

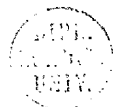
RELIGIOUS INNOVATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE
AMONG THE BUKUSU

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Thesis presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

The problem of this thesis is the relation between the acceptance of religious innovation and other processes of social change among the Bukusu of Western Kenya. The theoretical framework which was adopted was borrowed from Mary Douglas who recently introduced the terms 'group' and 'grid' to denote two independent variables which characterize any social system. It appeared the only approach which could explain the incidence of a millenarian movement in a satisfactory manner, and it also allowed a better description and fuller explanation of other facts. Traditionally Bukusu society had strong grid and weak group. There were no corporate groups or state-like institutions, but social organization depended on the manipulation of roles based on ego-centred categories. These characteristics facilitated the introduction of a hierarchy of political offices through which a handful of British administrators could control many of hundreds of thousands of Africans. This new system was differentiated through the need to introduce further checks and balances. Independent courts of justice and representative councils which assumed responsibility for public services curbed the discretionary powers of the chiefs and allowed greater African participation in decision making. Bukusu took advantage of the new opportunities which the system offered and tried to change criteria for recruiting chiefs and allocation of money for education to make it even more advantageous for themselves. Christianity was important for these developments because African participation in denominational competition gave Bukusu the experience and the organizational framework to agitate for the replacement of alien chiefs in Bukusu locations. Missionaries also encouraged semi-political welfare organizations which acquainted Bukusu with techniques necessary to set up and operate large scale formal organizations effectively. Thus they could form the Bukusu Union which wanted to use Bukusu wealth for Bukusu development. The emergence of a millena-

rian movement focussed the attention of the administration on these aspirations and resulted in the setting up of a new district in which the Bukusu were dominant. The first education provided by the missionaries helped individual Bukusu to qualify for the new posts in the administrative system created by the British. Enduring commitment to monogamy enabled Christians to save money which they could invest in commercial farming. Money saved in the form of bridewealth cattle and/or earned from the sale of cash crops helped to pay for expensive boarding school education of children in the nineteen forties and fifties. These children were therefore proportionately more important among the national elite which emerged in the nineteen sixties than children with a different background.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADC	African District Council
BU	Bukusu Union
CEE	Common Entrance Examination
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CPE	Certificate of Primary Education
CSC	Cambridge School Certificate
DC	District Commissioner
DYM	Dini ya Msambwa
EAISR	East African Institute of Social Research
EAS	East African Standard
FAM	Friends' African Mission
HSC	Higher School Certificate
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KAPE	Kenya African Primary Examination
KAU	Kenya African Union
KES	Kitosh Education Society
KJSE	Kenya Junior Secondary Examination
KPU	Kenya Peoples' Union
Legco	Legislative Council
LNC	Local Native Council
MHM	Mill Hill Mission
MISR	Makerere Institute of Social Research
PAG	Pentecostal Assemblies of God
PEFA	Pentecostal Evangelical Fellowship of Africa
SA	Salvation Army

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION1. Choice of research topic and area

During the writing of my masters' thesis, which was a comparative study of published materials on religious innovation among the Kongo, Zulu and Ganda, it had become clear to me that social anthropologists had not shown much interest in this aspect of social change compared with, for example, the attention paid to labour migration, urbanization and political adaptation under colonial rule. Perhaps this is a reflection of a real lack of importance but only a few anthropologists have told us enough about their fieldwork to enable us to judge whether much religious innovation has been neglected, unintentionally or deliberately.

By way of illustration I want to mention two East African examples of this attitude. Beattie saw it as his task to understand Nyoro society as it was during the time he did his field work and not to attempt to describe the traditional culture and society that no longer existed (1965 p.8). Yet he seemed to find it difficult to appreciate that Christianity ought to be studied and explained just as much as traditional practises and beliefs. Beattie's visit to the local mission church on Christmas Day is only mentioned because the sermon indicated that people were still practising the traditional spirit medium cult, which had always been denied (ibid. p.22). Similarly a group of women converts to the revivalist and fundamentalist branch of the Anglican mission seems only of interest because they were willing to give him details of cult membership and initiation (ibid. p.29). Middleton (1970 pp. 56,57) also says that he did not do as much work among adherents of various break away movements that had originated in Christian mission activities as he now wishes. The role of the leaders of these sects as instigators and agents of radical social change was not realized by him until after

his final return from Uganda. These examples indicate that an anthropologist who would make the influence of Christianity the focus of his research might be able to elucidate aspects of social change which had remained hitherto obscure.

Nevertheless there are some studies of this kind available, although in many cases they were not written by professionally trained anthropologists but, not surprisingly, by theologians. Of outstanding interests are undoubtedly the books by Sundkler (1961) and Taylor (1958). Sundkler concentrates on the independent sects among the Zulu and Taylor on the Anglican Church in Buganda. Both authors try to explain the internal development of these institutions through relating them to traditional rituals, beliefs and social relations, and also to political and economic changes in the wider society. The same method was followed by professional anthropologists: Pauw (1960), Wishlade (1965) and Murphree (1969). It is interesting to note that both Pauw and Murphree had been missionaries before they had become anthropologists.

Sangree (1966) and Long (1963) on the other hand were not primarily interested in the explanation of the acceptance of religious innovation and the development of new religious institutions. They wanted to know the social consequences of the introduction of these institutions and the influence which membership had on social action. Sangree tried to prove his hypothesis that Protestant sects, both mission affiliated and independent, may fill a transitional political need. Such sects provide a ready made framework within which a leader can fulfill some of the particularistic relationships traditionally expected from a man in authority, but also at the same time introduce more universalistic and functionally specific relationships with the aid of Christian ritual and symbols. Thus people get used to the demands of bureaucratic government. Unfortunately the Tiriki age group organization was an intervening variable which made the testing of the original hypothesis difficult.

Long tried to find out how the members of one particular sect, Jehovah's Witnesses, differed from the rest of the population with regard to their choice of residential pattern and the utilization of new economic opportunities. He came to the conclusion that there is a close connection between being a Witness and engaging in certain forms of social and economic action. Membership of the sect encourages people to repudiate certain social relationships (often of a so called "customary" nature), and it sanctions the utilization of ties of a different kind in order that they can gain a high status in a new and in principle nation wide type of social stratification, using concepts such as "townsman" and "villager". The doctrinal and ethical teachings of the sect influence the choice between alternative courses of action open to the individual. Sangree was more concerned with adaptation to new political institutions and values which were imposed on the people he was studying. Each author is concerned with different aspects of social change.

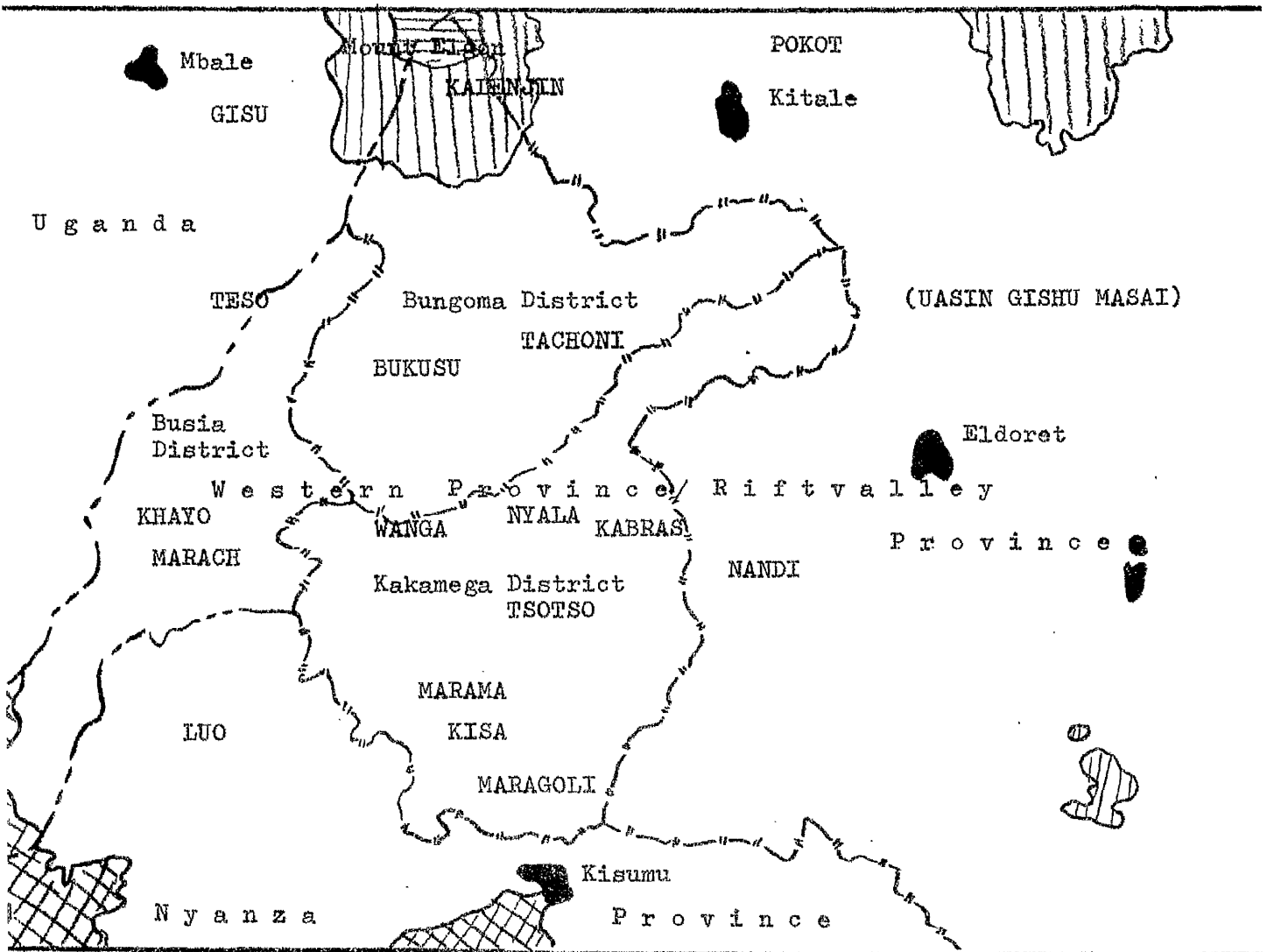
My own interests were not limited in either direction. The main question to which I hoped to find an answer was: What difference did and does membership of a missionary church or an independent sect make with regard to participation in processes of social change? Again in contrast to Long and Sangree I was not just interested in one sect or group of sects. I felt that too much attention had already been given to independent sects. Somehow they must have seemed more African than orthodox missionary churches and therefore a more appropriate subject for research, or perhaps more exotic and therefore more in need of explanation. I wanted to study both types of new religious groupings simultaneously so as to gain a more balanced picture. I deliberately looked for an area where a fair number of different denominations and also perhaps an independent sect or two would be active. Still, in general I was more interested in the influence of religious innovation on processes of social change than in new religious institutions seen as ends in themselves. But I hoped that generalisations with

regard to one denomination or sect could be checked through comparison with other religious groupings.

Another important consideration in choosing the area in which I wanted to work was the fact that all the studies I knew were made in a colonial setting. Many authors had attributed important consequences to this fact. Very often independent sects led by prophets were seen as proto-nationalistic movements. Balandier (1963) has probably provided the most ambitious theoretical framework in support of this notion. Going to an independent country would allow me to see how much difference the disappearance of colonial rule really had made. Again, if I was going to study involvement in processes of social change it would be a good thing to have documentary evidence to reconstruct such processes more adequately. The Luhya tribes of western Kenya were characterized by the desired religious variety, they lived in a country which had been independent for a sufficient length of time to adapt itself to the changed political circumstances, and Wagner's ethnographic data collected in the thirties seemed quite extensive (1949, 1956). Since Laura Bohannan and Walter Sangree had worked among two southern Luhya tribes in the fifties I decided to concentrate on the Bukusu in the north. Many data in Wagner's books refer specifically to the Bukusu, but it is sometimes difficult to decide how much generalisations concerning all Luhya tribes are applicable to them. It had even been suggested to me that they might resemble more the Gisu of Uganda than southern Luhya tribes. Therefore my research among this particular group might also serve to contribute to the filling of some important gaps in the ethnography of the area.


2. Introducing Bungoma District


Bungoma District in the Western Province of Kenya is the home of the Bukusu (map 1). Apart from the Bukusu there are some other much smaller ethnic groups in the same district. The foothills of Mount Elgon are predominantly inhabited by Kalenjin, sometimes referred to as Elgon Masai.





Map 1 Western Province

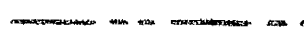
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 area above 8858 feet

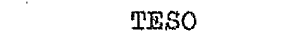
 area above 6890 feet

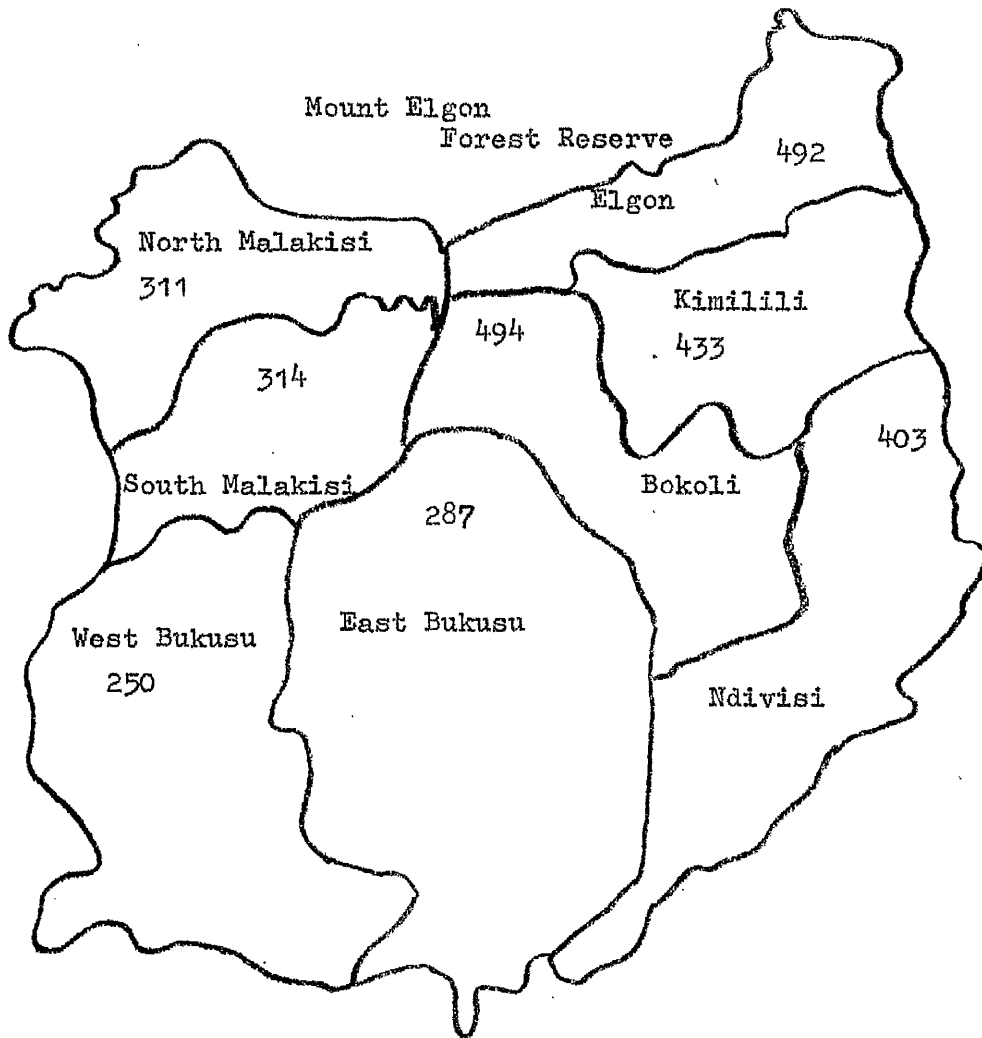
 Lake Victoria

 major town

 international boundary

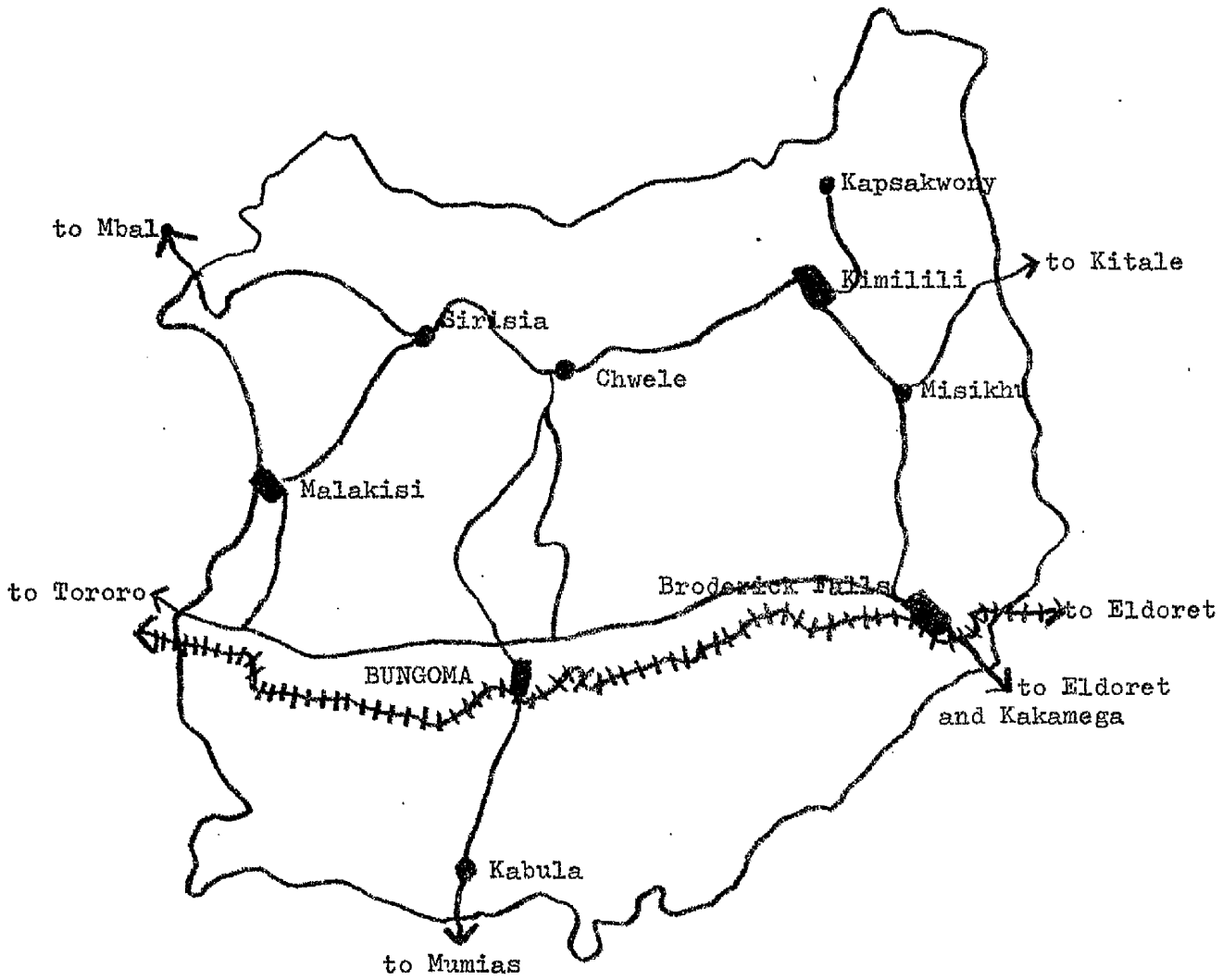
 internal boundary

 name of tribe



Map 2 Bungoma District Scale 1 : 400,000

Locational Boundaries and Population Density per Square Mile.



Map 3 Bungoma District

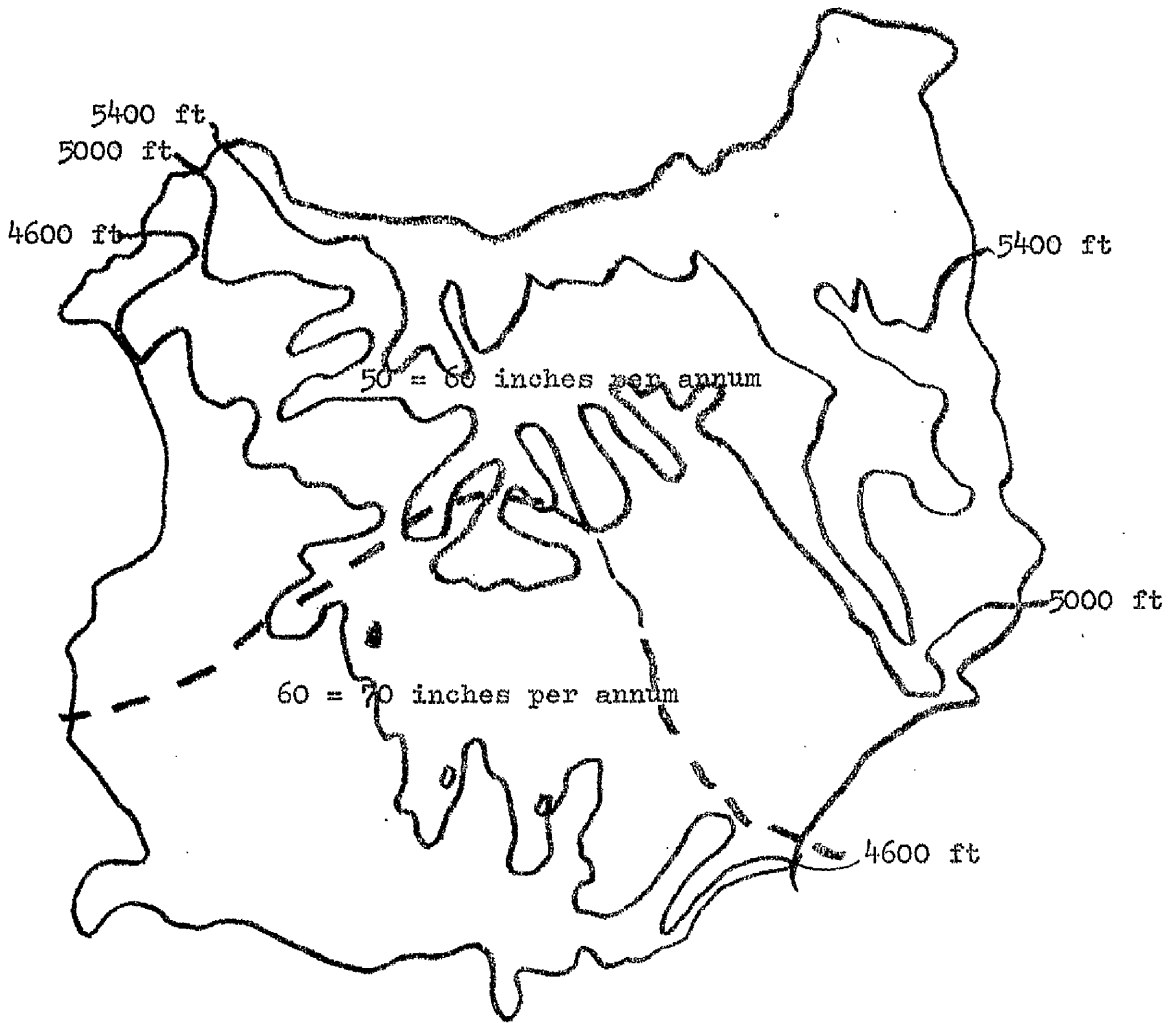
Scale 1 : 400,000

— Roads

■ Trading Centre

||||| Railway

● Market



Map 4 Bungoma District Scale 1 : 400,000

Altitude and Rainfall

In the north east near Kimilili they have got their own location where they are definitely in a majority, although there are also Bukusu who live in that area. In the north west Kalenjin do not have a location of their own in which they are the dominant majority. In this area relations between Bukusu and Kalenjin have been a constant source of trouble. Bukusu still remember with great emotion the blood bath which followed their attempt to capture one of the forts of the Kalenjin in 1880. On the other hand relations with the Tachoni who live in the south east of the district and also in the north of Kabras Location have always been peaceful. They speak a Luhya dialect which is not too different from the one which the Bukusu use. The other neighbours with whom Bukusu had peaceful relations included the southern Gisu or Masaba, the Kabras and the Nyala. Traditional enemies were the Wanga, Khayo and Teso. (Wagner 1949 p.27) Occasionally Masai came from the east, raiding villages and stealing cattle (ibid. p.23).

Administratively Bungoma District is divided into 8 locations (map 2). The total population is about 250,000. The number of inhabitants per locations ranges from 17,000 to 51,000. There are 44 sub-locations. The number of inhabitants of these ranges from less than 1,000 to over 12,000. In 1963 another 150 square miles of settlement schemes were added administratively to Bungoma District. It was estimated that in 1966 20,000 people lived in these schemes. (Thurmann 1967 p.14) But in the rest of this introduction I shall limit myself to the old African "reserve". Before 1963 the present Western Province and Nyanza Province formed one Province. For most of the colonial period until 1956 most of what is now Western Province formed one district with headquarters at Kakamega. It was first known as North Kavirondo and after 1949 as North Nyanza. Between 1956 and 1963 Bungoma District and the northern locations of what is now Busia District were known as Elgon Nyanza District with headquarters at Bungoma. Before 1959 there were only 4 locations in Bungoma District: Malakisi (North and South Malakisi), Kimilili (Kimilili, Bokoli, Ndivisi), Elgon and South Bukusu (East Bukusu and West Bukusu). Before 1952 South Bukusu was

known as South Kitosh, and before 1927 Malakisi, Kimilili and Elgon were jointly referred to as North Kitosh and were under one chief.

Both the main motor way and the railway between Nairobi and Kampala go straight through Bungoma District (map 3). Coming from Eldoret one passes through the Nandi Hills and then descends to cross River Nzoia which drains into Lake Victoria eventually. Here one enters Bungoma District. It is another 20 miles before one reaches Bungoma, the district headquarters and from there one has to go an equal distance before reaching the border with Uganda. Halfway between the border and Bungoma one leaves imperceptibly Bungoma District and crosses over into the Teso Locations of Busia District. Where the main road crosses the district the country consists of hill ridges, often several miles wide, which run in a north-southerly direction. They are divided by rivers which come down as small streams from Mount Elgon, a huge extinct volcano of about 14,000 feet in height. The side visible from Bungoma is about 25 miles long at its base.

Immediately after crossing Nzoia River one can turn right and go up a steep ridge which is in fact a continuation of the Nandi Escarpment. Following this ridge in northerly direction along the main Kakamega-Kitale road one comes after 6 miles to Misikhu. A left hand turn here gets one to Kimilili after another 6 miles. Kimilili is the centre of an important agricultural area and a flourishing trading centre. Four miles or so to the north of Kimilili one reaches the foothills of Mount Elgon which rise rather abruptly and which have been called cliffs by some scholars. Generally the boundary of the forest reserve starts almost immediately after ascending these cliffs, but at Kapsakwony in Elgon Location the inhabited area is several miles wide.

The main road runs parallel with the foot of the mountain from Kimilili to Chwele. The slopes of the ridges which one has to cross are much steeper here than to the south. From Kimilili to Chwele is about 10 miles. From Chwele one can go straight southwards and reach Bungoma again after a dozen

miles, passing either on the right side or on the left side of Kabuchai, a prominent rocky outcrop which is almost the geographical centre of the Bukusu country. Before Bungoma became District Headquarters in 1956 this was the seat of the divisional court, conveniently placed on the road from Mumias to Mbale. Mumias was the first administrative centre in western Kenya near a ford in Nzoia River, where the caravans from the coast to Uganda had to pass. Mumias is about 18 miles from Bungoma and the Wanga Locations and Kakamega District start just south of Kabula market.

One can also continue along the road from Chwele to the west and cross the watershed between the Nzoia and Luakhakha basins to reach Sirisia after 8 miles. Mount Elgon turns rather sharply north now and from Sirisia one goes either north west to reach the border at Luakhakha after 10 miles, or one goes south west to arrive at Malakisi, an old trading centre with a cotton ginnery on the boundary of the Teso Locations, from where it is only 5 miles to reach the main Eldoret-Tororo road again. This road is only 15 years old. Before its construction the way to Jinja and Kampala went through Kakamega, Mumias and Busia or from Kitale, through Kimilili, Chwele and Malakisi to Tororo. The main north-south links were from Kakamega to Kitale and from Mumias to Malakisi and from there onwards to Mbale in Uganda. When the railway was completed in the late twenties new trading centres were opened where these two roads crossed the railway: at Bungoma and Broderick Falls. At that time Kimilili was also opened. Before then Malakisi was the only trading centre.

Trading centres and African markets are the most conspicuous concentrations of permanent buildings in the district (map 3). People do not live in villages but each family lives on the plot which it cultivates. Trade used to be the virtual monopoly of Asian traders who lived in the officially gazetted trading centres. But since they were few in number and far apart, Africans could set up neighbourhood shops and retail daily necessities, while the Asians acted as wholesalers. In the early fifties the African District Council brought the

building of shops outside the trading centres under its control. Plots were acquired and for a fee of shs 200/- per annum people were allowed to erect shops according to a standardized design in permanent materials. Shops were often arranged around fenced market squares where people could sell farm produce and buy goods from pedlars at weekly markets. The best developed markets of this kind with most shops are in prosperous areas between trading centres. Good examples are Chwele and Misikhu. The markets which were developed adjacent to trading centres have become something of an anomaly now Africans can easily acquire shops there and now it has become official policy to limit the role of Asians in trade. But they still offer the advantage of a flat rate which is much less than what one would have to pay in a proper trading centre.

Another important feature of the countryside are the many school buildings. In 1968 there were 240 schools in the district with 1,546 classes divided over 7 standards. The number of pupils in primary schools is proportionately high. The Kenya Education Commission Report compares enrolment in primary schools related to the age-group 7 - 13 in the child population by province (1965 p.9). It is highest in Central Province with 94%, second in Western Province with 70.6%, third is Nyanza Province with 54.7%. The average for Kenya as a whole was in 1964 57.7%. Within Western Province Bungoma District has again the best figures. In 1967 of the total population 12.1% attended primary school in Bungoma District, compared to 11.6% in Kakamega District and 9.3% in Busia District (Wouters 1968 p. 104). There are 6 fully maintained secondary schools which are mainly boarding schools. but many Bukusu students are in schools outside the district. There are also many unaided "Harambee" secondary schools, which vary very much in standards.

The most prosperous trading centres and the largest markets can be found in the areas with the highest agricultural potential and the greatest population density (map 2). These are the foothills of Mount Elgon and the area immediately to the south of them. The extent of this area depends partly

on the ease with which alluvial deposits could be formed. The soil consists of dark red friable clays with a deep humic topsoil with a carbon content of 3 - 7 %. This soil is derived both from volcanic and basement complex rocks. The same type of soil can be found in the area to the north east of a line running from Chwele to Broderick Falls, with this difference that the deep humic topsoil is limited to the summits of the broad flat topped ridges formed by the rivers which come down from the mountain. On sloping land the carbon content is less, 3 - 5 %. In the rest of the district the soil consists of dark brown sandy loams with a mere 2 % carbon content. It is derived from sediments and basement rocks, partially covered with more humic ash and pumic soils derived from recent unconsolidated volcanic ash. In many places there are swamps which are badly drained and which prevent the growth of trees and shrubs which are the natural vegetation of the district. In the centre, where they are most extensive, they consist of dark brown clays with light textured topsoils (Gethin Jones and Scott 1959).

Agricultural potential, however, does not solely depend on the constitution of the soil but also on rainfall and height (map 4). The rainy season is from March until the end of October, with seasonal peaks during the period April-May and again in August. Rainfall in the south west is higher than in the north east, but everywhere it is over 50 inches per annum. This allows maize to be grown throughout the district, but it does better on the more fertile soils of the north and north east. Where the soil is relatively poor it is not generally grown in commercial quantities. If people do so they use fertilizer. On the other hand the less fertile areas are also lower, which can make a difference of several weeks to the process of ripening. During a period of shortage of food in the higher areas they import from the lower areas. The other important cash crops are cotton and coffee. Cotton does not do well above 4,500 feet and coffee, of the Arabica variety, is not grown below 5,000 feet. Coffee can be grown even in the less fertile areas provided that the site is selected carefully,

for example on the place of an old walled village. In a few areas with light textured but relatively fertile soils onions have become an important cash crop recently.

In the north and north east maize is staple but in the rest of the area millet mixed with cassava is also usual. Milk is consumed everywhere, and so are eggs, poultry and beef. The diet is further varied with bananas sweet potatoes, rice (grown in the lowest river valleys), beans and groundnuts. Pine apple and sugar cane are favourite snacks. Cabbages have replaced local vegetables grown in the kitchen gardens to a large extent. European potatoes are grown in the foot-hills of the mountain.

Maize became an important cash crop in the nineteen thirties after the completion of the railway had made exports easy. In the area adjoining Trans Ezoia people started to use ox drawn ploughs with which they had become familiar while working for white employers. In the lower areas adjoining Uganda cotton was vigorously promoted and at Malakisi a cotton ginnery was built which is still in operation. The present coffee plantations were started between 1952 and 1962. Onions were first grown on a commercial scale in 1964 and have been mainly successful in the north west where conditions appear to be more favourable than elsewhere. Cattle is also very important in Bungoma District. Cows are sold when there is need to raise substantial amounts of cash. This is especially the case in January, when people have to pay taxes and school fees. Animals which are bought at that time, or later during the wet season before the new harvest is ripe, can fetch a price which is twice as high later in November and December. At the end of the year people have sufficient cash from the sale of crops and are unwilling to sell cattle. Yet at the same time there is a great demand for luxury foods such as meat, just because people have cash available. Cattle trade can be extremely profitable and it has been the basis of some large fortunes made by Africans. In this branch they did not have to face Asian competition.

The African Agricultural Sample Census of 1960-61 allows us to compare data concerning Elgon Nyanza District, and sometimes the 2 divisions which now constitute Bungoma District, with data applicable to the old Central and Nyanza Provinces generally recognized as agriculturally the most advanced former African areas. One outstanding fact is the largeness of the average size of holding. In Elgon Nyanza District it is 18.52 acres supporting on average 9.14 persons, in Nyanza Province it is 9.37 acres supporting 7.23 persons, and in Central Province it is 4.81 acres supporting 8.17 persons. In the Elgon Nyanza District there was 5.6 acres of temporary crops per holding and 0.3 acres of permanent crops. In Nyanza Province the acreage was 3.3 and 0.1 respectively, and in Central Province 2.1 and 0.6 acres. Average crop production per person supported was in Elgon Nyanza District in lbs.: maize 721, millet 121, sorghum 155, pulses 10. In Nyanza Province: maize 587, millet 125, sorghum 163, pulses 89. In Central Province maize 319, millet 10, sorghum —, pulses 99. The average number of cattle was in Elgon Nyanza District 6.86, of sheep and goats 2.28. In Nyanza Province the figures were 4.02 and 4.67 respectively, and in Central Province 2.00 and 1.79. Finally I want to compare the average acreage of temporary crops and numbers of cattle per holding in the east of Bungoma District (old Kimilili and Elgon Locations) with the west (old Malakisi and South Bukusu Locations). The most important crops in the east are: maize 5.07, sorghum 0.69, in the west: maize 2.51, sorghum 1.78, wimbi 0.99, cassave 0.99 acres. The average number of cattle in the east is 10.05, in the west 7.09.

Population density in the most fertile areas in the north and north east approaches in places the 500 per square mile, and is everywhere well above 400 (map 2). In the south it is well below 300, with a low in the south west of 250. Before 1950 there was a marked movement of people to the fertile north and north east, but people who want to buy land now very often go to the less densely inhabited adjoining

areas. At present East Bukusu Location has the fastest growing population. Land is bought and sold freely and prices vary according to the quality of the soil between shs 300/- and shs 600/ per acre. If we assume that the settlement schemes joined to Bungoma District were populated exclusively by people from Bungoma District, which seems very likely, the schemes increased the number of agricultural holdings by about 10 % and absorbed 8 % of the population (Odingo 1967 p.146). Although compared to the rest of the country Bungoma District was not by any means over populated, Bukusu felt very strongly that they needed more land in 1962 and 1963, when the schemes were set up. I think that reluctance to divide the family farm on the part of fathers and elder brothers played an important role. They were too well aware of the commercial value of the land. Farms smaller than average are thought to give insufficient monetary rewards and should not be divided. On the contrary one should try to earn enough money to buy a farm of at least this size.

3. Field work

I started my field work at the end of March 1968 in Kimilili Location. Mr. Pascal Nabwana kindly agreed to accommodate me in the best house in his compound and he was also in other respects very helpful, not in the least by writing some autobiographical notes, which were very useful for understanding his career, culminating in his chairmanship of the African District Council 1958 - 1963 and the award of an OBE. One of his nephews was my assistant during the 7 months I stayed with him. In that time I became familiar with the basic principles of the Bukusu language and was very fortunate to attend some interesting rituals. I observed several circumcision ceremonies which are of a public character and I was also allowed to attend initiation ceremonies for diviners. The latter are a private affair and even many Bukusu do not know much about them. Then there were the nominations for the local government elections. In the end however, all candidates of the opposition KPU were disqualified and KANU candidates were elected unopposed. Towards

the end of my stay in Kimilili the government proscribed the Dini ya Msambwa sect because the leader and his followers thought that they could be a law unto themselves. The prophet was sent to jail for 2 years for assault. I had hoped to get to know more about the adherents of the sect after I had learned more of the Bukusu language and culture. This had become impossible now.

The main reason for moving to Sirisia in South Malakisi Location was my discovery that the area near Kimilili was not tribally homogeneous. Apart from the Bukusu there were many first and second generation migrants from Teso, Bukhayo, Wanga and Bunyala. This in itself would not have been too bad if this tribal diversity had not affected the main variable I was interested in, namely non-traditional religious groupings. However, religious affiliation seemed to have played an important part in maintaining the social identity of various ethnic minorities. The Wanga for example were mainly Muslim and the Khayo and Teso were dominant among the Anglicans.

At Sirisia I was fortunate to find a house in one of the compounds of ex-chief Jeremiah Kukubo. His excellent memory proved a great help for my study of past conditions in Malakisi Location. My cook was assistant to the sub-chief in my area and he knew consequently a lot about my neighbours and community affairs in general. My assistant here had been news paper correspondent in 1963 when the present generation of politicians had come to power. His knowledge was of great advantage to me the next year, 1969, when national elections took place. The Survey of Kenya was just finishing registration of land around Sirisia. With the help of some of their records I gained an excellent insight in the relation between clan membership and the ownership of land and the present settlement pattern. Genealogies were also recorded and the relationship between clan membership and political leadership at the grass root level in the past was investigated. I also made a point of participating in church services as frequently as possible.

After 4 months at Sirisia I had a break of 3 months. One was spent in the archives in Nairobi. I went through Annual Reports, Handing Over Reports, Chiefs' Characters and several files on the Dini ya Msambwa. It is difficult to say how much I learned here what I could not have learned through interviews in the field. I think it helped me to understand some of the considerations which had gone into the making of administrative decisions. But it merely corroborated information I had gained or was to gain about the impact of these decisions among the Bukusu and their reactions to them. The rest of the time I stayed at Makerere College. I had been accepted as Associate of the MISR and enjoyed the various facilities which it offered me. I tried to write the first systematic account of what I had found out so far. I also went through the micro-filmed Kaimosi Papers of the Friends' African Mission. These threw valuable light on the activities of the Quaker missionaries among the Bukusu. The late Father Walstra had already let me read the Diary of the Kibabii Mission as well as some miscellaneous correspondence. This had given me a picture of the activities of the Catholic Mill Hill Fathers whose influence among the Bukusu equalled that of the Quakers. When I came back to Sirisia I studied the organization, membership and local history of the various denominations represented in the area more closely. I also did some small scale surveys to get census data and to find out whether religious affiliation had made any difference with regard to certain social characteristics, the most important of which was educational achievement. That summer Mboya was assassinated and rumours about oathing ceremonies among the Kikuyu caused concern. Later the KPU opposition party was banned and the parliamentary elections were brought forward. They took place early in December 1969 and the new government was announced just before Christmas when I left the country.

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CHAPTER II

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of this thesis is to describe and explain the influence of religious innovation on social change among an East African tribe. The question with which I approached the material was: What difference did and does adherence to a non-traditional religious grouping make with regard to participation in processes of social change? This question entails another one: Why did specific processes of social change, including acceptance of religious innovation, take place among the Bukusu and why did Bukusu participate in these processes in the particular way they did? There are several problems connected with these questions and the way in which they are framed. First I have to justify the separation of religious innovation from other processes of social change and indicate what kind of social change is meant here. Secondly I have to make clear what theoretical framework I want to adopt in order to describe what happened and to explain why it happened. The pair of analytical terms called 'group' and 'grid' which I adopted have to make sense of all available descriptive material. Of course, selection of data takes place when material is collected, but only further research can establish whether this preliminary selection gave such a distorted picture that it actually invalidates the explanation. The likelihood that a certain explanation is valid can be increased by using a framework of analytical terms which has already been applied to comparable but different problems from the ones one is trying to solve. Alternatively one can show that it might be possible to apply this framework profitably to comparable situations which have not yet been analysed in its terms. Here I want to adopt the latter approach and try to sketch how social change among the Luo and Kikuyu can be usefully analysed in terms of 'group' and 'grid' as a testcase, before considering the Bukusu.

