the roles of chiefs from these two perspectives because of the fact that as they transformed their communities, they became principal agents and this they did within the context of bureaucratic system that was in place which compelled them to do as the system expected.

7.4.1 Recommendations for First Objective: Status of the Nandi Community in the Pre-colonial Period

The study recommends that the oral history of the Nandi, particularly during the pre-colonial period, be documented and preserved in order for it to be transmitted to the future generations accurately. To this end, the County government of Nandi ought to invest heavily in the heritage of the Nandi by ensuring that the cultural values, artifacts and historical centers are well taken care of. This will be similar to what has been done in other areas such as the Kaya Bombo among the Digo where cultural heritage has been preserved for the sake of transmitting it to the future generations. At the same time, such a move will also ensure that prominent and essential historical information about the Nandi is not lost in due course. This will also foster cultural awareness and

community literacy of the cultural heritage that has defined the Nandi during the period leading to and after colonization.

7.4.2 Reccomendations on Second Objective: Colonial Chiefs in Early Years of Colonialism

It was discovered that a lot of information is missing particularly on the role of chiefs in the early years of colonialism. At the same time, the information available is in the hands of second-generation oral sources, a majority who are very old. Therefore, this information ought to be secured so as to understand the specific roles of chiefs. This will prevent against distortion and misrepresentation by the third generation and fourth generation oral informants. Many Afrocentric historians have tended to castigate the roles of chiefs. They potray them as betrayers to their fellow Africans. However, what has come out of this study is that African chiefs, were in most cases, transformative agents in all facets of African life. Their position rendered them as enemies to the people, yet African chiefs' comntributed a lot in social, political and economic transformation of the Nandi. Therefore, well-researched information ought to be availed so that the misconceptions about these chiefs is not fostered.

7.4.3 Recommendations on the Third Objective: Political, Social and Economic Roles of Nandi Chiefs during the Inter-War Period (1921-1939)

The study recommends that there should be a thorough audit of those Nandi ex-servicemen who participated in the First World War. This will ensure that their contributions are kept for posterity. This ought to be done in form of an honours board or a memorial section to honour their contributions. Historians ought to profile the contributors and ensure the public is well informed about these contributions. The ex-soldiers sacrificed a lot for the European course and unlike thye Bfritish and American soldiers who were rewarded by their government, the African soldiers were left alone.

It thus becomes important to be able to understand these people with a view of honoring their otherwise ignored contributions.

7.4.4 Reccomendations on the Fourth Objective: Roles of Chiefs during the Inter-War Period

The study recommends that the remnants of the World War 2 force from Nandi be appreciated by both the county government and the national government. Their contributions were never appreciated by the colonial state. At the same time, there ought to also be an audit of all those who sacrificed their lived during this period and their contributions well documented. Those who went to Myanmar and never returned also need to be audited and thrir history preserved. For example, a list of hnour ought to be made and kept public. This will ensure that people are able to take care of the welfare of the families of the gallant ex-soldiers.

7.4.5 Recommendations on the Fifth Objective: Roles of Chiefs during the Second World War, 1939 to 1945

There is need to undertake a documentation of all the Nandi men who took part directly in the KAR during World War 2. The government should honour their work by awarding them with recognition and, where necessary, land as had been promised by the British government. There is need for a war memorial located in Nandi County to provide commemorative history of the community's contribution to the war. There is also a need to document the effects of WW2 on the women and children of Nandi. Drawing insight from the role of colonial chiefs in this period, the Nandi government should recognize the role of local leadership in the implementation of state agenda. Thorough documenting of the functions performed by colonial chiefs – like the Nandi – can offer insightful information about good leadership techniques. This historical

viewpoint can help modern leaders see the nuances of their positions and how their choices affect the dynamics of their communities.

Overall, there is need to promote increased historical awareness of the contributions of coloial African leaders to the social, economic and political transformation of Kenya's communities. This may be achieved by integrating historical research findings into contemporary history curriculums in schools.

7.4.6 Recommendations on the Roles of Colonial Chiefs in the Period Leading to Independence, 1945-1963

During this period, there were many changes that were taking place and as such, the chiefs had to not only adjust their work according to the whims of the colonial government, but also ensure that the momentum that was gathering regarding independence and freedom is not interrupted. Based on this, therefore, the study recommends that the government ought to ensure that the chiefs who played dualistic roles during the period leading to independence are appreciated. These chiefs played a very significant role in ensuring smooth transition and, as such, their roles must be appreciated and also be documented in history books for learners to appreciate the roles of chiefs during this period. Furthermore, to honour the efforts of the chiefs, the government can establish a fund or kitty that to support education and empowerment of the families of the colonial chiefs. This gesture will go a long way in ensuring that the efforts of public servants are recognized and given the respect they deserve.