When considering processes of social change which affected the Bukusu we do not need to talk about social change in

general at a very abstract level, in order to find comparable situations elsewhere. The highest level of abstraction at which Bukusu involvement in social change can profitably be compared with that of other peoples is expressed by the concept of modernization, which can be defined as "a 'total' transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organization that characterize the 'advanced', economically prosperous and relatively politically stable nations of the Western World" (Moore 1963, p. 89). Moore goes on to argue that it is reasonably proper, though conventional, to consider modernization in terms of economic growth and speak of the process as industrialisation (ibid. p. 91). This includes mechanization of agriculture, and of the ancillary services of transportation and communication which are essential to the operation of a specialized and therefore interdependent economy (ibid p. 92). Among the necessary conditions of industrialisation Moore lists a number of institutions. Among them is the institution of property which provides a normative definition of rights in scarce values. These rights must be transferable. This is even true under conditions of socialist ownership. Secondly labour must be mobile and labour recruitment must be strongly based on performance qualifications. Thirdly the system of exchange must be commercialized. Any distribution of goods and services in an industrial economy involves financial transactions. Fourthly political stability which is extensive in space and time is necessary to protect expensive fixed capital installations, safe transport and agreements or contracts which are dependable and if necessary enforceable. Finally there is the need to institutionalize a problem-solving orientation and dedication to deliberate change. The setting in which these institutions appear to be most easily and rapidly established is nationalism (ibid. pp. 94-95). Social change among the Bukusu can therefore be specified as modernization which is characterized by industrialisation and national integration. These two factors

were also considered to be of crucial importance by Gellner (1964) on logical and more general philosophical grounds.

Acceptance of religious innovations is of course also a process of social change, but it is not necessarily and logically a process leading to modernization. Nevertheless in East Africa in general and among the Bukusu in particular far reaching religious innovation co-incided with processes of economic and social change, which led to the establishment of an independent Kenya with African majority rule and dedicated to the achievement of fast economic growth through industrialisation, including the involvement of the rural population in commercial agriculture. Description and explanation of the acceptance of these religious innovations and the consequences which this acceptance had for participation in processes of national integration and industrialisation is therefore a proper subject for research. Such an investigation can make a contribution to new knowledge about social change because the relationships it attempts to establish cannot be taken for granted.

The unit which I chose for the investigation of this problem is a so called tribe. It may of course be argued that tribes are very much a colonial invention, if not actually a fiction. But still they were a social reality in colonial days, because the administration aimed at creating administrative units for tribes and sub-tribes, wherever this was practicable. Ownership of land was considered to be essentially tribal. Tribal expansion through conquest and to a lesser extent migration became impossible. Through District Councils Africans were allowed to adjust the expansion of the educational system according to their own aspirations at the lowest levels, but the government kept the expansion of further education under its control. But when further education was expanded, the proportion of the population receiving lower education was taken into account. Thus at the eve of independence there was much regional variation which could be interpreted in tribal terms. sl-

though much of it can be reduced to external factors. Among these factors are the cash earning potential of the African agricultural sector, which depended on communications, fertility of the soil and population density, and the levels of education reached by various proportions of the population, which depended on missionary penetration and zeal for formal education of African converts and the level of subsidy which the local authorities could and wanted to afford.

The Kikuyu dominance of the civil service because of Kikuyu educational achievements was labelled 'tribalism' but so was the determination of people in the Rift Valley and elsewhere not to allow redistribution of land on a national scale among people who did not have any land themselves, or to allow it to be sold to people who had been much more involved in the cash oriented economy than the potential sellers. The establishment of a national government without opposition seemed to indicate the mutual willingness of interested politicians to solve these problems inherited from the colonial period through rapid economic growth for which political stability was necessary. Nevertheless it is fair to say that political life in Kenya after independence has been marked by considerable tribal tensions.

Although external factors can explain to some extent the different degrees to which people from various tribes were and are involved in the processes of social change under consideration, it is inconceivable that the social systems which characterized the different tribes were of no significance for the way people reacted to these changes and, perhaps more important, for the way in which people who became most involved in these processes were treated by their fellows. However, in most discussions of social change social anthropologists talk about tribal societies as if they exhibited a set of common characteristics compared to modernized societies organized in nation states and characterized by a high level of industrialisation. Generally they do not try to divide tribal societies into types which

are more or less receptive to modernization because of the differences in their social systems.

My own interest in religious innovation among the Bukusu virtually forced me to consider such internal differences. It is relatively easy to explain the introduction of various Christian denominations among the Bukusu, as it is among other tribes in Kenya. They were introduced by highly motivated European missionaries who assisted Africans to adapt themselves to new opportunities under colonial rule, notably through acquainting Africans with large scale voluntary organizations and the provision of western education. Again the growth of various independent churches and sects in Kenya can be seen as a logical adaptation of western Christianity to a different context. But I found it very difficult to explain a millennial movement with cargo-cult characteristics which occurred among the Bukusu after the second world war. The aim of this movement was a return to the ancestral customs and a violent rejection of colonial rule and western education which did not give Africans the real control over the material world which had been achieved by Europeans. They felt that they had been cheated.

I could not find any external factor or constellation of factors which could explain why this phenomenon occurred among the Bukusu, but apparently not among other tribes. Therefore I had to look for a possible explanation through investigation of internal factors. It was in this connection that I found Mary Douglas's book on 'Natural Symbols' most useful and enlightening. She analyses social systems in terms of two independent variables which affect the structuring of personal relations. The one is called 'group', the other 'grid'. Group is the experience of a bounded social unit, grid refers to rules which relate one person to others on an ego-centred basis (1970 p. viii). The group variable can be placed on a scale starting at one end with the minimum experience of group boundaries which progresses towards the maximum at the other end. This is to concentrate entirely on group allegiances and on experience of

inclusion and exclusion. It expresses the possible range from the lowest possible of associations to tightly knit, closed groups. A group essentially has a temporal dimension. It must endure through time to be recognisable. So this scale also measures the permanence or temporary nature of people's associations with one another. A group must essentially have some corporate identity, some recognisable signs of inclusion and exclusion. The further we travel along the line from one end to the other, the more permanent, inescapable and clearly bounded the social groups. There are other internal forms of structuring which are dependent on group organisation, such as hierarchy of command and delegation of responsibility from the centre. These Mary Douglas supposes to be increasing concomitantly with the increase of bounded groups in the organisation of society.

For the other scale consider the way a man's life can be organised in a grid of ego-centred categories. Classification according to sex controls a great deal of our behaviour. It did still more for our grandparents. Even so, this strict control did not produce groups defined or recruited by sex. Incest categories invariably affect a man in an ego-focussed radius, but his sexual life is none the less made to flow into prescribed grid. Similarly for categories of age: for most people the relevance of age to behaviour is ego-focussed. Each individual needs to know who is older and younger than himself, and to know in which part of the age-categorisation he at present belongs. Age does not necessarily produce grouping. As a social category it can vary independently. In some tribes a high degree of organisation can be based upon ego-focussed categories. The Ifugao and Kalingas of the Philippines have remarkably complex calculations of kinship by which groups are temporarily brought into action. These are ego-focussed kindreds which fuse into groups to prosecute a blood-revenge and which are always potentially there so long as their focusing point is alive. When he dies, there is no such group. This kind of organisation, though it produces group action, is different from the other kind with which Mary Douglas

proposes to contrast it, in precisely the temporal dimension and the clarity of boundaries which are indications of group behaviour. For the leader who collects a group around himself in the Ifugao or Kalinga type of society knows very well that it is focussed on himself and that it is up to him to keep it going. There is no machinery for transmitting succession to his heir. He is in open competition with other leaders who are frankly seeking to recruit his followers for themselves. Thus there is no guarantee or expectation of permanence, and no clear cut boundaries. The fringe followers can very easily drift from one leader to another. The same is true of many New Guinea societies (*ibid.* pp. 57,58).

This frame of analysis presents a rather severe abstraction from reality. But that is necessarily the case with terms which one wants to use universally. Another objection which could be raised is that the terms are not rigorously defined with reference to a comprehensive theory of social systems. This perhaps is also unavoidable if one is trying out a set of terms for the first time. The group-grid distinction certainly helps one to look at social systems in a different light, but at present the approach depends to a very large extent on subjective judgments of qualitative aspects which can not easily be measured, although Mary Douglas places group and grid on scales varying from weak to strong. Still, I believe that at least with regard to the problems I tried to solve the advantages of the theoretical framework outweigh the undeniable drawbacks inherent in its application. In the conclusion I hope to deal with some objections against its use and possible confusions in greater detail.

Mary Douglas uses the distinction between group and grid to explain why religious beliefs and practises are different in different societies. For example the relation of self to society varies with the constraints of grid and group: the stronger these are the more developed the idea of formal transgression and its dangerous consequences,

and the less regard is felt for the right of the inner self to be freely expressed. The more that social relations are differentiated by grid and group the more the private individual is exhorted to pour his passions into prescribed channels or to control them altogether (ibid. p. 102).

In Mary Douglas's scheme of classification there are four extreme possibilities. When group is weak religion is concerned with impersonal forces, it is indifferent to morality and the idea of the self is valued for its own sake, not for the contribution it makes to the whole. When group is strong powers that control the universe are anthropomorphic, religion sanctions morality, it has a strong ethical flavour and integration in the group becomes the supreme value for the self. When grid is strong the value of material things is affirmed, but when grid is weak there is affirmation of the spiritual which can take two forms: ascetism which rejects what is external and controls sensual experience rigorously, in case group is also strong, but in case group is weak, ascetism takes the form of valuing human fellowship above material things (ibid. pp. 141-143).

Movements of religious renewal which are adopted in different kinds of social systems are turned into witch cleansing cults in small group structures, but where groups are weak and each individual relates to others in categories focussed upon himself, these movements appeal to those who are not successful in manipulating the system. For the successful leaders the cosmos is benign and they see the powers which dominate it as available to anyone for the grasping. The floating fringe think of the universe in the same terms but are more conscious of the lack of equity in the distribution of power and privilege. A sudden dislocation of their channels to prestige and success, and the realisation that they never win are likely to spark off millennialism (ibid. pp. 103-104). One special example of such millennialism are the cargo cults of Melanesia. The people involved in these cults find themselves in a crisis which is caused by the fact that they find themselves in relation with rich

foreigners with whom they cannot transact because they have nothing to offer in exchange. They are therefore unable to enter into reciprocal relations with the Europeans. They find themselves denied the basic human rights of social intercourse, and denied it by people with whom they would particularly like to transact. The people then want to wipe out the old system, with its inferior forms of wealth, and to make a new beginning (ibid. pp. 137-138).

Very similar circumstances prevailed after the second world war for sections of the Bukusu. Most important of these was a massive inflation. There were large amounts of money in circulation because of remittances from people serving in the army, compulsory wage labour on European farms, and compulsory cattle sales. Yet this medium of exchange was useless for acquiring the traditional symbol of wealth, cattle, because it had all been sold, or for buying modern western consumer goods, imports of which were strictly limited. At the same time there was a large scale eviction of unwanted squatters, occupation of farms along the borders of the White Highlands which had been used by Africans, and a severe limitation of the number of cattle, sheep and goats which African labourers were allowed to keep in the White Highlands. Yet some Bukusu who had grasped the opportunities offered by western education which qualified them for powerful positions as chiefs, judges and councillors, or who had become maize farmers on a commercial scale, had done very well for themselves and were optimistically thinking in terms of greater influence at the national level through the new nationalistic Kenya African Union and representation in the Legislative Council. Most of these people happened to be intimately connected with the new missionary churches.

Thus it appeared that a consideration of the internal system in terms of group and grid could explain more fully processes of religious innovation which had occurred among the Bukusu. I also believed that other processes of social change could be described more economically and be ex-

plained more fully when assuming that Bukusu were weak with regard to group, but strong with regard to grid. But before applying this theoretical framework to the Bukusu I decided that I ought to try it out in comparable situations in order to enhance the likelihood that explanation of Bukusu reaction to social change in terms of group and grid might be valid. I selected the Kikuyu and Luo, two important Kenya tribes with about 1,000,000 members each at the eve of independence in 1962, as a test case. The first of the practical difficulties one encounters in comparing tribal societies and their reaction to social change is that one must start with a base line, the so called 'traditional society'. Now, in almost all cases there is not enough ethnographic material referring to this time and we must have recourse to reconstructions. It is very rare that such reconstructions can be of comparable reliability in all aspects. These limitations certainly apply to the Kikuyu and Luo. Still, there is sufficient material available to make an effort possible. For the Luo I rely on Whisson (1964) and for the Kikuyu on Middleton and Kershaw (1965).

Differences in social organisation are connected with differences in ecology. The Luo were in the first place herdsmen with large herds of cattle, although grain was certainly important in their diet. Yet they gave priority to cattle and required extensive pastures. Although the soil was generally not fertile enough to allow intensive cultivation for many years, it was not necessary to have a nomadic way of life nor to be split up into very small units during the dry season, which would have happened in more arid areas. Luo social organisation fitted the limitations of their ecological system quite well. They were divided into a number of sub-tribes which were intermittently at war with each other. This allowed the stronger and the more populous sub-tribes to settle in areas which had been earmarked as pastures by their neighbours. Cattle raiding was another aim of warfare. Cattle was used to marry women from other sub-tribes with whom one was temporarily at peace. The scope for marriage within the sub-tribe

was severely limited. Internally sub-tribes consisted of one dominant clan, the founding ancestor of which provided the battle cry for its members. Other lineages, perhaps remnants of refugees and their descendants, would attach themselves to the major clan. Individuals could attach themselves as tenants to one of the small lineages on the ground which made up the major clan. Tenants could be evicted at will. Only if the whole sub-tribe moved into a new area could such tenants and their descendants become independent within the sub-tribe. Larger segments of a clan had their own elders who settled disputes within the segment and who represented the segment when cases were being discussed between segments. Leadership at this level was bound up with genealogical seniority. Lineages of a certain degree of segmentation or of a certain size were expected to sacrifice together and to combine to assist each other in every possible way in times of emergency.

The Kikuyu country was originally covered with thick forest which had to be cleared with considerable effort, but the fertile soils of volcanic origin were not easily exhausted. The clearing of a ridge or part of it by a man gave his descendants the right of ownership. These people formed a descent group with a leader, who was not necessarily the most senior member. Expansion could be achieved through natural growth, but men who wanted to increase their personal influence quickly could ask the husbands of their daughters to come and live with them. These sons-in-law need not pay bridewealth but their children would belong to the descent group. Adoption was another way of quick expansion. In case of land shortage people from the same descent group or belonging to different descent groups might purchase a piece of land from Dorobo hunters or clear a piece of forest which had no owner. Individuals might also do this on their own and become the sole founder of a new descent group.

Kikuyu had some cattle and sheep and goats, but their main focus of interest was ancestral land. Descent groups as

corporate groups cannot be considered apart from the plot which they owned together. Transfer of land through purchase caused people to employ kinship terms between buyers and settlers and from Dorobo land could not be bought unless an adoption ceremony had taken place. People who lived together on one ridge might belong to one descent group or to different ones, or they might be tenants. But the ridge itself was a defined unit for political, social and ritual purposes. A ridge was subdivided territorially into wards and these in turn into neighbourhoods. Political authority was vested in councils of elders, organized at various levels of territorial inclusiveness. A council was headed by an elected president, but he did not necessarily belong to the land owning descent group. He might be a tenant, but the important criteria were wisdom and experience and the respect which he therefore commanded.

A number of ridges combined for the organization of age-sets and the regulation of promotion to various age-grades or status-grades. Age-sets were named, corporate groups which remained in existence for a limited period of time after which its members were released into age-grades, which were not organized as corporate groups. After circumcision young men formed such an age-set and their role was to be warrior until they got married. Warriors had their own leaders at different territorial levels. At the borders of their country with the Masai the Kikuyu maintained a belt of forest where enemy action could easily be brought under control. Elders had to progress through various sub-grades and had to pay goats while they did so. It is not quite clear though whether these goats were an entrance fee or merely a subscription fee. In any case it seems that elders representing wards and ridges in councils had made such payments. Apart from the age-sets and age-grades there was a generation-set system which was common to all Kikuyu. The system grouped men into two moieties. A man belonged to the moiety opposite of the one his father belonged to, but the same as that of his grand-father. After 20 or 30 years moieties changed position in a secret ceremony and one of the moieties had to pay fees collectively to the other

moiety. But the function of these moieties remains rather obscure.

With regard to religion Luo believed in various supernatural powers, but most important were the ancestors. Any lineal ancestor could cause trouble to descendants and it was the duty of the most senior male descendant to mediate. Outside the lineage structure of authority stood prophets who had access to spiritual power through travelling outside the orbit of ordered social life among strange tribesmen, or through visionary experiences, often induced through fasting. Through their charisma they were able to keep potentially conflicting segments within the sub-tribe together, or alternatively they could overcome the reluctance of people to break away from fellows who had descended from the same ancestors and form a new sub-tribe. Among the Kikuyu the religious experts were a limited number of elders who reached this status late in life. They were responsible for sacrifices to God in times of drought, of epidemics, and at certain points in the agricultural calendar. A decision to sacrifice to God was often made by seers who could communicate directly with God in dreams. But they could not use this power for private ends and they were not politically important. At the major crises in an individual's life sacrifices were also made. Libations were made to the ancestors who seem to have been of limited importance. Kikuyu knew a great number of actions, some unavoidable, which caused ritual uncleanness. In grave cases the services of a medicine man were needed. In less grave cases any elder might perform purification rites. Luo were far less concerned with automatic pollution and purification. Whisson does not even mention purification ceremonies in the case of incest.

The traditional Luo society then was characterized by an emphasis on bounded groups, the largest of which maintained a precarious balance of power. Authority was either derived from genealogical position or from access to spiritual power, believed to be derived from sources outside the

ordered social life or beyond ordinary everyday experience. Yet in practise prophets derived their power from their ability to manipulate relations between groups and segments. The traditional Kikuyu society was based on sanctioned landownership. This ownership does not seem to have been a matter of dispute, let alone armed conflict, and corporate groups were only necessary to defend Kikuyu against raids by enemies, notably the Masai. The latter did not even aspire to settle permanently in the Kikuyu country which did not suit their pastoral way of life. Authority, apart from trusteeship of land, was derived from one's position in the age-grade system and possibly sanctioned by the generation-set system. These were roles not concerned with bounded groups. Territorial divisions seem to have been merely a matter of convenience. The way to gain influence was through acquisition of personal wealth which could be used for buying influence in councils, or perhaps such payments merely expressed influence which men already had acquired through building up their own 'descent' groups, through polygyny, attraction of sons-in law and adoption. Obviously only wealthy men could manage to marry many wives and forego bridewealth payments they could receive for daughters.

Although abbreviation and condensation of essentials of social and ritual systems is not the method recommended by Mary Douglas, I do believe that additional information and greater detail would not alter my conclusion that among the Luo group is strong, but grid weak, and among the Kikuyu group is weak, but grid strong. The ritual concomitants of the relative emphasis on group and grid also seem to support Mary Douglas's hypothesis. Luo religion is an affirmation of the spiritual, when we consider the role of prophets, and highly personalized in its beliefs concerning the activities of ancestors. Kikuyu value material prosperity more than spiritual experience and have a rather mechanical view of pollution and purification.

Much about the political attitudes of Kikuyu and Luo before independence can be learned from Nottingham and Rosberg (1966), while later political developments have been adequately covered by Gertzel (1970). Ruthenberg (1966) gives a useful comparative analysis of reactions to agricultural development policies, the wider social implications of which are considered by Whisson (1964) and Sorrenson (1967). Whisson's account is based on intensive anthropological field work among the Luo, while Sorrenson was mainly concerned with the formulation of government policies and their execution in the Kikuyu country, as these emerge from documentary sources.

As I mentioned earlier in this chapter various tribes in Kenya differ with regard to rural economic differentiation and average educational achievements and consequently also in the way they perceive their interests and the political activity through which they try to take advantage of the situation they find themselves in or to change that situation itself. Many of these differences do not relate to the internal social system of these tribes but to external factors. Thus the Kikuyu came earlier in closer contact with a greater number of European missionaries and settlers and with urbanization than the Luo. Luo did not have the same opportunities and were not subjected to the same pressures in the way the Kikuyu were. But obviously these external differences are not a complete explanation of the difference in reaction of Kikuyu and Luo since their traditional social systems really were quite different. The relative weight of these internal differences in a comparison of Luo and Kikuyu remains a matter of subjective judgement, but it can equally well be argued that they did matter, as that, compared to the external factors, they can easily be neglected.

Crucial for the economic development or the lack of it in rural areas was the fact that for the Kikuyu land is property, the ownership of which is the result of individual initiative in clearing the bush. They were willing to mi-

grate and settle permanently in the areas of other tribes or to live as squatters in the White Highlands. It was also considered very proper that people should develop their own holdings and plant cash crops. Rural economic differentiation was the outcome of this attitude. There was also a persistent demand for the registration of land so that costly legislation could be avoided and also in order that those who had managed to get more land through the process of economic differentiation might consolidate their positions. The traditional land holding descent group disappeared in the most advanced areas. In the past individual initiative had been evident in the clearing of forests and the buying of land from Dorobo hunters, now it could give rise to a new class of gentry.

The Luo had a different view. For them land was corporate property because only communal action of bounded groups could make defense of land rights possible. Within a sub-tribe everybody should have equal access to land otherwise people would lose interest in defending it. Why should one fight for the privileges of a neighbour which would be denied to oneself? Economic progress has been greatly influenced by the fact that as soon as individuals would have made more than ordinary improvements to their holdings others would immediately try to get their share of it as well. Rural economic differentiation remained at a very low level. Another aspect of the same attitude is the reluctance of the Luo to become agricultural labourers for members of their own tribe. However, Luo did become migrant labourers. Since little employment was available locally, many Luo went to the big towns, notably Kampala and Nairobi. Here they found themselves in the sphere of influence of a major tribe, Ganda and Kikuyu respectively. Luo organized themselves in a segmentary tribal union, while their host tribes did not feel the necessity to do so. In Kampala a major focus was provided by the soccer competition, organized between the sub-tribal associations which together constituted the Luo Union (Parkin 1969).

Both tribes were important in the struggle for independence. But the Kikuyu had a much longer tradition of political activity and after the second world war they took the lead in the formation of the nationalist movement. Just before the war Kikuyu had opened the independent Kenya African Teacher College. Their grid orientation helped them to see a Kenya nation as the ultimate focus of their social relations at a much earlier date than the Luo. The name proclaimed national rather than tribal aspirations. It was also a response to the developing feeling that education was the key to political power. Kikuyu could see education as a means of legitimizing political authority because they did not feel that such authority could only be gained through achieving an important position in a corporate group structure. It is highly significant that Odinga came to power through the Luo Union and the late Tom Mboya through the Trade Union Movement.

It is also interesting to compare the way in which the Kikuyu and Luo managed their confrontation with the colonial government in the fifties. The Luo were far from being ready to oppose the government by force, but they were prepared to oppose every government measure, simply because it was a government measure and emanated from the Europeans. A large illiterate population, led by many people who were barely literate but who had come into contact with the Europeans in their employment, were not prepared to see things other than in terms of black and white. The most serious victims of this resentment were the departments of health and agriculture. Campaigns against polio and similar diseases were sabotaged. The use of courts to support measures aimed at improving the land and forced labour in communal projects rendered all efforts by the agricultural department largely useless. Such attitudes had their roots in traditional social concepts. The tribe beyond the river was bad; it was the enemy, and every move that it made was against the interest of our own tribe.

Kikuyu reacted in a far less unified way. There were some people who had done very well through seizing new economic opportunities, but far more people saw a gradual deterioration of their prosperity, aggravated through the government policies towards squatters and the prohibition to grow coffee. There is evidence that the Mau Mau eruption was as much an anti-colonial movement as it was a revolutionary attempt to do away with the internal differentiation of Kikuyu society. Mau Mau looks very much a gigantic effort to unite all the Kikuyu on the basis of ego-focussed grid in order to create a unity which came very natural to the Luo in their confrontation with the colonial rulers. Kikuyu Homeguards went on collaborating with the British rulers, while opposition among the Luo was much more solid.

After African majority rule had been introduced it became clear that an alliance of Kikuyu and Luo could virtually impose its will on the rest of the population of Kenya. But it was by no means clear whether a common policy acceptable to politicians of both tribes could be implemented. When it appeared that KANU policy concentrated on spending money where the highest returns on invested capital could be expected and that everything possible was done to attract foreign investment from capitalistic countries, Oginga Odinga felt compelled to start the Kenya People's Union. Among the politicians in power the only significant support came from MPs representing Luo rural constituencies. They felt that opposing Odinga and his policies would make re-election at home impossible, although following him entailed a perhaps even greater risk of ending their political careers prematurely. Odinga advocated free education and free land, an economy run along more collectivistic lines and genuine political non-alignment, even if economic sacrifices had to be made to reach that aim.

In this chapter I have tried to show that an investigation into the relation between the acceptance of religious innovation and modernization characterized by industrialization and national integration can lead to new knowledge of

processes of social change because there does not appear to be any historically or logically necessary connection between the two phenomena. The unit which I propose to use for analysis is the tribe which gained a significant political and economic identity during the colonial period which persisted also during the post-independence period. Although external factors may have exerted their influence at different rates and in different constellations among the various tribes in Kenya, this in itself cannot be the total explanation for the difference in involvement in processes of social change. Particularly the emergence of a millennial movement among the Bukusu after the second world war could not be understood in such terms. The theoretical framework which uses the terms 'grid' and 'group' seemed especially enlightening for explaining this phenomenon. I further tried to test its usefulness for the analysis of involvement in processes of social change in general by comparing Luo and Kikuyu. Although the theoretical approach used in this thesis has some inherent difficulties which will be discussed more fully in the conclusion, I hope to have done what can reasonably be expected to justify its adoption, given the general state of our knowledge of social change and the development of social anthropological theories to deal with the connection between religious innovation and modernization.

CHAPTER III.

TRADITIONAL BUKUSU SOCIETY1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I argued that the distinction between group and grid is a useful heuristic device for the study of social change. I am convinced that religious innovation and its implications for Bukusu participation in processes of social change can be most economically described and most comprehensively explained if we accept that Bukusu social structure is dominated by ego-centred grid roles and that roles which determine behaviour of people as members of sub-groups with regard to members of the same sub-group or other sub-groups are not important. My argument is that this basic orientation of Bukusu society did not change although colonial rule, a cash oriented economy and Christianity and western education were introduced. The domination by grid helps us to describe and explain the Bukusu participation in these processes of social change originating from outside their own society. I do not want to say that such a basic orientation can never change, but I believe that this has not been the case with the Bukusu.

If the traditional society of the Bukusu had not been dominated by grid, I would first have to explain how the basic orientation of their society changed before I could use this concept for the explanation of the Bukusu reaction to new external factors. In either case I would still have had to try to reconstruct Bukusu social structure at some point in the past. After all one needs a base line in order to be able to describe what has changed and show what internal and external factors contributed to the change. In case of the Bukusu the time which I want to consider are the years before 1895 when the British established their suzerainty over western Kenya. The establishment of British rule was a crisis which brought about radical and irreversible social change. Bukusu society ceased to exist

as an independent tribe, or rather a congery of independent political communities.

Of course there are difficulties in reconstructing the past, but the aim of this chapter is not so much to show how it really was, as to show that the available evidence supports the main argument of my thesis. The available data fit into a consistent pattern, but it can be argued that the few points which are clearly established could also be interpreted in different ways. Yet this is the same problem which faces any anthropologist, although admittedly to a much lesser degree. Typically an anthropologist has done only a limited amount of field work and collected a limited amount of data. The main argument which anthropologists used against the type of historical reconstruction I find it necessary to undertake here, was their conviction that statements concerning the past only served to justify and to explain present day social arrangements. It was impossible to know whether they stated the truth or not. The best thing which one could do was to go and live in the most remote and backward corners of the colonies and ignore as much as possible modern innovations in order to find cultures which were more or less untainted by European civilisation. This is no longer possible. We just have to face up to the problems of studying social change and of making historical reconstructions.

One source of information I use are statements of Bukusu informants concerning the past about the way the country was governed long ago and which customs used to be observed in the old days but are no longer practised at present. This source is mostly likely to give an idealized picture in order to comment on Bukusu society as it is today. Even the oldest living Bukusu can have only childhood recollections of the time before 1895 and interpretations of traditional social arrangements are heavily influenced by later experiences of changed conditions. The second source is the ethnographic material collected by Wagner in the middle thirties. But he is not particularly helpful because he

tends to lump together all the information which he collected among various Luhya tribes and his generalisations are not always applicable to each of them. Nevertheless his older informants had grown up under traditional conditions. Before 1908 British rule did not have much direct impact and people continued to live in the old walled villages which have since been abandoned. Again missionaries did not start to work in Bukusu country until the eve of the first world war. Thirdly there is the material which I collected myself in the form of life histories and genealogies. Bukusu often know where their fathers and grandfathers lived and whom they married.

On different aspects of pre-colonial life different types of information are available and I shall first give some indication of the kind of evidence which I have and the consistency of the different sources.

The evidence concerning the pre-colonial economy is sketchy but both Bukusu and Wagner agree that cattle was much more important in the past than it is now. But they are not in agreement with regard to the territorial organisation. According to Wagner sub-clans are more or less contiguous social groups with a distinct territory of their own, but Bukusu say that amongst themselves this was never the case. My own investigation into the settlement pattern of the present generation of Bukusu, and of their fathers and grandfathers confirms this opinion. The political system was not firmly institutionalized, but both Wagner and Bukusu make it clear that there were small leaders and big leaders. From my own investigations it is clear that at least the relation between the small leader and his followers must have been based on and strengthened by relations of kinship and affinity. This opinion is based on answers to questions why fathers and grandfathers of the present generation of Bukusu were living in the forts of certain leaders. The kinship system depends on rules dealing with marriage and incest. According to genealogies marriage prohibitions were the same in the past. Supernatural sanctions dealing with

incest which are still generally believed make it unlikely that rules have become more pervasive in modern times. Categories which are not allowed to have sexual intercourse now were certainly not allowed to do so in the past. Conventional attitudes form a system which is less susceptible to change than isolated rules of behaviour.

Finally there is the traditional religion. Wagner is perhaps most helpful here. With some difficulty one can extract much material from his account which applies specifically to the Bukusu. Statements of informants concerning the traditional religion are less likely to justify present day attitudes which are different from those prevailing in the past than is the case with information on landownership and political leadership in the past. Evidence throws light on the traditional social structure in two ways. First in rituals social relations are expressed in a dramatic way. I do not think that I need to argue this well established fact here. Secondly I accept here also the view of Mary Douglas that religious concepts in societies with strong grid differ in a predictable manner from concepts in societies with strong group (1970 p. 140 ff.). In the rest of this chapter I shall deal with these different aspects of Bukusu traditional society point for point.

2. Politics and kinship

Wagner states that compared with the Logoli the Bukusu are prevaillingly pastoral (1956 p. 108, p. 117 and passim). Bukusu informants told me that Bukusu men were reluctant to take up agriculture in the early days of colonial rule. As a result the Wanga chief appointed by the British administration encouraged many Teso and Khayo to settle in the fertile north east of the district. They were much more keen on cultivating crops. Were, who collected oral historical traditions, notes that Bukusu informants gave as their reason for their movements from one place to another in several instances the poor quality of grazing for their cattle (1967 p. 158). However, it is quite impossible to

deduct anything with certainty concerning the traditional social structure from this fact. Predominantly pastoral tribes in East Africa differ a lot with regard to their social systems.

Until 1908 Bukusu lived in walled villages surrounded by a moot. Such forts are also reported from their southern neighbours the Kabras, Tsotso, Marama and Wanga (Wagner 1956, p.6). They are also reported to have existed among the southern Gisu. (Jean La Fontaine, unpublished notes dated 19.8.55). From the military point of view forts were necessary in this wide rolling country open to attacks from the Teso in the west and the Masai and Nandi in the east. But the tribes in this area itself were also hostile to each other. The Bukusu were friends with the Kabras, and the Gisu, but enemies of the Wanga, who in turn were on good terms with the Tsotso and Marama. (Wagner 1949 p. 27). At one point Wagner says quite categorically that among the Bantu Kavirondo the clan is a patrilineal, exogamous unit, which inhabits one common stretch of land (1949 p. 53). In the mid thirties he found that among the Maragoli clans were still clearly distinguishable territorial units. The percentage of people living in the territory of another clan did at that time amount to only approximately 37 %. Among the clans of the Maragoli there were two which were far more important than the other clans who submitted to their leadership in times of peace and war (ibid. p. 56). This is probably typical of all southern Luhya tribes, but it is not the case among the Bukusu. Nor do their territorial arrangements resemble those reported for the Gisu by Jean La Fontaine (1959 pp. 28-30). The Gisu were living in "villages", clusters of neighbourhoods clearly marked off from other similar clusters through natural features. The inhabitants were members of a single patrilineal descent group. In theory only members of the lineage associated with the village could own land within its boundaries. Villages in turn formed clusters and the lineages associated with the different villages were grouped into one larger lineage

associated with the cluster. Villages were inhabited by different minimal lineages whose members could live anywhere they wanted within the village boundaries. But marriage rules were not extended beyond these minimal lineages. They did not have clans in the sense of exogamous units like the other Luhya.

Among the Bukusu a clan is an exogamous patrilineal category, with a common name. Often several clans have another common name, apart from their own special name. This larger unit I would like to call phratry. It is not exogamous. Potential new clans within a clan may exist. I call them sub-clans. If sub-clans become clans, the clan becomes a phratry. Groups of people who can still trace their actual genealogical relations I want to call lineages. It is rarely that one encounters someone who can tell the exact genealogical relations beyond a common great-grandfather and most people do not seem to be able to go beyond a common grandfather. However, people who are interested in such things can normally connect this small lineage with the founding ancestor of the clan and add another 5 or 6 generations depth. But such lines of ascent seldom agree with one another. Bukusu differ from the Gisu in that the lineage is not the largest exogamous unit. They differ from both the Maragoli, and probably other southern Luhya, and from the Gisu in that their sub-clans, clans and phratries are not connected with contiguous stretches of land. Bukusu do not think about the territorial organisation in genealogical terms. At least this is the situation at present and Bukusu say that it was never different.

My own investigations bear this out. Thus in one sub-location in South Malakisi Location I traced the remains of 36 forts. The total number of inhabitants was in 1962 2,700. The founders and leaders of these forts belonged to 18 different clans. In fact quite a few leaders were reported to have built more than one fort during their life time, and they have been counted twice. Thus clan heterogeneity was even greater than the numbers indicate at first sight.

From a survey of 500 registered plots in private ownership it is clear that at present in an area in South Malakisi Location with about 4,000 inhabitants no one clan has more than 10 % of the population among its members. It is safe to conclude that this was also true in the past because this area was settled in pre-colonial times. In colonial times people have moved out of the area, but not many moved into the area. In areas of recent immigration heterogeneity is probably even greater. Again at present about half of all registered plot owners in the same area cannot claim that they live in the area because they belong to the same clan as the leader and founder of one of the old forts. It is very likely then that in the past the inhabitants of any one fort also belonged to different clans. This was confirmed by statements of informants when asked about the links which their ancestors had with the leaders and founders of the old forts. Common clan membership, apart from membership of the same lineage, was important. Other ties were with affines and uterine kin, while even friendship was mentioned once or twice. But through intermarriage strangers could become related very quickly to most other inhabitants of a fort. Jean La Fontaine noted that Gisu in the neighbouring Bumbo County in Uganda said that Busuku used to allow any apparently harmless stranger to come and take up residence in the fort by asking the leader, but that they had to do this because they needed men as they were always being attacked (unpublished notes 19.3.55).

The lack of security was certainly one factor which encouraged heterogeneity of the composition of forts. But if the Bukusu had been living in the way the Maragoli or the Gisu lived, this would not have been necessary. Perhaps it is not unlikely that among these tribes, who at present live in areas with extremely high population densities, land was already scarce in pre-colonial days. But the Busuku had only recently come into Bungoma District. From genealogies and historical traditions it is clear that ancestors of the present Bukusu used to live either around Tororo or in the area of the Gisu. The Teso drove them away

from Tororo, while people migrated from the Gisu country because of over population presumably. It is very likely that the various remnants of refugees, which finally banded together and stopped the advance of the Teso, did not think that membership of a particular clan could be relevant for their territorial and political organization. Clan fragments which say that they came from the Gisu country must have left the area at home when it was over crowded and just settled anywhere where there was place. This was not a gradual movement of clan boundaries which could leave territorial alignments in existence.

Wagner says a few things about the omukasa which can be safely applied to the Bukusu because other tribes did not use this word to denote their leaders (1949, p. 81). He quotes the native definition: "men who talk gently and wisely and who can make people listen and return to reason when they want to quarrel or fight" (ibid, p. 77). Bukusu themselves say that each fort had its own leader, called omukasa, and that clusters of 7 to 10 forts recognized one of the leaders as an arbitrator in disputes between people belonging to different villages. He is sometimes called omwami weng'oma, the chief of the drum. Some leaders had an even wider influence and Bukusu today think that they were the ones who would conduct the funeral ceremonies of important men. There are still a handful of people left who can be called on to perform this service. But it is a function reserved for the descendants of a few clans in both lines. Most clans do not have such a person and it is even a rule that these ritual experts can never officiate at funerals of members of their own clan. I know for certain that one big man who became the first chief negotiator with the British can never have had this function, although some people closely connected with the political fortunes of his descendants now say that he was a ritual expert of this kind.

Wagner himself also acknowledges in a different context that political authority among the Bukusu was different

from that prevalent among other Luhya sub-tribes. "... the manner of burying a clan-head showed considerable tribal differences, corresponding to the various degrees of political integration and authority among the different tribes... Among the Vugusu I could not discover any formal differences between the burial of ordinary elders and that of the omwene lugova (owner of a walled village) and the omugasa munene (the big leader or clan-head).... . This fact, again, corresponds to the complete absence, among the Vugusu, of any formal symbols of political authority". (ibid. p. 476). However, Bukusu today talk about the omukasa, as someone who had been given in a formal ceremony a cloak of monkey skins and an ivory bracelet. These days this ceremony is still performed occasionally, but it has no connection any longer with political authority at the local level. I was told that only men who have grandchildren can be given these insignia. The elder is admonished with words like the following: "This bracelet is a sign which shows that you are now an elder who looks after people. To you a fully grown up person and a child should be the same. You are now a respectable person. You ought to leave all childish things now. You ought to be a respectable person who looks after people without discrimination. From now on you cannot fight with others. You cannot neglect any person, not even a small child. The cloak deserves respect. You cannot wear it as an ordinary piece of clothing on just any occasion". These words were remembered by my assistant immediately after attending such a ceremony. They indicate that it may have been even in the past more a life-crisis ritual than a formal recognition of political authority and power. Bukusu also agree that there was another type of leader apart from the omukasa. He is called naitirian, a word of Kalenjin origin. He was the leader in raids and warfare.

There is no evidence that these two statuses of naitirian and omukasa were connected in any way with a formal system

of age-grades, although the Bukusu did and do have a system of age-sets. Every two years circumcision of boys takes place after the main harvest. At least since 1888 each circumcision year has received a name based on some historical or natural event and 6 circumcision years have been grouped together in a set with a distinct name. There are 8 names for such sets which recur cyclically and which are very similar to the names used by Kalenjin. Before 1888 some sets appear to have included more than 6 years and this was explained to me as a consequence of the rule that no new age set could be started if people of the former cycle with the same name were still alive. Ideally circumcision seems always to have been a biennial event. Young men circumcised in the intervening years are reckoned to belong to the previous year, and such an intervening year has a special name, sikumenya. Today the mean age for being circumcised is 15, but I was told that it was higher in the past. The ceremony is still universal, although some boys get circumcised in hospital these days. The system of naming age-sets is still observed. I just do not know how Wagner ever could state that circumcision had become sporadic after 1911, and that sets after this date were no longer clearly distinguished (ibid. p. 375).

Bukusu traditions of warfare talk about age-sets as if they formed companies of soldiers. It certainly contributed to an experience of common tribal identity among clan fragments of refugees and migrants. It is most likely that Bukusu adopted age-sets and circumcision after they had been driven away by the Teso from the Tororo region. The Ng'oma, the original Kalenjin inhabitants of the country, found it easier to accept foreigners who wanted to go through their initiation ceremonies. At least this is the explicit reason given in the myth which accounts for the circumcision custom. There are some customs which emphasize the bond between agemates. Sexual intercourse with their daughters is regarded as incest. It is as if they were one's own daughters. Again when a father has a son who becomes cir-

cumcised the father has to give gifts of meat of the animal which was killed for the ceremony to his agemates who live in the neighbourhood. Failure to do this would lead to a curse uttered by one of them. Almost any misfortune can be caused through cursing and this may hit either father or son. The curse can be removed by a ceremony of blessing. This can take place when a person acknowledges to have used his curse. He must then be given some presents to show the desire for restoring good relations.

There is no evidence that traditionally there were strong corporate groups. There was no system of lineages in segmentary opposition. There were no kings, chiefs, or other territorial rulers who played roles within an institutional framework of a statelike organization. Agesets were not used to allocate authority and organize people in councils of warriors and elders. Yet Bukusu had to organize themselves efficiently to build all those walled villages they were living in. To become a leader of a walled village was the only way in which ambitious Bukusu could gain political influence. Even big leaders of village clusters would have to establish themselves first as leaders of forts. When one asks people today why their fathers or grand-fathers were living in a particular fort they almost always say that they were related to the leader of the fort. In my opinion Bukusu were not short of land in the past but in need of security offered by well populated walled villages. Around 1875, 20 years before English suzerainty over the area was established. Arab slave traders added to the hazards of cattle raiding Masai, Kalenjin and Teso. They allied themselves with the Wanga, traditionally enemies of the Bukusu. Ambitious men had to convince people that they could enjoy security by joining them in their efforts to build new forts or to increase the population of existing ones. On the other hand people who wanted to live in an established village with a big population would have to convince the leader that they would fit in well with the rest of the population and not be a source of unrest and

quarrels. In either case common clan membership established a good basis for recruitment and acceptance and so did ties based on marriage.