7.5 Suggestions for Further Study

i. The current study analysed the nature of the pre-colonial Nandi society up to 1896. Future studies can examine the traditional conflict resolution mechanisms among the Nandi and how these evolved with the introduction of colonial

governance. More in-depth research is also needed to examine the spiritual beliefs and rituals of the Nandi people, particularly how these influenced their social organization and interactions with neighbouring groups.

ii. The current study also evaluated the establishment of the colonial chiefs among the Nandi in the early years of colonialism, 1906-1918. Furture research should focus on the functions played by former colonial chiefs in other Kenyan villages to comprehend the wider effects of indirect authority among various ethnic groupings.

iii. This study further explored the changing roles of colonial chiefs during the inter-war period, 1919-1939. Further research can explore the roles played by colonial chiefs in various African locations to comprehend the differences in their power and influence. Understanding the wider effects of colonial rule may be gained by contrasting the experiences of Kenyan chiefs with those of chiefs in West Africa or other regions of East Africa.

iv. The present work critically evaluated the dual nature of Nandi colonial chiefs in the period of World War II, 1939-1945. Further research is needed to determine how the power relations among chiefs were impacted by the start of World War II and the ensuing adjustments to colonial policies. Examining the shift from indirect to more direct forms of governance as well as how it affects regional leadership structures is part of this.

v. Lastly, the current study analysed the roles of Nandi colonial chiefs in the period leading to independence, 1945-1963. Future investigations should examine the connection between local anti-colonial resistance movements and Nandi leaders, emphasizing how their roles helped or hindered these movements.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: List of Key Informants

Name	Age	Place (Sub-County)	Date
Kiptum Arap Temuge	90 years	Kaptumo, Aldai	16/3/2019
Paul Kipsang Arap Maasai	76 years	Kaptumo, Aldai	16/3/2019
Elijah Arap Chepkwony	88 years	Kaptumo, Aldai	20/3/2019
Mariko Kurgat	88 years	Chepkumia, Aldai	20/3/2019
Kimaiyo Arap Mutai	98 years	Kaptumo, Aldai	20/3/2019
Isaac Arap Kiriswa	66 years	Kosirai, Chesumei	21/3/2019
Sosten Kirwa Arap Kimwey	69 years	Kosirai, Chesumei	21/3/2019
Daudi Kipkoech Arap Maritim	85 years	Chemundu, Chesumei	21/3/2019
Peter Arap Koei	86 years	Kosirai, Chesumei	21/3/2019
Samuel Biwott	76 years	Olessos, Nandi Hills	22/3/2019
Some Arap Kogo	81 years	Kibabet, Nandi Hills	22/3/2019
Pius Kipsang Arap Sabul	77 years	Kibabet, Nandi Hills	22/3/2019
Kiplimo Arap Mugum	88 years	Kaplelmet, Nandi Hills	22/3/2019
Musa Kibet	77 years	Kaplelmet, Nandi Hills	22/3/2019
Sawe Arap Mengich (Kapchemoins)	73 years	Kilibwoni, Emgwen	23/3/2019
Stephen arap Marus	64 years	Kilibwoni, Emgwen	23/3/2019
Augustine Arap Chereset	97 years	Arwos, Emgwen	28/3/2019
Joseph Arap Keter	77 years	Arwos, Emgwen	28/3/2019
Kimeli Maritim	79 years	Emaki, Emgwen	29/3/2019
Simon Arap Kelewa	87 years	Chemase, Tindiret	4/4/2019
Pius Kiptarus Kapkiyai	76 years	Tindiret, Tindiret	4/4/2019
Samson Arap Kirwa	94 years	Ndubeneti, Mosop	4/4/2019
Chirchir Arap Surtan	72 years	Ndubenieti, Mosop	4/4/2019
Maritim Arap Murei	87 years	Ndubenieti, Mosop	4/4/2019
Simon Arap Busienei	73 years	Lolminingai, Mosop	6/4/2019
Gedion Arap Lagat	90 years	Sangalo, Mosop	8/4/2019
Jane Jepkazi Samoei	90 years	Kurgung, Mosop	10/4/2019
Christopher Arap Limo	76 years	Kaptel, Chesumei	10/4/2019
Malakwen Arap Ruto	87 years	Mogoon, Emgwen	15/4/2019
Kipsaina Kisoryo	94 years	Koisagat, Tindiret	12/3/2022
John Kiptum	90 years	Koisagat, Tindiret	12/3/2022
Akui Kwambai	70 years	Koibarak, Aldai	14/3/2022
Francis Mutwol	88 years	Koibarak, Aldai	14/3/2022
Chepkonga Kibor	89 years	Koitabut, Aldai	14/3/2022
Mathew Too	80 years	Chemamul, Chesumei	18/3/2022
Henry Kaptalam Kiplilak	90 years	Bonjoge, Aldai	2/9/2023
John Maritim	81 years	Kilibwoni, Emgwen	3/9/2023
Arap Murey	80 years	Kilibwoni, Emgwen	3/9/2023
Koech Charles	87 years	Serem, Aldai	3/9/2023
Joseph Malakwen	89 years	Kapkerer, Aldai	3/9/2023
Stephen Maru	80 years	Kapnyeberai, Emgwen	6/9/2023
Solomon Mutai	77 years	Kapnyeberai, Emgwen	6/9/2023
Isaac Arap Kirwa	90 years	Ndalat, Mosop	6/9/2023
Elly Kibiwott	88 years	Ndalat, Mosop	6/9/2023
Alex Mutai	77 years	Kabiyet, Mosop	7/9/2023
Naftali Cheseret	89 years	Kabiyet, Mosop	7/9/2023
Benard Kibor	89 years	Lessos, Emgwen	7/9/2023
James Kebenei	84 years	Mosoriot, Chesumei	11/9/2023
Paul Kisang	90 years	Mosoriot, Chesumei	11/9/2023
Noah Sang’	88 years	Belekenya, Chesumei	11/9/2023
Michael Cheruiyot	78 years	Kapsabet, Chesumei	11/9/2023
Thomas Kimaiyo	76 years	Maraba, Tindiret	11/9/2023
Michael Kimurgor	67 years	Chebut, Chesumei	12/9/2023