If we consider kinship as a set of moral values, concerned with the rights and wrongs of human action, the only context in which we can say unequivocally what kinship means for the Bukusu are the rules of marriage and incest. Terms used for categories into which people are divided for this purpose of knowing whom one can marry and with whom one can have sexual intercourse, without having to undergo later on a purification ritual, are also used in a wide variety of other contexts with regard to people for whom such rules do not apply. The basic rule concerning marriage is that one cannot marry people who belong to the clans of any of one's four grand-parents. These people are by definition kin. Sexual intercourse between kin is incest if it is between children of the same mother, or if it is between people who belong to adjacent generations. Kin of the same generation are brothers and sisters, only differentiated according to sex. Kin of alternate generations are grand-parents and grandchildren, again only differentiated according to sex. Only kin of the first ascending generation are also differentiated according to parents' sex. Kin of one's father of his generation are fathers or fathers' sisters. Kin of one's mother of her generation are mothers's brothers and other mothers. All kin of one's spouse are one's in-laws. Sexual intercourse with in-laws of adjacent generations and all their spouses is incest. One cannot even shake hands with people of the opposite sex in this category. These rules are adhered to very strictly. One has got to know the relevant categories very well.

I think that the conventional attitudes which are thought to prevail between members of various categories of kin and affines fit rather neatly the basic kinship equation used by Levi-Strauss. Because these are relations which are normally interdependent, I believe that they are the core of the Bukusu kinship system and least likely to have changed.

For the Bukusu there is a relational structure for the following pairs of categories, on the one hand between MB/ZS and B/Z, and on the other hand F/S and H/W. The relationship between brother and sister resembles that between husband and wife. It is in my opinion a more egalitarian and positive relationship than in most African societies. The relation between father and son resembles that between mother's brother and sister's son. It is mainly an unequal relationship of respect and dependence. According to the Bukusu their similarity lies in the fact that both contribute to the bridewealth for one's wife. However, the relation between father and son and between husband and wife is fraught with much greater potential strain than the relation between mother's brother and sister's son, or between brother and sister. Now, in congruence with the relations between husband and wife, and between brother and sister, relations between brothers-in-law are characterized by an easy going familiarity and a good deal of co-operation. Similarly the avoidances between in-laws of different sex of adjacent generations underline the position of father and mother's brother.

It is unlikely that the system would have been completely the inverse of what it is now two generations ago. Yet it would also be wrong to think that changes in the wider society can have left the system and its operation unchanged. For example today every father has the obligation to provide the bridewealth for the first wife of each of his sons and give him a piece of land which he can use for himself and his family. Now, in the past much bridewealth cattle could have been acquired by the young men themselves. An oral tradition about the raiding of a walled village of the Kalenjin in North Malakisi Location around 1880 states: "Situma Wachiye warned them while they were resting on the march, saying: I have seen myself sleeping in blood up to my knees. Surely I shall die. Let us return home. But Nakhosi said: Let us go on with the raid regardless. Let those who have sisters at home go back and get the cows from their bridewealth, but where shall we get cows".

(History of the Bukusu by the elders of Kimilili Location, transl. Jean La Fontaine). In the past there was no individual ownership of land. People just cultivated plots outside their villages. But today people are very much aware of the value of land. There is no land which can just be occupied after clearing the bush. One needs cash to buy it or inherit from one's father. It seems that a generation ago it was still common for people to live on the land of their brothers-in-law. But now most of them have been asked to leave and go back to the land of their fathers, because once the person who originally allowed them to stay has died, nobody can evict them. Thus sons put pressure on their fathers to prevent this happening.

Again Bukusu have a rather complicated set of rules concerning the collection and distribution of bridewealth, and its return in case of divorce or death. There are certain minimal obligations which are now enforced through court decisions, if people are unwilling to oblige. The police can be asked to help to confiscate property. This just cannot have happened in the past. We can only speculate how such differences were settled. But it is perhaps true that in the past it was much more important to keep up good relations through following the rules, because one's standing as kinsman and affine was the only guarantee for receiving hospitality in case of need, e.g. when one's own fort would have been attacked and destroyed. Pressure by village leaders was perhaps also important. If his followers would not honour their obligations his own reputation would suffer and he would be less likely to play a role of importance in the wider community.

In my opinion clans are and were important for the Bukusu because they define who is a kinsman and who is an affine. There is no feeling of corporateness attached to the clan as such. But there may have been some feeling of group consciousness among people belonging to the same small lineage of which the Bukusu speak today as "people who share the meat". They are clan mates who would invite each other when as middle aged men they would kill the "ox of

splitting". This is a ceremony which is not often performed nowadays. But when asked people still talk in terms of invitations to this ceremony when talking about groups of kinsmen who are supposed to help each other. This notion of mutual help is exemplified by the obligation which descendants of the same grandfather have with regard to the collection of bridewealth of sons and distribution of the bridewealth received for daughters. But it is important to note that one of mothers' brothers should also help to pay and get a share. Similarly one of the other mothers and one of father's sisters should get a goat from the bridewealth received for a girl. Wagner (1956, p. 106) also writes that one of his informants told him that the ox was killed to show "that the clan is still there". But apart from brothers and agnatic cousins other relations were also acknowledged when the meat was divided. The head would be given to father's sister, and part of the feet to mother's brother. Other maternal relatives and in-laws, as well as more distant clansmen also received as share, the range of people depending on the number of animals killed. The distribution of meat was also extended to old and influential men as representatives of neighbouring clans, according to Wagner. It seems therefore more likely that the division of meat of the "ox of splitting" served to advertise and strengthen one's personal network of relations with all kinds of kin and affines and with the influential community leaders of the region.

Now if we count the prevalence of some types of links between kinsmen and affines we find that in one ward, Namawanga (map 5), there are 38 married men, who belong to 12 different clans, divided in the following manner: 1 with 12 members, 1 with 4 members, 6 with 3 members and 4 with 1 member. There are 37 links between siblings and agnatic collateral cousins, and 18 links between other categories of cousins. This makes altogether 55 cases in which the word brother can be used. But there are 155 links between brothers-in-law. We cannot be sure that this proportion reflects the position in the past in the forts and village clusters. Nevertheless

it shows up a very important characteristic of the Bukusu kinship system. Extension of kinship within the same generation to all collateral cousins in four different clans and a predilection for marrying girls from different clans by brothers from the same family, of which disapproval of sororal polygyny is a symptom, leads to a proportionately very large number of people who can call each other brother-in-law and between whom a friendly and co-operative attitude should prevail. If someone wanted to recruit people for the building of a new fort or if someone wanted to find a place where he would be welcome to stay, it would be far more likely that some bond between brothers-in-law could be established than any other kind of tie.

3. Religion

There are no communal rituals among the Bukusu concerned with the well being of the tribe, the clan, or the lineage, and there is no evidence that such rituals existed in the past for the inhabitants of a walled village or a cluster of villages. The only rituals in which social relations are expressed are life-crisis rituals. Various people belonging to distinct categories of kin have obligatory roles in these rituals which must be played by someone belonging to a particular category. One of the most important rituals is the circumcision ceremony which takes place every two years for adolescent boys. Although some boys go to hospital, and other boys are circumcised in a Christianized ritual, practically all Bukusu boys still go through the traditional rites. My own observations differ in some minor points from the account given by Wagner, but that is because Wagner apparently never observed the ceremony himself and has to rely on statements by informants. Several weeks before a boy will be circumcised he starts going around visiting his relatives to announce the event. At the eve of circumcision he visits his maternal uncle if he has promised to kill a bull for the boy. A mother's brother does not normally do this for everyone of his sister's sons. The boy is given a heavy membrane to which the testicles are attached. This

is put over his head. After that his uncle puts some of the chyme on him and admonishes him to be brave. When he comes home another bull is killed and the father's brother of the boy puts part of the stomach lining around his neck, puts some chyme on him and also admonishes him. The next morning the boy goes early to the river where one of his agnatic relatives, often a younger brother of his father or his own elder brother, smears mud over his body. Superfluous mud is washed away from the bank of the river by a woman. She is often a mother's sister. The father and the mother of the boy do not play any part in the ritual. When approaching the compound where he will be circumcised a paternal aunt has to give him some newly brewed beer presented on the end of a cooking paddle. After the circumcision is over an old woman, very often a grandmother, scrapes the mount of clay from the head of the boy and clears the place where the prepuce has dropped on the ground. She has to wrap the stuff in banana fibres and dispose of it so that nobody can use these remains for evil magic.

The customary type of wedding is no longer practised in Bukusu country. But according to Wagner's accounts, who himself observed at least three Bukusu weddings, various relatives belonging to different categories also had key roles to fulfil. The wedding starts with a visit of the bride to the home of the bridegroom. She takes 20 to 30 bridesmaids with her, 2 or 3 of whom stay with her throughout the ceremony. One of them must be of the mother's clan of the bride. A brother's wife, i.e. her sister-in-law has to anoint her with ghee before she leaves. After having stayed at the place of the bridegroom for a few days the bride returns. Half-way she is met by a younger sister who gives her a bunch of grass which she has pulled from under the roof of her mother's hut. When she arrives at her mother's homestead the bride is met by a party of paternal aunts. They rub soot on the face of the bride and give her a stirring paddle that has been dipped into gruel to lick. Before the bride goes back for the second visit during which

the marriage will be consummated she is given rules of matrimonial conduct by her maternal uncle or her father's younger brother, or by both in turn. Before the wedding night the bride is anointed by her future co-wife or her husband's sister, the bridegroom by a brother with whom he is on very good terms. If the bride has proved to be a virgin, the bridegroom gives the sleeping hide together with a goat to the bridesmaids who take it to the bride's paternal aunt. She calls a few old women and, if they live nearby, the two grandmothers of the bride to share the goat with her. (1949, pp. 413-29) I was also told that when she had become pregnant or after the birth of her first child, the father of the bride had to kill a bull, put a piece of stomach lining around her neck, and put some of the chyme on her. No people of the home of the bridegroom would be present at such an occasion.

In these traditional life crisis rituals groups are of no importance, but people belonging to various kin categories are essential. This points to the fact that *grid* was important in traditional Bukusu society. Now, according to the hypotheses put forward by Mary Douglas (1970, p. 104) in a society where group is weak the cosmology of the people is characterized by impersonal forces which are not moral regulators. In my opinion the concept of kumusambwa is such an impersonal force basic to the cosmology of the Bukusu. English speaking Bukusu tend to translate kumusambwa as 'ancestors'. But I think that this is not exactly the right translation. Words with the prefix kumu- denote things which are alive. E.G. 'the body', kumubili and its various parts, and the word for 'tree', kumurongoro, and various kinds of trees, and also some animals. Persons on the other hand get the prefix omu-, plural ba-, or baba-. There are two words with such a prefix which refer to ancestors: bamakombe and basambwa. Bamakombe is perhaps best translated as 'dead people'. When a diviner wanted to talk to the dead during the initiation ceremony of another diviner he spoke about calling the 'dead', bamakombe. Later we heard their disembodied voices. Again, when people

heard my tape recorder they might jokingly ask whether they heard bamakombe, 'dead people'. Emakombe is the land of the dead, which seems associated with mumbo, the west. Basambwa can perhaps be best translated as 'spirits'. They are ancestors who influence events, rather than just dead people. They may be quite specifically named people, but more often they are referred to as a collectivity. One day I visited an old man and saw a new shrine which he had built for the ancestors. I asked him why he had done so. The answer was that he had been suffering from night mares. He used to wake up at night after frightening dreams and said that the ancestors were afflicting him, basambwa bamupa. Then his brother had told him that he was now so old that he really ought to build a shrine of his own. Again, when a boy suffers from a rupture of his foreskin, people say that the ancestors have circumcised him, basambwa bamukhebile. They then call in one of their own circumcisers to complete the operation or take the boy to hospital.

But kumusambwa is more rightly translated as 'ancestral power'. Various kinisambwa include bubasi, the art of the blacksmith, bukhebi, the art of circumcision, bufumu, the art of divining with gourds filled with pebbles, bung'osi, the art of divining through smelling the tail of the buffalo, buliuli, the art of discovering hidden medicines in the home with the help of the horn of a rhinoceros or its imitation. These arts of doing special things refer to vocations which one's ancestors also had and which may be revealed in any of their descendants, both through females and males. People discover that they have a kumusambwa when diviners are consulted because they are persistently ill, or behave in mad and erratic ways. There may be other causes of such behaviour, but kumusambwa is perhaps most frequently mentioned and it is certainly considered to be the most natural explanation. The way to be healed from such afflictions caused by kumusambwa is to become apprenticed and to acquire the necessary implements connected with the vocation. It is not always even necessary to start

practising. In case one is afflicted with bubasi, the art of the blacksmith, it may be sufficient just to build a shed and get a hammer and an anvil for doing iron work. Sometimes it is even impossible to take up the vocation. For instance women cannot become circumcisers and yet they may suffer from that particular kumusambwa. When such women attend a circumcision ceremony their faces are painted with millet paste and lubombwe, a species of creeper, is tied around them, in order that the force which afflicts them may be contained. Sometimes a diviner says that he can put a stop to a kumusambwa through using medicine.

Kumusambwa then is the force which lies behind the taking up of a particular vocation, or at least the keeping of the implements connected with it. But from the evidence which I have at my disposal it cannot be concluded that it is an entirely autonomous force. When someone is affected with kumusambwa it is believed that the ancestors themselves are responsible for selecting this particular individual. The range of ancestors, however, is limited to those who are known to have been affected in the past themselves. It is they who may affect any of their descendants. But apart from referring to vocations inherited from particular ancestors, kumusambwa also refers to typical customs of the Bukusu as a tribe. These include circumcision of adolescent boys and the sacrifice of sheep after ritual transgressions.

Divination is done in various ways but the main division which is drawn is that between bang'osi and bafumu. Traditionally an omung'osi relied solely on the smelling of the tail of the buffalo for getting inspiration. He was especially concerned with predicting the future. He could see future events "just as in a film" as one informant put it. Most historical traditions include consultations of these diviners before warriors could go to war. These days, however, there does not seem to be any difference with regard to the cases brought for consultation. Those bang'osi I knew also had a single gourd filled with pebbles which they might shake to invoke the ancestors, but this gourd is

never used during divination sessions when clients are present. Bafumu on the other hand have two gourds filled with pebbles which are used for divination. One is put on top of the other in such a way that it might stand on its own, which is considered significant when it happens. They have also many other implements such as the rubbing board in which a peg is moved up and down until it gets stuck. Also common is a tray with stones which can be made to stop rattling about if it is swung in a special fashion. They might even use a tail. I am not sure whether nowadays they are always thought to have its appropriate kumusambwa, inherited, so to speak, from one of their ancestors. Traditionally the omufumu was mainly concerned with finding out the causes of misfortune and illness. He puts the alternative possibilities to the oracle he uses, muttering the possible causes in a low voice, and sees what the instrument which he manipulates indicates. The possibility is affirmed when the peg gets stuck, the pebbles stop rattling, or the one gourd remains balanced on top of the other.

It may be that the cause of illness and other misfortunes is kumusambwa. The recommended remedy is then initiation into the particular vocation with which it is associated. It is also possible that one suffers from a curse because one has displeased a relative of the elder generation or neglected an agemate. In that case one has to become reconciled and the curser has to give his blessing to take the effects of the curse away. Again, it may be the case that there is medicine hidden in the home which is harmful for the inhabitants. One then has to go and find an omuliuli, who uses the horn of a rhinoceros or a wooden imitation to discover these harmful substances which are then destroyed. Buliuli is a specific kumusambwa. Today many diviners claim to have this power, but this was perhaps not so in the past. I was told that bafumu who find harmful medicine can put their own medicines on it, so that the effect may turn back and affect the people who put it there in the first

place. Another possibility is that malevolent people have used their power to put foreign bodies such as bones, pieces of rubber and nails inside you. These have to be removed by another specialist, but his craft is not a recognised kumusambwa for all I know. Other bad people may put clusters of animal hair into one's food which get stuck in the gullet. These have to be removed through inducing vomiting, another specialist activity apparently unconnected with kumusambwa.

All those evil and malevolent people mentioned so far, who can be either men or women, just as is the case with the other ritual experts, are called balosi, witches, whether they harm one through the use of medicines, often partly made from the exuviae of the victim, or through projecting small objects into your body, or putting hairs into your food. The least harmful person in this category of balosi is someone who runs about naked at night and who frightens people who walk on their own. They are thought to be responsible for unaccountable noises and acts of vandalism. Bulosi itself is also a kumusambwa according to Wagner (1949, p. 120). I myself learned little about it because people I knew never confessed openly that they had it. Again, it is unlikely that a diviner would recommend one to become initiated as a witch. As is usual in such circumstances people disclaim any detailed knowledge of witchcraft because only witches are supposed to know much about it.

Kumusambwa, an inherited disposition seems to be basic to practically all magico-religious activity discussed so far. It is the power which makes people into diviners, medicine detectives, and also into witches. It is an impersonal force and questions of morality are not relevant to its operation. The importance of impersonal, mechanical forces is even more apparent when we turn our attention to ideas concerning pollution and purification. Things which one should not do and which necessitate ritual purification when they happen are called kumusilo, perhaps best translated as 'taboo'. This includes all the avoidances between in-laws and between

kin of adjacent generations with regard to anything that can have sexual reference. It also includes a prohibition for men to defecate in any house after their circumcision and for women to defecate inside any house except their own after marriage. Fainting, urinating or defecating during circumcision comes into the same category. So does the removal of the upper front teeth of a person by accident or as the result of a quarrel. When any of these examples of kumusilo has happened a sheep has to be killed in the presence of those who saw it and chyme of the stomach of the sheep has to be distributed through the home and put on the people affected. Incest and bestiality are also kumusilo, but they are more specifically referred to as luswa. They require the same type of purification with a congregation present. Such a ceremony is called kumusango, and it is also held on other occasions when there is no kumusilo, but when the situation is nevertheless sufficiently disturbing to make a purification ceremony necessary. This happens when lightning has struck a homestead, when someone has discovered the body of a person who committed suicide through hanging himself or herself, when people have started mourning for a person who is in fact alive and well, when people have killed an enemy in an inter-tribal clash. When a pregnant woman dies the person who removes the foetus before the burial gets a sheep, and so does a circumciser who has to operate a boy whose penis is only partially covered by the foreskin. Presumably the sheep is killed, but in the last two cases mentioned there is no ceremony for distributing chyme through the home, so far as I could ascertain. Finally a man who marries a girl who bore a child at the home of her parents before she got married should also kill a sheep. Again I do not know whether chyme is spread around at such an occasion. I even heard that in one case a goat instead of a sheep had been killed. But in all other cases all informants were emphatic about the necessity of sheep being killed, or if people could not afford a sheep, they should at least cut a mole into two halves.

It is not difficult to see that the common denominator in all the cases where sheep sacrifice is necessary is the upsetting of the normal social or cultural order and the confusion of categories which that implies. But I have not been able to find any neat principle of dual classification through binary oppositions which could be applied to these cases. But it is certain that killing a sheep is a particular apt symbol of the extermination of confusion between categories. Of all eatable domestic animals: sheep, goats, cattle and chickens, the classification of sheep is most ambiguous. Bukusu see these animals as related to counterparts in the bush: sheep are related to hyenas, goats to antilopes, cattle to buffaloes and chickens to guinea-fowl. Now, the hyena is an ambivalent animal because its appearance is bi-sexual, and in this series of wild animals of the bush it is the only animal which does not stick to its proper domain, the bush. Hyenas penetrate homesteads and try to kill young animals. Because the hyena is related to the sheep in Bukusu thought, it is therefore the most ambiguous animal available for sacrifice. In a way it is just such an anomaly as the mole, which may be its substitute.

To explain the symbolic meaning of chyme is more difficult. Chyme also plays an important part in life-crisis rituals. At these occasions a bull or a he-goat is killed after having been dedicated to several named ancestors of the person involved. After the animal has been butchered the stomach is left in front of the shrine of the ancestors. In the case of men this is a miniature hut between 2 and 6 feet high, in the case of women it is a simple shelter of branches 2 feet long, tied together at the top and covered with grass. At the circumcision ceremony boys get part of the stomach lining around their neck and are smeared with chyme before the operation. The same happened in the past with women who became pregnant or had given birth for the first time. When an old man is given a cloak of monkey skins and an ivory bracelet, the bracelet is dipped into the chyme of the stomach of the bull which is

sacrificed. The same thing happened to a bracelet of brass wire which was given to a new diviner during his initiation rites.

In a very general way we can say that chyme confers benefits from the sacrifice for human beings. In life-crisis and initiation rituals it represents perhaps the blessing of the ancestors who are invoked before the animal is killed. But I do not know what it represents in purification rituals when there is no question of dedications or shrines. It may be that the use of chyme in purification rituals is a transference from its use in life-crisis rituals, in which it has a meaning which can be deducted easily from the ritual action itself. However, Bukusu themselves do not say that ancestors could in some way make chyme ritually efficacious while the stomach is kept in front of the shrine. But two texts concerning the dedication of animals given by Wagner support this idea, whatever Bukusu today may say, or rather refuse to state clearly. In both cases (1949, p. 286) (1956 p. 107) the dedication ends with the words: mung'one munda. In the first instance this is mistranslated as: 'you may feel well in your bodies', but the second instance gives a better rendering: 'you may make in the belly'. Khung'ona means 'to make something into something else, to transform'. The ancestors are invited to eat the meat, and to lick the blood, which is the human part of the transaction. In return the ancestors have to transform the chyme of the stomach, so that it can become ritually efficacious. In both texts some names are mentioned, but the invitation is extended to bamakombe, 'dead people' generally. Ancestors as individuals do not appear to be of great importance. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Bukusu are said to be the only Luhya sub-tribe who have an idea of Spirit, Wele (Wagner 1949, p. 168). Wele has two different aspects, a good one and a bad one. Spirit in connection with natural phenomena is further refracted and becomes more concrete. For example there is the Wele of the Rainbow. These beliefs remain

rather vague and Wele is often not more than ekhabi, luck. Bukusu say for instance: "If Wele assists", rather in the way of: "With a bit of luck".

In conclusion it is clear that Bukusu do not lay much stress on spiritual experiences. Much of their ritual is concerned with the magical efficacy of material symbols. This is what we should expect in societies with a strong grid according to Mary Douglas (1970 p. 104). The danger of this type of analysis is that it is difficult to know now what the relative importance of the various traditional beliefs and practises used to be. However, without such ideas as Mary Douglas suggested, my description would have lacked any coherence and remained at a level of a simple enumeration of customs. As it is now, we can see the possible significance of these traditional religious beliefs and practises for our image of traditional Bukusu society as one with strong grid but weak group.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL ROLE DIFFERENTIATION1. Introduction

The process of social change in Kenya during the colonial period which affected all peoples in this country was the introduction of new forms of political control. Acceptance of new religious beliefs and practises and interest in the development of a rural cash oriented economy was not enforced in tribal areas, but maintenance of law and order and the extraction of goods and services were, without taking the feelings of the Africans into account. It was an aspect of social change from which no escape was possible, although it did make a difference whether people were enthusiastic or reluctant to accept the new state of affairs. Thus, logically, political change should be described before other aspects of social change can be considered. In case of the Bukusu this makes historical sense too. Bukusu had been in contact with the British and subjected to some form of political control for 20 years before the first missionaries started to make converts. And it was not until the early thirties when the railway from Eldoret to Kampala had been completed that a cash oriented economy started to make an appreciable impact.

As I explained earlier the two concepts which seem to me particularly useful for analysing social change and religious innovation are group and grid. These are shorthand terms for particular types of roles which constitute different systems of social control. In this chapter I shall attempt to analyse political change in terms of roles and I shall make extensive use of Southall's insights and suggestions (1959, 1965). For Southall (1959) a relationship consists of repeated reciprocal activity. A role relationship is a particular instance in which individuals play roles. A role is the reciprocity of behaviour and expectation between those who participate in a role relationship. In case of social change roles may either become smaller in number and

defined in more general terms or roles proliferate through increasing narrowness of definition. Role differentiation may mean the reduction of the content of old roles, but also elaboration of new aspects within the content of old roles. Establishment of colonial rule among the Bukusu who had few, if any, specific political roles, meant that a process of role differentiation started. Political action, or the political aspect of social relationships, is defined by Southall, who follows Weber's ideas, as that which is concerned with power, ultimately sanctioned by physical force (1965, p. 120). He questions the usefulness of the distinction which Smith makes between "action through which the business of government is carried on" and "action through which the government is directed" (1965, p. 119). But I believe that at least in the colonial situation in Kenya we have to consider this distinction, if only because it heavily influenced the folk model of political relations which the British administrators and white settlers used and consequently the framework within which Africans tried to achieve independence. Southall thinks that a distinction has to be made between competition in power for determination of policy and competition in power concerned with achieving administrative roles (1965, p. 119). However, exactly because the distinction between the two types of action is not always reflected in different roles, especially not in traditional societies or under colonial circumstances, competition for achieving administrative roles is very often at least partly also competition for positions which make it possible to influence a choice between alternative policies.

Execution of policies, i.e. action through which the business of government is carried on, requires a bureaucratic hierarchy which is essentially a system of social control through grid roles. Policies are made through a process of competition between segments of the society. Roles associated with this competition are group roles, because people within one segment act with regard to each other in a way which differentiates them from people not belonging to the segment, even if it is only to achieve a particular policy. Competi-

tion for administrative offices which leave room for decision making, apart from execution of orders taken at higher levels of command, may in fact be an attempt to achieve policies by segments which back candidates who favour such policies. This policy making aspect may be very explicitly formulated, especially in case the segment is committed to change the system of government itself and the rules of the political game. On the other hand it may be no more than an expectation that the discretionary powers given to administrative officials will be used to favour the people who backed the successful candidate.

One of the main factors which influenced the process of political role differentiation was the type of colonial policy adopted by the British government. In 1895 it had decided to take over the responsibilities of the chartered company which had been trying to develop trade in East Africa, especially with the kingdom of the Ganda. Here the company had become embroiled in the religious wars. Factions backing different candidates for the royal throne had organized themselves along religious lines. Although protection of missionaries was used as one of the arguments by the government when it took over from the company, the real motive was the wish to secure control over the headwaters of the Nile. Subsequently a railway was constructed to facilitate communications with the coast. Although this was done for reasons of wider imperial importance, it was generally accepted that the railway had to pay its own way.

With the completion of the railway the boundary between Uganda and Kenya had been redefined so that the railway itself, until it reached Lake Victoria, would be under one government. Uganda was to be developed along the lines of West African models, such as the Gold Coast, whereas Kenya could become another Natal or Cape Colony. This was, however, only a possibility, although a possibility which the white settlers expected to become reality. Yet they did not succeed in their attempts to bring this situation about. This was not so much because of African opposition, which

had hardly woken up to the fact that it could be capable of national political action and which was not taken seriously anyway, as because of the influence of the Asians, who had settled in relatively large number in Kenya to become traders and craftsmen (Bennett 1963, pp. 46, 47). On the other hand the economic interests of the white settler community were identified with the economic interests of the country as a whole. Paramountcy of African interests was recognized in case there would be a conflict of interests between them and other sections of the population. But this did not amount to more than a refusal to expand the White Highlands further. The African reserves became to all intents and purposes the property of the various tribes. This suited the administration which wanted to deal with tribes which did not have interests in common, rather than with Africans who saw themselves as Kenya nationals.

Colonial policy in Kenya consisted of keeping the Africans under proper control so that the economic interests of the settler community could be safeguarded. This was to be done in the least expensive way. Taxation contributed to the expenses of running the administration of the Africans and it also forced them to work on the farms of Europeans in sufficient numbers. The extraction of goods and services reached a peak during the second world war. Between the end of the war and the beginning of the emergency in 1952 the government put in a considerable effort to curb soil deterioration in the reserves. It was afraid that these areas could no longer retain their function of providing subsistence for families which migrant labourers had to leave at home and for returned and retired workers. This policy was singularly unsuccessful and did not prevent the Emergency. The aim of the government became now the creation of an African "middle class" of wealthy peasants who would be afraid to lose their possessions and positions in case radical politicians would succeed in achieving African majority rule and do away with the ideal of a multi-racial society.

For purposes of administration Kenya was divided into provinces. The head of the administration in the province was

the Provincial Commissioner, PC. A province was divided into districts, each under a District Commissioner, DC, who was held responsible for all that happened in his area among the African population. He was assisted by some District Officers, DOs. Officials in these ranks were all European Colonial Civil Servants. They were expected to execute government policies but wielded much discretionary power, because policies were often not very well formulated, made contradictory demands, and had always to be interpreted with due regard for the local circumstances so that trouble and embarrassment to the governor of the day, and the Colonial Secretary who could expect parliamentary questions, could be avoided. Typically a handful of European officials would rule several hundreds of thousands of Africans. Communication of government orders and control of their execution through a system of sanctions made a hierarchy of African officials necessary. Control at the grass root level had to be personal in circumstances of illiteracy or semi-literacy. In many ways colonial rule had to adopt itself to a much smaller scale than it was willing to recognize officially.

The introduction of a grid of hierarchically organized bureaucratic roles among Bukusu did not come into competition with a traditional system of specifically political roles. There were leaders of forts, but most of their followers were linked to them through kinship and affinal ties and role performance must have been heavily influenced by this kinship idiom. There were also leaders of clusters. These big men must have been linked to people in other forts than their own by ties of kinship and affinity as well. But their leadership depended perhaps less on ability to recruit people to build a fort and defend it than on other qualities. But these other qualities were not necessarily of a political nature either. There is evidence that such valued vocations as blacksmith, circumciser, rain maker, or dream prophet could be useful resources in maintaining the peace between people who depended on them for essential

services. Although these considerations are of a somewhat speculative nature, it is certainly true that political leadership was not backed up by centralized political institutions. It is equally clear that there were no corporate groups either from which leaders could have derived power. Bukusu had managed to maintain their society in the face of external threats of wholesale dislocation or extermination. But there was nothing inherent in their society which could prevent a change of the political system itself. Political leaders had depended to a large extent on the elaboration of the political aspect of roles which were not specifically political. They were not representatives of groups but focusses of small scale ego-centred networks as a direct consequence of the predominance of grid. The new officials were backed by the most powerful group in Kenya society viz. the white minority, but at the same time they played grid roles with regard to the other Bukusu. Because Bukusu did not have strong groups they found it difficult to keep up a persistent and well organized resistance against white dominance. At the same time because Bukusu did have a strong grid a new bureaucratic type of social control through grid roles was easily accommodated.

Bukusu then, knew that in the end the white rulers were far more powerful than they were themselves. They accepted the system imposed by these foreigners so long as there was no suitable alternative. One important alternative which was easily perceived was the replacement of personnel. African chiefs and headmen had to use their discretion whether or not to apply sanctions at their disposal. But the public or sections of the public could become dissatisfied with the way in which they were arbitrarily used. When that was the case they tried to convince the white administrators that the African officials should be replaced. This was seldom just a movement for appointing another man. Usually the opposition wanted the government to adopt different criteria for selecting chiefs and headmen. The two important issues in colonial times were the relevance of the

tribal origin and the level of education and experience of the African officials. But the administration had to try to avoid any kind of demonstration on the part of an organized opposition which was damaging to its authority. The administration should not be seen to give in to grievances, even though they might be genuine. After all genuine grievances could lead to African majority rule. The best thing was to prevent grievances and thus the organisation of African pressure groups. Reorganisation of the court system was going on all the time in order to curb arbitrary decisions on the part of chiefs and headmen. Representative advisory councils were designed to cater for political activists and could be used as an argument against the need for agitation outside the system provided by the administration.

The other alternative concerned the distribution of income in a way more favourable to the Bukusu in general and the emerging commercial farmers in particular. Although the official emphasis was on the growing of sufficient subsistence crops, favourable conditions such as low population density, fertile soil, and good communications made it possible for Africans to produce surplus crops which could be sold for cash. All Africans had to pay the same hut and poll tax which was supposed to pay for services provided by the central government. Further demands for education, medical care and agricultural advice and assistance had to be paid for through a system of local rates, differentiated according to administrative districts. Within the district by no means all people profited equally from the services for which they paid the same rates. For example education was helped a great deal through grants for buildings, but tuition fees might still put it out of reach for many who had nevertheless paid the local rates. Thus rates contributed to a redistribution of income which favoured the rich and prosperous people. This factor undoubtedly contributed to the success of a millennial movement which had important political consequences. However, the prophet which led the movement saw white dominance as the crucial factor for achieving wealth for all Bukusu. At the same time Bukusu,

and especially those Bukusu who would profit most from higher rates, resented the fact that although they were the most prosperous tribe in the district they had far less than their share of educational and medical services. These had started in areas with a high density of population, good communications and near centres of indigenous or colonial administration. In the early days the region of the Bukusu just did not have these attractions and the expense of keeping the services running where they had started prevented significant extension in their own region. Bukusu tried to change this situation through a political association.

We shall now have to consider in greater detail the process of political role differentiation under influence of the various factors which I have listed and which can be summarized as the problem of establishing a bureaucratic hierarchy, the problem of public cooperation and the problem of control over economic resources.

2. The establishment of an administration

British policy in East Africa started with a declared interest in Buganda and its fortunes. The intervening area between this kingdom and the Indian Ocean was mainly of interest because the long supply routes went through it. The first aim of the British officials was to safeguard this route. One of the stations occupied for this purpose was Mumias, the walled village of the Wanga chief of the same name. He had always been friendly with Muslim traders and eventually became a Muslim himself. He had also tried to ingratiate himself with white explorers and company officials who passed through his country. Mumias was on a strategic point near a ford over the Nzoia River which had to be crossed before one could move on to Jinja and Kampala.

In 1894 some of the soldiers who lived at the fort of Mumias had sold their guns to Bukusu, who live to the north of Nzoia River. A patrol was sent out to try to recover the arms but was exterminated. In 1895 Hobley decided that the time had come to teach the Bukusu once and for all that such

behaviour would not be tolerated. In his memoirs (1929) Hobley gives a vivid description of the fighting. First one fort was surrounded and after heavy fighting it was vacated at night. The Bukusu were pursued as far as Broderick Falls where they sought refuge in a fort called Chetambe. Here they made a last desperate stand but they were killed like lumerera, 'ants' as the song commemorating the event aptly described it. Hobley and his allies, among them the Ganda general Kakunguru with 1,000 soldiers, returned to Mumias with many captured women and children and lots of cattle.

Unfortunately Hobley is much less precise when describing the administrative arrangements he made after the Bukusu defeat. According to Bukusu tradition three elders were invited to come to Mumias. They were Wandabwa KITANGA, (1) from Nalondo, near Kabuchai Hill, Sifuma of the Tachoni tribe, who lived near Broderick Fall and Chetambe, and lastly Namachanja, KHOONE, who lived nearest to Mumias, and who was in fact a son-in-law of Sakwa, a paternal uncle of Mumias and an important ruler of the Wanga in his own right. It is said that each of these three elders were asked to pick out the people who were theirs from among the captives. Wandabwa and Sifuma only took a few, but Namachanja claimed all of them. That was the reason why Hobley made him the chief of the Bukusu according to the tradition. Namachanja appointed headmen in various areas of the Bukusu country. According to lists which were given to me there were well over twenty, but my informants were not very certain about what they were supposed to do. Immediately after Namachanja's appointment there was a cattle levy, but no other attempts to raise taxes seem to have been made for another ten years. Hobley himself did not have much time for a closer administration of the Bukusu. His attention was drawn to safeguarding the railway construction through the Nyandondo valley, to the south of Mumias. He was almost

(1). I have adopted the convention of writing names of clans in capitals.

constantly at war with the Nandi who controlled the approach from the Rift Valley and he had also to subject the Gusii to the south of the Nyadondo valley.

In 1900 Hobley gave the following account of his administrative accomplishments as quoted by Low (1958): "In the early days of the protectorate, when initiating a scheme of administration in this district, it was my custom to select a representative chief for each tribe and to conduct negotiations through this selected individual; although this method in a way sufficed for the time being, it was not very satisfactory... . Of late as our needs have increased it was found necessary to improve upon this plan, as it was discovered that each tribe is split up into several sections, often as many as half a dozen, each section having his own chief. This of course becomes rather minute and somewhat tedious, but a recognition of these natural conditions vastly increases our hold upon the people".

In his RAI paper (1902) Hobley gives us a list of subdivisions among the Bukusu and their chiefs. He lists a dozen clans and the names of twenty chiefs. Some of these names were also remembered by my informants as having been the headmen of Namachanja. It appears that Hobley was under the impression that among the Bukusu clans were dominant in certain areas but this was certainly not true. Perhaps he generalized too easily from his experiences with the southern Luhya tribes, the Luo and the Gusii among whom clans and lineages are politically significant in that they provide a framework for territorial organization. But Hobley was certainly well aware of the reality of the limited power which the so called chiefs could exercise. "They (the Bantu Kavirondo) are assertively independent, and to such a degree that it is rarely that one finds a chief who has any real control over his people, and it is this independent and pugnacious nature which has rendered our task of reducing this area to a state of law and order a slower process than in Buganda". Until 1902 the old Nyanza Province of Kenya was still inside the Uganda protectorate and apparently the authorities at Entebbe thought that Hobley would not have

any difficulties in appointing chiefs for the purpose of collecting hut tax. Low (1958) tells us that Hobley answered them that such chiefs did not exist. His successor asked whether he could use Asians as tax collectors, which request was not granted.

After the transfer of the area to Kenya in 1902 the authorities in Nairobi did not show much greater understanding when they introduced a village headman ordinance. But they allowed at least the use of Swahilis when the first attempt to collect hut tax among the Bukusu was made in 1904-5. The district diary has the following entry: "Dishonest action by these Swahilis leads to burning of two government huts in Kitosh and consequent police demonstration". In 1905 the same source reports that the Kitosh moved north east and north west in order to escape the influence of the government. There is for 25 miles north of Mumias a very scant population. The diary mentions that in 1906 Shukuta's people break down bridges over Nzoia and Kuywa rivers and hinder the visit by the tax collector. (DC/NM. 3/1) Characters of chiefs sketched in 1907 give an even more vivid picture of the lack of success in using officially appointed village headmen as government agents. "Chief Majanja. A powerful chief, but old. Leaves much of the work to his son Sudi, an intelligent man. Majanja has sent in several rifles which his people had. Has been punished four times by police force. He himself friendly, but some of his people are bad. Once imprisoned for cattle lifting.... Chief Osolo. Fairly powerful. Has been twice punished by police force. Is not fairly friendly.... Chief Shukuta. A small and truculent chief. Should have been imprisoned but never caught. Has had his cattle taken and sold.... Chief Namasaka. A small chief who is friendly. Has never been quite certain whether he is under Uganda or E.A.P. Now definitely placed under E.A.P. Chief Makaso. A small and truculent chief. Has been fought...." (DC/NM. 5/1).

The greatest worry of the administration were not the Bukusu, however, but the Elgumi or Teso. The chiefs' characters of

1907 have this to say: "Chief unknown. A large and obstreperous people on the boundary of B.E.A. and Uganda. Have been fought but will have to be punished again. Have a playful way of killing people on the road between Uganda and B.E.A. In December 1906 tried to hold up a government safari under ADSP Rayne". The district diary continues the story and mentions that in May 1908 an assistant district commissioner visited the north western corner of the district for the purpose of returning cattle recently raided from Uganda. He also investigated a boundary dispute in which three natives had been killed. In the course of the investigation his police men were attacked, one native was killed and four villages were burnt. (DC/NN. 3/1). Although it is not mentioned which tribe the natives belonged to, it is most likely that they were Teso. In any case the political history in the same file tells us how in July a patrol of 50 men with officers of the KAR was organized. One hundred and seven rifles and 300-400 rounds of ammunition were seized. To maintain law and order in the area more permanently Marunga was made chief. This man, also known as Murunga, used to be chief in Kakamega. He was a half brother of Mumias himself and also a Muslim. Bukusu say that he was the first chief to organize a proper hut tax levy with tickets attached to huts. That is why the circumcision year of 1908 was called "Biketi". Murunga did not find it easy to establish himself. The political history continues with an entry for October. Five askaris of Murunga tried to confiscate rifles belonging to a native. They were attacked and two of them were wounded. In November there was another patrol led by the DC himself. The total number of rifles confiscated from Kitosh from September to December was 582 (DC/NN. 3/1).

In 1909 the district was divided into locations with officially gazetted chiefs. Mumias was made paramount chief. Murunga was made chief in North Kitosh, and Sudi, the son of Namachanja, was appointed in South Kitosh. Bukusu now say that the reason that Murunga was appointed in the north

was the unwillingness of the northern Bukusu to be governed by Sudi. Murunga had 12 headmen under him, Sudi only 3, although the official hut counts had revealed equal numbers in both areas viz. about 10.000 in each. This can be explained by the fact that various minority groups in North Kitosh, Kalenjin and Tachoni tribesmen, were given their own headmen, whereas in South Kitosh the population was tribally much more homogeneous. In 1910 there was a realignment of the boundary with Uganda so that the awkward Teso could come under the DC whose headquarters were nearest to this tribe. (PC/NZA. 3/7/2/1). Murunga was also made chief over the new Teso Location.

In sum, the establishment of government control over the Bukusu was a long drawn out process, because there was no institutionalized indigenous system which could be used. Although headmen were appointed the British had to prove their final authority over these people time and again by sending out punitive patrols. Tax levies collected by Swahili agents took the form of cattle raids. The only solution was a greater number of white administrators with a sufficient permanent force at their disposal or, failing that, reliable African government agents. The only area where indigenous chiefship seemed to work was the region of the Wanga. Thus Mumias was appointed as paramount chief and many of his relatives as locational chiefs. One of the first tasks of the new chiefs was the construction of roads in order that improved communications could give a much greater power to the controlling white administrators. They also had to assist in the collection of taxes and encourage the cultivation of sufficient crops for subsistence and the payment of taxes as employment opportunities were still scarce in the white highlands. Finally the administration wanted the chiefs to maintain law and order through an institutionalized judicial procedure in official courts. Role specialisation was almost completely absent, although at least specific political roles viz. the ones of headman and chief had been created.

3. Maintenance of law and order under Wanga rule

The position of Murunga continued to evoke lengthy comments by visiting white administrators. A safari report from 1911 has this to say: "On March 8th I met sub-chief Marunga and learnt that although he had 3 or 4 police with him to give assistance in the inspection of huts, more than 1,000 rupees remained uncollected..... Although the North Kitosh are difficult to manage, Marunga appears to be powerless in the face of opposition..... Beyond the road from Mhasa's to Kifuma's (i.e. from Malakisi to Broderick Falls via Kimilili) it is difficult to see what Marunga has done. He seems afraid of the people". (DC/EM. 3/1/1). Two years later the DC wrote a report in which he says among other things: "Unfortunately he does not rise to his position. He is handicapped first by being a stranger in his sub-district and when he was appointed he tried to administer the country by means of armed retainers who were practically uncontrolled. The men were disbanded and all arms confiscated a year ago and now Marunga has orders to use the council of elders in each location and administer the country through them only. In this task he is not succesful because he is indolent himself, partly he has little patience with the slower methods of the older men..... He uses too much or too little force and either bullies his people or shows himself very much afraid of them He cannot be called progressive although he is perfectly ready to administer his country by neglecting such deep rooted institutions as the council of elders" (DC/EM. 3/1/1).

The experience with Murunga was not unique. Chiefs appointed among tribes where there had not been anything like it before had to assert themselves through the use of arbitrary physical coercion because no mechanism existed to get the cooperation of the people on a regular basis. Government officials then pounded on the idea of the traditional council of elders. This had perhaps been a reality among the Kikuyu, but the Bukusu had known nothing of the kind. Nevertheless after Murunga's retainers had been disbanded it provided the chief with a model for his attempt to organize the system of control differently. Although the Bukusu had

left their old walled villages the former big men who had acted as leaders of clusters were still present and had retained such authority as they had enjoyed in pre-colonial days. They now became mulango who in turn appointed assistants called nyapara. Both these words are of Swahili origin and were used elsewhere in East Africa as well. The mulango constituted a council, called barasa, also a Swahili word.

A select committee of the barasa acted as court of justice. Courts were very much part of the system of administration through which orders could be enforced. In the 1917-18 annual report it is mentioned that the majority of cases tried were offenses against the Native Authority Ordinance. The more common offenses included: 1. Disobeying lawful orders of the chief requiring able bodied men to perform road work or other government work in their own locations. 2. Moving without permission from the jurisdiction of one headman to another. 3. Disobedience of quarantine regulations particularly in regard to small pox. 4. Assault (DC/NN. 1/1). In 1918 there came a possibility of appeal in order to curb the power of chiefs who were president ex officio of the locational courts. The annual report of 1920 describes the system as follows: "Each local council holds a meeting weekly when petty criminal cases and non-contentious civil cases are heard, the former reported to the station, while the latter are not registered. For more important business the district has been divided into four areas, the local council in each are meeting once a month..... An officer attends each of these barasas, enters cases and conducts any business there is" (DC/NN. 1/3).

Already in the first decade of chief Murunga's rule the process of role differentiation got under way through the usual mechanism of opposition against arbitrariness and the creation or extension of additional institutions which might alleviate or prevent grievances. First there was the issue of the armed retainers who were replaced by courts consisting of Bukusu mulango. Their intimate links with the people they ruled and represented must have made implementation of

government decisions far more equitable. Secondly the control of the judiciary system was improved and appeal against decisions of the chief was made possible. I do not want to suggest that the opposition was already formalized and constituted a pressure group. Rather the British administrators noticed dissatisfaction with the situation, feared that trouble might break out, and found that further role differentiation enabled them to take away certain grievances and also increased their own grip on the people they had to control.

Bukusu actually did go to court when they had a case against the chief. There is a record dated July 4th 1922 by acting DC Pease. Chief Marunga was fined shs. 250/- for taking a Kitosh woman against her will and without the father's consent, and instigating the flogging of her father by headman Waluchio when she ran away, and the seizure of his cattle (DC/EN. 3/1/3). Powers of the chiefs were further curtailed in 1924 when they were forbidden to command people to work on their own private estates (DC/NW. 1/5). Bukusu told me that they had actually petitioned the DC about this issue. One of the African mission teachers wrote a letter which was delivered with a gift of wild fruits. It was explained to the DC that the Bukusu could not offer him anything else because their wives and children had to work too hard on the estates of the chief to be able to cultivate their own gardens.

Elsewhere in the Province and in Kenya as a whole where missionary influence had been at work for a much longer period Africans organized themselves in formal associations. (Rosberg and Nottingham, 1966, ch. 2). In Kikuyu country the East Africa Association and Kikuyu Association were active. In Nyanza Province the Young Kavirondo Association started to petition the administration. Most of the members were Luo and CMS converts. They asked for increases in the pay of chiefs, the establishment of a Government School in Central Nyanza, and the appointment of a Paramount Chief. According to the DC in Central Nyanza the real crux of their demands was the request for a paramount chief, who

would be the nominee of the Maseno mission natives. Under his wing the latter would have a secular prestige and authority which they did not have under the old regime (op. cit., p. 62).

In order to guide such sentiments through proper channels where they could be kept under control of the administration Local Native Councils were organized at the district level. Apart from all the chiefs another two people from each location were also members. The latter were supposed to be elected, although the first LNC in North Nyanza contained many people who were appointed by the chiefs themselves. In his annual report of 1927 the DC remarks: "It is believed that nominations of location barasas lead to the appointment of friends of chiefs and elders. Market masters were unanimously appointed in 1927 and unanimously cut out for 1928. This measure would affect the perquisites received by chiefs. It seems to prove that unofficials are not representative and unable to outvote the chiefs on such matters". He proposed to have supervised elections (DC/NN. 1/8). The LNC was allowed to raise its own revenue through rates and was encouraged to spend it on roads, bridges, agricultural extension work, dispensaries and last but not least on education. In this way Africans who wanted to benefit from such services could pay for them, while in more backward areas people would not have to pay taxes for services which they were not supposed to be interested in in the first place. (Annual Report, Dept. of Native Affairs, 1924). The DC, however, retained the right to veto any decisions. The LNC was held to be representative of African interests, rather than the chiefs, who became more identified with executive functions. For example grants of land for the construction of schools had to be made by the LNC.

The LNC then, is not so much an example of role differentiation through specialisation as of the creation of altogether new roles which had not existed before, as had been the case with the chiefs two decades earlier. Curtailment of the power of chiefs had been caused by general feelings

of local discontent, creation of the LNCs was the result of formal political pressure groups which operated within the framework of the colony. Events in the Central Province and in Central Nyanza District resulted in nation wide changes and facilitated at the same time regional differentiation.

The administration was further rationalized in 1926. "An alteration in the scheme of native administration was introduced in April whereby 'headmen' were abolished and the 'milango' (heads of wards) came directly under the 'chiefs' and received a small monthly salary. It was felt that the headmen were an unnecessary link in the chain, as on the milango had always devolved the actual carrying out of orders. The change was received calmly. A few of the headmen were retained as assistant chiefs in some of the larger locations, or where more than one location is administered by the same chief" (DC/NN. 1/7). Thus the Teso Location got its own assistant chief, and so did the Elgon Location and Kimilili Location of North Kitosh. Only the Malakisi Location remained directly under Murunga. The next year it was reported: "The new system (without headmen) is working fairly well but cannot be described as satisfactory. It is impossible for officers to get to know each of the 450 milango. These men were originally appointed by the chiefs and in some cases are alien to the location which causes discontent and a feeling of oppression, the same may be said of certain chiefs. Now milango get paid there is a moral obligation on the District Officers to make sure that appointments are for the better administration of the location" (DC/NN. 1/8).

The situation among the Bukusu is fairly well described by the above mentioned generalisations of the DC. However, Murunga seems to have concentrated more on the appointment of headmen who belonged to his tribe or family than that he was concerned with the lower grade of mulango. In Malakisi and Kimilili where Murunga had a residence or boma, such headmen acted more or less as his deputy when he was absent.

The replacement of headman Chepstiti is only one example of the way in which Murunga managed to appoint Wanga headmen. Chepstiti was one of the headmen of the minority of Kalenjin known as Laku. In 1913 it was reported that he did his work well when supervised and in 1916 he was described as the least useless of the 3 Laku headmen. But in 1922 the officer on safari received complaints of general inefficiency, failure to carry out orders concerning cotton cultivation, to stop cultivation of bhang, Indian hemp, and to check movement of cattle to and from the Uganda border. The next year in an official barasa in presence of the senior commissioner Murunga repeated his complaints and managed to get Osundwa, his nephew, appointed, because no suitable person could be found among Chepstiti's people. Manipulation of the administration was possible because a chief had the factual discretionary power to inform his superiors about the failures of his headmen and because he had a decisive voice in the vetting of candidates for posts which had become vacant. Murunga thought that he could exercise more power over his protégés than over Bukusu headmen. When Kimilili became semi-independent under a Wanga assistant chief Murunga wanted to continue in his old role. This caused a lot of friction but the Bukusu could not care less about squabbles between Wanga (DC/EN. 3/1/3).

Headmen in turn seem to have had far less power over the appointment of mulango at least in areas with traditions of leadership in certain families. But they could threaten certain individuals whom they did not want as mulango. This happened to the man who lodged a complaint with the DC against forced labour on the estates of the chief in Malakisi Location. He told me that his relatives had wanted him to become mulango, but that he had been afraid of being poisoned one day. Instead he had gone to the White Highlands to become a squatter. Incidentally, this was quite common among the Bukusu in the twenties who disliked Murunga's rule. To them employment with a white farmer was preferable to the hardships of life under Murunga. Alien mulango, mentioned by the DC, could be found in the area around Kimilili.

Murunga had encouraged many Teso, Khayo, and Wanga to settle there and become farmers, because the Bukusu men were not inclined to work in the fields. Out of 8 mulango 4 were Bukusu, 2 were Wanga, 1 a Teso and 1 a Khayo.

In 1909 Girouard, who had been Lord Lugard's successor in Northern Nigeria, was appointed as governor of Kenya. He tried to formulate a consistent policy with regard to the Africans. At first he thought that he wanted to introduce a system of indirect rule which had worked so well in Nigeria. But later he decided that South Africa should stand model for future developments. This meant that Africans who moved outside the reserves would first labour for European farmers, next they would obtain urban employment and finally they might move into professional occupations. Thus it was necessary to retain indirect rule in the reserves in the immediate future but to foster education and apply ordinary Protectorate law to those Africans who moved outside the reserves. But the reserves were not to be regarded as "sanctuaries for barbarism": the chiefs were to be taken into government and their sons educated, among other things, such as the reform of native law and custom and land tenure (Sorrenson 1968, p. 249). The education of sons of chiefs was certainly pressed by the British administrators. The first pupils who joined the schools established at the mission stations were in many cases if not sons of chiefs, certainly closely related to headmen and their mulango assistants. In another chapter I shall consider this issue more closely, but for our present argument it is sufficient to note that by 1926 educated young men were available to succeed fathers or paternal uncles who had been mulango until that time.

At least in one area of Bukusu country the wish of the DC that appointments of the paid mulango should be for the better administration of the location meant that young educated men took their places. This was the case around Sirisia in Malakisi Location where I made a detailed investigation of changes at this level. About half the people who were

mulango there were appointed around 1926 and were well educated. But in Kimilili Location this does not seem to have been the case. Perhaps the Wanga assistant chief felt that he could not antagonize his assistants while he was trying to assert his independence against Murunga. Murunga on the other hand might well have felt that following the intentions of the DC closely would be a help in his struggle to retain overall power in North Kitosh and Teso. Murunga was certainly in step with the rest of the district as is confirmed by Wagner: "The salaried office of mlango headman was created in 1926. These milango headmen were appointed by the location chiefs, after consultation with representatives of local opinion, and confirmed by the District Commissioner. They were usually youngish or middle-aged men who could read and write and were capable of discharging various administrative duties connected with the execution of chiefs' orders" (1956, p. 93).

It is not quite clear how long the system of 4 appeal barasas for serious cases lasted, but at least by 1925 there was only one court of appeal left which revised cases brought up from all locational courts (DC/NN. 1/6). In 1928 it was remarked that: "The appeal barasa is undoubtedly a popular institution and it owes much to the personality of the President, Paul Agoi, and also to the absence of any chief among its members" (DC/NN. 1/9). Now this Paul Agoi was Maragoli and a prominent member of the Quaker church. Here again then, there is evidence that the administration started to rely on education as a criterion for the selection of officials whose appointment had to be in the interest of a better administration. Until the middle twenties appointments had been based on outright favouritism on the part of the chiefs, if they could get away with it, or on traditions of leadership in the family. In the case of the headmen this tradition dated back no further than the first appointments made under the village headman ordinance in 1903. Although among the Bukusu Murunga had replaced some of them with Wanga, the majority were close agnatic relatives of the first generation of headmen. In the case of the mulango, assist-

ants to these headmen, traditions of leadership in a village cluster were the predominant criterion, except in areas with much recent immigration. Headmen simply disappeared and for the selection of mulango an additional criterion viz. literacy was introduced.

But perhaps the greatest influence of the new educated younger generation of politicians was felt in the LNC and in the semi-political welfare organizations. There was the North Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association sponsored by Archdeacon Owen of the Anglican CMS. Chairman was Paul Agoi, President of the Appeal Court and elected deputy chairman of the LNC in 1931 (DC/NN. 1/12). There was also the Native Catholic Union, more concerned with equal rights of expansion and adoption of Christian standards by the courts than with political grievances. But even the NKTWA was not extremist. Most political agitation between 1928 and 1934 was about the replacement of the Wanga chiefs by people from the tribe they ruled. Educated Christians were prominent in the various factions but the administration was reluctant to appoint any of them as chiefs.

The attitude of the administration was rather ambiguous. On the one hand the process was considered to be inevitable, on the other hand officials did not want to be seen to give in to political pressure. Thus as early as 1923 the DC wrote that tribes started to demand chiefs of their 'own race'. "E.g. in Wamia people feel that it is time that they broke away from chief Murunga. The growth of this feeling must be expected in future owing to the increase of education among the natives" (DC/NN. 1/4). New indigenous chiefs were sometimes chosen from the ranks of former headmen, because they had the administrative experience. Thus when two new assistant chiefs were appointed in the area of chief Mulama, to the south of Mumias, the popular choice was disregarded because: "their notorious activity in the agitation against chief Mulama, and in case of Jeremiah, his complete inexperience of administration were held to be good and sufficient bars to their appointment" (DC/NN. 1/10). In Kabras

the immediate cause of the agitation had been the appointment of a Wanga secretary to the barasa by the Wanga chief. 'Certain mission elements made a noisy demonstration against this inveterate Wanga nepotism. By July the whole location had turned against Mwanza'. The son of a former headman was appointed. 'The mission element wanted one of their number.... This idea had no official sanction, needless to say' (DC/NN. 1/10).

The next year, 1930, was the turn of North Kitosh. In Kimilili the Wanga Assistant Chief retired voluntarily and an ex-headman was appointed, 'well reported on as such, and who has remained loyal during the crisis'. In Malakisi the son of the former headman was also appointed as assistant chief, but he was to be absolutely subordinate and not semi-independent. 'It was felt that the Government had gone far enough in meeting the desire of the Kitosh for self determination. Further, Murunga's undoubted services in the past had to be considered'. The DC passed the following judgment on the situation: 'It is regrettable but nevertheless a fact that in all the locations mentioned in which trouble has occurred the young semi-educated men have succeeded in temporarily usurping the authority of the old men who have in most cases been contented to follow the lead which they themselves know to be bad'. (DC/NN. 1/11).

In the end the administration yielded to the idea that people should have local men as their own chiefs. Even Murunga was removed in 1934 when the Wanga Location was split into two halves. He was appointed in South Wanga because the administration wanted to have a tough chief to deal with a troublesome minority of Kager Luo. But the European administration refused to make popular support or even educational qualifications the criterion for selecting new chiefs. Instead the fact of being a former headman or the son of a former headman became the criterion. The adoption of this criterion was a suitable symbol of the determination of the white minority not to have their established authority questioned in terms which would eventually bring about African majority rule viz. merit and democratic

support. Group loyalties prevented the development of a more efficient and acceptable grid of political offices in terms of recruitment to these roles.

In South Kitosh, the area of chief Sudi, everything had been quiet. There was already a local Bukusu in power. Yet even this area was affected by anti-Wanga sentiments. Murunga had actually offered to retire when he was confronted with Bukusu demands for a chief of their own in Malakisi. In the annual report which I quoted the DC had not given the most crucial reasons why Murunga had been left in power. In a letter dated 23rd July 1930 the PC explained to the colonial secretary the alternatives which faced him when Murunga had told him that he was willing to retire provided he would get part of Wanga location as his personal estate. "1. Refusal to accept resignation and to inform the people that in view of past services the government wishes to retain him. 2. Acceptance. But there is no system of pensioning. Murunga suggested to apportion the location of Wanga to various relatives of Mumias. This is a conception borrowed from Uganda and could not be entertained in regard to this colony" (DC/EN. 3/1/2). We have seen that Murunga remained for the time being in Malakisi, but he and Mulama, who found himself in very much the same position in the south of the district, decided to go ahead and establish a coffee plantation in North Wanga, on soil which the Bukusu thought to be theirs traditionally. A visit by the DO was interpreted as a sanction and fighting was only prevented with difficulty. The next month the PC re-affirmed the old boundary, but the Bukusu were not happy about it. And in fact the DC acknowledged in his annual report that the boundary arrangement had been made in the past very much under the guidance of Mulama. (DC/NN. 1/13). The Wanga chiefs, however, were told that they should stick to their own locations. This issue is of great interest because it shows that the provincial administration was very well aware of the difference between Kenya and Uganda with regard to the potential rights of the African population to have land in freehold. The government did not want to disturb the legal fiction that the alienation of the White Highlands had been the prerogative of the Crown.

4. Tribal associations and economic development

Arrangements in Buganda also provided the North Kavirondo Central Association with ideas for alternative forms of landownership and government. The association had been formed late in 1933. The administration thought that it was formed after the example of the Kikuyu Central Association. The president had been resident in Nairobi for some years "where he picked up the tricks of his trade". They were against the consequences of mining activities which had started near Kakamega in the south of the district in 1931. In the first place they thought that the financial compensation for accidents resulting from the digging of prospecting pits was far too low. Secondly the punishment for trespassing on mining property was severe flogging with the likelihood of lethal consequences. Finally they were afraid that Africans who had lost their land would be removed to the Elgon Forest Reserve (DC/NN. 1/16). Actually until the Native Lands Trust Ordinance had been amended to allow cash compensatory payments in lieu of land deportation to the forest reserve was the only possibility (Fearn 1961, pp. 143, 144).

Another point raised by the NKCA was the election of a paramount chief. The DC said about this desire: "No one can describe what his function would be but it is generally felt that it would be a step forward to greater political autonomy, doubtless on the lines of the Kingdom of Uganda (DC/NN. 1/16). The influence of the NKCA does not seem to have been great among the Bukusu. The only association in Bukusu country which was supported by educated young men of all denominations which were represented in the area was the Kitosh Education Society, formed in 1936. They included in their program the demand for a Paramount Chief of their own. Chief Sudi was their choice. But they never directed any formal petitions to the Secretary of State or even through the proper channels to the DC. The Kitosh Education Society is therefore never mentioned in the official records. The remarkable thing about the association was its lack of denominational bias towards either the protestants

or the Catholics. The Catholic missionaries had prevented the North Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association becoming interdenominational through the organization of their own Native Catholic Union. The North Kavirondo Central Association was equally avoided by Catholics.

Among the Bukusu the missions which were first in the field had initially divided the Bukusu country into spheres of influence. But the idea had never taken hold of the people that certain clans were associated with certain denominations. This was different among the Luo, about whom Whisson says quite categorically: "Denominationalism was rapidly integrated to clan and subtribal differences" (1964, p. 115). On the one hand this led to more bitter competition, especially between Catholics and Protestants, on the other hand this rivalry stressed the unity of the Bukusu, because Africans of both denominations refused to accept the divisions created by white missionaries. But even the white missionaries themselves only made a point of talking about spheres of influence when it was their own influence which was threatened to be diminished. The Kitosh Education Society started to collect funds which were used to help to build schools which were sponsored by various denominations. Generally schools were helped through Local Native Council grants to the various denominations. But all denominations had their major interests in the south of the district where they had built their hospitals and full primary schools. If anything the LNC grants maintained the advantages which the southern locations had. But the economic development in the north after the construction of the Eldoret-Kampala railway enabled the Bukusu to organize schemes of their own to redress the balance.

The significance of the Kitosh Education Society for the argument of this thesis lies in the fact that it shows how the absence of sub-group allegiances and the presence of traditionally dominant grid roles made it possible to increase access to education, the key to participation in social change above the tribal level. With regard to the special

theme of this chapter it shows how economic differentiation brought about greater role differentiation, because religious affiliation was no longer accepted as a criterion for participation or non-participation in political associations, which had been especially the case with Catholics.

The problem with which the government had to occupy itself very much after various Wanga chiefs had been replaced by people belonging to the dominant tribe in the location was the claim of tribal minorities in these locations which also wanted their own chiefs, or join a location where their tribesmen had a majority. Thus the DC wrote to the PC in 1936: "It appears to me that it is a matter of urgency to introduce a grade between the Chief and the mlango headmen. Certain large sections clamour for some recognition and resent having only milango headmen over them. Of course, if we give way in larger cases we would be pestered by insignificant little clans for similar recognition. (DC/NN. 3/6/1). There had been frequent remarks on this divisive-ness within sub-tribes in previous years. "It is disturbing to see that appointments of teachers give rise to clan jealousies. Such appointments should be the responsibility of missionaries. However elders, both Christians and pagans, try to thrust their nominees into various positions (DC/NN. 1/15). "Clan jealousies over positions of headman, sub-headman, teacher or even a dresser show no sign of diminution" (DC/NN. 1/16). There is no evidence that this happened among the Bukusu. On the contrary as we have seen in the previous paragraph, the Bukusu showed in these years signs of greater unity than ever before. Yet the troubled administration decided on a reorganisation which affected the whole district, including the Bukusu.

The solution was the replacement of four or five mulango by one so called lugongo, 'ridge' headman. The idea was that the lugongo was to be considered solely as paid servant of the government, while the mulango would be allowed to become heads of even smaller groups on what would be virtually family group holdings. At the same time the number of native

courts was reduced and tax collection was to be taken care of by process servers who would be allowed to seize property legally, whereas in the past, when the mulango did this, it had always been illegal, although officially condoned. But the prominence of the former mulango with regard to inheritance, marriage and land could remain recognized (DC/NN. 1/18,19; DC/NN. 3/6/1).

The three Bukusu locations and Elgon Location got their own divisional court. Presidents of the former locational courts were president in turn for one year and during other years they were permanent elders. But other elders served only for a few months each. They were chosen from a large panel which consisted mainly of either former mulango or people who were closely related to former mulango but with a higher standard of education. Introduction of the lugongo headmen did not lead to any difficulties which survived in the memories of my informants. Yet the areas which they had to control were simply too large for the lugongo to keep in touch efficiently with his subjects. His assistants increased in number compared to the paid mulango and they were now called charge mulango among the Bukusu. The administration preferred to use the word liguru'pole of a verandah' which was common in southern locations.

The chiefs and headmen were officially no longer allowed to exercise judicial functions after the introduction of the new divisional courts, but of course they could still advise people. In fact already in 1932 the chiefs had been forbidden by the administration to be presidents or members of their own locational courts (DC/NN. 1/13). The institution of the divisional courts increased the control of the administration over judicial decisions considerably and abuse of power could more easily be checked. This is proved by a letter from the Catholic Kibabii Mission to the DC, dated 8.7.39: "I have been in close contact with this country's affairs for seven years and I can assure you that chief Sudi, when he had control over the country (before the institution of the present tribunals) was an ideal

ruler, of the old type.... . Now he has lost control because the failings of his minor officials are mainly made known to the tribunals. "Also further reforms were now comparatively easy to initiate. In 1941 it was proposed to have permanent presidents and vice-presidents and smaller panels of elders (DC/NW. 1/24). In 1947 it was proposed to abolish the panels, reduce the number of elders and appoint carefully selected salaried elders (DC/NW. 1/29). Finally in 1950 illiterate elders were retired and staff at all levels of higher standards was appointed (DC/NW. 1/29). In 1967, after independence, African Courts disappeared as separate institutions when a unified court system was adopted. Appointments of judges were no longer in the hands of the government through the provincial administration, which itself had been divested of all judicial functions. In colonial times such extreme role differentiation had not been possible.

The creation of the lugongo headmen can be attributed to the opposition against the rule of chiefs in areas with seizable tribal minorities and perhaps also the wish to accommodate the evident desire of various clans in southern locations to be represented at the official level in fairly important positions. Further role differentiation was the result. But the introduction of the new divisional courts would probably have happened anyway. It was the first step in the direction of larger units of administration. The reasons were set out by the PC in a letter to the Colonial Secretary: "Economic development will proceed and a native departmental staff will come into being. The chief, from being the only agent of government in his area becomes transformed into a sort of chairman of committee and a general vivifying agent and source of inspiration. Larger units will be necessary for such things as cottage hospitals than the present locations. Divisional chiefs will have to come to the fore" (DC/NW. 3/6/1). Here economic differentiation was recognized as one of the sources of political role differentiation.

Economic development was speeded up by the second world war. A maize and produce control was established in order to make certain that there was an adequate supply of food in East Africa in wartime. The difficulty encountered by the board was to fix a seasonal price which would encourage both African and European farmers to grow more maize. It was thought that too high a price offered to Africans would not encourage them to expand production, because their immediate cash needs could be satisfied too easily. The solution was to offer Europeans and Africans the same price, but the African producer received only part of it. Some money was deducted to cover loading, storage and transport, and some more money was paid into a District Agricultural Betterment Fund. This fund was administered by the Local Native Council (Fearn 1961, p. 158/9). Although originally the money was used solely for giving loans and cash incentives to raise agricultural standards, it was used very soon to finance the ordinary LNC budget as well.

The use of produce cesses to pay for education and health services etc. increased the dissatisfaction of the Bukusu. They were not only far away from the large missionary establishments in the south and felt discriminated against through the use of southern dialects for the entrance examinations for primary schools, but they also realized that their country was really the main area for production of maize on a commercial scale. They wanted their own district now and were no longer satisfied with voluntary contributions to schools in Bukusu country through which the Kitosh Education Society had tried to redress the balance.

The Kitosh Education Society had become the Bukusu Union by 1940 and it gradually became a more radical organization. Instead of sponsoring mission schools it founded independent schools. It also became critical of chiefs and headmen who "indulged in little illegalities of power" (DC/NW. 1/26). In 1946 "there was trouble in Kimilili which had its origin in the sense of frustration felt by the younger and more educated elements at the dominance imposed on them by older,

more conservative types in matters of local government. The trouble started with an agitation against chief Amutalla that he had taken bribes and generally enriched himself. A DO from another district was appointed to investigate this. His findings were that the charges were groundless. There was no option but to support the chief, as any weakening in the matter would have resulted in efforts to unseat every chief. The Bukusu Union, who were behind the trouble refused to accept the findings" (DC/NW. 1/28).

Although the administration did not give in to the wishes of the younger and more educated elements in any direct way, because it realized that its own authority was at stake, it tried to accommodate the opposition through the introduction of Local Advisory Councils, with an elected majority. One of the avowed aims was that they should act as a check on the autocratic tendency of chiefs. Later they took responsibility for purely local matters such as minor roads, water supplies, markets and the allocation of plots for shops, and the distribution of LNC grants for the building of primary schools. Yet they remained purely advisory, just as the LNC was purely advisory. In both cases the official chairman, the chief and the DC respectively, had the power to veto any decision. Nevertheless it is a good example of role differentiation because of political pressure on the part of Africans. Although the Bukusu Union wanted a change in person, which was not acceded, they nevertheless achieved a change in the structure of government.

Apart from local issues the Bukusu Union was also interested in national politics. There was a considerable overlap in membership with the local branches of the Kenya African Study Union and its successor the Kenya African Union. Bukusu Union leaders even sent teachers to be trained at the independent teachers' training college at Githunguri in Central Province of which Kenyatta himself was principal. The same people collected money under auspices of the Kimilili Locational Advisory Council to send students abroad to be trained at universities so that they would have suit-

able candidates for the Legco by the time the African membership would be expanded. They were quite outspoken in their criticism of the expulsion of African squatters who had to make way for ex-service men who were offered new farms in the White Highlands. This early perception of a national framework for Bukusu political activity is quite unique among the rural population of Western Kenya. I suggest that it is a direct consequence of the predominance of grid roles in Bukusu society. Bukusu leaders were inclined to associate themselves with anybody who could help them to reach aims they wanted to achieve. The Bukusu Union itself was not in the least hampered by the strong feelings of denominational allegiance which had been fostered only twenty years ago. But at the same time tribal cohesion and the pursuit of tribal interests were not considered to be supreme values. A tribal association could serve Bukusu anxious to get individual benefits from the new economic and educational opportunities, but if a nationalistic movement seemed to offer even greater rewards and better chances to occupy important positions on a national rather than a district level, being an African Kenyan took precedence over being a Bukusu. In fact no contradiction was experienced by Bukusu who took this step. The Bukusu Union also welcomed the political ideas of Elijah Masinde, an eccentric prophet who led an independent sect. He taught that the day was near that the whites would leave the country. He also called for a return to the ancient customs and promised his faithful followers stores of goods and herds of cattle which were to be found on Mount Zaioni, identified as Mount Elgon. Later in this thesis I shall attempt to show that the mass appeal of his preaching must have been based on the run-away inflation and the insecurity of the rights of squatters. These phenomena seemed to deny Africans meaningful relations with Europeans in terms of an ego-centred grid of social relations. Here it is sufficient to note that anti-white sentiments took the form of protest marches which were directed towards centres of European interests such as the Catholic mission at Kibabii and the police station at Malakisi. Here a

fracass took place, shots were fired and a dozen of Africans were killed. The police put the blame on the Bukusu Union. The chairman of the Bukusu Union was thought to be the master mind behind the dreadful happenings. He was arrested and sentenced but later he was released when the case came up for appeal because there was no sufficient proof.

It appears that the administration was so upset by the movement of this prophet because it constituted a direct threat to the European monopoly of the white highlands. Many squatters in Trans Nzoia District joined and for a time the area was plagued by a wave of arson. In the reserve a new administrative sub-station was built at Bungoma and the resident DO was especially in charge of suppressing the sect. In 1956 the administration took a further step and created the Elgon-Nyanza District in which the Bukusu formed the majority. Control over the Bukusu could be increased in this way and at the same time economic development and provision of services could be stimulated much more than if the Bukusu had remained inside the old North-Nyanza District. Income from agricultural cesses was going to be even higher in the future when coffee trees planted in the higher part of the district would start to bear fruit. This money could now be used for improving conditions in Elgon Nyanza. A district dominated by the Bukusu had always been the aim of the Bukusu Union. Although the Bukusu Union had been blamed wrongly for the emergence of the Dini ya Msambwa, DYM, as Elijah's sect came to be known, the measures of the government to prevent such a thing to happen again were directed towards placating the Bukusu elite.

During and after the war one of the main worries if not of the government of Kenya, in any case of the Department of Agriculture, was the problem of erosion in the reserves. This led to further role differentiation initiated from above in order to keep the reserves a viable proposition in the context of colonial labour policies with regard to Africans. The Agricultural Department moved into the reserves and started to implement new rules about contour

ploughing and terracing which had often to be executed through communal labour. Agricultural Officers also suggested to the administrative staff ways and means through which people could be organized for such tasks. Co-operation was not always as happy as it ought to have been. For example in 1944 an assistant agricultural officer came to live at Kimilili whose behaviour evoked the following comment from the part of the DC: 'He has no idea how to conduct his work. His one idea is to give an order and see that it is obeyed, just as if he were still in the Kings' African Rifles' (DC/NN. 10/1/5). Later the house of this man was burned down. The incident assumed great importance in retrospect because it was said the burning had been threatened by the prophet Elijah Masinde, when the latter had been arrested for attacking men serving summonses for conscript labour.

Another issue was raised by Norman Humphrey who published a pamphlet on 'The Liguru and the Land'. He was an agricultural officer and wanted to revive the office of liguru, or so called indigenous elders. He thought that these elders had been responsible for allocating empty land, protection of salt licks, prevention of pollution of rivers, and even prevention of erosion near cattle watering places on the banks of rivers. He hoped that they could now take a leading part in communal measures against erosion first. Later they might initiate group farming, an idea which was very much on the mind of administrators in the post war days. Among the Gusii they employed even an anthropologist to report on its feasibility. But in North Kavirondo the so called liguru were simply assistants of the headmen and considered as the essential albeit unpaid part of the Native Authority system at the grass root level (DC/NN. 1/27). An interesting light on their activities is thrown by correspondence between the DO at Bungoma and the DC in 1949. The DO had received complaints of misrule against the lugongo and the local liguru. The senior member of the liguru admitted that he had received in most instances between shs. 12/- and 16/- from litigants before settling

their cases. The DC answered: "We realise that the olugongos and liguru do an immense amount of good by settling petty shauris on the voluntary arbitration basis. These elders have to travel and are permitted to receive anything which their stomach can carry. Small sums pass over instead of ration allowances and these cases are overlooked. But when large sums are involved, and the liguru and olugongos refuse to go into the matter unless they receive large fees, then action must be taken" (DC/NN. 3/6/1).

In any case the administration proved less than enthusiastic about Humphrey's ideas. In 1946 "an attempt was made to interest Maguru (indigenous elders) in problems of soil conservation" (DC/NN. 1/23). Two years later the DC reported: "Efforts were made two or three years ago to revive the authority of the maguru but these have proved to be a complete failure as it appears that although they still exist in some areas, they lost any authority they might have possessed when Government appointed Mlangos. The fact that in some locations they were not even known and had to be selected proves this conclusively. In view of this fact, the attempt at their revival has now been completely dropped" (DC/NN. 1/30). The next year he wrote: "Their brief period of glory after the publication of Mr. Humphrey's book: *The Liguru and the Land*, has now faded away" (DC/NN. 1/31). Yet his successor thought that: "Before finally abandoning the clan and the clan-leader as hopeless for the purpose of soil conservation through communal work, another effort should be made to use them" (DC/NN. 1/32). And the next year "a determinate effort was made to resuscitate the indigenous land authorities (1) To set up a machinery for communal soil control work, including maintenance and care of dams. (2) To provide an authority to assist in the settlement of land disputes and in the operation of any future systems of land registration" (DC/NN. 1/33).

In 1953 the administration discovered the really useful function of the indigenous elders. It was clear that they were useless to enforce soil conservation by laws because they were held to hold office by the will of the group,

although it was recognized at the same time that some chiefs in the past recognized only their own nominees. But good crops that year led to a very rapid increase in the amounts of money spent on litigation. To prevent this waste it was laid down that disputes over land, bride price and inheritance should first be taken before the indigenous elders for arbitration. They were to be essential witnesses if the case would go before the court after all (DC/NW. 1/35). At the same time the people who had been the recognized assistants of the headmen known as liguru or charge mulango became salaried and known as sub-headmen. "Previously they had helped the chiefs with the administration of their location in an honorary capacity but there is no doubt that they recouped themselves by sundry hidden methods. Amongst the methods used were the holding of unofficial courts, assistance to obtain exemption from tax payments etc. An active campaign was undertaken to discourage the continuation of such practises, but it cannot be claimed that they have everywhere ceased" (DC/NW. 1/35).

The concern of the administration that farmers should waste money on litigation instead of ~~using~~ using it for improving their holdings and houses was typical of the effort to create a strong stable middle class. It was felt that by giving Africans a share in the prosperity of the nation as a whole they would come to believe that a multi-racial state was to their own advantage (Rosberg and Nottingham 1966, p. 200). African officials had to foster this new attitude. Thus the complaint: "There are far too many ancient olungongos. Many are ultra conservative and are ignorant or even actively oppose the type of progress typified by farm planning.... The mlangos are even worse.... Many had undertaken their duties voluntarily for the sake of what could be picked up "on the side", others, because they were simple enough to be bludgeoned into the job" (DC/EN. 1/1). In 1958 "a significant move was made to urge chiefs and olugongos to shoulder an increasing responsibility for executing all departmental policy within their locations (DC/EN. 1/3). In practice this meant that they had to try to implement

agricultural innovation through the sanctions of co-ercive legislation (DC/EN. 1/5). Chiefs could make themselves popular as progressive types with the administration by presenting their subjects farm plans for which they had not asked but which were nevertheless quite expensive to draw up. Coffee cultivation was also kept up to standard through threats of legal action on the basis of ADC coffee cultivation bye laws. During the last years of colonial rule appointment of progressive chiefs and headmen was made easier through creation of vacancies by means of division of locations and the introduction of one new grade of sub-chiefs instead of the old patch work of lugongo and mulango headmen.

In spite of the new divisions and officials the indigenous elders, or bakasa, as the Bukusu called them after having achieved their own district, remained indispensable as assistants at the grass root level. This had not been the aim of the administration. Bakasa were supposed to be judicial elders who were especially useful in dealing with the ever increasing number of land cases. They were organized per location with a chairman and a secretary. If an omukasa had been unable to find a solution to a land problem, assisted by other local elders, then the case would go before the locational board. The omukasa of the area itself, another omukasa and the chairman had to judge the case. In the first instance the fee would consist of two hens each for the meal of the omukasa and elders and one hen each as fee. At the locational level the contestants had to pay one goat each as fee and three hens each for the meal. On the whole the system worked satisfactorily and the movement for enclosure which started in 1956 was extremely successful. Part of the success must be attributed to the inexpensive arbitration service which the bakasa provided. After independence the Survey of Kenya started gradually to register farms. In connection with this registration sub-locational arbitration boards were set up. They are supposed to put a final end to any judicial action over land which people might contemplate. There are of course also special

courts of appeal. Now, this registration will reduce the judicial functions of bakasa a great deal. Since the disappearance of the African Courts it is also no longer necessary to have disputes over bridewealth and inheritance first referred to the bakasa. In any case many claims of this nature are dealt with during the ceremony called lufu which takes place three days after the burial of the deceased. At this occasion all people who can claim anything from the estate of the deceased person should come forward and the assembled elders decide the validity of the claims. Some of these elders are of the clan, others neighbours, omukasa or even sub-chief. When one actually asks bakasa today about the volume of cases with which they have to deal it is perhaps one case per year or so. This was confirmed by personal observation and case histories.

Yet the survival of bakasa as assistants to the sub-chiefs seems unavoidable. In a pre-literate or semi-literate society without proper postal services communication has to be by word of mouth. When people live on their own fields rather than in villages this is a time consuming process. There is a limit to the number of households one man can visit on a morning to announce, for example, that there will be an important meeting where the DC will speak. Even if people have been told beforehand they normally do not have diaries and need to be reminded, especially if they are not interested themselves, while it is important for the sub-chiefs and chief to get enough people together to make a good impression with the DC. Similarly when there are no rate payers' registers which are kept up to date continually, someone has to keep track of people who move into or out of a certain area and of those who die or get married. Again there is a limitation to the number of people one man can cover. All this necessitates relatively small units at the grass root level. These units are not officially recognised by the government, yet they are indispensable for the good administration of the country.

Apart from creating a middle class in the reserves the government in the fifties also wanted to increase participation of Africans in government, but only of those who had reached a degree of civilisation that set them off clearly from the great backward masses of ignorant tribesmen, and on condition that they would collaborate without reservations in maintaining a multi-racial society (Wottingham and Rosberg 1966, p. 202). These ideas were enshrined in the constitution of 1954. African members of the Legco were elected instead of nominated for the first time in 1957. But only those with certain qualifications such as property or education were allowed to vote. More important was the outcome. African elected members were committed to changing the constitution sooner than foreseen in 1954, when the constitution had been accepted for ten years. In 1959 the Secretary of State gave in and the Lancaster House conference resulted in a majority of elected African members in the Legco. Responsible government followed in June 1963 under a semi-federalistic constitution which was changed into a presidential constitution in November 1964. In 1966 the last vestiges of the federal system were removed when the senate merged with the house of representatives.

As a result of these constitutional changes there was further role differentiation. A clear division was made between the Central Government and the Local Authorities. The DC can only act in a consultative function with regard to the County Councils which replaced the African District Councils of which he used to be the official chairman who could veto any decision. The DC and PC have also lost their judicial functions as appeal judges for people dissatisfied with African courts, which have also disappeared. Members of Parliament and party officials have assumed new roles in the formation of policies. Policies are now no longer formulated by the Colonial Office and the Governor, but by ministers who have to win elections as MPs. They are subject to control of back benchers of their own party, as well as the opposition, if there is one. Locational Advisory Councils have disappeared. Their executive functions have been taken

over by County Councils, while their deliberative and controlling functions are now part of the work of local committees of the dominant party.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion I feel justified in saying that the process of political change among the Bukusu during the last 60 years or so can be analysed satisfactorily in sociological terms. It is not necessary to have recourse to explanations in terms of historical accidents or of some mysterious evolutionary force which makes primitive societies more modern once they come into contact with western civilisation.