Kiprop Arap Mutai	94 years	Chebut, Chesumei	12/9/2023
Joshua Kipsang	88 years	Maraba, Tindiret	12/9/2023
Christopher Some	81 years	Maraba, Tindiret	12/9/2023
Philip Arap Lilan	67 years	Maraba, Tindiret	12/9/2023
Daudi Kipkoech	80 years	Sangalo, Mosop	14/9/2023
Kimutai Felix	70 years	Lelwak, Emgwen	14/9/2023
Pius Kimayo	87 years	Lelwak, Emgwen	14/9/2023
Joseph Maiyo	78 years	Lelwak, Emgwen	14/9/2023
Esther Jebet Sawe Arap Rongoei	72 years	Kilibwoni, Emgwen	14/9/2023
Matayo Arap Sing'oei	76 years	Mogoon, Emgwen	16/9/2023
Lawrence Samoei	69 years	Kaiboi, Mosop	16/9/2023
Simon Arap Maiyo	97 years	Kaplemur, Mosop	19/9/2023
Simon Arap Kebeni (Kapchoro)	87 years	Kapkwong, Nandi Hills	19/9/2023
Ezekiel Kimeli Arap Arusei	95 years	Kibabet, Nandi Hills	22/9/2023
Mr. Choge	88 years	Kaptumo, Nandi South	15/06/2024
Mr. Arap Kiyai	84 years	Kaptel, Chesumei	22/06/2024
Mr. Kipkios	80 years	Kurgung', Mosop	22/06/2024
Mr. Kipkirong	87 years	Kapkangani, Chesumei	15/06/2024
Songok Timotheo	96 years	Maraba, Tindiret	13/07/2024
James Birgen arap Rotich	90 years	Maraba, Tindiret	13/07/2024

Appendix II: Question Guideline

My Name is John Boit from Moi University, School of Arts and Social sciences. I am conducting research titled **"The Transformative Role of Colonial Chiefs in Nandi, Kenya, 1902-1963"** in partial fulfilment for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

I am requesting your participation as a respondent. On the basis of confidentiality in research, I assure you that whatever information you will give will be used solely for research purposes and your identity shall be held in strict confidentiality unless you want otherwise.

Yours,

John Boit

Personal Information

1. Name (Optional)
2. Organization of Work:
3. Nature of Work:
4. Age: 18-36 yrs [ ] 37-55 yrs [ ] Above 55 yrs [ ]
5. Could you please name some of the Colonial Chiefs in Nandi from 1902-1963 and the periods when they served?
6. How, in your knowledge, did the roles of Colonial Chiefs transform the Nandi society from 1902-1963?
7. In your view, which roles of the colonial chiefs brought positive transformation among the Nandi?
8. In your view, which roles of the colonial chiefs brought negative transformation among the Nandi?
9. What were political roles of Nandi Chiefs?
10. What were economic roles of Nandi Chiefs?
11. How much do you recall or know about the social roles of the Nandi Colonial Chiefs?

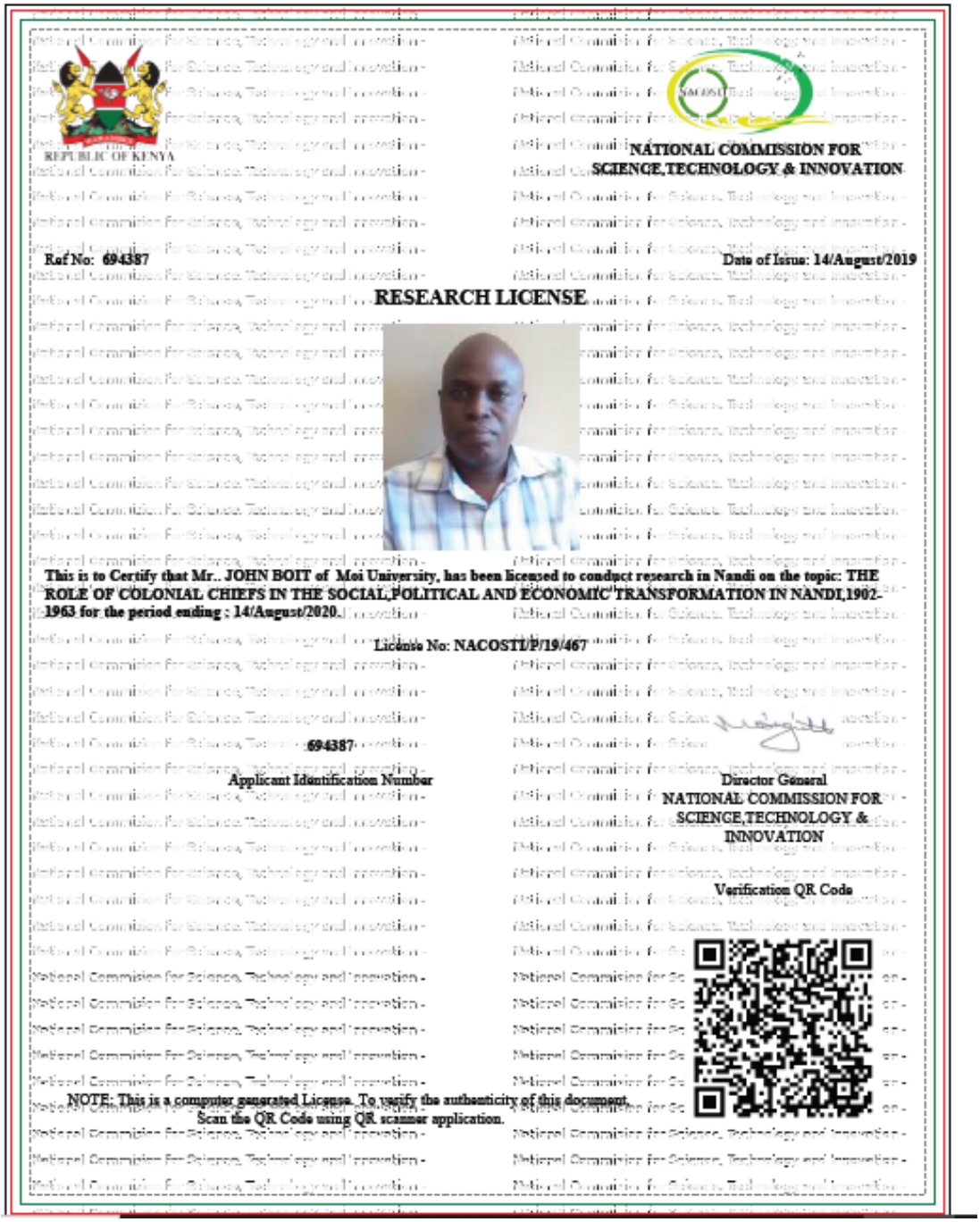
12. Are you informed about the economic roles of the Nandi Colonial Chiefs? Please describe those roles
13. Do you know the specific political roles of the Nandi Colonial Chiefs? Please highlight these roles
14. Do you think the Colonial Chiefs succeeded in their political roles? Explain your answer
15. Do you think the Colonial Chiefs succeeded in their economic roles? Explain your answer
16. Do you think the Colonial Chiefs succeeded in their social roles? Explain your answer
17. How, in your knowledge, did the pre-colonial Nandi Chiefs transform the Nandi politically?
18. Based on your knowledge, how did the pre-colonial Nandi Chiefs transform the Nandi economically?
19. To the best of your knowledge, how did the pre-colonial Nandi Chiefs transform the Nandi socially?
20. What do you think is the impact of the institution of chiefs in eco-political transformation of the Nandi in Kenya, 1902-1963?
21. Comparing the colonial chiefs and post-independent chiefs, what roles of chiefs do you find similar and/or contradictory in governance?

Roles	Similar	Contradictory
Social roles		
Economic roles		
Political roles		

Any other comments?

Thank you.

Appendix III: NACOSTI Research Authorisation



REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: 694387

Date of Issue: 14/August/2019

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