Role differentiation was affected by three factors. First the small scale nature of traditional Bukusu society, especially in terms of communications and political control. This forced the colonial administration to set up a hierarchy of paid officials and to tolerate the existence of unpaid assistants at the grass root level. Secondly the necessity for co-operation on the part of the public or significant segments of the public. Arbitrary use of power on the part of chiefs and headmen had to be prevented through a system of checks, i.e. independent African courts, and balances, i.e. the district and locational representative councils. Such measures concerned the public at large, but the appointment of officials was mainly the concern of certain segments who thought that one of their number ought to qualify. The government was generally reluctant to give in directly to wishes for a change in personnel. It usually compromised through adopting the new criteria such as education or tribal affiliation which were implied in demands for people who qualified for recruitment on such terms, without appointing immediately the individuals who were most vociferous in bringing these wishes to the attention of the government. Thirdly the economic differentiation which led to political associations aimed at a regional redistribution of income within the reserve, but also within the colony as a whole on the basis of the same principles. Actions of the Bukusu political elite were directed against the predominance of the southern

Luhya tribes within the district as well as against the white settlers in Kenya as a whole.

The way in which this process operated can be understood best in terms of grid and group. The policies of the colonial rulers were determined for a long time by safeguarding the economic interests of a minority of white settlers. Africans had to be kept under proper control to achieve this aim through a system of hierarchically organized grid roles. Bukusu accepted such a system easily because their society had no traditional bureaucratic alternatives or strong corporate groups to organize resistance of long duration. But because they accepted the system so easily they became soon interested in occupying the new positions themselves. Factions were organized to push the appointment of new individuals while adopting new criteria for recruitment. Finally economic differentiation gave rise to relatively permanent groups of people united on the basis of common economic interests. Economic differentiation would not have taken place to the same extent if the Bukusu had not had a strongly grid oriented social structure. It is a characteristic of this type of societies that people can pursue individual interests without being checked by a group, the structure of which could be destroyed by economic differentiation or re-allocation of economic power. It also led individuals to consider their interests on a national rather than a tribal level.

There is then a logical and also largely historical development from government through foreign executive agents, to Bukusu executive officials controlled by European civil servants whose policies were in the interests of the white settlers and finally to Bukusu executive officials controlled by an African majority which could formulate its own policies and of which the Bukusu formed an important part due to their early interests in national politics. If we turn our attention from the roles to the individuals who played them we see that various forms of role differentiation concerned very much the same set of individuals. Thus people

could easily combine acceptance of an official position as chief or judge with being a district council representative and also occupy a leading function in groups advocating tribal and African national interests. In a later chapter I shall deal with this summation of differentiated roles and also show how acceptance of religious innovation affected individual opportunities to participate in processes of political and economic change outlined in this chapter.

CHAPTER V.

RELIGIOUS INNOVATION AND POLITICAL ACTION1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I concentrated on the changing political structure which was established among the Bukusu, in the present chapter I want to deal with the political processes through which Bukusu took advantage of the changing opportunities for making a political career as a chief, judge, councillor, MP or minister. I also want to show how religious innovation affected political activity among the Bukusu. In the previous chapter I tried to analyse the elaboration of a system of bureaucratic control through which the administration could exercise power. In this chapter I shall have to deal with another external factor as well, namely the missionaries of various denominations. If we want to characterize the difference between colonial administrators and missionaries we can usefully employ the distinction which Peter Nettl has drawn between power and influence (1969 p. 17/18). Power may be defined as something that causes the restructuring of actions without altering preferences. One is made to do something irrespective of whether it is one's preferred course of action. Influence is the opposite of power in that it restructures or alters preferences. Someone is persuaded to do something and he does it because now he prefers it to what he wanted before. I realize that this is a rather simple dichotomy, but for my purposes greater analytical refinement is not necessary. Moreover it would raise issues far beyond the scope of this chapter and this thesis (cf. Merton 1968, pp. 469-474).

The administration was interested in bureaucratic power, the missions were interested in influence in order to persuade Bukusu to lead their lives according to Christian principles as they interpreted them. The missionaries hoped to achieve this aim through control over the educational system. Both colonial administrators and missionaries tried to maintain permanent social structures which were not based on ego-

centred networks of a transient nature. Bukusu did not share this interest. Bukusu were interested in occupying positions of power within the colonial framework, but competition for office meant that people who aspired to such positions had to organize support. They also needed the right kind of qualifications. If one did not have the right kind of qualifications one had to start political agitation to convince the administration to change its criteria for recruitment. Even if the administration did not change its criteria it often created alternative positions in representative councils in order to accommodate political agitators. Apart from action to gain such positions of power politicians also advocated sometimes basic policy changes for which consent had to be gained from the colonial administration. The three issues which were perhaps most important among the Bukusu were the establishment of Wanga rule, the use of rates and cesses paid by Bukusu for expansion of Bukusu education, and access to the White Highlands. People who wanted to gain positions of power could try to mobilize support on the strength of these issues, rather than relying on an understanding that supporters would get various but not well defined benefits if their leader would gain a place in the administrative set up. But in both cases Bukusu political activity was characterized by factions based on transactional agreement. These factions are relatively unstable because it is in the nature of things that members of factions do not think that it is good enough if only some other members get advantages from their common political actions. For some time they may be kept in the fold with promises and expectations, but if someone else comes along who offers better prospects such disappointed faction members easily change their allegiance.

It is in this context that we have to see the role of the missions. They provided education which qualified people for recruitment to official positions; they stimulated the formation of networks which were location wide and which could be used to influence the appointments of chiefs, they gave training in organisational techniques which helped the

setting up of a tribal association to promote education, and the collection of funds to send students abroad who could later qualify to become Legco representatives in Nairobi. Thus the role of the missions was crucial but fairly limited. With regard to political activity Bukusu refused to let membership of a denomination stand in the way of greater advantages that could be gained through co-operation with people who were religious rivals, if such rivalry was no longer relevant to the issues at stake and the scale of operations. Bukusu do not see the primacy of any kind of corporate group in seeking their own advantage through operating a system which is perceived in terms of grid rather than group. This same kind of basic orientation also led to the other example of religious innovation which I have to discuss in this chapter. After the second world war a millennial cult came into existence which affected the political situation profoundly.

In the rest of the chapter I shall first describe the introduction of the missions in Bungoma District. Then I want to discuss the various factions which have dominated the political scene. First I shall give an example of the role of Quakers in Malakisi Location in the struggle for gaining control over the chieftainship. Next I want to discuss the Bukusu Union, the emergence of the Elgon Nyanza African District Council and the role of the Dini ya Msambwa. Finally I hope to analyze the role of national political parties and the issue of ethnicity.

2. Introduction of Christianity through education

In western Kenya many different denominations were at work. For the Anglican Church Missionary Society and the Catholic Mill Hill Mission it was the natural extension of their work in Uganda, which had captured so early the imagination of imperialists and missionaries alike. The construction of the railway from Mombasa to Kisumu attracted various North American missions: the Quakers, the Church of God and the Pentecostal Assembly of God. All these missions started to work near the railway, which made communications with

the outside world so much easier. Another reason was that the desirable protection of government armed forces was not available in the north until 1908. The Protestants tried among themselves to delineate spheres of influence. The administration had some say in the siting of the actual mission stations but does not seem to have used it to keep Protestants and Catholics wide apart. Only after the district had been divided into locations with government appointed chiefs and official councils of elders, these native authorities had also to be asked for permission to open mission stations and to start out-schools.

Both Catholics and Protestants felt that they had to try to expand as fast as possible. In the first place they felt that there was the very real threat of Islam, which had become the accepted religion for most of the Wanga chiefs and headmen who were used very extensively in the administration of North Kavirondo. In the second place they thought that Christianity as practised by the other denomination was almost as bad as Islam. Initially however, chief Murunga kept his area reserved for Protestants and chief Sudi only wanted Catholics. Just before the first world war the first Bukusu joined the mission schools of the Quakers at Lugulu, near Broderick Falls, of the Catholics at Mumias, and of the Anglicans at Butere. The last two places were outside the Bukusu country. Many of the first pupils to attend these mission schools were "sons of chiefs". The administration encouraged their education as one of the aims laid down by Girouard in his first official policy statement concerning the African population of Kenya (Sorrenson 1968, p. 249). Later the most promising pupils could be sent out to start out-schools and make a beginning with the teaching and conversion of the broad mass of the population. But this development only got under way after the first world war, with recruitment of many Africans for the carrier corps, floods, famine and epidemics of influenza and small pox had finished. It is perhaps no surprise that in these circumstances Bukusu were prepared to accept a new religious faith. At Mumias: "the cachumens were ordered to carry stones and a grotto

was built, in which they placed a little statue of Our Lady; the catechumens had to come to say their prayers in front of the statue and to sing a hymn to the Mother of Sorrows which had been composed in order to avert the many scourges which were on the country for the past three years (Stam n.d. p. 23). The Quakers organized famine relief. Fourteen tons of food were distributed by the Lugulu mission alone (Kaimosi Reports 1919).

In 1919 the Quakers organized their members in Kitosh in a so called Monthly Meeting, a kind of church council. In 1921 there were 16 schools with an average attendance of 1800 pupils and there were 12 full members. In 1926 average attendance had gone up to 2400 and the number of full members had increased to 40. In 1927, the last year on which separate data for Kitosh are available, another 133 members were added and the number of schools totalled 50. Early in 1928 European missionaries left Lugulu and they were not replaced. There was no money for more than one missionary for extension work and pastoral care. Apart from Lugulu there were another four mission stations. However at Lugulu an African supervisor of schools and an African evangelist/pastor continued the work. Dr. Bond noted with satisfaction that the advantage of European withdrawal was the rapid advancement of native leadership and self support (Kaimosi Papers 1920-28).

If the Catholic Church was to expand at the same rate as the Protestant denominations lay people had to be given similar responsibilities and opportunities. Thus priests instituted also monthly meetings in each location and appointed a Head Christian and four assessors who had to settle all cases concerning discipline and internal quarrels, write them down in a barasa book and show it to the priest who had to confirm the decision. The monthly meeting had also to promote the expansion of Catholicism and settle disputes in which chiefs and headmen were involved. Only if no solution could be reached a priest had to be called. Originally people who had wanted to become baptized had to attend a two years' course at Mumias, where they had

to live at the mission station. But now it was proposed that the explanatory catechism should be taught at the new central catechumenates (Stam n.d. p. 26,27). Kibabii became the central catechumenate for Kitosh. The numbers of readers coming to Kibabii steadily increased from 850 in 1921 to 1730 in 1927. Then applications were made for schools in North Kitosh which were granted in a few cases. In 1931 Kibabii became an independent mission station with two resident priests. After this change there was a very quick expansion, also because in North Kitosh and Trans Nzoia many schools were established. In 1932 there were 2,000 Catholics, in 1934 there were 4,000 and in 1945 11,000 (Kibabii Diary). Of course these figures are not comparable with those of the Quakers. The latter only include adult members who are interested in maintaining their membership, contribute to funds and conform to the church rules. The former include all baptized children, as well as people who were baptized as adults but who are no longer interested in fulfilling their religious duties. A recurrent problem in the correspondence between the priest in charge of Kibabii and the bishop between 1937 and 1946 is the fact that only a third or at the most a half of all Catholics would go for Easter Communion.

There are no other statistics which could give specific details on the spread of Christianity among the Bukusu alone. Anglicans were responsible for the western half of Malakisi Location according to the agreement they had made with the Quakers. They had no resident missionaries in Bukusu country and were only of locational importance. They invited the Salvation Army to take over their outpost at Kolanya in Teso country in 1926 (DC/NW. 1/8). The Salvation Army was particularly successful among the Kalenjin speakers in Malakisi Location and also among the Teso. They used Swahili as their language of communication, while the other missions used southern Luhya dialects. This must have appealed to the non-Bantu minorities who felt themselves politically at a disadvantage. Success among the Bukusu can be partly explained

by the fact that many Bukusu became members of this church while they worked in the White Highlands. On their return they often joined local congregations or even started them. Again standards of literacy were not considered particularly relevant as a qualification for membership and the manner of worship was more relaxed and joyous than of the other denominations.

The Catholic missionaries were the first to challenge the idea that locational boundaries should mark the end of denominational influence. Pascal Nabwana was the Head Christian who organized the advance of Catholicism in the areas of chief Murunga. His own argument was that it was wrong that the Bukusu should be divided along religious lines which would confirm the arbitrarily drawn boundaries between the Bukusu locations. After all in Limuru, where he had worked for a timber company, and on the European farms, people from different religious persuasion were living peacefully under one roof. Why should this be impossible at home? This coincided with the view of Catholic priests who had met similar conditions in Uganda. Here they had convinced the authorities that the more members of different religious would be allowed to intermingle, the sooner the ill-will with which they regarded each other would subside (Gale 1959, p. 117).

Yet the Quakers did not acquiesce in the situation. A Quaker Report of 1926 says: "The Catholics tried to enter the district and start at six places. Some boys came to blows with them. Native Council decided to grant only one school. Our teachers hold a place of influence and respect on these councils" (Kaimosi Reports 1926). The Kibabii Diary mentions for 1926: "The border schools (North Kitosh) work but give a lot of quarrels and fighting". In 1929 the Quakers tried to do the same thing according to the Diary: "In April a lot of fighting put up by Americans. Thirty of them came down to Mahero's (East Bukusu) and settled there and built their school. Sudi burnt it down". In 1928 Pascal himself and his friend Gaitano were arrested by assistant

chief Waluchio of Kimilili because they kept open two unlicensed schools. They were brought before chief Murunga who sentenced them to six months imprisonment. But the priest could appeal to the DC. Thus in a letter dated 16.2.32 he writes: "The Barasa of North Kitosh consists for the greater deal of adherents of Mr. Ford's mission. Continually they are exercising their secular power to prevent us teaching in North Kitosh... Continually they get hold of our readers and beat them up".

An independent assesment of the situation is given by the DC in a summary of recent event 1929-35. "South Kitosh has always been an RC stronghold. Pagan elders bowed to the inevitable, but tried hard to allow one religion only and Friends were consistently kept out. This again could not last and broke down in 1934. In Kimilili Catholics had as hard a time, nearly, establishing themselves as the Friends had in South Kitosh. But friction is now less. In Malakisi the CMS were strongest near Malakisi and the FAM in the higher altitudes to the east. RC now busy gaining a foothold and the SA are most popular between Malakisi and the Elgon foothills. RC frequently complain of obstruction but on the whole they get on pretty well together (DC/EN. 3/1/2).

The expansion of the churches among the Bukusu depended on the activities of African teachers. These teachers gained various advantages in their jobs. They received a modest income in cash and often they combined their teaching with being a part-time secretary of the local headman in the reserves or alternatively they became clerks on European farms and ran part-time evening classes for the African employees. They were also the recognized leaders in the local congregations which they gathered around them and which were often living in separate Christian villages. Sociologically the arrangement was not unlike that which characterized the pre-colonial forts, with this exception that the inhabitants of the Christian villages were all young people. People joined the congregations partly under pressure of the chiefs

and headmen. Chief Murunga had been much impressed by the advantages chiefs in Buganda had gained from co-operation with the missions. He wanted his subjects to wear clothes, go to school and learn handicrafts. (Kaimosi Reports 1915). Equally important in my opinion must have been the attraction of a new religion for which the time was ripe after the troubles of the first world war. Learning to read and write helped young people to qualify for employment with the missions as teachers, local administration as clerks and on European farmers in supervisory capacities. Some might even be accepted in the new primary schools or be sent to Kabete and become Jeanes teacher. For ambitious young men missions provided an alternative to making a career in the local administration, most positions of which were occupied by the generation of their parents who did not show much interest in Christianity. Thus the DC could write in 1927: "A more difficult position is arising owing to the appointment by certain mission societies of 'Head Christians' and 'Travelling Inspectors'. The normal duties of these natives is to look after the interests of the Christian natives in that area. Unfortunately these natives are inclined to consider themselves as the executive authority and considerable friction arises between them and baraza elders owing to their attempting to regulate marriage dowries etc. at their own barazas" (DC/NN. 1/8).

The fastest expansion of the Quakers was in the period 1920-30, of the Catholics in the period 1925-35. In both cases work became much more difficult at the end of these periods because financial difficulties at home prevented increase in the number of missionaries and the number of teachers which they had on their payroll. Teachers themselves were also offered new opportunities. In 1927 for example the administration decided that it ought to encourage the appointment of "sons of chiefs" who had received missionary education and who had constituted the first group of African teachers. Most of these young men became polygamist as soon as they had been appointed instead of their fathers, uncles or elder brothers as mulango. Later ap-

pointments to the native tribunals brought about a similar result. When the new generation of better educated teachers started to take over the schools, the first generation of untrained teachers had to retire and no longer had an incentive to remain monogamous in order to keep their jobs. As the number of leaders of the first generation of converts decreased the remaining number monopolized leadership positions in the churches and kept themselves busy with filling the gaps left by local leaders who had been the focal point of personal networks which had made up the local congregations. Not much time was left for denominational expansion through converting adults. But the expansion of the educational system run by the missions ensured that most young people who went to school also joined formally the denomination which managed the school. Only after independence this connection was severed and churches were forced to rely much more on Sunday school classes. As new opportunities were opened for Christian leaders and as their connection with the churches became less rewarding for many so that they lost interest, denominational rivalry also lessened.

For the African church leaders denominational expansion in itself was a good thing, because it increased their own importance and influence. Yet in my opinion this only partly explains Catholic interest in penetrating into the Protestant Locations, especially into Kimilili. Kimilili was very much an immigration area in the late twenties and early thirties. The new settlers organized themselves along religious lines. The religion or denomination which had been dominant in their home area was used to bring migrants together in new communities. Thus the Wanga and many Nyala were Muslim, the people from Bukhayo and the Teso country were Anglican, and migrants from South Bukusu were Catholics. Of course, some local Bukusu also joined their congregations and in this way migrants acquired local roots. Founding Catholic congregations was as much an exercise in denominational expansion as a way of organizing migrants from South Bukusu as far as Kimilili Location was concerned.

Missionaries also encouraged and guided the more explicit political interests of the African teachers. Archdeacon Owen of the CMS was perhaps the most radical and least patronizing champion of African interests in Kenya. He did not even assume that European missionaries could adequately articulate African interests. When a deputation was sent to London in 1923 in connection with the issue of Indian representation in the Legco he wrote: Any missionary chosen represents European missionary opinion and has no mandate whatsoever from the natives' (Posberg and Nottingham 1966, p. 111). He remodelled the Young Kavirondo Association, with government encouragement, to form in the same year the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association which became a vehicle for airing grievances which displeased the administration. He also encouraged the Butere Church Council to suspend chief Mulama which set off the wave of anti-Wanga campaigns in the whole of North Kavirondo. The administration regretted that the same spirit was shown in the Local Native Council, although it had insisted in the first place that younger and educated people should be elected to the LNC, instead of people who had been appointed by the chiefs and who did not dare to approve of measures which were unpopular with the latter. The DC complained in 1930. It is a pity that the idea has taken such firm root that the LNC is one for the younger generation' (DC/NM. 1/11). It was left to the North Kavirondo Central Association to protest about the consequences of the gold mining activities near Kakamega. Anglican militant politicians were reluctant to join the NKCA because it wanted chief Mulama as paramount chief. He was only acceptable to people from locations which he had never governed himself. Most of them were Quakers and some of the missionaries helped the NKCA to draft petitions. The issue almost led to a schism within the Quaker mission. Some wanted to take up a stand against racial prejudice and economic discrimination, others felt strongly that a movement which propagated the doctrine of 'Africa for the Africans' did not fit in with the Christian message. Bukusu Quakers firmly supported those missionaries who

wanted a drastic expansion of education and health services without which in their opinion the preaching of the gospel was meaningless. They wanted to act in accordance with its social implications. For the Sukusu it was much more a question of regional discrimination. The hospital and the primary school were both at Kaimosi in the south. They wanted to have similar facilities in the north.

Protestant missionaries were on the whole much more concerned with the individual circumstances of the African converts than the Catholic missionaries. Even though conservative Quakers were against political radicalism they held this opinion because they thought that avoidance of involvement in worldly pursuits by converts would safeguard the salvation of their individual souls. Catholic missionaries on the other hand wanted to protect the interests of the Church and thought that they could achieve this through ingratiating themselves with the existing authorities and declining to have anything to do with what could be regarded to be subversive activities. For example there is a letter from the priest in charge of Kibabii dated 8.7.39 directed to the DC: "It has come to my knowledge that a small group of my Christians are indulging in anonymous letters, directed to you, Sir.... . If on any account the name of chief Sudi may have suffered under it, I hope that you will consider my humble opinion.... . I know for certain that chief Sudi, the elected chief of Kitosh, would be the only generally acceptable chief in this country'. In his explanations to his successor 31.3.46 (Kibabii Diary) he explains that Sudi might be able to help to collect money for a primary school. "I will try to get him to agree, but in no case make a row with him. He helps in all ways but wants to be recognized. In a few moments we could lose the co-operation of the whole country. Sudi is the real boss in the country.... ."

In 1924 the Native Catholic Union was formed to prevent Catholics from joining the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association. The period of its greatest activity was before 1930. The administration was full of praise for it. Thus

the DC commented on the annual rally held in 1926 at Kakamega:

There was a refreshing tone of discipline about the whole proceedings' (DC/NN. 1/7). And the next year: "The majority of speakers bring forward matters essential to the welfare of natives and it is a notable fact that the speakers are native and do not indulge in destructive criticism" (DC/NN. 1/8). When in 1934 the Kavirondo Central Association became active the meeting of superiors recorded in its minutes: "The NCU was started in Kisumu in order to prevent our Christians from joining other political unions. As more of such anti-European or anti-Government movements have started, especially in Maragoli, it is thought imperative to revive our Catholic Union as much as possible" (Kibabii Papers 1935).

In this part of the chapter we have seen that the missions offered many advantages for young men who wanted to become teachers. This in itself is in my opinion sufficient to explain the expansion of Christianity in the period after the first world war. The missions also offered 'blueprints' for political action. They provided the basis on which location-wide factions could agitate against the Wanga chiefs. They also trained Africans in the organisation and use of formal political associations. But the extent to which converts were allowed to combine political activity with church membership depended on the denomination they belonged to. Anglicans were most tolerant, Quakers were divided among themselves and Catholics were most repressive.

3. The Quaker faction in Malakisi politics

The most important of the new mulango headmen appointed around Sirisia in 1927 were: Zakaria TEMULANI, to the north, Yonah KIABI LIKIYWA, to the west, Naliakho MUKOYA, to the south, Wopicho LIULI, to the east. Zakaria had been among the first pupils when Lugulu Quaker mission school was opened. He was assistant teacher in the first school opened near Sirisia itself in 1920. When he succeeded an illiterate brother in 1927 he became a polygamist. In the late twen-

ties this still seemed the most appropriate way of spending resources in order to acquire prestige and influence. Later when expensive boarding school education and commercial farming with new investment opportunities came available polygamy also became just one of various alternative possibilities for spending one's resources. But Zakaria did not give up his connection with the Quaker church altogether. He tried very hard to prevent the establishment of a Catholic catechumenate in his area and thus prevented that his friend Erasto HUNDU, teacher in the Quaker centre near Sirisia, lost influence. Yonah started to go to school in 1920. He did not become a teacher himself. He succeeded in 1927 a distant uncle whose father had even been a cluster leader. Yonah also became polygamist. Naliakho and Wopicho had already been mulango under headman Waliaula MUSONI MAHE. In 1927 headmen disappeared. Naliakho was a pagan, Wopicho a nominal Muslim. The latter was very well established and had no less than 15 wives. This gave him many relatives and the opportunity for entertaining on a large scale.

In 1928 there was a vacancy for the post of assistant secretary with the locational council and court. Zakaria and Yonah recommended that their friend Jeremiah KIABI BIKEYO should be appointed. He had been born in 1902 and started to go to school in 1920 together with Yonah. Already in 1923 Jeremiah became assistant teacher and in 1925 the missionary in charge of education at Lugulu asked him to go to Lugari, in the White Highlands between Kitale and Eldoret. Here he worked as a clerk on a sisal plantation and at the same time he taught evening classes literacy and Christianity. After some years Jeremiah became first secretary and earned shs 85/- per month. He used to invest most of this money in cows which he could buy cheaply from court elders. To file a case cost one cow and at the end of the month the cows were divided among the court elders. In 1932 Jeremiah also married a second wife and he built himself a large house of stone with a corrugated iron roof: the first of its kind in the location.

By no means all Christians with political ambitions had been given positions in the local administration. Several teachers outside the official hierarchy were only too willing to follow the example of young Christians in other locations who had been leaders in the protest movement against the Wanga chiefs. In Malakisi Location Erasto HUNDU was the leader of the opposition. He was most strongly supported by Festo KITANGA, and Samwel MUSOMI MAHE, both teachers in important Quaker centres to the east of Sirisia. Towards Malakisi it was the Anglican sphere of influence and the local leader Yacopo Weyombo LAKO KHANDIA was also in sympathy with Erasto. Apart from Zakaria and Yonah, who supported Erasto because of their common Quaker background and education, among the mulango headmen Wopicho and Maliakho had also been won over. Erasto was in close contact with Quakers in Kimilili. They co-ordinated their action in 1930. The DC visited Kimilili first. Here Benjamin Maka, the leader of the Quaker rebels, had actually taken over the running of the barasa and deposed assistant chief Waluchio. But immediately after the meeting at which they presented their demands to the DC was over, he and three of his friends were arrested and had to spend four months in jail. Erasto took no such drastic action after he had seen what had happened. The DC was simply told that they wanted Murunga to retire. He had ruled their fathers. But now they themselves had grown up and they wanted a Bukusu chief. The DC asked for respite. In consultation with the DC and after having heard Murunga it was decided that Stephan Wekunda MUSOMI MAHE and paternal nephew of the old headman Waliaula should become assistant headman but without any real power and completely subjugated to Murunga. It was felt impossible to follow the same course as in Kimilili. Here a former headman, Amutalla LISA, had become assistant chief instead of Waluchio. But in Malakisi the retirement of Murunga was not possible since the administration did not want to give him an estate in the Wanga location by way of pension.

Then Erasto and his two friends Festo and Samweli decided to force the issue. They convinced Jeremiah that he should

take the files away from the office and transfer them to his home near Sirisia. Yonah and Zakaria also encouraged this move and Lusweti KIMWEYI, president of the locational court agreed to judge cases at the new place. As a pretext they used the DC's advice that they should look for a healthier place than Malakisi for the chief's centre. Murunga complained to the DC, who summoned Stephan Wekunda, the Bukusu assistant chief, and some other leading Bukusu to his headquarters and told them to send down the offenders. Erasto, Samweli, and Festo were sent to Kakamega where they had to spend six months in prison. Then the DC went to Malakisi and put four other leaders of the opposition on trial. They were bound over to come up for judgment when required to do so. They were Lusweti, president of the court, the mulango headmen Zakaria and Yonah, and Jacopo Wanjala, a Quaker teacher whose home was in fact near Lugulu, in Kimilili Location. He took part in barasa discussions as if he had been a member. The DC removed him and told the other elders that they should not be intimidated by 'swollen headed' youths. Jeremiah was warned to leave the records in the Malakisi office (DC/EN. 3/1/2 DC/KMGA. 1/9).

Stephan was not directly involved in the power struggle and co-operated loyally with the administration to get the main offenders convicted. He also adopted Murunga's religion, Islam, in 1932. There was no real necessity to set himself off so clearly against the other rebels who were either still good Quakers or who identified themselves firmly with the interests of the mission educated young men. Yet Stephan had been among the first pupils to attend Lugulu, but he had lost interest in religion and married a second wife shortly before he also became mulango in 1926. On the other hand the leader of the Anglicans, Yacopo Weyombo, sought his alliance and even gave his second daughter in marriage to Stephan. He himself had not been involved in the attempt to establish an alternative administration either.

It seems clear then from the data that there was such a thing as a Quaker faction. Although most people agree that

it would be nice to have a Bukusu chief, when matters came to the crunch Quaker teachers formed the core of the militant opposition against Murunga, in collusion with their Quaker friends who had positions of responsibility in the administration. The role of Yacopo Wanjala, who was not even a local man, illustrates nicely that religion in this particular phase of Bukusu social development provided a common organisational basis in the absence of any formally constituted political parties or associations in this part of the district.

In 1934 Murunga left. He had been appointed to the southern half of Wanga Location which had been split into two. Stephan became officially chief. But the administration found that Stephan's behaviour resulted in a great number of accusations which were brought against him when the DC visited Malakisi the next year. The ground had been carefully prepared by anonymous and other letters, mainly from Zakaria. For example: 'Was it right for a chief to tie up women in his boma?'. 'To give his government badge as a pledge to a woman with whom he had misconducted himself?'. The only accusation which the DC thought sufficiently proven concerned two men who were alleged to have seduced Stephan's wives and who had been kept prisoners for two weeks, but who had been released when no further evidence had been forthcoming. The DC upheld Stephan's authority. Mulango Zakaria was dismissed and his colleagues Wopicho and Yonah were warned (DC/KMGA. 1/9). The DC summarised his handling of the case as follows: "He (Stephan) has behaved rather foolishly during the year. Is rather liable to 'go off the deep end'. As a result has met with some opposition. Charges were raked up against him relative to possible misdeeds in the past. They were all dismissed. This has cleared the air and given a fresh start" (DC/EM. 3/1/3). However, the next year's report proved that this chance had not been used. "Was involved in no less than three women 'shauris' (cases) during 1936 and in Jan. 1937 distinguished himself by spearing a native through the leg at a beer party. For this he was given one month detention fined shs 80/- and dis-

missed. He is not a great loss to the service' (DC/EM. 3/1/3). By this time a new DC had taken over (who had not appointed Stephan in the first place and this may explain partly the different tone.

Zakaria himself told me that he was not dismissed, but that he resigned out of disgust with Stephan's behaviour. He did not want to serve under a chief who thought that he could take the same liberties with women as chief Murunga had done. But it is likely that this was only one aspect of his behaviour which was not liked by the Quaker clique which had run such risks on his behalf. From the fact that he recommended the appointment of his father-in-law Yacopo Weyombo to the presidency of the locational court we can conclude that he tried to build up his own faction. The Quakers led by Erasto had to be balanced against the Anglicans led by Yacopo Weyombo. In other locations, where the chiefs felt themselves secure, they recommended the appointments of their own brothers as presidents of the locational courts, which were soon to be merged into one divisional tribunal. Stephan had a brother, Daniel Simiyu, Jeanes teacher and LNC councillor since 1932, who would have been just as acceptable as Yacopo. Yet for the sake of political support he had to be passed over.

His policy could have been successful but for the dexterity and acumen of his opponents. Their chance came in December 1935. An assistant of mulango Maliakho went to see Stephan to report to him that someone from his area had left for the White Highlands without having paid his tax. Stephan became very angry, perhaps because he was drunk, and hit the man in his face and speared his leg. But it was said that he suspected him also of having run off with the wife of one of his relatives. Anyhow, he went to the dispensary at Malakisi to receive medical treatment. Here he happened to run into Erasto, who saw a chance to get rid of Stephan. He, and his friends Jonah and Jeremiah, hired a car and drove with the wounded man to Kakamega. First they got a report from the doctor and then they reported the matter to the authorities who took appropriate action.

To fill the vacancy the administration decided on an open election between the two most suitable candidates: Jeremiah Kukubo, chief's secretary, and Yacopo Weyombo, president of the locational court, and designated to become first president of the new divisional tribunal. The outcome was that Jeremiah got 269 votes, Yacopo 209 votes, and 30 supporters of Stephan, led by his brother Daniel Simiyu, abstained (DC/KMGA. 1/9). Obviously after more than 30 years it was difficult to get much direct information on the factions which supported the candidates. But it is not unlikely to suppose that Jeremiah was backed by his friends who had first constituted the core of the opposition against Murunga and who next managed to dislodge Stephan. Jeremiah was also supported by the Teso minority because he was their "brother-in-law" since he married a Teso girl. Unfortunately Yacopo himself was no longer alive to be asked about his supporters. But again it is not unlikely to suppose that the Anglican community backed him, rather than someone with Quaker connections.

In any case the outcome was a clear triumph of a location wide association of politically motivated men, who had organized themselves on the basis of friendship which was strengthened by, if not originating in a common religious and educational background provided by the Quaker mission. The selection of candidates by the administration also showed how important good education had become as a criterion. Both Jeremiah and Yacopo had had long experience as mission teachers. Neither of them came from a clan or family traditionally associated with political leadership at the level of village clusters.

Unlike Stephan Jeremiah was careful not to alienate his friends who had helped him to gain his chieftainship. Yonah became lugongo headman in 1937, when the function of mulango was officially abolished. Zakaria went back to Bumbo County in Uganda, from where his family originates. There he became court elder, but he remained friends with Jeremiah. Erasto became member of the LNC instead of Daniel Simiyu, Stephan's

brother. In 1944 he became permanent member of the bench at Kabuchai Divisional Tribunal. But when in the eastern half of the location lugongo Wanyelekha, a close agnatic relative of Stephan, retired, Jeremiah did not appoint Daniel Simiyu, who would have been the obvious choice, but Paulo SABA.

Jeremiah did not alienate any of the religious groups in the location and denominational rivalry became less. I have already mentioned Jeremiah's good relations with the Teso minority. Relations with the Kalenjin were less good.

Jeremiah actively encouraged Bukusu to settle in the northern parts of the location and the Kalenjin cannot have liked the idea that Bukusu were taking up land that might have been used for future occupation by Kalenjin themselves.

Jeremiah also helped some people of his own clan to jobs which gave them the opportunity to provide more of their children with a good education than would have been the case otherwise. When he was still secretary to the chief Jeremiah had seen to it that his clan mate Apeteneko had become policeman of the DC at Kakamega. But this was only after another unrelated neighbour and friend had been unable to learn the military drill. But now Apateneko could afford to pay the fees in the government Primary School at Kakamega for his younger brother Jonathan, who qualified as a lower primary teacher at Maseno in 1939. He became headmaster of the Quaker Elementary School in the location at Chwele.

Another member of his clan, Alfaio, was appointed as locational Health Inspector. He was thus able to pay the education of Kisongochi, the son of his late brother, who attended Primary School at Nyangori, near Kisumu where he finished in 1944. Later he also went for teacher training to Maseno. In those years there were no primary schools or teacher training facilities available to the north of Nzoia River.

Unfortunately Jeremiah's initial zeal and efficiency slackened off to such an extent that the administration decided to dismiss him for general incompetence in December 1945. But Jeremiah's clan was fortunate enough^{to} have someone with

the highest educational qualifications among their number whom they proposed as candidate. Jonathan was opposed by Daniel Simiyu, Jeanes teacher and brother of ex-chief Stephan. This time there was very much the feeling that two clans were opposing each other rather than two individuals. The KIABI BIKEYO had gained enough advantages in one way or another to want to continue the situation in which one of them was chief. Several members of the clan, among them Jeremiah and Jonathan had even set up a partnership which ran a bus service. On the other hand the MUSOMI MAPE could be expected to try their utmost to regain the influence which they had held in the past, through ex-chief Stephan and ex-headman Waliaula. Chief Sudi ruled the location as acting chief for a year and he supported Daniel, either because he had been bribed or out of natural sympathy with claims which did not rest on modern qualifications alone. A great number of Sudi's subjects turned up at the actual election, at which people had to line up behind the candidate of their choice. When this was pointed out to the DC they were removed. Jonathan got 949 votes, Daniel 946 votes, according to the official report of the DC (DC/KMGA. 1/9). Afterwards supporters of Daniel complained that they had been snubbed by the DC when they in turn had drawn attention to people from outside the location who had lined up behind Jonathan (DC/MN 10/1/3). Supporters of Jonathan told me that there was some truth in these allegations. For example Jeremiah's old friend Zakaria had come from Uganda and had brought other people with him who voted for Jonathan.

An analysis of the networks employed by each of the candidates was not possible after almost 25 years had elapsed. But it is clear that Jonathan made use of the links established by his predecessor Jeremiah. I have already mentioned the help given by Zakaria who came back from Uganda for the occasion. Much support came from the north of the location where Jeremiah had encouraged Bukusu settlement. Headmen and assistants who had risen to power under his regime did much canvassing. The Teso voters were rewarded with a lugonjo headman of their own after the election. On the other hand

candidates who had not been allowed to stand supported Daniel. Among them were Yacopo Weyombo, ex-president of the divisional tribunal, and father-in-law of ex-chief Stephan, who had opposed Jeremiah in 1937, and Benjamin Musundi, a prominent Quaker from the north-east of the location, who became later superintendent of the Quaker church. He lived in the area of lugongo Paulo SABA, against whom there was much local resentment. He was consistently shielded by chief Jonathan even though allegations of bribery and dishonesty were believed to have some truth in them (DC/NF. 3/6/1). The important point is however, that Jonathan could not have hoped to succeed, had it not been for the fact that Jeremiah had maintained an effective network which could be turned into a victorious political faction. Although Jeremiah himself had come to power without any traditional claims to leadership on the ground that close agnatic relatives had been headmen or leaders of clusters, such a claim could be made by Jonathan. To some extent the administration recognized these claims as valid. Especially when Wanga chiefs had to be replaced they were keen on appointing headmen or sons of headmen. There are other examples. In 1949 chief Amutalla LISA, was succeeded by Henry Wanyonyi, also a LISA, even without consultation of the public opinion. In South Bukusu Henry Kerre succeeded as a matter of course his father Sudi in 1950. But when the latter was dismissed in connection with malversation of public funds in 1955 Khaoya, a young man of 24 years old, but in possession of a Cambridge School Certificate and with experience as Inspector of Co-operatives, was appointed. But when the location was split into two a couple of years later chief Sudi's brother's son John Nabutola, who had no more than a primary school education, was appointed in West Bukusu. One cannot be sure why the administration decided that Jonathan was a suitable candidate. Either it was because of his education, or otherwise because he was a close agnatic relative of a former chief. It was certainly not always the government's policy to have only two candidates (cf. Tiriki elections in 1945, Sangree 1966, p. 144).

The arbitrariness of the European administration, or rather the lack of control by Bukusu over their own political destiny, turned the minds of political activists to much wider issues than the election of chiefs. They wanted to change the framework within which political activity could take place and tried to organize an effective pressure group to achieve this aim, which would be to the advantage of all. Thus the next phase in Bukusu politics saw the rise of an association which was more a group with a common ideology than a faction centred around a leader on the basis of a variety of criteria, most important of which were advantages which supporters could expect to get through manipulation of the administration with regard to appointments and other possible advantages such as agricultural credit and bursaries which depended on references given by the chief. This manipulation implied acceptance of the system. This acceptance was re-inforced by the fact that loyal and conscientious execution of administrative policies were also important for retaining the job of chief. Jeremiah was dismissed for slackness and Henry Kerre for financial malversations.

4. The Bukusu Union

The Bukusu Union was started as the Kitosh Education Society by Pascal Nabwana, Head Christian of the Catholic mission in North Kitosh, just before he left to take the Jeanes course for mature teachers at Kabete in December 1935. Other people who played a leading role in this organisation were Eusebio Wafula, Catholic and Jeanes teacher, and George Henry Kerre, Catholic and son of chief Sudi, student at Kabara Highschool, the Catholic equivalent of the more famous Alliance Highschool. Both were from South Kitosh. From North Kitosh Daniel Simiyu, Jeanes teacher and like Pascal member of the LNC, but no longer a good Quaker since he married a second wife in 1932. From the same area Musa Mbuto from Lugulu, who was still faithful church member. There was no precedent elsewhere in the district for people of

different denominations coming together. Pascal and his fellow Catholics just took the missionaries' argument against denominational segregation to its logical conclusion. Quakers were at that time divided into two factions, with Bukusu in favour of those among the missionaries who wanted to extend education and health services. But still, the co-operation which was achieved is remarkable taking into account the competition between Catholics and Protestants during the previous decade. In the grid oriented Bukusu society group loyalties apparently did not exist.

Members were recruited among students of various schools with full primary or secondary courses in Kenya and Uganda. At the first meeting the following topics with the integration of the Bukusu as the main theme were dealt with: 1. The three Christian denominations and the Muslims should be brought together by introducing a system whereby pupils of different backgrounds would be able to associate in games and education with one another. 2. All missionary boundaries should be abolished because the Bukusu had had no say in this issue. 3. There should be a single leader through whom they could communicate with the government. There and then it was agreed that chief Sudi should be this man. 4. Contributions of money should be made towards the building of more schools without thinking in terms of religion, and also for the establishment of a Bukusu football team. Funds were actually used to assist the building of schools at Kibabii (Catholic), Butonge (Anglican), and Chwele and Lugulu (Quaker). When it came to erecting the buildings at Lugulu Musa Mbuto, the treasurer, was accused by the missionary Hoyt of malversation of funds. The DC investigated the matter and proscribed the KES in 1939, although I was told that nothing wrong could be found.

But the Kitosh Education Society was speedily revived as the Bukusu Union. Apparently the DC though it wiser to allow semi-political associations to organize themselves openly in order that they could be kept under better control (cf. DC to PC 1.6.1940 ADM: 1/31/B and 17.6.1940 ADM: 1/51/B,

DC/MN. 10/1/2). The Bukusu Union had more radical ideas than the KES. They wanted to rid themselves of the name Kitosh and be called Bukusu. They were in favour of joining the Masaba and Gishu, on the other side of the boundary with Uganda and to leave the North Nyanza District and Kenya Colony altogether. Private Bukusu schools without denominational sponsorship were to be introduced. Promising students should be sent overseas with funds of the Union in order to acquire higher education. A Bukusu language committee should be established and educational books and hymns should be translated into Bukusu. Of course, not all of these ideas were realized but by 1945 four Bukusu Union schools had been opened and in 1948 they were ready to start a junior secondary extension at one of them. The chairman was again Pascal Nabwana, and Musa Mbuto continued as treasurer. Organizing secretary was Victor Khatete, a Catholic seminarist. Henry Kerre had become headmaster of Kibabii Elementary School. He was assistant secretary. On the executive committee were Jonathan Barasa, who became chief of Malakisi Location in 1946, and Daniel Simiyu, later his main political opponent.

Pascal himself was inspector of village schools from 1939 untilⁱⁿ 1942 the divisional courts were reorganized and Pascal tried to become president at Kabuchai. But the DC decided to follow the recommendations of the chiefs concerned. Mukanda, brother of chief Sudi, became president, and Nwembeya, brother of chief Amutalla, became vice-president. This was of course a disappointment for Pascal, but worse was to follow. When the priest in charge of education at Kibabii heard that Pascal had been canvassing for this post he was dismissed at once. Any form of resistance against Sudi's wishes was thought to endanger the position of the Catholic church.

In 1943 Pascal took up a post with the soil conservation service at Kitale. He became leveller. In 1944 activities also started inside the reserve and Pascal was put in charge of operations in the Bukusu locations. Apparently there was much interest. The DC reported: "Broad base terracing is going as fast as the grading equipment can go. There is a

long waiting list'. (DC/NN. 1/26). Pascal also tried to improve rural water supplies and to construct dams. In this capacity he came up against the conservatism of chief Amutalla. At least the DO wrote in his report on the burning of the house of the Assistant Agricultural Officer at Kimilili: "As possible significant background to the situation it must be pointed out that, for some time, Chief Amutalla and Pascal Nabwana have been at loggerheads. Amutalla regards Pascal as a young upstart, not even of Kimilili origin, who is intriguing to oust Amutalla and become chief himself. Pascal regards Amutalla as a retrograde ignoramus who is inimical to progress. Pascal is the leading light of the soil conservation service. This animosity at the head of the location affairs can only have a deleterious effect on the discipline in the location" (DO to DC 11.12.1944, DC/NN. 10/1/5). Pascal remained with the soil conservation service until 1946. He resigned from his job after a quarrel with a European on whose farm he was working at the time.

Meanwhile the Bukusu Union had brought formal complaints against chief Amutalla. He was accused of having taken bribes and having used his position to enrich himself. A DO from another district was appointed to conduct an investigation, but he came to the conclusion that the charges were groundless (DC/NN. 1/28). When a barasa was held by the governor himself at Mumias in June 1946, the Bukusu Union claimed a number of border farms inside the Trans Nzoia district as their tribal lands. The DC decided that a frank discussion was needed to clear the air on both these issues. He even believed that Pascal had given up his opposition to chief Amutalla after he had talked to him. Pascal would combine forces with the chief in the newly established Locationally ^{PC} to Chief Secretary 4.11.1946, DC/NN. 10/1/2).
 Advisory Council.

The DC was rather naive. Pascal seemed prepared to make a political career both in Kimilili Location and through the new emerging nationalistic movement. In 1946 he married his second wife who was a KWANGWA, the clan to which Nyaranga. lugongo in the higher areas around Kimilili, also belonged.

He was not on friendly terms with chief Amutalla and aspired to become a chief himself. The DC himself had already in 1946 identified the Bukusu Union as a branch of the Kenya Africa Union. Perhaps this was not true formally, but there certainly were strong personal contacts with the Kikuyu leaders. Bukusu were sent to the independent Githunguri teacher training college headed by Kenyatta to become teachers in Bukusu Union schools. Bukusu also faced similar problems as the Kikuyu with regard to their position in the White Highlands which was threatened by the arrival of new settlers from Europe, occupation of farms which had until then been cultivated and grazed by Africans, and the imminent removal of many squatters.

In 1947 Elijah Masinde was released from Mathari mental hospital. In December 1944 he had been arrested for beating up three assistants of chief Amutalla who were about to serve summonses for compulsory wage labour on European farms as part of the African contribution to the war effort. Shortly after his arrest the house of the unpopular Assistant Agricultural Officer was burned down. It was suspected that some of his followers were responsible. He was certified insane but the hospital authorities considered that he might be allowed to return home if he could be looked after satisfactorily by his relatives, provided they were normal people and realized that Elijah was not.

Elijah went back to his home and started his religion of kimisambwa, in Swahili Dini ya Msambwa, 'Religion of', and as such it became known. The name was used for the first time in 1947 and in his annual report the DC wrote quite rightly that this should be interpreted as "the religion of the old customs". After his arrest in 1944 the DO could only report: "These men were FAM adherents who have broken away from their mission and started some kind of sect of their own. Exact nature of their beliefs and activities is not known".

Perhaps the best summary of his teachings as understood by Africans who were not themselves involved in the sect was

made by David Welime: "He levelled one strong accusation against the Europeans. He told his followers that while in Europe the Europeans had been given by God laws which were to be passed on to the Africans. On reaching the shores of Africa the missionaries and Europeans generally discovered that Africa was a land flowing with milk, honey and abundance. Consequently they forgot their mission and threw away the laws entrusted to them. Elijah Masinde went on to assert that the services of these people were no longer needed since they had perverted the original message. They had to go. Africa was for the Africans in accordance with God's deliberate appointment of land in Israel to the various tribes of Israel. An African king was to be appointed, but not from the existing chiefs.... . But members of his sect need not fear them because the bullets of their rifles would turn into drops of water. Anything connected with the Europeans was to be objected to... . Work was not considered of first importance for up in Sayoni near the crater of Mount Elgon, there was a store of food prepared for them... ." (UC Dar es Salaam, Dept. of History, Seminar Paper n.d.).

It was the political element in his teaching which was most disliked by the administration. I have enough evidence to show that the political aspect was considered to be important by the Africans as well. According to one of Elijah's close associates, an old friend of my assistant's father, politics was what the whole bible was about. First there had been a book for the Jews, then another for the Christians, that is for the white people, and now Elijah would bring a third for the Africans. The Europeans would be chased away by Maina himself, the mythical ancestor of the Bukusu, who had disappeared without leaving any trace. Followers of Elijah can point out that his prophecies have come true because Kenya is now governed by Africans. But there is still the idea that education in schools is not relevant and that the real knowledge of how to make things is held back. A man who joined the sect during his six years' stay in the settlement schemes, where Elijah still commands a considerable

following, gave as example that you would not even be taught how to make a simple thing like a needle at school. In 1947 many people were encouraged to stop sending their children to school or to use the government health service. This attitude seems to have disappeared among many adherents. At least Elijah himself sends his children to school. Some extremists are also still refusing to wear western clothes, but again Elijah himself appeared on a picture in 'Drum', a popular illustrated magazine, in a smart western cardigan and trousers with a transistor radio pressed against his ear! The kimisambwa, 'traditional customs' which were most emphasized were polygamy, making use of divination and the smoking of Indian hemp. Indeed my assistant claimed that he did not know any DYM adherent who did not smoke it. When I was in Bukusu country the idea of large herds of cattle roaming about on Mount Elgon and of clothes and blankets hanging from the trees to be collected by the faithful was still believed in. One young sceptic who tried to challenge these beliefs told me that he always got the answer that people who would go up the mountain deliberately in order to assert their disbelief would naturally find nothing.

In September 1947 Elijah held a meeting at Chetambe, where Holey had broken the resistance of the Bukusu in 1895. According to the Pugh Report 4712 people attended the meeting where a sheep was sacrificed and pieces of meat were distributed. It is quite certain that no informer can possibly have counted this number exactly. With regard to the sacrifice of the sheep and the division of meat I am not quite sure whether the observations were correct and the action understood. Traditionally sheep sacrifices are made during purification rituals when the stomach content is scattered through the homestead and smeared on the person who is ritually unclean. It is now believed by many Bukusu that Elijah unearthed a skull at Chetambe at this occasion. It was said to have been buried by the white people with a coin or a bullet in its mouth in order to keep the Afri-

cans subjected to their rule. Elijah is said to have burned the skull and to have thrown the bullet or coin away. From that time onwards diviners of various kinds became numerous again, because Elijah's action had caused the release of the kimisambwa which cause people to become diviners. Other knowledgeable Bukusu assured me that this story was pure phantasy and that Elijah never unearthed a skull.

After this meeting the DC made an attempt to get Elijah to come to Kakamega but he could not be found. The next thing the DC heard was that the Kibabii mission had been invaded. They did not actually go into the church or mission house but performed a sacrifice on the football field. The DC rushed to the scene the next day and gave orders that DYM meetings were forbidden unless a permit had been issued by the chief. He himself met the next day a crowd of 500 at Sangalo in East Bukusu. Some people were rolling on the ground in complete frenzy (Pugh Report). Then, on 10th February a crowd advanced on to the police station at Malakisi and had to be repulsed with gun fire. Eleven Africans died. DYM adherents had unfortunately been given reason to believe that bullets would indeed turn into drops of water because at Kibabii one of the priests had fired one shot over their heads to disperse them. They had not gone away and nobody had been hurt. Soon afterwards Elijah gave himself up and he was exiled together with two other leaders, Welumoli and Wekuke,. The sect was declared a proscribed organisation and scores of people who had been members were arrested and sent to prison for 3 years hard labour.

The police decided that there must have been a sinister conspiracy behind all these events. It was easy to find the culprit. Pascal's quarrel with the chief was thought to have had a bad effect on the discipline in the location in 1944. But now accusations were much more specific. "Two followers of Elijah held a meeting recently just inside the reserve at Musamoi. Farm head-boys were asked to embark on a 'go-slow' policy. I interviewed the Ass. Insp. Kimilili.

He thought Elijah was at the back of it all. He was not 100 % right in the top(sic) but was being egged on Pascal and a few other agitators who were getting Elijah to do the dirty work. Commander Carter is of the same opinion' (Act. Ass. Supt. to Supt. Nakuru 4.12.1947, DC/NN. 10/1/2). Previously however, reports made by this Carter, a Trans-Nzoia farmer, proved to be valueless. (PC to Chief Sec. 4.11.1946, DC/NN. 10/1/2). This did not prevent Pugh, Superintendent of Police in Nyanza Province, from putting all the blame on Pascal Nabwana. "President of the Bukusu Union, which is undoubtedly associated with DYM and probably furnishes the brains". The evidence which he had was that on 13.10.47 Pascal had suggested that the PC and DC should be asked to explain why they had tried to arrest Elijah to a meeting of the Bukusu Union and that they would complain in Nairobi if no satisfactory answer would be given. On 15.11.47 the Locational Advisory Council was persuaded by Pascal not to persecute people who had been accused of preventing children to attend a certain mission school. Immediately afterwards those people claimed that they had beaten the chief thanks to Pascal. On 17.11.47 Pascal obstructed the chief in his efforts to get the people to unite to drive out DYM and to hand over Elijah. On 16.2.48 and on 19.2.48 Pascal defended DYM in the chief's barasa. (Pugh Report 15.3.48, DC/NN. 10/1/5).

I quoted the evidence given by Pugh in extenso because it shows that it must have been based mainly on information furnished by chief Amutalla himself. This gives substance to Pascal's opinion that his subsequent arrest and trial had been engineered by Amutalla. However, Pascal was released from detention after having appealed. He spent three months in prison. Elijah and his two assistant leaders were put on trial at the same time, but they accepted the verdict that they should be deported. The cost of employing advocates amounted to shs 12,000/-, much of which was contributed by individual Bukusu. When Pascal came home he wanted to be given compensation by chief Amutalla and he refused to be reconciled with him if the money was not

forthcoming. Apparently the administration thought it wiser to retire Amutalla and give him a pension. Pascal was among the candidates for the chieftainship. He himself believes that the PC and DC were in favour of his appointment but that chief Sudi insisted that some close agnatic relative of the old chief should be appointed. I think that their feeling that such an appointment would arouse unnecessary opposition from the Police, "who still seem to regard him with blind suspicion", carried more weight (DC to PC 27.9.49, DC/NN. 10/1/5). A much better solution was to appoint Pascal as vice-president of the Court of Appeal at Kakamega, which would keep him away from any direct involvement in locational politics, which were lively enough in any case. But Pascal retained his seat in the LNC, now ADC, of which he had been a member since 1930, with the exception of three years which he spent at Jeanes School at Kabete.

Pascal's defense of DYM was that it was a religion like any other and that it ought therefore to be tolerated, although some faults would obviously have to be eradicated. Another Bukusu Union member, chief Jonathan Barasa, went one step further. In 1949 there had been a wave of arson in Frans Nzoia. A certain Dominiko, a former Catholic, had been arrested and sent to prison for 13 years, but the administration decided to have a series of meetings at which Bukusu chiefs would have to convince Africans of the badness of DYM. The DC was rather taken aback to have to note that: "One or two statements in the speech of J. Barasa were not translated. He took the line that the Africans' time would come but that the end should be achieved by more constitutional methods than those employed by DYM. I also hear that J. Barasa flirted with this religion when it was first started and was not prominent in stamping it out during the troubles in 1948. Though I feel sure that he has nothing to do with it at the moment, the above points are worth remembering, as it is very easy to be carried away by his oratory" (DC to DO, 6.5.49, DC/NN. 10/1/5).

Pascal and his friends had already started the process through which Africans would become rulers of their own country. They had realized that to start with it was necessary for them to gain representation in the Legislative Council in order to be able to influence government policies in the way the European minority was able to do. Thus in 1944: "Great satisfaction was felt over the appointment of a Native, albeit a Kikuyu, to the Legco. Since Nyanza did not put up suitable candidates they now want to give scholarships for Education Overseas. The first target is Fort Hare in South Africa" (DC/NN. 1/26). In 1948 the DC could write: "Henry Pius Masinde was sent to South Africa with Locational Council money. He transferred from the Catholic University College to Cape Town University. This is twice as expensive and the Locational Council has been asked to provide more money" (DC/NN. 1/30). These Locational Council funds were entirely made up of individual, voluntary contributions. It had as yet no power to levy official rates. Only in 1953 the ADC itself started to award this type of bursaries.

Mary Douglas (1970) has said some useful things about millennial movements which may be helpful to explain DYM. She thinks that in a society with a strong grid there must be people who are not at all successful in the struggle for individual success and that the feelings of frustration become particularly acute when they are denied even the basic right to conclude transactions at all. (ibid. p. 138, 139). In Melanesian societies this frustration gives rise to cargo cults. DYM has many features in common with these cults such as the belief that Europeans have cheated the natives by not telling them the secrets of making material goods, the prophecy of the rise of power of an indigenous king, and the promise of material abundance for the true believers. In my opinion this is not so by accident, but because Bukusu society is also characterized by relations of an ego-focussed nature. There is a similar emphasis on individual achievement through associating oneself with those with whom one has interests in common which can be

advanced through reciprocal relations. At the time DYM was active it seemed as if the Europeans had manipulated the social system to their own advantage in such a way that meaningful reciprocal relationships had become illusionary. For one thing money had lost its value as a medium of exchange. Guaranteed prices for maize, remittances from people drafted into the army and compulsory destocking had resulted in highly inflated prices for cattle, while manufactured goods were almost unobtainable because imports had been severely curtailed (DC/NN. 1/27). On top of that the arrival of new settlers and new government policies caused mass eviction of squatters.

Bukusu acted in two different ways. Those who had been relatively successful so far in taking advantage of new opportunities for individual achievement were determined to become the masters of their own destiny through rational means. Political emancipation was to be achieved through gaining equality of educational qualifications for Africans. In Kimilili Location, where Elijah had started his sect, the Locational Advisory Council managed at the time of his greatest influence to collect enough money to send Masinde Muliro abroad to gain a university degree in Cape Town. But to others expressive action~~y~~ was easier and more satisfying. Marches and mass protests were believed to be immediately successful. They were joined by people who were not very well aware of what Elijah was aiming at. They would just join DYM groups marching along the roads, singing, hammering, and whistling, and walk for miles and in the end wonder what had been the purpose of it all, and what good it had done to them, as one perceptive Bukusu told me. But the core of his followers believed that return to the ancient customs and rejection of education as irrelevant would do away with the internal differentiation of Bukusu society brought about by Christianity in its various denominational guises, and the socio-economic stratification caused by differences in individual educational achievement. Drug taking and dissociation were other symptoms of the basic

rejection of the grid system and the differentiation through competition which it implied (ibid. p. 153).

After Pascal had returned from prison the Bukusu Union as such was not revived. Most members now identified themselves overtly with the Kenya Africa Union. Pascal himself became chairman of the North Nzoia Branch. Secretary was Mattaio, the son of Pascal's younger brother, and at the time court clerk at Kakamega. In 1950 the DC reported: "a distinct attempt to revive the activities of KAU was made. There was a change in the Branch Chairmanship and a meeting attended by the Vice President of the KAU was held at Mbale" (DC/NN 1/32). The next year: "Kenya Africa Union held frequent meetings. Towards the end of the year Jomo Kenyatta held meetings at Mbale market and Chwele. He is president. It is a fair summary of the situation to say that considerable local support was obtained, but that there was no district wide enthusiasm" (DC/NN. 1/33).

On October 21st 1952 the State of Emergency was proclaimed in connection with the Mau Mau troubles in the Kikuyu country. "None was arrested but a number of KAU politicians were warned to keep out of trouble. There had been KAU meetings in Bunyore, Maragoli and Kimilili where hatred against Government and Europeans could best be stirred up. Visiting speakers, most of whom are now in custody, had the worst effect. Evidently one of the chief aims was to raise funds" (DC/NN. 1/34). Amongst those who were rounded up and given stern warnings to sever all their ties with KAU and to get rid of all writings connected with KAU, were Pascal himself and Benjamin Kapteni and Nicasio Nang'ole. The latter two were described by the DO in his handing over report of 1952 as the most troublesome members of a most tiresome Locational Council (DC/NN. 2/6). Nicasio had married Pascal's sister Mary and was the other elected LNC member for Kimilili Location. He had been behind the agitation when some Bukusu were ordered to leave West Pokot because they refused to change their customs and adapt those of the local Pokot. Yet many of them had been born in the White

Highlands where their fathers had been squatters. They had no farms in North Nyanza they could go back to. Micasio had persuaded them to squat at Kamakuywa, the place of entry into Trans Nzoia from Kimilili and he made capital for the return of Trans Nzoia (DC/NN. 1/34). Mattaio, Pascal's nephew, had already spent three months in jail in 1952 on KAU charges and was also on the shortlist. But he had already been eliminated, presumably by political opponents. He died from drinking poisoned beer. In his place the police took Pascal's son Emanuel, a Community Development Assistant.

Although the Bukusu Union had become defunct and the activities of the KAU had been proscribed, the Bukusu Union leaders themselves were still active in promoting the original interest in education. Both chief Jonathan and chief Henry Kerre founded independent schools which came directly under the District Education Board after 1952. One feature of these schools was that they accepted teachers who were polygamists and who were unacceptable to the Christian denominations which ran the rest of the educational system. I am not sure whether they actually proposed that the North Nyanza District should be split into two but they certainly welcomed the idea and canvassed for its acceptance. The advantage for the Bukusu would be that more of the revenue raised through produce cesses in their locations would be used for expenditure in the same area. They contributed half of the income, but only got back one third of the expenditure. Henry Kerre, deputy chairman of the North Nyanza ADC got much credit for the way in which he facilitated the division of assets. North Nyanza paid Elgon Nyanza £ 50,000 for under capitalisation of assets and the remainder of the balances was equally divided (DC/EN. 1/1). The creation of the new Elgon Nyanza District and ADC must be seen as part of the government policies to push ahead with the economic development of the area which had been affected by the DYM. The movement had assumed threatening proportions in the eyes of the administration after the incident at Kolloa, in April 1950, when DYM activity in the

Bukusu country had been almost completely suppressed. A certain Lucas, a Pokot whose home was in the White Highlands near Kapenguria, had started to preach among the Pokot after he had paid a visit to Elijah Masinde, the DYM prophet. He was arrested in 1948 but escaped from a labour camp and took up preaching again. A party of several European administrators and some 40 African policemen came across him when he and a group of his followers tried to cross from East Pokot into West Pokot near Kolloa. They tried to arrest him, but were attacked. Three of the four Europeans lost their lives, and one African. Lucas himself also died. (Kenya, Report 1950). The incident proved to the administration that the movement was much more dangerous than they had expected, and also that a simple conspiracy theory did not provide good policy guidance on how to prevent such incidents happening again. To re-arrest followers of Elijah as soon as they were released, when they held meetings which seemed connected with DYM or proved in other ways that they had not given up their beliefs, was only a temporary expedient.

The philosophy on which the administration came to base its policies can be induced from the 1954 DC's Report. "DYM. Many Babukusu still met privately for prayer and petty ceremonies but the sect appears to have fallen into general disrepute among the great majority of the tribe. The Babukusu have enjoyed a year of great prosperity and large numbers of them have invested their profits from a bumper maize crop in improving their holdings and their homes. A strong stable middle class is emerging which has much to lose in the event of tribal unrest and it is to this that I contribute the growth of public opinion against DYM. A number of cases of DYM activity occurred in the Trans Nzoia farms: the middle class does not exert its influence so strongly in the settled areas" (DC/NN. 1/35).

The same conviction that economic deprivation was the root cause of DYM is clear in a statement made by the DC in 1956: "There are still 81 (in detention) at Kapenguria.... . Many of them were born in Trans Nzoia, practically all of

them are 'have nots' (DC/EN. 1/1). But what I found out about the background of some important DYM leaders around Sirisia does not indicate at all that they were particularly poor. Their motives for joining the movement had been mixed. One leader had been teacher with the CMS for many years. He wanted to take a second wife and yet retain a position of responsibility in a religious organization. Elijah offered him the opportunity to become general secretary of DYM. Another was especially interested in the political aspects of Elijah's message. I already mentioned his views on the bible. The third leader put most stress on traditional Bukusu customs when my assistant went to have a chat with him. One of the most prominent leaders, Welumoli, epitomizes this aspect even more because he himself is a diviner of reknown. The Kibabii mission diary mentions in November 1947 that quite a few Christians (i.e. Catholics) had been enveloped. Some of them had been off the track for one reason or another, others had so far been Christians of sorts. One man 'of some means' was so convinced that DYM was right that he did not want to renounce its teachings, in order that his 'concubine' could be baptized and the marriage solemnized. Here again there is no indication that the poor only joined.

The great achievement of the Elgon Nyanza ADC was the tremendous expansion of education. After the acceptance of the Beecham proposals in 1949 the government had made a division between primary schools and intermediate schools, each with a four years' course. A Common Entrance Examination had to be passed to gain entry into the higher level. In 1952 there were 245 aided primary schools and 37 aided intermediate schools in North Nyanza. 2,200 places were available for 6,600 candidates. In the three Bukusu locations there were 43 aided primary schools and 4 aided intermediate schools. Thus although roughly one quarter of the population lived in these locations, they had only 18 % of the aided primary schools and 10 % of the aided intermediate schools. This proves that Bukusu feelings that they were neglected were based on hard facts. When Elgon Nyanza was

started in 1956 there were 161 aided primary schools and 22 aided intermediate schools. Especially the proportion of intermediate school places available was extremely unsatisfactory. There were 5,400 CEE candidates competing for 896 places. In 1957 the first secondary school was established in the district near Kimilili. This was a decision forced upon the Quakers by government officials. The majority of Quakers had wanted to keep the secondary school at Kaimosi. (Painter 1966, p. 122). At the eve of independence there were another 4 secondary schools, a sixth form at the Quaker school near Kimilili and no less than 50 intermediate schools. In fact the latter were about to be abolished. All children whose parents could pay the fees would be able to follow a seven years' course of primary education from that year. This expansion would not have been possible if councillors had not been prepared to increase rates drastically, from shs 15/- in 1956 to shs 35/- in 1962. On top of that were voluntary contributions for school buildings. In 1960 £ 35,000 were raised in that way. The latter amount almost equalled the £ 41,779 which people paid as rates. The official statistics on annual cash exports show that income did not increase in the same way. In 1956 the total value was £ 498,500, in 1961 £ 720,500. Most of the increase was due to the maturing of the coffee plantations which had been started in 1951 and which had gradually been increased in number. In 1960-61 the co-operatives handled a crop worth £ 175,000. Thus the DC had some reason to write in 1961, when the DYM leaders were released: "The religious cranks found life and conditions in the district so utterly changed that they had nothing but to bemoan their own personal misfortunes" (DC/EP. 1/6).

The former Bukusu Union and KAU leaders did not hesitate to co-operate with the administration in the new Elgon Nyanza ADC. In 1956 Pascal Mabwana himself was elected vice-chairman of the council. He took the place of chief Henry Kerre who had been dismissed for financial irregularities. If anything this proves the pragmatic nature of the Bukusu political approach and the extreme reluctance of politicians

to forsake personal advantages in order to remain identified with a specific group. As a matter of fact Pascal had had a very unpleasant experience with the administration less than a year ago. Towards the end of 1955 he had been warned that the chief would try to get him arrested. True enough, when Pascal and his son Emanuel attended a beer party at their neighbour's home to celebrate New Year the police appeared on the scene and wanted to see the official permit to hold the party. Without any provocation they started to hit Pascal and his son and these two were subsequently charged with obstructing the police in the carrying out of their duty. The DC referred in his report to the incident as unnecessary and causing resentment and suspicion. The DO who was held responsible was speedily transferred (DC/EN. 1/1). Pascal and Emanuel were acquitted after an expensive court case. Because Pascal blamed the chief and the DC blamed the DO, Pascal could continue to co-operate with the DC within the ADC framework. Pascal thought that the DO, who had just arrived in Mimitili, had been wrongly advised by the chief, the DC decided that the new DO was responsible for misinterpreting his instructions to keep an eye on former KAU leaders. Vagueness about policy making through using discretionary powers and responsibility to higher authorities for executing commands was highly functional in this social situation.

In 1959 Pascal was installed as the unofficial chairman of the ADC instead of the DC. Chief Jonathan became vice-chairman. Pascal made a good impression. The DC wrote in 1961: "The unofficial chairman of the ADC enhanced his personal status and dexterity during his third year in office" (DC/EN. 1/6). He was rewarded for his services with an OBE, the first to be conferred on an African in Kenya. He was greatly helped by the able secretary of the ADC, Nathan Munoko, a veterinary officer and the first Bukusu to take the Cambridge School Certificate examination. Thus the DC could write: "Munoko continued to undertake his heavy responsibilities in a thoroughly competent and statesmanlike fashion".

(DC/EN. 1/3). In 1959 he went to Britain for a course in local government.

Before party politics came to Bukusu country it appeared as if the Bukusu Union had been remarkable successful. Its leaders ran a district in which the Bukusu were dominant. Its aims for educational expansion had been fully realized. Only the nationalistic demands had not been fully met. Masinde Muliro had become Legco member in 1957, but Africans were in opposition and waited for majority rule. Similarly Africans were still excluded from the White Highlands. Religious innovation had provided the leaders with administrative know how which was used for a tribal, interdenominational association. Religious innovation had also provided Bukusu with new values, most important among them being education, which provided an issue which appealed to their self interest. Thus they were able to forget earlier differences and come together for their mutual advantage. Yet it is doubtful whether they could have achieved so much if the administration had not been spurred into action by yet another form of religious innovation which channelled feelings of frustration caused by the European impact into violent demonstrations. DYM certainly made Bukusu country a top priority area for development purposes in order to build up the "stable middle class". Bukusu leaders were only too willing to take advantage of these opportunities. I believe that they could do this easily because they were not seeing the political universe in terms of segmentary opposition, in the way the Luo seem to have done in the fifties. They saw the European rulers as a group in opposition against their own group. Any kind of co-operation was felt to be collaboration. Bukusu on the other hand tried to get what advantages they could from the situation they found themselves in.

5. Party politics and ethnicity

Factions are led by leaders who have a contractual relationship with their followers. The kinds of benefits which are offered may vary a great deal for different followers. But

in case of Pascal Nabwana and his Bukusu Union the communal aim was expansion of education. This issue was achieved through the splitting of North Nyanza District. Apart from reaching its declared aim the Bukusu Union leaders and many other Bukusu could reach positions of personal power in an ADC dominated by their own tribe. Yet their man in Nairobi, Masinde Muliro, who had been elected in 1957 to the Legco, had to represent both Elgon Nyanza and North Nyanza. Although he was a Bukusu, he had an obvious interest in appearing to represent Luhya interests. The name Luhya had been adopted in 1942 by the old North Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association. At the same time the LNC gave grants to investigate the possibility for a unified spelling and standardisation of the various Bantu dialects spoken in the area. The Bukusu Union had been against such uniformity. One of their arguments was that even a uniform version of Luhya would be based heavily on southern dialects. Thus Bukusu children would be at a disadvantage if Luhya was going to be used in the CEE. The task which Muliro had set himself was to denounce the Bukusu leaders who had achieved a much greater degree of tribal autonomy while at the same time promising benefits for the ordinary Bukusu who wanted to throw in their lot with him as leader of the Luhya.

Matters were complicated by the fact that Muliro's leadership of the Luhya was challenged by politicians from Maragoli, southern Luhya. Nationally he had tried to gain a position of importance through allying himself with Moi and Ngala, Legco representatives from the Rift Valley and Coast respectively. They opposed Kikuyu and Luo leaders. There were various reasons why Muliro did not join the Kikuyu and Luo. Perhaps the most important was personal animosity between Mboya and Muliro. Apart from that Muliro was the only leader within his group with a university degree, whereas in the other faction there were plenty of highly qualified people. This changed when in preparation of the 1961 elections the factions organized themselves into two political parties: KADU and KANU. Muliro was joined by a man like Towett, a Kipsigis and also a university graduate.

Yet by that time Muliro had established his position within KADU. In the election itself Muliro was returned unopposed in Elgon Nyanza, a single member constituency. In North Nyanza a multiple member constituency had been created. For KADU Khasakhala was elected. Muliro had devoted much attention to his campaign. But the other seat went to Musa Amalemba, representing the Baluhya Political Union. Amalemba was a Maragoli who had spent most of his life in Nairobi. In 1958 he had become specially elected member of the Legco, against the wishes of the other African members who had been directly elected and who refused to co-operate with the other members in forming an electoral college which had to elect four members for each racial group. Amalemba had also become minister. The headquarters of the BPU were in Nairobi, but urban members were urged to register in their home areas and use the possibility of the postal vote.

KANU got more seats than KADU, but KANU leaders refused to form a government unless Kenyatta was released. KADU was able to form a government with support of a moderate European party. Ngala became leader of the government, and the other African ministers included Muliro, a Luhya Mate, a Meru, Moi, a Kalenjin, and Towett, a Kipsigis. This coalition government did not last long. Soon Kenyatta was released and in January 1962 the Second Lancaster House Conference was held in preparation of independence.

A rather complicated constitution was drawn up of a semi-federal type. There was to be a House of Representatives and a Senate. The function of the Senate was to safeguard specifically the functions and powers of the new regions. A special commission was set up to recommend new boundaries for the Regions. New constituencies were set up and increased in number. New local authorities were to replace the African District Councils. They would be called County Councils and they would no longer be controlled by the Provincial Administration through the DC, but they would come directly under a Ministry for Local Government. KADU insisted on this regionalism, majimbo, as it became known.

Until all the details had been worked out and the new boundaries drawn a coalition government of KADU and KANU would rule the country. Then new elections would be held.

Muliro took an extreme stand on the issue of regional boundaries. On behalf of the Bukusu he claimed most of Trans Nzoia, including Kitale. In mid-1962 Muliro laid a foundation stone in the middle of the Sports' Stadium at Kitale and tried to annex it in this symbolic way as the capital of the new Luhya Western Province. He announced that he would go to jail if the Regional Boundaries Commission would fail him. Although about 150,000 acres were added to the Province in the form of settlement schemes on both sides of Nzoia River, of which 95,000 were added to the new Bukusu dominated Bungoma District, Kitale was left just outside this area. To save his face the least Muliro could do was to transfer himself to the Trans Nzoia constituency of the Lower House. Muliro even managed to force through an amendment to the constitution allowing regional boundaries to be altered within six months of the new constitution coming into effect, provided both Regional Assemblies concerned agreed (Sanger and Nottingham, 1964). He could now promise the Bukusu and Luhya in general that Kitale would be theirs if they supported KADU.

No other Bukusu leaders could match Muliro's offer to the electorate and most people who aspired to become members of the County Council, the Regional Assembly, and the House of Representatives and the Senate joined the KADU bandwagon. Muliro hoped to gain support from the non Bukusu tribesmen in Elgon Nyanza by denouncing the leadership of the ADC and accusing Pascal Mabwana, the chairman, and chief Jonathan, vice-chairman, of nepotism and favouritism. At the same time he deplored the fact that the ADC was split. Pascal and his friends allowed the non Bukusu tribes of the western division to join some Luhya Locations transferred from Central Nyanza to Western Province to form the new Busia District with its own County Council. Pascal and Jonathan tried to steer away from party politics through

creation of the Bukusu Welfare of East Africa, in which they played leading roles. Significantly Masinde Muliro had never anything to do with this association. Although they concerned themselves with such welfare issues as scholarships, they also presented memoranda on the number of constituencies which would be dominated by Bukusu and on the division of the ADC into two new County Councils.

Muliro attacked chief Jonathan's development policies in his own location. This development had been selective and all people who thought that they had been discriminated against could easily be roused by the slogan: Barasa has spoiled his location. The public support on which Muliro could count was a sufficient deterrent for chief Jonathan not to try to enter politics and resign as chief. The seat in the Senate was won by Munoko, former ADC secretary, and KADU. In western Bungoma the Lower House seat was contested by Khaoya, KANU, who had resigned as chief. His opponent was his predecessor Henry Kerre, KADU. Henry Kerre won but within hours of the announcement he crossed the floor and joined KANU. He was the best example of a politician who only joined KADU in order to get elected by the Bukusu.

Jonathan refrained from supporting KANU openly as chief. Pascal on the other hand used his official position as ADC chairman to promote KANU where he could. He invited Kenyatta himself to the ADC hall at Bungoma where he was presented with a traditional stool as symbol of his leadership of the Bukusu. But Pascal was too old to be able to stand for parliament. The English test which candidates had to pass made this impossible anyway. He did not try to find a seat in the Regional Assembly either, although two of his brothers-in-law were trying to do just this. Muliro warned the Bukusu not to let KANU in through the backdoor by electing them. He need not have had any fears. In the County Council and Regional Assembly all seats of Bukusu were taken by KADU men. In western Bungoma the seat of the Lower House went to Mark Barasa, a primary school teacher and at the time a loyal follower of Muliro.

In the rest of Western Province Muliro did less well. For example KADU only got 15 out of 25 seats in the Regional Assembly. KANU MPs who were elected included the old KAU member Otiende, a Maragoli who became minister in Kenyatta's new KANU government. Nationally KADU was decisively beaten by KANU, which had more than twice as many seats in the Lower House and a majority in the Senate. But they still had not enough seats in the Senate to change the constitution. Muliro's stand on the Kitale issue had done damage to the relations with the Kalenjin. People from Pokot had formed their own West Kalenjin Political Congress which transferred its allegiance from KADU to KANU. But the position of KADU was hopeless anyway.

Muliro did not get a seat in the government, but he almost managed to fulfill his election pledge on Kitale. The Regional Assemblies of the Rift Valley and Western Province agreed to exchange parts of Nyangori Location for Kitale. The enactment was even published in the Kenya Official Gazette but at the last moment Odinga, minister for home affairs, refused to allow the exchange for security reasons. Nandi had burned down huts of Luhya who lived in the area of Nyangori which was to be transferred. There was also trouble brewing in the north between Bukusu and the Kalenjin of Mount Elgon. Muliro had failed the Bukusu and Bukusu MPs left him and KADU in order to gain office or benefits for people in the constituency which he could not provide. Mark Barasa crossed the floor and soon afterwards Kenyatta visited his area and promised £ 3,000 for the development of Chesamisi Secondary School which was started on a self-help basis in the home area of Mark Barasa. Later the school was taken over completely by the government. Before 1963 was over Munoko, leader of KADU in the senate, had also joined KANU and had become Assistant Minister for Housing and Social Services. In November 1964 KADU itself was dissolved, but although several KADU leaders were given cabinet posts, Muliro was not among them.

In 1966 Muliro's standing among the Bukusu was diminished even further. Munoko did not support him at the Limuru KANU conference for the post of general secretary of the party. Instead he backed the successful Tom Mboya and in turn Munoko became organizing secretary of KANU. Moreover Kerre died and in the by election ex-chief Khaoya staged his political come back. He had no sympathy with Muliro's attempts to dominate the Bungoma Branch of KANU, of which he himself became chairman. Dissension even reached the national press: "Referring to the recent attempt to take over Kanu leadership in Bungoma district branch, the Member for Bungoma South, who is also the Kanu branch chairman, Mr. J.W.Khaoya, said yesterday that every MP should keep to his constituency... Members of Parliament whose original home was in the Western Province but represented people in other areas should concentrate their effort in working for the party wherever they were, because there was no room for them in the Western Province" (EAS 30.10.1968). In Trans Nzoia Muliro himself was opposed in the branch election by senator William Wamalwa, a Bukusu whom he had helped to gain his seat in 1963. But he was easily defeated and Muliro became chairman.

The conclusion which we can draw from the influence of national parties on Bukusu political activity is that Bukusu politicians see the opportunities for their own advancement in terms of grid and not of group. That is why they were not at all averse of pretending to belong to a particular faction if this could get them into power, or of changing allegiance if it appeared that this would give them and their supporters advantages because of the price opponents were willing to pay them to get them on their side. And Muliro himself was willing to submerge Bukusu interests in favour of a concept of Luhya unity which offered him better opportunities to gain power at the national level. If the Regions would have functioned this would have meant that Bukusu would have had to subsidize again the over populated and poorer areas of the Western Province and he would have undone the achievement of the Bukusu Union leaders who had controlled the Elgon Nyanza ADC.

The issue of tribal control over land led to another situation in which Bukusu could manipulate ethnic identity for their own personal advantage. During the colonial period many Bukusu had settled in the fertile foothills of Mount Elgon which the Kalenjin considered to be their own tribal area. In 1963 they decided that the time was ripe for decisive action because they felt that a KANU government would be sympathetic to their demands while the Bukusu were still committed to the opposition party KADU. Bukusu were terrorized, their crops were destroyed, their huts burned down and their cattle driven away. The tribal unrest gave Odinga a pretext not to implement the decision concerning the Kitale issue. He also set up a commission of enquiry, which recommended that Malakisi should be split into two locations. But by the time the new chief was to be appointed in North Malakisi Munoko had crossed to KANU and Bukusu public opinion was taken into account. Thus the new chief was a Bukusu, and not a Kalenjin, although this was probably not the intention of the commission who recommended the split. Tension remained high and in 1968 Kalenjin in North Malakisi demanded that they ought to have two representatives in the County Council, although they were in the majority in only one nomination committee. Moss, their MP, told a press conference that continued interference of Bukusu with Kalenjin affairs in Bungoma District would force Kalenjin to set up their own District in which Abaluhya would not be welcome. Early in September 1968 3 Bukusu and 2 Kalenjin were killed in clashes between members of these tribes. One of the Kalenjin turned out to be a brother of Erasto, the old politician who had played such an important role in the movement to get rid of chief Murunga. Then I was told that there are several Kalenjin of his kind, people who were born and bred as Bukusu, who still have close relatives in the area of the Bukusu, but who themselves have become Kalenjin, even to the point of pretending not to be able to speak Bukusu. This identification with their neighbours enabled these Bukusu to go on living on the extremely fertile soil generally occupied by Kalenjin without being

subjected to harassment and acts of terrorism. These Bukusu have decided very pragmatically that they can just as well behave as if they were Kalenjin.

6. Conclusion

Political action among Bukusu led from one crisis to the next. In each crisis political relations were re-defined and irreversible changes were initiated. The first crisis came when Wanga rule was imposed and councils of elders were constituted through which Murunga and other autocratic chiefs had to govern the country. Then in 1930 the young and educated Christian men tried to oust these Wanga chiefs and hoped for appointments of friends whose influence could help them in turn. The DYM crisis of 1948 and 1949 ultimately gave Bukusu Union leaders control over the Elgon Nyanza ADC. But the 1963 elections brought this dominance to an end, although the crisis was not solved until political relations were re-defined when KANU and KADU merged. People who wanted to make a political career made use of the ascending faction at each stage of the political development of Bukusu society. Chief Jeremiah was brought to power by a Quaker faction, Pascal Nabwana achieved the chairmanship of the ADC through the Bukusu Union, Masinde Muliro reached the coalition cabinet as leader of the Luhya. But factions did not develop into corporate groups. They remained contractual associations. Adherents switched from one faction to the next with great ease. Thus the Bukusu Union could neglect denominational differences, and KADU could ignore Bukusu tribalism. As time went on and the scale of the operations increased factions became even more contractual. The Quaker faction consisted of friends who had been in close face-to-face association with each other for most of their lives. The Bukusu Union was composed of men from various parts of the Bukusu country, who did not share the same religious background and educational experience. But they still had as common aim educational expansion. KADU among the Bukusu was only successful because it offered politicians the only way to power through allying themselves

with Muliro, who in turn had promised Kitale, which promise could not be matched by anyone else. A faction which was based so much on fulfilling a contractual bargain proved unstable and desintegrated when the goods were not delivered.

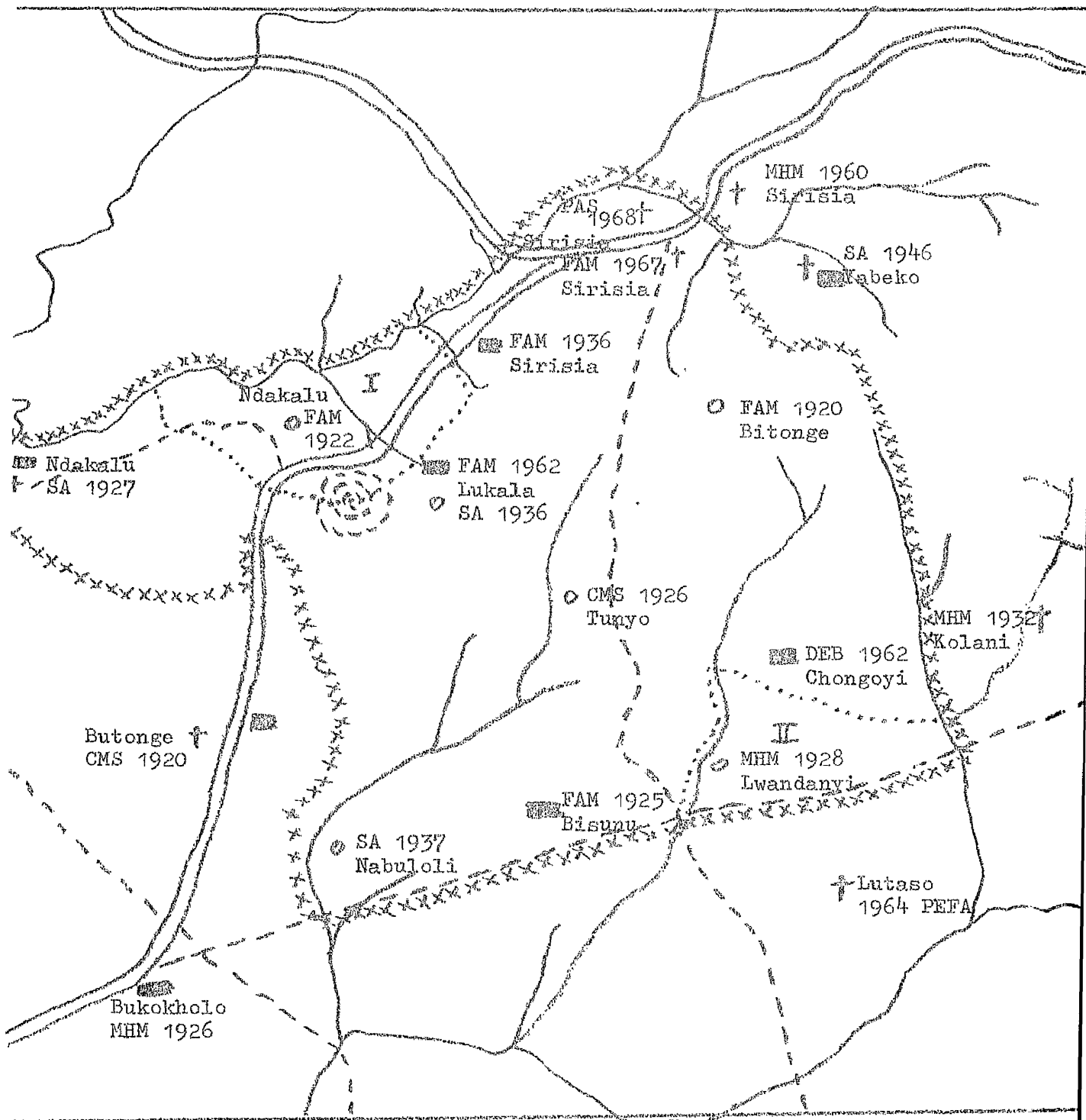
The heavy emphasis on grid in Bukusu social structure explains why political activity should be based on unstable factions. I also believe that this is the factor which explains why Bukusu tribal society does not have a peasant ideology which Bailey assumes to be typical of many encapsulated political structures (1969, p. 147-149). Bukusu do not behave as if the political game is a zero-sum game. For them there is definitely room for the non-zero-sum situation: that in which everyone can be the winner, in which everyone by co-operation can become richer. At the same time dedicated service to the public weal is a culturally understood goal. On the other hand it is abundantly clear that politicians do not believe that consensual procedures are morally better than majority voting. Because Bukusu traditional social structure was grid oriented they did not accept any boundaries to the political arena in which they were active. Instead of an encapsulated structure in which people have to be convinced that they ought to devote their energies to a wider structure than their own parish pump, we find open networks operated by political leaders who are only too eager to take command of the encapsulating structure.

Coming back to the specific problem of the thesis, I want to re-iterate that Christianity was important for individual careers in three ways. First it gave Bukusu the opportunity to organize themselves on the basis of common denominational adherence and use this link to achieve positions of power, with the chieftainship of the locations as focus of their political activity. The thirties in Malakisi Location with the opposition against Murunga and Stephan and the rise to power of Jeremiah illustrate this aspect most clearly. Secondly the organization of the churches taught the Africans how to set up and control voluntary associations which themselves were not tied to

any particular denomination, although they pursued aims similar to those of the missions in the field of education, which they wanted to expand and control. The success of the fund raising activities of the Kimilili Locational Advisory Council to send students abroad must also be contributed to techniques first of all learned inside the various churches. The main aim of at least the Protestant missionaries was to found self supporting and self propagating indigenous churches.

In the third place Christianity helped people to achieve educational qualifications on which the government became more and more insistent. Thus both Stephan MUSOMI MAHE born in 1898, and Zakaria TEMULANI born in 1896 were among the first pupils to attend the mission school at Lugulu when it was opened in 1914. Both became mulango in 1927 when the government wanted to have literate people in that position. But both replaced people of their own family who had been in power until 1927. On the other hand Yacopo Weyombo LAKO KHANDIA born in 1895, and Jeremiah Kukubo KIABI BIKEYO born in 1902, rose to important positions through a good education. But they did not belong to clans originally dominant in the areas in which they lived. But apart from a good education they also had administrative experience gained in jobs which had been evolved through the process of role differentiation. Yacopo had become president of the locational court, Jeremiah secretary to the chief. Yacopo had reached his position because of his relationship with his son-in-law, chief Stephan, Jeremiah had got his job through lobbying of his friends who were mulango. Pascal Nabwana YEMBA born in 1898 could have belonged to the same category if his application for the presidency of the Kabuchai court had not been rejected by the chiefs of Kimilili and South ~~W~~Kitosh. Instead he turned the Bukusu Union into a radical opposition party which tried to oust the chief of Kimilili among other things. Ironically his lack of success during the forties made it possible for him to gain a much more important position than that of chief in the late fifties when he became the first African ~~new~~ chairman of the ADC. But in the

other two Bukusu locations new chiefs came to power who were actually Bukusu Union members themselves. Chief Jonathan KIABI BIKEYO born in 1916, and Henry Kerre KHOONT, son of chief Sudi, born in 1914, had both gained the best education available for people of their generation. Both had received a full primary school education and had become headmasters of elementary mission schools. Munoko, born in 1922 and secretary of the Elgon Nyanza ADC, and Muliro, born in 1921 and elected as Legco member in 1957, were already much better educated. Both had gained their Cambridge School Certificate. Munoko had followed veterinary studies at Makerere, Muliro had been sent to Cape Town where he gained a BA. Both were able to establish themselves as members of the national Kenya elite which will be analysed more closely in the next chapter.



Map 5 Kulisiru Scale 1 : 50,000

- | | | | |
|--|------------------------|--------------|--|
| | major road | | Primary School |
| | minor road | | Church Building |
| | river | | Former "lines", catechuminate or "bush" school |
| | boundary of "Kulisiru" | | Boundary of selected wards |
| | Kulisiru Hill | | |
| | | I Ndakalu | |
| | | II Namawanga | |

CHAPTER VI

CHRISTIANITY, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

In the previous 2 chapters I dealt with political role differentiation and the political implications of religious innovation for political action by Bukusu. In doing so I looked specifically at roles which were in Banton's terminology general and independent rather than basic (1970). These terms indicate a continuum on which roles can be placed. Basic roles have a pervasive influence over the performance of other roles, independent roles do not have this influence, and general roles are somewhere in the middle. Male and female roles are typically basic, leisure time roles in modern societies are typically independent, and general roles are played for example by police and clergy. Now, in this chapter I want to have a look at new roles which are basic, because they also divide the population into a few broad categories which are relevant for the performance of many other roles.

First I shall deal with the role of Christian, next with the role of elite member. There is a connection between the two roles because early and persistent commitment to Christianity is correlated with a much higher than average education for the children of the first generation of converts. This education gave them the opportunity for social mobility and helped them to become members of the elite. The problems with which I have to deal specifically in this context are firstly the fact that Christianity did not establish powerful, pervasive and longlasting moods and obligations in most of the people who attached themselves to the various denominations which were active in Bukusu country. Secondly Christianity only indirectly influenced the educational performance of children. The intervening variables are the ability to pay fees and achievement motivation on the part of parents and children. Christians did have this ability and motivation to a high degree, but some other people shared these characteristics. Thirdly I have

to examine the role of the Bukusu elite in independent Kenya. A discussion of the most recent political events focussed on this particular problem will bring the chapter to an end and relate it to the main content of the previous two chapters.

1. Christianity in Kulisiru

In order to make a comparative investigation of the differences which various degrees of commitment to different denominations had brought about I selected an area shown on map 5. In the east and west the area is bounded by boundaries of the region of the former lugongo headman, largely co-inciding with present day sub-locational boundaries. In the north the boundary is formed by the Malakisi and Ndakalu Rivers, in the south by an old road built during the reign of chief Murunga. I shall refer to this area as Kulisiru because it comprises most of the area of the sub-locations of North and South Kulisiru. It is also the name of a dominant hill in the centre of the area. Before the establishment of colonial rule the area was densely populated. There are many remains of old forts. The area is not extremely fertile, but it is high enough to allow the cultivation of coffee. Other cash crops cultivated in the area are onions and cotton, and also some maize, although most of it appears to be consumed at home. Population density in South Malakisi Location, of which Kulisiru forms the central part, is 314 per square mile. Of course, for some purposes I shall have to consider centres of Christian activity which are outside the limited region of Kulisiru, because their influence extended into Kulisiru itself. Examples are the SA at Yabeko and the CMS at Rutonge.

I made a list of all registered plot owners in Kulisiru. There are about 500 of them. Among the larger clans in the area the numbers of owners are: TA 41, LAKO KHANDIA 29, BIKEYO 33, KOYI 24, LIKIYWA 18. The sub-chief of North Kulisiru is a BIKEYO, of South Kulisiru a LIKIYWA. The size of each clan is quite small. The largest comprises still

not more than 10 % of all registered plot owners. This is even so if we take a much wider area into account. In the whole of North and South Malakisi Locations the largest clans had the following numbers of married male members according to genealogies collected from informants living in North and South Kulisiru sub-locations: BIKEYO 65, KHANDIA 59, MUKOYA 51, TA 51, LIKIYWA 47, LIULI 42, KOYI 31. Clans are not corporate groups, but they are important for Bukusu because they define who is a kinsman and who is an affine. Affines and kinsmen are expected to help each other, but the relation is always conceived in interpersonal terms and is ego-focussed. The web of interpersonal relations based on kinship and affinity is very wide because Bukusu marriage rules forbid people to marry with persons belonging to the clan of any of their grand-parents. I investigated the consequences of this rule in two wards in Kulisiru. In Namawanga there were 38 married men divided over 12 different clans in the following way: 1 with 12 members, 1 with 4 members, 6 with 3 members and 4 with 1 member. Altogether they had concluded 57 outstanding marriages. If there had been no kinship any one child could have married a child of any of the other 57 unions. But because of existing kinship links the mean number of cases in which this was impossible was 17, and the median was also 17. In Ndakalu there were 49 married men divided over 15 clans in the following way: 1 with 9 members, 1 with 8 members, 1 with 6 members, 1 with 5 members, 1 with 4 members, 1 with 3 members, 5 with 2 members, and 4 with 1 member each. Altogether they had concluded 85 outstanding marriages. The mean number of cases in which marriage between offspring would have been impossible because of existing kinship links was 28, and the median was also 28. That means that both in Namawanga and Ndakalu in one third of the theoretically possible cases existing kinship links would have made marriage impossible. Of course existing kinship links include membership of the same clan. These numbers are the outcome of a process which is based on a clear preference for marrying people who live in one's neighbourhood. Of the

wives married to husbands living in Namawanga 6 came from Namawanga itself, 19 from wards adjoining Namawanga, and 7 from wards adjoining the latter. For Ndakalu these numbers were 10, 27 and 8. The result is that links between kinsmen on the ground form spatially clustering networks. The importance of this situation is that local congregations appear to be based in relatively small areas where such a multiplicity of ties exist. The following account of the spread of various denominations will bear this out.

A few people from Kulisiru went to Lugulu, when the Quakers opened a school there in 1914. Some more went to the Anglican school which was opened at Malakisi, 4 miles to the west of Bukokholo, in 1916. It had to close soon because of recruitment for the carrier corps and did not reopen for some years because of famine and epidemics. It was not until 1920 that boys started to go to school again and this time a school was opened locally at Bitonge near Sirisia. But after half a year it was transferred to Mwalie sub-location, nearer to Malakisi, because it had been decided by CMS and FAW functionaries that Kulisiru should come within the sphere of influence of the Quakers. But several people from Kulisiru decided to remain Anglican and settled down at Butonge, as the new centre was called. In fact, most boys could only be persuaded by force that they should attend the Quaker school at Bitonge. Even so there remained a core of committed Anglicans at Kulisiru which eventually, in 1926, built a church at Tunyo. In the twenties there were about 15 good Christian men in Kulisiru who belonged to this church. But just as in other churches, only 2 of them remained faithful.

Quakers expanded very rapidly. In 1923 they opened a centre at Ndakalu and in 1925 another at Bisunu. These centres consisted of a school building, which was also used for church services, and straight lines of houses in which converts were supposed to live. The word "lines" became part of the Bukusu vocabulary. Heathen practises such as drinking beer, dancing, and playing music were not tolerated. Residents were punished for not being properly dressed

and for not keeping their homes spotlessly clean. The actual number of people living in such a Christian village must have been between 20 and 30 young men, many of whom were married. Residential segregation was most typical of the Quakers, but was also frequently practised by other missions.

The Ndakalu "lines" disappeared in 1930, when most people decided that they were not going to get any land from their fathers if they remained where they were. Some of the leaders also started to marry second wives at that time. Only 2 men out of the 28 who used to live there are still faithful Quakers. At Bisunu people left the "lines" in 1940, and most of them left the church itself around 1945, when they started to marry junior wives. The absence of many young men in the army was perhaps one of the conditions which favoured this wave of second marriages. Out of 25 men only 1 remained a faithful Quaker and he died in 1956. His son is now pastor of the Sirisia monthly meeting. I never acquired an exhaustive list of people who used to live at the Bitonge "lines". In any case 3 of the men belonging to the group of first converts are still faithful church members and still live at the place of the old "lines". This remaining core has been successful in attracting some other men. Two of them are now in their fifties and joined in 1957 and 1960. Both had been in the army during the war and apparently they had missed the opportunity to join as adolescents in the way most people do. Yet only 2 of the latter category still show interest. One is 43, the other 27 years old. The Quaker men at Bitonge form the largest cluster in Kulisiru, where their total is only 18. At Bitonge there was for a long time a bush school of two classes. But it closed when the educational system was rationalized in 1953, or perhaps some years later. At any rate it never qualified to become an aided primary school, unlike Bisunu and Sirisia. The latter school started in 1936, but only a handful of people used to live there in the "lines". They had gone back to their patrimonial land by 1945. None of them is still a good Quaker anyway.

In Ndakalu area many men were still trying to pass the hurdles of the CMS examinations in order to become full church members, when the Salvation Army started a mission at Kolanya in 1927. Although Kolanya is in Teso Location, it is within easy walking distance from Ndakalu. The SA was willing to open a school near the ford in Malakisi River. People in Ndakalu were only too happy to have a proper church in their own neighbourhood, and to be able to neglect Butonge, the Anglican centre. The SA became very successful in attracting a large number of followers after a quiet first decade. Its services were more fun with drums and rhythmic singing. Full members were allowed to wear smart uniforms, which they wore while marching through the countryside behind colourful banners to the accompaniment of drums. Scholarly qualifications were not considered nearly as important as in the case of Anglicans and Quakers. Polygamists of long standing did not have to divorce their wives before they could join. Nevertheless at present only one man and some more women are still good SA members in the Ndakalu area. But most people retain an interest in the church and want for example to have their young children dedicated in church and given a Christian name.

The SA came to Lukala in 1936 and well over 20 adult men started to go to services regularly at the new church which they had built. From 1947 until 1949 they even had a primary school at that place but gradually all local support withered away and now one only finds former members in that area. However, when a new school was opened in the sixties people expected that it would become registered as an SA school. But some influential people on the parents' committee, among them the sub-chief, were convinced Quakers and they managed to get it registered as an FAM school. In 1937 Nabuloli was opened up and here the situation is not much different. At the moment membership consists of 1 man and 10 women, whereas the total number was over 50 at its height. The school which had been open for a number of years in the fifties was closed, but the building still exists and is now used as a nursery school. The rest of Kulisiru came under influence of the SA when a man from

Yabeko, Elijah, returned home in 1946. He had been employed in Trans Nzoia where he had joined the SA. At Yabeko there is now a fully fledged SA primary school, a church and a resident Army Officer, just as at Ndakalu, where the SA started 20 years earlier. The main expansion from Yabeko took place before 1957 during which time people showed much enthusiasm. But here again there is only a handful of faithful members left. The ostentatious reasons given are polygamy and inability to go on abstaining from beer parties.

The first Catholic school to be established in North Kitosh was at Bukokholo. Training centres for local people who wanted to receive preliminary training before being accepted for the final course before being baptized, the so called catechumenates, were established by local people who had already come into contact with Catholicism elsewhere. This can be seen clearly in the case of Lwandandiyi, started 2 years after the opening of Bukokholo, in 1928. One of the catechists had become Catholic at Nyondo, near Mbale in Uganda, where his mother had gone after the death of his father. Two others had been baptized when they were migrant labourers working near Nairobi. The fourth came from Sikusi, only a few miles away, but well within the original Catholic sphere of influence in Sudi's country. Bernardo is another example. He had become a Catholic when his father was a squatter in the Highlands. He himself came back in 1932 and wanted to start a catechumenate at Chongoyi, his home area. He met with tough resistance from Zakaria, the mulango headman, and friend of Erasto, the Quaker teacher at Bitonge. He harassed the Catholics by taking their cattle away, saying that they had not paid their taxes. Appeals to the DC finally cleared the way, but on his advice, I was told, Catholics selected a spot further to the east, on the other side of Kolani River. Bernardo was catechist at this place until 1950, and now there is even a small church. The catechumenate at Lwandanyii appears to have collapsed in 1935 or 1936, when reductions in the grant missionaries received from Rome made payment of catechists no longer possible.

In 1962 Bernardo wanted the new school which he and other parents opened at Chongoyi to be registered as Catholic. But the chief was convinced that there were hardly any Catholics in the area and that in any case Protestants who wanted to send their children to the school should not be exposed to Catholicism. He managed to get the school registered as undenominational under direct supervision of the District Education Board. But compared to other denominations there is definitely a strong Catholic element in Chongoyi and Lwandanyi. Four men are still good Catholics, but at least another 8 men used to be Catholics as well. Half of this number became polygamist, and the rest just lost interest.

In 1964 a pastor of the Pentecostal Evangelical Fellowship of Africa visited his parents-in-law at Lutaso. He found that people were quite interested in what he had to say. Many people wanted to get baptized and receive a Christian name in the proper way. There were hardly any requirements to be fulfilled, as was the case with the other denominations. The only thing required was a formal declaration of penitence about committed sins. One did not have to go through a prescribed course of reading, pay any baptismal fees, or even be accepted on probation for some months or years. Yet the ceremony was impressive enough with its total immersion after a long night of preparatory hymn singing and drumming. But of the hundred odd people who were baptized, perhaps only 20 are faithful church members at present. The leaders recognize that there is a problem and they now want a longer period of preparation. Nevertheless the success has been quite remarkable and a semi-permanent church was built at Lutaso.

Another Pentecostal group, the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, has some representatives at Sirisia, where they have started to build a church. The main leaders are a marketing master, who was converted to this sect through a correspondence course, and a young unmarried P 1 teacher, that is someone with 4 years of secondary education and 2 years

teacher training. Since 1968 they are being assisted by 2 young girls from Kakamega District, who were converted while they were at secondary school. Their approach resembles that of American preachers like Oral Roberts and Billy Graham, both of whom visited East Africa. They believe strongly in faith healing. They make skilful use of such organisations as the Bungoma Christian Youth Fellowship, based very much on Christian Unions in secondary schools. They are also the driving force behind the Harambee services in which they always play a conspicuous role. These Harambee services were started in 1967 and are held once a month with the purpose of raising funds for the building program of the denomination which is host at such a meeting. Only Catholics have so far not co-operated, although they showed some interest.

The results of this massive, if rather varied effort to Christianize Kulisiru can be summarized in some tables of quantitative data. One set of data concerns a survey of all ever married people living on a 10 % random sample of all registered plots in private ownership in Kulisiru. The second set of data concerns all ever married men who are still fully committed Christians and who live in the same area. By fully committed I mean people who keep to the rules which distinguish their denomination from other denominations and from non-Christians, who pay church fees and who go to church regularly on Sundays, or in case of Catholics, who attend mass whenever the priest comes to the Location. I also know the number of fully committed Christian women, but I do not have figures on their age and various other matters such as marital history, into which I enquired when making the 10 % sample survey.

Table 1. Time at which people formally joined a denomination, 10 % sample

1920-29	8
1930-39	11
1940-49	25
1950-59	43
1960-69	<u>15</u>
total	102

Table 2. Age of men, 10 % sample compared with good Christians only

10 % sample	good Christians	age
2	6	20-29
14	11	30-39
8	8	40-49
10	4	50-59
10	7	60-69
4	4	70 +
48	40	total

Table 3. Formal affiliation at some time, 10 % sample, compared with all good Christians, with regard to denomination and sex

Denomination	Formal affiliation, 10 % sample		All good Christians	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Anglican	8	13	4	23
Salvation Am.	9	23	6	39
Catholic	4	15	7	19
Quaker	13	12	18	60
Pentecost	1	3	5	6
None	13	23		
Total	48	89	40	147

The first thing which is obvious from these tables is the high number of those who joined a denomination formally at one time or another: about three quarters of the population (74 %). There is no difference in the proportion of men and women compared with the total population. In both cases men are 35 % of the ever married population. In the second place it is clear that good Christians are a fairly small minority. They constitute only one fifth of the total population (19 %). Moreover the sex ratio has shifted towards the side of the women. This can be explained as one effect of the prevalence of polygamy. When church members marry junior wives, they themselves and their junior wives, if they are church members, are suspended, but their first

wives can still remain faithful church members. A comparison of the age distribution of men shows the same thing. Young men are more likely to be good Christians than old men, who have had more chance to marry junior wives, statistically speaking.

So far I have only dealt with formal aspects of church membership, using criteria which can be easily ascertained by an outside observer. It is much less easy to find out how Christianity as a system of belief appears to the people themselves, and how it fits in with other attitudes to life. One should certainly not assume that Christianity is experienced and interpreted as was intended by the missionaries. But before one can make an investigation covering a representative number of Christians, one has first to learn what the significant categories are which they use when talking about religion. This was greatly hampered by linguistic difficulties. The Quakers use the Luragoli translation of the bible and the older generation has learned this dialect, which is of all Luhya dialects least intelligible to the Bukusu. But since the early fifties Bukusu has been the only vernacular used in primary schools and young Quakers now prefer Swahili or English if they are at all interested in reading the bible for themselves. When preachers try to provide translations into Bukusu they still use many Luragoli words for expressing key concepts.

The Catholics also relied for many years on another Luhya dialect, Luwanga, spoken around Mumias. Recently the catechism and prayer services with parts of the new testament have been translated into Bukusu. But here again most of the doctrinal concepts are still expressed in Luwanga, perhaps partly because such terms have only a theological connotation for Bukusu. Anglicans use the so called Standard Luiya, an artificial compound language based on the most common words and constructions of all Luhya dialects. However, only the new testament has been translated; for the old testament the Swahili translation is used. Pastors often come from outside the Bungoma District and have to

try to adapt their Standard Luyia. The Salvation Army uses consistently Swahili in its services. It is sometimes translated into Bukusu. In Pentecostal services one uses primarily Swahili and English, while Bukusu translations are given simultaneously at a very high speed. English is used as a first language mainly by preachers with a secondary education.

From this little survey of language use we can draw the conclusion that many of the most committed Christians think about their religious experience in a non-Bukusu idiom in the first place. Translations depend on individual predilection and linguistic competence. In these circumstances it was beyond my ability to make an investigation of a systematic nature into the use of concepts and their interrelations.

The question is however, whether for the Bukusu Christianity is not much more a matter of actual behaviour than of attitudes and beliefs anyway. I got the impression that people thought in those terms when trying to conceptualize differences between Christians, nominal Christians, and pagans, and also between the various denominations. In addition to the rules explicit in the Ten Commandments, all churches forbid explicitly polygamy, all extra-marital sex, and the smoking of Indian hemp, bhang in Swahili. The Catholics and Anglicans also stipulate church weddings because of their sacramental view of marriage. Catholics should not eat meat on Fridays, at least this was so until the very recent past. I am not sure of recent changes. Protestants on the contrary forbid the use of alcohol and tobacco. In recent years among the Anglicans only the members of the Revival seem to have kept these rules strictly. Among Quakers the drinking of native beer in private, but not at parties, and the drinking of bottled beer in bars by elite members is tolerated. Protestants are also differentiated by the way they conduct their services. Quakers and Anglicans do not use drums. The Salvation Army is the only denomination where uniforms are worn and banners are used in processions.

Bukusu seem to accept these differences very much in the way in which they accept the fact that different tribes have different customs.

All churches make allowance for the fact that people who belong to the church may violate some of its rules. Catholics deal with it through private Confession and Absolution by the Priest. Protestants suspend members who violate the rules openly until they show regret and promise to change their behaviour. Anglican Revivalists and Pentecostalists stress confession in a small circle of the faithful, Salvationists and Quakers pray for those who come forward at the end of their services. Such people may want to renew their commitment but they do not need to say why they want to do this. The only transgression which leads automatically to permanent exclusion is polygamy. But there are nevertheless many polygamists who consider themselves to be Christians. Others who also think of themselves as Christians may feel compelled to acknowledge what missionaries described as heathen superstitions. These include belief in native medicines, in curses of relatives and age-mates, and in kumusambwa, the ancestral power which compels people to become initiated into certain vocations. Polygamy and such traditional religious beliefs are often justified as the way in which black people naturally behave. This is perhaps not surprising in view of the fact that different rules often show commitment to one denomination or another. Those who want to combine African customs with Christianity imply that rules which they might violate when doing this are characteristic of Europeans rather than Christians.

My personal impression based on frequent church attendance and the analysis of sermons is that various denominations also vary consistently in their doctrinal emphasis. Catholics stress their uniqueness as the only real church. The Revivalists in the Anglican Church stress the conversion of the individual and personal experience of salvation. The Salvation Army rejoices over the redemption as an objective fact. Quakers seem to be more impressed by the possibility

of eternal damnation. Finally the Pentecostalists think that speaking in tongues and faith healing show that the Holy Spirit is really at work in the church.

What all denominations have in common, however, is their apparent inability to maintain stable congregations at the local level. This can be partly explained by the fact that ego-centred networks are the dominant form of social association among the Bukusu. Allegiance to groups e.g. clans is not of great importance. Local congregations are limited to specific neighbourhoods and have as focus a few key figures who set an example and keep people interested. Initially the task of these leaders is facilitated by the fact that people who belong to their personal networks have also many interpersonal relations with each other in terms of kinship and affinity. Religious meetings give expression to a feeling of community which does exist already. Leaders of congregations find their task rewarding because building and maintaining large personal networks is in my opinion one of the basic values of Bukusu culture. In addition they can gain status in the wider organisation of the church they belong to and become people who may be well known in the location, or even district. But they have to start with a local reputation for dedication and efficiency. In the beginning most local leaders were also teachers and earned some income. For various reasons many local leaders lost interest after an initial period in which they generated great local enthusiasm. Some found that they could not acquire the reputation and connections necessary for a position of importance outside the neighbourhood. Others wanted to marry additional wives. Many of the first generation of teachers were replaced by younger and better qualified people. To continue local church work without the rewards which they got as teachers was not worth their while. There were also teachers and church leaders who found an alternative source of income and prestige through political appointments as chiefs, councillors, judges etc. Because such leaders took up pivotal positions they leave serious gaps which the few leaders who are left have to try to fill.

Their attempts will leave precious little time to make other new converts. Thus the Salvation Army made its greatest impact in areas where there had been shortly before a massive defection from the FAM. This denomination seems now in turn to give way to Pentecostal groups which also gain much influence in areas traditionally inclined to Catholicism.

The question remains why new young leaders would want to join a different denomination which was not yet well represented in Kulisiru. In case of the Catholics and Salvation Army it is quite likely that the CMS and FAM with whom they were in competition in a way, just did not have sufficient resources to match the effort of the first mentioned pair of denominations. Both FAM and CMS tried to build up self supporting churches and were at the stage that they did not want or were no longer able to spend money on teachers, however little that had been. The SA and MM on the other hand were not in principle against continuing support from their central headquarters and overseas sponsors, even for the simple evangelistic work in the villages. There were sufficient people to help them. In many cases they had come into contact with these newer denominations outside Bukusu country. Other criteria for admission and different ways of worship helped new local leaders to gain quickly an impressive following and gain greater prestige than would have been the case if they had worked for the older denominations. In the latter organizations moreover the way to the top jobs was blocked by at least some remaining established leaders. Leadership in Pentecostal groups and also in the Anglican Revival, which did not affect Kulisiru very directly however, was attractive for the same reasons. But there is this difference that these groups have been much less concerned with converting pagans. Their leaders believe that this is no longer an important issue compared to the problems of a large fringe membership of nominal adherents. Instead of the old doctrines and practises which are held responsible for this situation they have adopted new beliefs and rituals.

Bukusu social structure is not characterized by groups but by categories which indicate roles which have to be played on an interpersonal basis. Adoption of new roles is marked by ritual. There are two models of role change which can help us to understand the attitude of the ordinary Bukusu towards Christianity. Many people seem to consider joining a Christian denomination in the same way as they consider for example the circumcision ritual. Its minimal meaning is the acquisition of a Christian name in the proper way. It is interesting to note that for Islam the same is true. In all cases a word derived from 'to baptize' is used in the sense of joining a religious organization. Actual baptism with water only happens in the Catholic, Anglican and Pentecostal churches. While education was under control of the churches virtually everyone attending school would also join the denomination which sponsored the school.

The other model of role change is exemplified by initiation into a vocation in order to bring the impersonal force, kumusambwa, which is often manifest in persistent illness or misfortune under control. Yet there is no necessity to practise the vocation one has taken up in such a way. Of course, some people out of the large number initiated as diviners may become practising and successful diviners themselves, but these people appear to be the exception rather than the rule. In my experience those people who become most closely connected with traditional beliefs and practises as they are at present, very often do not consult diviners themselves, but other relatives take the initiative on their behalf, convinced that something has to be done about persistent illness or bad luck. If some action is recommended, e.g. initiation into an ancestral vocation, the initiative is again very often not taken by the person who has to undergo the initiation. Agreement may only be given because the sufferer does not want to offend relatives who show so much concern. Conversion is very often caused by a similar type of social pressure exercised on adolescents or grown up people who never joined a church or who have lost interest. Subscription to Christian values becomes a

symbol of commitment to particular social relations. When social relations change and social pressure disappears there is no longer any need to show commitment to these Christian values. In my experience Pentecostals, Anglican Revivalists and Salvationists see emotional conversion as a necessary condition for admission. Catholics and Quakers and ordinary Anglicans put much more stress on the successful passing of intellectual examinations of knowledge of doctrine and ethics. Yet in all cases people may want to join either because everyone else does so, or because specific social pressures are exercised. With the disconnection of education and religion the latter type of individual case work is going to be much more usual than the mass conversions of the forties and fifties, when attending school automatically led to admission into the denomination which managed the school.

Significantly the large scale hierarchically organized churches are not, for the ordinary members at least, groups to which one owes allegiance. I have come across several examples of men who were good members of Protestant churches who decided to become Catholic because the girls whom they wanted to marry did not want to leave their church and desired to be married with proper church rites. There are also examples of women who decided to become Protestant because their husbands had that religion. For leaders the wider organisation is more important. Other members of the hierarchy form part of the personal networks of local leaders at the grass root level. But at higher levels it again appears that leadership positions depend very much on the personalities of the persons who occupy them. Missionaries who could not establish good relations with intermediate and local leaders could see a very rapid decline of the influence of their church. If we compare the different types of organizations it seems that career prospects for local leaders were definitely very important for the stability of local congregations. The best prospects offers an organization which is elaborate and has central control, but which takes local standing and efforts very much into ac-

count for making promotions. The Quakers are an example. Churches with an organized ministry have more difficulty in accommodating influential lay members. This is so least with the Anglicans, most with the Catholics, while the Salvation Army takes up an intermediate position. In the case of the Salvation Army the large numbers of full time church employees outweigh the lack of representative councils. Pentecostal groups are locally too independent to be able to offer much in the way of career prospects for local leaders. The following description of various forms of organization should enable us to compare both factors which are important for success of churches: the intensity of pastoral care and guidance, and the opportunity for participation in the decision making process at higher levels.

The most important unit for the Quakers is the Monthly Meeting or Salasini, 'thirty', which has a presiding clerk, vice-presiding clerk, recording clerk, vice-recording clerk, a treasurer, a pastor and a Sunday schools' supervisor. As the name indicates all people belonging to the Monthly Meeting come together once a month for a church service. It consists of two or more Kuminatano, 'fifteen', meetings, which also meet once a month. These again are subdivided into units called litala, 'village'. These smaller units send representatives to the Kuminanaane, 'eighteen', Meeting, which conducts business and which is responsible for admitting new members and suspending those who have broken the rules. Four times a year various Monthly Meetings come together as a Quarterly Meeting. The delegates select a nominating committee responsible for appointing leaders within the Quarterly Meeting area. The committee is chaired by the superintendent who himself is appointed by the Yearly Meeting. The Yearly Meeting is responsible for all general matters of policy and for central institutions such as hospitals. Until recently it was also responsible for the management of a large number of schools. Again delegates select an executive committee, the East Africa Yearly Meeting Board, which employs a permanent secretary. Apart from conducting business Quarterly Meetings and Yearly Meetings

unite people in services for worship. Women have a parallel organization of meetings at various levels. But these are also attended by men who appear to do most of the preaching at women's meetings.

Sirisia Monthly Meeting is not large. There are about 110 full members, 70 in the Kuminatano of Bitonge, and 40 in the Kuminatano of Sirisia. Each consists of 4 kamatata, with in some cases no more than a handful of members. Sirisia Monthly Meeting was constituted in 1967. Before that time it was just a Kuminatano belonging to Chwele Monthly Meeting, which has now become a Quarterly Meeting. This splitting up of units was not done because they became too unwieldy with too many members. On the contrary, I was told that through creating smaller units one hoped to combat the recent persistent decline in membership. Services for worship consist of singing of hymns, ex tempore prayers and formal sermons based on some texts from the bible. American missionaries did not introduce the silent type of worship, which is typical in England among Quakers.

In the Anglican Church the most important unit is the parish with its ordained parish priest. The parish is divided into groups which in turn are divided into individual churches. The congregation of the church elects a church council and church councils elect a group council. At the general annual meeting of groups the parish council is elected. Members of parish councils elect a Rural Deanery Council, which in turn elects members for the standing committee of the synod. Tunyo, Butonge, and three other churches form one group. Three groups viz. Bungoma, Butonge, and Lwandanyi in North Malakisi form Butonge Parish. The other parish in Bungoma District is Kimilili. There are 7 parishes in the Deanery of Nambale, and 6 Deaneries constitute the Diocese of Maseno under bishop Festo Olang. He is president of the synod. The padre himself normally conducts a service every Sunday at one of the group church buildings. At the other centres lay readers can conduct services, down to the individual church level.

But only the padre is allowed to celebrate Holy Communion and to baptize. The Anglican Book of Common Prayer in Luiya translation is used widely in services for worship and these incorporate more congregational participation than we find among Quakers.

The Catholic Church is also very much centred around the ordained priest and his extensive parish. In the early years of Catholic expansion there were locational barasas under lay Head Christians. In practise these were much more self governing than consultative bodies. They diminished in importance as the mission stations multiplied. In the early fifties Misikhu was opened, and in the early sixties the Catholics even had a mission at Sirisia for a couple of years. The area Sirisia had catered for was divided between Misikhu, Kibabii, and a station in the Teso country. Priests appear to work more through catechists whom they appoint than through representative councils of lay people, although these exist on paper. In Sirisia there is also one. Sirisia itself is visited once a month by the fathers from Misikhu who hear Confession and celebrate Mass. But Bukokholo comes under Kibabii. On Sundays there are prayer services at Sirisia and Kclani led by catechists. But they are especially attended by people who want to join the church and seem more a help to memorize set prayers than an opportunity for preaching. This is in fact discouraged. At the most a stencilled text taken from the new testament is read, together with a very short explanation. Above the parish level there is not, or not yet, any formal representation of the lay element. The Catholic Church is dominated by its clergy, who are still in most instances expatriates. By way of experiment one diocese was almost completely Africanized in Western Kenya in 1960. Maurice Otunga, a Bukusu and son of chief Sudi, became the first bishop of Kisii. He is now arch-bishop designate of Nairobi. The Salvation Army is also in origin an extremely authoritarian and strictly hierarchically organized church. Its most important unit is called Kikao 'place of residence' in Swahili, under a corps officer who has had two years' training at

the Salvation Army School in Nairobi. Ndakalu is one Kikao, Yabeko is another. Each of these is divided into 3 smaller units called Kituo, 'place of rest' in Swahili, under a sergeant, a local man without formal training. Sergeants are the real mainstay of the congregation because regular officers are changed every three years. Ndakalu and Yabeko belong to different sections. The section officer of Aboloi, in Teso country, is responsible for Ndakalu and 6 other vikao. The section officer at Toroso, in the Kalenjin area of North Malakisi, is responsible for Yabeko and 3 other vikao. Both sections together form one of the 3 divisions into which Western Province has been divided. They are under a European Regional Commander resident in Kisumu. The Salvation Army does not have councils of representatives with policy making or even merely consultative functions. On the other hand it has a very large number of relatively well trained people working at the grass root level. Even Quakers very often have Monthly Meetings without full time salaried pastors, who are more typical of urban congregations than of rural areas. Meetings for worship are characterized by hymn singing and drumming, ex tempore prayer, testimonies and sermons by the Officer. Before the service starts adherents march around and visit homes where they conduct short services.

Finally the Pentecostal groups. The Sirisia group belonging to the Pentecostal Assemblies of God works very much on its own and considers that any type of formal leadership is really unnecessary since the Church is led by the Holy Spirit. In their preaching members always stress that belonging to a particular denomination cannot save anyone. The PEFA groups are organized in monthly meetings and stress the organizational hierarchy more than the PAG adherents whom I know. But congregations are few and far between and in practise they work very much on their own. Drumming and dancing is rather unrestrained during services. Baptism is through immersion. Faith healing and prophetism attract much curiosity from outsiders.

In sum, the instability of local congregations depends partly on limitations imposed by the way in which people see their conversion, which is similar to the manner in which they consider circumcision rituals or initiations into vocations. But perhaps more important is the position of leaders at the grass root level in local congregations. Their range appears to be limited to the immediate neighbourhood in which they live. If they stop their work many people also leave the congregation, and the remaining leaders have so much work with keeping people in the fold that they cannot expand their own congregations. Thus they leave the field open for other denominations which are attractive for leaders who do not want to work under older and established leaders. Leaders are more likely to remain interested in their local congregations if they have good career prospects. Professionalization of the ministry makes this rather difficult. Formal examinations replace prestige gained in pastoral care at a personal level. Solutions are an organization as the Quakers have, with most real power vested in delegate conferences composed of these local leaders; appointment of a paid ministry at the local level itself, which is done by the Salvation Army; an informal organization within the church based on charismatic leadership, as presented by the Revival in the Anglican Church. Catholics have not used such opportunities, and Pentecostals will have to adopt one of them in the future, before local leaders leave them because they do not see any future career prospects. Of course, the Harambee communal church services may provide zealous Pentecostals with just such an avenue.

2. Educational achievement and social mobility

One condition which favoured social mobility was and is achievement of the highest level of education, because this gives access to better jobs. First under colonial rule superior education was necessary for becoming teachers, clerks, health assistants, nurses, railway employees, post

office workers and policemen, to name only a few opportunities. Independence and the consequent rapid Africanisation of the higher civil service and executive positions in commerce and industry threw open a new range of jobs with very good chances for quick promotion for people with university degrees or similar training. At the same time jobs at lower levels required higher standards as competition between people with lower qualifications became greater. This was a consequence of the fact that the standard level of education available for Bukusu had been going up in order to provide enough people from amongst whom selection for the highest level of education could be made.

To give some idea of the continuation of this process through time I shall now give the standard level of education and the highest level of education during various decades. By the standard level I mean the number of years of education thought to be desirable before one could start a teacher training course. The highest level is the educational qualification needed to be able to reach the highest position in the occupational scale valid for Africans. In the twenties simple literacy was standard and the highest level one could reach was that of teacher with in-service training or perhaps some normal school training. In the thirties the sector or elementary school with a five years' course had become standard. The highest level was reached by those who completed another 3 years (or 4 years in the case of poor elementary schools) at a Primary School and then went on for teacher training. Alternatively mature teachers could take a three years' course at Jeanes School, where heavy emphasis was put on rural community development. In the forties the six years' primary school became standard and the highest level was reached by those who took in addition 2 years in a Junior Secondary School and then another 2 years of teacher training, or alternatively the full 6 years of secondary school leading up to the Cambridge School Certificate examinations. In the fifties the KAPE certificate which required 8 years of education became standard and the highest level was for

those who had a Cambridge Certificate with 2 years of teacher training or perhaps university training abroad. In the sixties 2 years of secondary school training became standard and the highest level was reached by university graduates who now normally received their training in East Africa.

People who were able to take advantage of these educational opportunities had to overcome two problems. First of all they had to pass competitive examinations and secondly they had to be sponsored by people who wanted to pay their school fees. These fees were not very high at the lowest level, and at the highest level they were often paid by the government which wanted to assure the numbers of high level manpower. There were generally too few able candidates than that it could afford not to give grants. The financial problem was pressing at the middle levels. Most of this education was at boarding schools and required expensive teachers with high level qualifications. Sources of income which gave people sufficient cash to enable them to send their children to such boarding schools in colonial days were employment with the government as chiefs, headmen, judges, clerks and policemen; the law and order sector; sale of cash crops; cattle trade. These were the most important sources of income. In the previous chapter I have already dealt with employment in the law and order sector and I have shown the importance of Christianity in this respect.

Commerce was almost completely dominated by the Indians in colonial times. The only form of trade which they left to the Africans was the trade in cattle and the exploitation of butcheries. As in other parts of East Africa Muslims came to dominate the selling of fresh meat. I am not quite sure why this should be so, but it is a fact that at present Bukusu leave the actual killing of animals the meat of which they want to sell or distribute to Muslims, although the latter form only a small proportion of the population. The rest would not have to bother about the right ritual

method of slaughter. Muslims also became prominent in the long distance cattle trade, although they were not by any means the only Africans who earned much money in this branch of commerce.

The first cash crop which provided people with really big incomes, much more than they needed for paying their taxes and some necessities of daily life such as soap, salt, and clothing, was maize. But one needed teams of oxen, ploughs, ox carts, and wage labour in order to be able to do this on a sufficiently large scale. Or rather the relatively expensive investments were only worth while if wage labour could be engaged and large stretches cultivated. Christians were prominent among the first commercial maize farmers. This is partly because they were encouraged to cultivate maize rather than millet. Missionaries did not like millet which could be turned too easily into native beer. Maize was only used for making beer for the first time in the fifties. Wagner also reports that maize is the favourite food among Christians (1956, p. 64). But perhaps more important was their ability to make initial savings which enabled them to make the necessary investments. They did not use additional cattle for marrying more wives, and again, in the case of Protestants they did not convert surplus crops into beer. As soon as they had acquired their equipment they could lay claim to large stretches of land which were more suitable for ploughing than for hoe cultivation. In 1935 Peter Wanyama, pastor of the Quaker Monthly Meeting of Lugulu, was reported to be the largest and pioneer farmer (DC/EN. 3/1/2). Other people who could afford this investment in agricultural equipment and who were not or no longer Christians were government officials and cattle traders and butchers.

Another way of looking at the problem of educational achievement is to concentrate on means for achieving prestige. Traditionally people who wanted to gain prestige invested cattle in additional marriages and the labour of their wives in producing surplus millet and converting it

into beer and food which was provided free to gain popularity and a following or in exchange for similar treatment to gain useful rich and influential friends and allies. The inability to do this as a Christian is the most frequent reason given for not remaining a faithful church member. Faithful Christians on the other hand had to try to gain prestige through giving their children or younger brothers a superior education in order that they might take advantage of opportunities for salaried employment. They were the first people to realize these new opportunities. However, at present good jobs for one's children and a westernized way of life have become the ultimate aim of the great majority of the Bukusu. Political changes make it no longer advantageous to have many wives. The scale of operation of politicians has become too big for that. Beer making has become fully commercialized. Women try to earn some money for themselves through selling beer, rather than provide beer for their husbands' friends. Politicians who try to become popular through buying drinks have to go to the markets and give money to bar keepers and owners of beer canteens. Again, coffee is a cash crop which depends more on careful husbandry than on expensive capital equipment. In these circumstances polygamy might even be an advantage. Thus at the moment the link which undoubtedly existed between high educational achievement of one's children or younger siblings whose education one paid and serious commitment to Christianity with its possibility of investing savings in agricultural equipment and land instead of using resources for marrying more wives and making more beer is disappearing fast. Again the educational system has become completely secularized after independence. Admission to secondary schools depends on examination results alone and no longer on interviews and assesment of the advantages to be gained from educating children of faithful members of the sponsoring church. Nevertheless Christian families still have the advantage that older siblings educated at great costs by the first generation of converts can now easily afford the best education for younger

siblings, if necessary even in private schools, and also do the same for their own children. How important Christianity exactly was is a matter of statistical analysis because of the many and various factors involved. This I tried to do in Kulisiru, where I compared the number of years of formal education of children whose fathers are still alive. One set of data concerns the 10 % sample, the other set all fully committed Christians. I omitted from the 10 % sample the 44 children of the 11 wives of chief Jeremiah. In the sample he was the only man who had it both ways: many wives and for all his children good education. But as a chief he was a statistical rarity and I feel justified in leaving him out.

Table 4. Mean number of years of education of males in
Kulisiru

Age group	10 % sample		all good Christians		Difference
	Number	Education in years	Number	Education in years	
5 - 8	31	0.06	17	0.24	0.18 +
9 - 14	31	2	11	2.90	0.90 +
15 - 22	32	5.31	17	6.18	0.87 +
23 +	36	7.14	28	8.86	1.72 +

Table 5. Mean number of years of education of females in
Kulisiru

Age group	10 % sample		all good Christians		Difference
	Number	Education in years	Number	Education in years	
5 - 10	34	0.5	22	0.64	0.14 +
11 - 17	35	3.51	17	4.12	0.61 +
18 - 25	32	4.69	21	5.86	1.17 +
26 +	32	2.13	17	6	3.87 +

These two tables show that children from good Christian families generally get a better education and faster, than children from other families. They also show that this was more true in the past than in the present. However, since

they deal with the mean number of years of education of a sample, the question is how reliable the figures are. A different sample might well have shown a higher or a lower mean. We are interested in the chance that a higher mean would have occurred because that would undermine our argument. I have calculated the minimum difference which we can expect to occur in 2.5 out of 100 cases of taking a sample, and in 0.5 out of 100 cases of taking a sample.

Table 6. Minimum difference between the mean number of years of education of 10 % sample and all good Christians at the 5 % level and 1 % level.

Males			Females		
Age group	5% level	1% level	Age group	5% level	1% level
5 - 8	+ 0.18	+ 0.17	5 - 10	- 0.15	- 0.25
9 - 14	+ 0.13	+ 0.11	11 - 17	- 0.05	- 0.28
15 - 22	+ 0.03	- 0.24	18 - 25	+ 0.01	- 0.25
23 +	+ 0.85	+ 0.55	26 +	+ 2.75	+ 2.4

This table confirms in a striking way that certainly in the past children from Christian families stood a much better chance to gain a good education than others. The table does not confirm this so clearly for the younger age groups. However, I want to repeat that the table does not negate my findings at all. It is only likely that a different sample might not give results which prove my findings for the younger age groups.

The advent of independence opened up a large number of jobs which had been reserved previously for Europeans and Asians. Africanisation of the Civil Service, the Police and the Army was pursued with great determination. Special measures were taken in order that Africans might overcome the historically grown disadvantages in commerce, industry, and large scale agriculture. People with the relevant educational achievement and professional experience could take advantage of these new opportunities and of the vastly increased programme for the training of high level man power. From our figures concerning educational achievement we should

expect that at least in Kulisiru children from good Christian families were very well placed in the late fifties and early sixties to become members of the new elite. From Kulisiru itself there are only 3 men whom I would want to place in this category. They are an advocate, an Industrial Development Officer at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and former DC, and a Divisional Engineer with the Post and Tele-communications Services. The advocate is the son of ex-chief Jeremiah, the other 2 men are sons of the Presiding Clerk of Sirisia Monthly Meeting of Friends. Obviously the number of cases is extremely limited and I decided to look for the same kind of people in a slightly larger area, comprising the official sub-locations of North and South Kulisiru. Three others were added. One is the son of the resident leader of the Salvation Army at Yabeko, who did so much to spread the church around Sirisia. He is an Army Officer trained in England and Accountant. The second is Senior Superintendent of Police and son of a late lieutenant in the Salvation Army. The third is the daughter of chief Jonathan who took a B.Sc. and Dip. Ed at University College, Nairobi. She is now deputy headmistress at Alliance Girls' Highschool. Chief Jonathan is also the only man who has children at University in East Africa. One son reads Law, another Medicine, and a third Engineering. But ex-chief Jeremiah has two sons abroad. One is supposed to study medicine in Eastern Germany, the other is being trained as accountant in Britain.

The group below this top of the elite was defined by the educational achievement of the Higher School Certificate or roughly similar training. Here of course I limit myself again to Kulisiru in its narrow sense. They are 4 P1 teachers, a District Livestock Officer, a Provincial Information Officer, the Chairman of the Elgon Nyanza Farmers' Co-operative, a Railways' Clerk, a senior salesman of a drug firm based in Uganda, and a personnel officer of a medium sized firm in Nairobi. None of them have fathers who are good Christians. But one of them is a son of ex-lugongo headman Yonah, another a son of the former vice president of the Native

Court of Appeal, Erasto. Both are good friends of ex-chief Jeremiah and their career was intimately connected with his success. They formed part of the FAM faction which rebelled against chief Murunga and got rid of chief Stephan. Unfortunately I do not have sufficient information on the background of the other fathers or brothers who sponsored the men in this category to be able to say more about relevant factors which influenced their success.

The next category which I want to consider here and which can perhaps better be classed as sub-elite attained the Cambridge School Certificate or roughly similar training. Their total number is 20. There are 7 P2 teachers in this group, 9 clerks, 2 medical assistants, an inspector of police, and a district market inspector. Four of them are children of good Christian fathers, another 2 are children of ex-chief Jeremiah.

According to Lloyd (1966, p. 1) the term elite can appropriately be used to denote those who are western educated and wealthy, suggesting an annual income of £ 250 as the lower limit. This definition would exclude those people with KAPE and additional training, most important amongst whom are P 3 teachers. But I think that we should also take into account whether the person concerned is living at home in a rural area with sufficient opportunity for subsistence agriculture and cheap housing, or in town, where the cost of living is much higher. Although recent research on family budgets is not available it is my impression that income in town of £ 120 per annum equals an income of £ 30 per annum in a rural area. In other words a P 3 teacher in a rural area can expect to save as much money as a P 2 teacher in town, at least at the bottom of the salary scale.

The total number of people in this category originating from Kulisiru is 74. They include 19 P 3 teachers, 16 clerks, 11 policemen, 5 artisans, 4 nurses/midwives, 4 drivers, 3 sales men, 3 prisons' employees, 2 veterinary assistants, 2 sub-chiefs, 1 bus conductor, 1 supervisor with the Soil Conservation Service, 1 instructor with the National Youth

Service, 1 locomotive driver, 1 locational marketing master. Of this number 23 live in South Malakisi Location, another 11 elsewhere in Bungoma District, on their own farms, or at least with the advantage of the low cost of living in rural areas. Thirteen of the 74 are children of good Christian fathers, 4 are children of Jeremiah, 2 of Yonah.

With regard to the top elite the proportion of children from good Christian homes is overwhelming. If we take all categories into account, Christian fathers are fewer than others in absolute numbers, even if we discount the children of ex-chief Jeremiah, ex-headman Yonah and former judge Erasto. But even then they are proportionately quite important. Only 5 % of all children of 5 years and older in Kulisiru have good Christian fathers, but among the elite, i.e. people with degree or HSC level qualifications, the percentage is 25 %, among the sub-elite, i.e. people with CSC or KPE with additional vocational training, the percentage is 24 %, discounting children of Jeremiah, Yonah and Erasto.

I think that the teachers' salary scales reflect quite well the relative differences in wealth of the different categories I have considered here.

TEACHERS' SALARY SCALES IN KENYA 1966

Basic academic qualification	Length of training	Grade achieved	Trained salary scale	Untrained salary
Primary, no KPE	2 yrs.	P 4	£120-180	£84
KPE	2 yrs.	P 3	£162-264	£96
KPE + 2-4 yrs. Sec.	2 yrs.	P 2	£240-456	£240
Cambridge Sch. Cert.	2 yrs.	P 1	£348-726	£240
Cambridge Sch. Cert.	3 yrs.	S 1	£582-1110	£240
Higher Sch. Cert.	1 yr.	S 1	£582-1110	£300-350
University Degree	1 yr.	Dip. Ed.	£847-1710	£804-1710

The other question is how large these categories are into which I have divided the Bukusu elite and sub-elite. In other words how representative is Kulisiru for the whole of Bungoma District. One way of checking is to use the

statistics on numbers and qualifications of teachers in primary schools in Bungoma District. Unfortunately the 1969 figures are not available. Thus I have to compare the 1968 figures for Bungoma as a whole with the 1969 figures for Kulisiru. There were 76 P 1 teachers, 230 P 2, 57 untrained with CSC, 766 P 3, and 49 untrained with KJSE (two years of secondary school training). Teachers with P 1 or P 2 level qualifications are 0.14 % of the population of Bungoma District, 0.29 % of the population of Kulisiru. For teachers with P 3 level qualifications the percentages are 0.32 % for Bungoma District, 0.45 % for Kulisiru. Extrapolating from these data we could arrive at an estimated number of around 100 Bukusu with a degree type of qualification. The total number of Bukusu with P 1 or HSC type of qualification is perhaps 200, with P 2 or CSC type of qualification is perhaps 900. The number of people who are in rural areas still elite, but in towns probably not, with P 3 or KJSE type of qualification in Bungoma District itself is perhaps also 900. If we consider the rural elite and sub-elite as a group which differs both in its weighting of various prestige criteria and in its degree of conceptualisation from the rest of the population my objective categorization appears to be very relevant (cf. Long 1968, p. 199). Although I did much less systematic research into these aspects than I could have done, while observing and participating in everyday life I became aware that there are marked differences in the way people dress, the consumer durables which they have at home, the type of house in which they live, and perhaps most important the way in which they spend their leisure time.

For example drinking beer takes place in two different settings, at least around Sirisia where there is not yet a canteen for native beer. First of all there are the old women who prepare beer every fortnight or so, sufficient to entertain any number from a dozen to several scores of people. People from the immediate neighbourhood sit around large pots sipping beer through their long tubes. They do not normally include women younger than 35, who should not

attend beer drinks at all, nor young men under the age of 30. The latter drink their beer mostly from small tins and sit together in a separate house or room. A popular day for making beer is market day when many people on their way home from the market drop in at parties which they find on the way. People at these parties speak Bukusu and may be entertained by musicians who play a fiddle or a harp and who sing traditional or topical and satirical songs. In the larger shopping centres there are bars which sell bottled beer only. The staff consists mainly of young women. Entertainment is provided often by people who play guitars or there is a record player. People who go to these bars are normally much better off than the ordinary peasants. Most of them are teachers, policemen, chiefs and sub-chiefs, and medical assistants and nurses who work in local health centres. These people like to talk English at such occasions. Especially on teachers' pay days there are large gatherings at these bars. The use of English is not confined to bars, however. In fact it is used frequently by secondary school students or secondary school leavers and clerks and teachers from the lowest grades upwards. This is one way of showing that they consider themselves to be better than the ordinary uneducated Bukusu. Many of them are said to be proud people who do not show the ordinary civility one could expect from one's fellows. They also tend to intermarry. It is usual for female teachers and nurses to marry other teachers, clerks, health assistants etc. Economically such families are important because they enjoy a double income. There is no idea that women should give up paid employment when they get married. Husbands are not likely to take another wife apart from the well educated first wife, because that could easily lead to divorce. Educated women are even more against sharing a husband with co-wives than other women and they can be economically independent.

In one important respect the Bukusu elite seems to be different from elites elsewhere in Africa which are said to have become divorced from the land (Lloyd 1966, p. 9). This may be partly a consequence of the fact that land is not

owned by descent groups, but by individuals. Now, people who were able to afford a good education for their children were very often also among the first Africans who started maize growing on a commercial scale. They acquired rather large farms and now their sons have grown up they can give their sons individual holdings which are still of an economic size, especially if they did not marry more than one wife. They also urged many of their children to get plots in the settlement schemes. People with some form of regular skilled employment thought that such plots were a good investment and they are least likely to default payment of loans and to be threatened with eviction. Those who did not succeed in finding a plot in the schemes very often buy farms in the less densely populated parts of Bungoma District. A farm is felt to be a form of insurance. Many elite members who themselves work in town have their wives and children living at home on their farm. Those who have employment in Bungoma District itself have an even greater incentive to buy and develop farms because they can get a good return on employed capital and are able to supervise and direct the farming personally.

People who earn really large incomes tend to buy farms in the former White Highlands. It is most usual that they buy the buildings and equipment, but that they lease the farm itself for a period of 5 years, after which the farm can be bought over a period of 20 or 30 years perhaps. They are also the people who buy Asian shops for durable consumer goods in the main trading centres and towns and who establish themselves in wholesale business distributing daily necessities and textile, from which local tailors make clothes, to the many small shops in the African markets. Transport is another branch in which they set themselves up. But salaried employment is not a necessary condition for successful business ventures. There are even partnerships of fairly old and not well educated wealthy peasant farmers and cattle traders who have bought up large scale farms in the former White Highlands. One such partnership consisted of a Muslim cattle trader, his former

trading partner, a Quaker who has become a polygamist, and a prominent Quaker leader and former vice-president of the Kimilili divisional court.

Thus the Bukusu elite appears to be important in two respects. First of all its members have shown the importance of good education to achieve rapid social mobility which enabled them to adopt a style of life which seemed to be the privilege of the ruling European group in colonial times. Certain features of this style of life are adopted by all people who have western education and who earn an income from employment in teaching or in clerical, managerial and supervisory jobs. This enables them to build comfortable and safe permanent houses, to enjoy superior food, drink and entertainment, and also in some cases to run a private car. Intermarriage between members of this group is likely to have profound influence on the relationship between husbands and wives and thus on family life in general. Weddings are likely to be officially registered in the DC's office or in church. In rural areas this category extends to lower income groups than in towns. Secondly the Bukusu elite has set an example of entrepreneurial activity in commercial farming and also to some extent in trade. The prestige which the white farming community enjoyed has undoubtedly been an important factor to bring this about, but so has the absence of descent groups which could have held back development in the reserves and prevented an imitation of the people at the top who could buy farms formerly owned by Europeans. Bukusu were well acquainted with the white farmers and since the nineteen thirties progressive Bukusu peasants tried to adopt their methods of large scale maize farming. Sons of these pioneer farmers are now often elite members and can now emulate their fathers. Members of the elite and sub-elite are in fact doing two jobs. In one capacity they provide education, health services, or guarantee maintenance of law and order, but they are also deeply involved in rural development. They are willing to run financial risks and spend time and energy

on management. The alternative of government controlled and financed rural development would probably have been impossible because of the lack of the right kind of administrative personnel and the impossibility to use public money for projects with a high risk of failure.

The development of a landed gentry and a prosperous middle class in rural Kenya may be seen as a means of spreading the benefits of rapid economic growth more equally than in colonial times, when there was definitely a dual economy. Profits made in the European and Asian sectors were simply used to make their predominance even greater. But now elite members invest in rural areas and some wealthy Africans living in the reserves have penetrated into large scale commercial agriculture. Economic stratification within the rural areas helps to concentrate savings which can be used to stimulate further development. It is true that different styles of life develop with increased socio-economic stratification. But at least among the Bukusu the attributes associated with elite membership are still regarded as just rewards for individual efforts rather than as extorsions from economically and politically deprived masses.

I believe that the two most important problems the people of Kenya had to face after independence were the problem of regional imbalances and the problem of growing socio-economic stratification among the Africans themselves as the policy of Africanization was pursued seriously. The policy which emerged was to give priority to fast economic growth and political stability. It was believed that in this way elimination of regional differences and eradication of basic problems of poverty, illness and ignorance could be achieved much faster than through semi-federalism or nationalisation of the means of production and basic changes in income differentials through progressive taxation or otherwise. But implementation of this policy could only be successful if there were no opposition parties to make political capital out of the fact that short term results seemed to increase regional and individual differences,

because that would lead to political instability. Much political effort went into the careful erosion of the support of the opposition parties KADU and KPU, which advocated regional autonomy and free land and education respectively. These opposition parties were in many cases supported by whole tribes or regions. The absence of such parties would make it possible to recruit members of all tribes and regions as ministers and assistant ministers. Thus in 1970 at least the constitution of the front bench approached the ideal of equal opportunities for people from all parts of Kenya, no matter what their ethnic affiliation or the contribution of their constituency to the national economy was like.

With regard to the growing socio-economic stratification members of parliament appear to have been persuaded that this is an inevitable consequence of the process of Africanization and fast economic growth through private investment. The salaries which MPs enjoy and their residence in Nairobi for much of the time put them straight away into the national elite which generally tries to invest money judiciously in business enterprises. They are perhaps even more inclined to do this than other elite members because of the instability inherent in their elective position. This elite role conditions MPs to affirm the basic economic policies to which Kenya has committed itself. The parliamentary system itself symbolizes commitment to a style of government which is highly thought of in countries with western type democracies. The successful operation of such a system gives international prestige and suggests a political maturity and stability which encourages investment by foreign companies and which promotes tourism. These factors then form an additional stimulus for the continuation of the present policies.

The above mentioned functions of the parliamentary system in Kenya should perhaps be called latent. The overt functions of MPs are legislative and executive. At the moment about one third of all MPs is minister or assistant minister and responsible for formulating and executing

government policies, which can be amended or rejected by backbenchers. It is also considered the duty of MPs to interpret policies and decisions of the government to the people, just as it is supposed to be the voice of the people in its legislative capacity. The aim of government since independence has been to increase the control which the executive can exercise, while parliament tried to limit its discretionary powers. On the whole parliament has not been very much opposed to greater centralisation as such. When at the end of 1969 the statutory obligations of the local authorities to provide education, health services and secondary roads were taken away and given to the central government there was little protest and much approval. Clearly backbenchers could hope to exercise more influence now on spending of public funds in their constituencies. During the elections the most serious threat to their position had come from people connected with the County Councils who could claim that they had looked much better after the people they represented than MPs in remote Nairobi. Although debates tend to be very lively, it appears that ministers have the power to make policy decisions which are seldom altered substantially, unless they also represent a minority point of view within the cabinet itself. It also seems that the interpretation of policies and decisions of the government to the people is done much more often and effectively through the provincial administrative hierarchy with its cadre of chiefs and sub-chiefs than through MPs.

Although I do not think that parliament has a very strong influence on the government and although I am inclined to see its meaning in what might be called ritual terms, certain people are obviously better suited to play the parliamentary game than others. Moreover the real power which government ministers and assistant ministers can develop is also allocated to people with certain qualities. Although ministries are divided between politicians of various tribes in such a way that no ethnic group needs feel neglected, ministers probably do not use their power much for their own tribal interests, because ministries are engaged

in competition for resources to implement their particular national plans. Because there are only 22 ministries, for purposes of ethnic identity recent 'super-tribes' such as Luhya and Kalenjin are recognized as significant units rather than their constituent units which can be called tribes with much greater justification. Luhya expect to get two ministries which has been to the advantage of Masinde Muliro, if not the Bukusu. After the 1969 elections in which Otiende, minister for health from Maragoli was defeated, Muliro was the obvious candidate for the second Luhya post, because he had been minister already, and because so much emphasis was put on burying old differences with politicians who had belonged to opposition parties.

Generally speaking those qualities which are looked for in ministers and assistant ministers are also those which could have made them into influential backbenchers. These qualities are a good debating skill, knowledge of what one is actually talking about, and a good standing with MPs of the same tribal grouping. A high level of education and a good performance as backbencher or member of the government appear to have been the criteria applied by many Bukusu in the 1969 elections, the first after the 1963 elections. They realized that MPs whose parliamentary performance would be bad would not be able to exercise much influence on their behalf. Whether people who do have influence now in parliament and government will be able to get benefits for the Bukusu which they would not get otherwise is however a moot point and many voters seemed to realize that as well. But their argument was that in the case of the other candidates they could not expect anything whatsoever.

Thus although becoming a politician could be a rapid way of establishing oneself as a member of the elite, paradoxically those people who were already members of the elite because of their education and experience stand the best chance of being elected to parliament by the Bukusu. This chance is enhanced by two other factors. First of all candidates who give the impression that they try to become MP

because they have a genuine desire to serve their constituents are more likely to be elected than people who just seem to want to use the elections as the only way open to them to become rich and influential. Secondly those who are already members of the elite have also got the resources to stage a successful campaign which impresses those people who are only interested in being entertained liberally during an election campaign. Outright purchase of votes is not usual I believe, but liberal help for self-help projects requires perhaps even more money. Thus those who were successful in 1969 in the elections were Munoko, Khaoya and Muliro, who were all re-elected and who became assistant ministers and, in case of Muliro, minister. Munoko had been assistant minister, Khaoya became assistant minister for the first time. Only the candidate who replaced Mark Barasa, Elijah Mwangale, lecturer at Egerton Agricultural College, had to be satisfied with being back bencher. It should be no surprise to learn that all Bukusu MPs apart from Masinde Muliro came from good Christian homes. This confirms the correlation which I discovered in Kulisiru. Early and persistent commitment to Christianity gave children of the first generation of converts the chance to get better than average education in the forties and fifties and the opportunity to become members of the national elite in the sixties.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The question which I had in mind when I started to do my research was: What were the implications of the acceptance of religious innovations and participation in new religious activities for the involvement in processes of social change, specifically industrialisation and national integration? I decided that adoption of the theoretical framework suggested by Mary Douglas who makes a distinction between grid and group, two independent variables which characterize any social system, would make it possible to give an answer which would describe the processes I was interested in most economically and allow me to explain them most comprehensively. The usefulness of the approach became apparent in the first place when I tried to understand the significance of the Dini ya Msambwa. If Bukusu were living in a society with strong grid but weak group this religious movement would fit very well the explanation of similar millenarian movements in Melanesia known as cargo cults. But this assumption would also allow me to explain more fully the reaction of the Bukusu to social changes which were much more clearly brought about by external factors.

Before starting an analysis of social change among the Bukusu I tried to give a description of certain salient features of the traditional social system. This description served a double purpose. Firstly it established a base line which made it possible to describe what actually did change when colonial rule was introduced, expanded and finally gave way to African majority rule and independence. In the second place it allowed me to show that there was no evidence against my thesis that the social system of the Bukusu was traditionally very much grid oriented and that subsequent reaction to social change could only be explained by taking this fact into account. The political system was characterized by an absence of state-like insti-

tutions, of lineages which might have formed a balanced system of segments in opposition to each other, and of councils of people belonging to the same age-set, or moieties which could have regularized transfer of authority from one generation to another for the tribe as a whole. Yet the Bukusu were very much in need of security and had to build many walled villages to give themselves and their cattle some protection against raids by enemies. These villages needed leaders who could manage to get enough people together to build the fortifications and to keep the inhabitants of the village together in peace and amity through preventing disruptive quarrels and disputes. Skill in arbitration might allow a village leader to assert his influence over a cluster of neighbouring villages. But there is evidence that other scarce skills such as blacksmithing, foretelling the future and circumcising could also help ambitious people to achieve such leadership. The relationship between the leader of a village and his followers was in many cases based on ties of kinship and affinity. Community relations were further strengthened by ties between age-mates. Rules of marriage and incest prohibitions made a correct categorization of all possible kin and affines with whom one could come into contact necessary. The customary attitudes between the various categories provided then a ready-made framework for social interaction. Life-crisis rituals underlined the importance of certain categories of kin, rather than of descent groups or village communities. The emphasis on impersonal supernatural forces which do not serve as moral arbitrators in Bukusu cosmology is in accordance with the strength of grid in the Bukusu social system.

Logically and historically it makes sense to examine political change before paying attention to the influence of religious innovation and processes of economic differentiation within Bukusu society. Political role differentiation started with the introduction of chiefs and headmen who had to collect taxes and maintain law and order. Soon

they were told to work through local Bukusu leaders instead of alien armed retainers. Appeals to the European administrators against arbitrary decisions were made possible through a system of courts. Control over the execution of policy decisions was increased when courts were amalgamated and made independent of the chiefs. Consultation of public opinion took place in representative councils on certain matters of policy which were not basic to the ultimate aim of the colonial rulers who identified protection of the economic interests of the white community with the prosperity and well being of the country as a whole. The Bukusu on the other hand tried to use these institutions in order to advance their own personal interests. Their political agitation concentrated on replacement of alien chiefs by Bukusu chiefs, a more equitable distribution of taxes paid to local authorities and greater political and economic opportunities for Africans in Kenya as a whole, in order that Bukusu could take advantage of the full range of employment opportunities. Such aims determined Bukusu political action evident in the agitation for the replacement of Wanga chiefs, the establishment of Bukusu dominance in their own district, and in the competition between national political parties between the establishment of African majority rule and the final British withdrawal from Kenya.

In order to achieve their aims Bukusu organized themselves in associations which I want to call factions because they focussed on leaders who had to achieve definite and concrete benefits for their followers. Followers would leave their leaders if competitors would offer better prospects. Similarly leaders would renounce bases for recruitment of followers and change their policies if this would strengthen their own position. Thus factions which tried to overthrow Wanga rulers were based on denominational membership, but the Bukusu Union which aimed at better opportunities for social mobility for Bukusu through a greater share of public revenue and greater influence in the Legislative

Council completely ignored denominational competition in which most of its members had been actively engaged. Similarly the promises of the KADU leader with regard to a share in the White Highlands implied a complete reversal of the Bukusu Union policy of separating Bukusu interests from the needs and aspirations of the other Luhya sub-tribes. Again, in each case issues appealed to individual interests of followers. Bukusu chiefs would be more sensitive to Bukusu public opinion and stop Wanga nepotism and favour their own Bukusu friends who had helped them in particular. The Bukusu Union wanted better education and control over opportunities to make most of this education through increased control over the government in order to realize fully the potential for social mobility for Africans. Support for the KADU faction was gained through the promise of control of a proportionately large area of the White Highlands which implied the possibility of acquiring more farms in the settlement schemes. The acceptance of religious innovation was important because it provided Bukusu with education which qualified them for positions in the colonial system as chiefs, headmen, judges and councillors. It also provided a location wide framework within which the Bukusu could agitate against Wanga chiefs and at least in Malakisi Location in the end get one of their own people into office. Missionaries also taught Bukusu the techniques of building up large scale voluntary organisations and directly encouraged their participation in semi-political welfare association. The missionary control of the educational system and the bias against provision of higher education and hospitals in the Bukusu country, on the part of all denominations who had started in the south of the district near the railway, gave the Bukusu a rallying point for concerted action. Finally the Dini ya Msambwa troubles focussed the attention of the government on the political and economic development of the Bukusu country. At the local level active participation of ordinary church members in religious activities, the willingness to bear financial responsibility, and the readiness to follow the

rules of the church appear to depend to a very large extent on the exertions of local leaders and the intensity of pastoral care in face-to-face relations which they are able to maintain. The readiness of local leaders to undertake such obligations in turn seems to depend very much on their prospects for sharing responsibility for policy decisions at higher levels of the church organisation. The most important consequence of continued commitment to Christianity is perhaps the impossibility to marry more than one wife. Instead of spending one's cows on marrying more wives one could spend it on capital investment necessary for undertaking large scale maize farming which required trained teams of oxen, ploughs and carts, as well as the employment of wage labourers. One could also afford a better than average education for one's children if they were intelligent enough and sufficiently motivated to take advantage of boarding school education along British lines. This situation was especially prevalent in the forties and fifties and consequently people who were most ready to take advantage of the new employment opportunities thrown open at the middle and higher levels after independence were in many cases children of good Christians. They are now members of the new elite in Kenya.

The problem which faces the new elite is the achievement of national integration against a background of rapid economic differentiation among Africans themselves. The elected parliament and the de facto one party system have an important function in this respect. Because there is only one party ministerial posts can be allocated to representatives of all different regions and tribes in Kenya and government can be seen to be truly national. Again only those people who are elected to parliament can become minister or assistant minister. The voters are given a chance to decide whether their performance has been good enough. Thus government can also be seen to be truly representative. At the same time MPs in general and to an even greater degree assistant ministers and ministers are committed to rapid economic growth which implies increasing

economic differentiation with its attendant development of elitist ways of life, simply because they themselves are by definition members of the elite. Very often they were already elite members before becoming successful politicians because established elite members find it easier to persuade voters that they want to work for their constituents rather than for personal gain and also because they have the money to finance a successful political campaign and surpass their opponents in generosity.

Although the developments which I have tried to trace in this thesis are due to a historically unique constellation of factors, our understanding of social change could be advanced considerably if it were possible to extract those elements which make these historical changes comparable to similar developments elsewhere. Whether the theoretical framework which I adopted has been successful in this respect can only be ascertained by further comparative research. All I can do here is to compare the Bukusu with a tribe which seems to be similar in many respects and try to make an analytical distinction between external factors which induced social changes and the structure of the social system in terms of grid and group which determined to some extent the reaction to these new influences. It appears that the Kipsigis are perhaps the best example. Unfortunately little is known about the political developments among the Kipsigis during the last 60 years, but we are reasonably well informed about economic changes and the impact of Christianity (Manners 1967). Both tribes were originally predominantly pastoral, but have become much more dependent on agriculture than they used to. Both were located on the border of the White Highlands where many went to live as squatters, and where they became acquainted with modern agricultural methods. Again in both cases commercial maize farming became well established between the world wars due to the presence of the railway in the case of the Bukusu and the tea estates in the case of the Kipsigis. In both areas all land was enclosed and the principle of private ownership accepted well before independence.

It also seems that the traditional social system of the Kipsigis was not too different from that of the Bukusu (ibid. pp. 243-252). The neighbourhood communities in which the Kipsigis lived, the kokwet, were not based on descent groups and political authority was not in the hands of kings, chiefs and headmen. Within the kokwet disputes and violation of social norms were handled by an informal council of elders, and if they were unable to reach agreement the matter would be referred to an outside judge acceptable to the litigants. Leadership in warfare and raiding was the function of a different category of people. All this sounds very similar to what we know about the territorial and political organization of the Bukusu. But there are also some differences. The Kipsigis did not live in walled villages and there were no leaders keen on recruiting followers or in the position to control the influx of new members. Community organization among the Kipsigis was much less clearly based on ego-centred networks. Again, although the exogamous patrilineal clans were dispersed the members had nevertheless a communal responsibility for the payment of compensation if one of their members had killed another Kipsigis or a member of a tribe with whom the Kipsigis had friendly relations. Although the Bukusu had a number of specialists among them who practised a valuable vocation, they had no people with a status comparable to that of the laibon (ibid. pp. 262-264). They were sorcerers with patrilineally inherited supernatural powers which they used to improve their material and marital circumstances. They could expect gifts of cattle and of grain which was turned into beer. Fathers did not dare to refuse them to marry their daughters and it is alleged that no one would ask for bridewealth in exchange. They employed messengers who kept the laibon in contact with the population in his area and who helped him to retain control over the Kipsigis whom he exploited.

Just as among the Bukusu the British instituted a hierarchy of chiefs and sub-chiefs (ibid. p. 320). But the British never experimented with agents from other tribes. Directly

from the beginning they appointed Kipsigis. But few if any of the early chiefs had been influential as judge or war leader because, according to Manners (p. 321), the Kipsigis wanted to steer the British away from their own most competent people who were to be held in reserve for advice, help, and leadership in times of need, because they could not be sure of what would happen to the new British servants. Unfortunately we are not told who the Kipsigis were who had enough influence to keep their best people in reserve. Presumably the influential men themselves did not want to risk the loss of status which they had in the traditional society through allying themselves with the British rulers. The laibon even opposed and sabotaged government efforts and were in large part responsible for the heavy turn over in appointed chiefs before 1934-36 when all the laibon were rounded up and exiled. The matter was brought to a head when many homes of anti-laibon or "Christianized" Kipsigis had been burned (ibid. p. 265). Again no information is available on whether literacy and its attendant close connection with missions became a criterion for recruitment of chiefs and sub-chiefs.

Until 1946 the only two missions active among the Kipsigis were the World Gospel Mission and the Africa Inland Mission which trace their origins back through a series of other designations to the end of the first or the beginning of the second decade of this century. Both are American-supported, multi-sect, Protestant fundamentalist in character. Compared to other missions in Kenya I think that they were not greatly interested in educating Africans beyond the level of mere literacy and that they were also against political "wordly" aspirations of their followers. Manners mentions at least that their main impact was based on teaching African peasants the virtues of individual care, responsibility and ownership of land. Thus missionaries were the source of a good deal of the early impetus towards cash crops, construction of mills for grinding maize, as well as the drive towards individual land acquisition. In

1946 the Catholic Mill Hill Mission started its activities among the Kipsigis and were very successful because they were not against moderate drinking and smoking and more tolerant of traditional Kipsigis customs. This earned them a reputation among the American missionaries of opportunism, syncretism, and downright paganism (ibid. pp. 346-347).

Before 1958 a modicum of Kipsigis political education and action had been provided through the Kipsigis African District Council. Locational Councils had also proved an occasional forum for political expression. But apart from these and the clandestine activities of one of the oath taking groups which functioned briefly and ineffectually among the Kipsigis in the early fifties, political activity and expression among the Kipsigis before 1957-58 appears to have been desultory, largely unorganized and generally limited to a few "malcontents and troublemakers", who saw the source of most difficulties in a repressive British administration. Since that time a large number of Kipsigis have become politically minded. But at least until the emergence of the de facto one party state the Kipsigis concentrated their efforts not on submerging tribal differences in the interests of unity for independence and the fabrication of a nation but on cementing tribal feelings and centralizing tribal political efforts on the job of defending rights to "tribal lands" against the threats of land hungry tribes like the Kikuyu and Luo (ibid. pp. 323-324).

Different external influences can partly explain the different reactions to social change among the Bukusu and Kipsigis. The British never tried to rule the Kipsigis through foreign chiefs. Therefore individual Kipsigis who wanted to replace chiefs could not appeal for public support and sympathy on the grounds that Kipsigis ought to be ruled by members of their own tribe who should get the benefits of chieftainship instead of foreigners who practised nepotism and favouritism. Again, there was no denominational competition among the Kipsigis until after the second world war and no need for a rapid expansion

through African teachers who were given a wide degree of autonomy in order to beat the efforts of rival denominations. Thus missions among the Kipsigis probably did not provide Africans with the experience of organizing location wide pressure groups. The situation must have been to some extent similar to that prevailing in South Bukusu, with the exception that there was no rapid turn over of chiefs of Bukusu origin. Chief Sudi's authority was widely accepted by the Bukusu themselves.

The missionaries did not encourage the emergence of semi-political welfare associations and Kipsigis did not acquire the techniques required for the efficient running of modern organizations such as the Bukusu Union undoubtedly was. Moreover there would not have been any obvious focus for such an association. The main aim of the Bukusu Union was the expansion of the education system which was controlled by the North Nyanza LNC in which the Bukusu did not have a majority, and by the various missions who all concentrated higher education and hospital services in the south of the district. Thus the Bukusu Union could draw support from all denominations in the struggle for more schools and a greater share of public expenditure. Eventually they reached this aim through the setting up of the Elgon Nyanza ADC. But among the Kipsigis such separation was unnecessary because they had their own Local Native Council right from the beginning. Again the earlier missions did not seem to provide only certain sections of the Kipsigis with chances for higher education and hospital treatment within easy reach. Or perhaps they did but the other sections of the Kipsigis did not feel sufficiently neglected to organize themselves politically. This is perhaps partly because commercial maize farmers who had the cash to pay for such services were concentrated around the main mission stations which had served as centres for the dissemination of new ideas concerning agriculture and land-ownership. The Bukusu found themselves in the position that they had the cash but no facilities in sufficient quantity and within easy reach.

But there are also differences between processes of social change among Bukusu and Kipsigis which cannot be easily explained in terms of the form which external influences took, but which become understandable if we see Kipsigis society as weaker with regard to grid, but stronger with regard to group than Bukusu society. Kipsigis were far more reluctant than Bukusu to see the official hierarchy of chiefs and sub-chiefs which the British had instituted as part of their own political system. They also did not show interest in exerting pressure on the British to change this new political system which comprised both Africans and Europeans. There was no substantial support for the Kenya African Union although Kipsigis had very much the same grievances as the Kikuyu and Bukusu with regard to the loss of tribal lands to European farmers and the position of squatters. Kipsigis also lacked the initiative shown by Kikuyu and Bukusu in setting up their own independent schools, because missionaries did not provide enough education or because they unduly interfered with the private behaviour and convictions of their teachers. Yet Manners reports that in the past Kipsigis looked upon the failure of the government to provide enough schools and teachers as a conscious ruse to keep the Kipsigis illiterate and non-competitive (p. 350). Again, teachers in Protestant schools deeply resented the fact that they could only smoke or drink when they were safe from detection. But, as they pointed out, hypocrisy was not a choice but a necessity. Their employment depended upon outward conformity, and they needed their jobs (ibid. p. 351). Here again Kipsigis appear to accept the situation they find themselves in as given. Bukusu were far more inclined to manipulate people, including European missionaries and British administrators, to take the greatest advantage of the opportunities which the latter had created. Indeed their political activity can easily be labelled as opportunistic. But Bukusu political activity went beyond this when Bukusu tried to create situations which could be more advantageous through changes in the political system itself, and decided to switch allegiance to leaders who seemed best equipped to do so.

It has been the aim of this thesis to show that such an attitude towards social change as exhibited by the Bukusu can be most easily explained if we assume that their social system has strong grid but weak group. People who are used to operate ego-centred networks rather than fit themselves into existing perpetual corporate groups are inclined to see new institutions as opportunities for extending their networks and are not hampered by incompatibilities with membership of existing groups. If it is to one's personal advantage it is better to give up old links and create new ones. The new hierarchy of chiefs and sub-chiefs was quickly accepted and much political activity was directed at occupying these positions. The same was true of opportunities offered by missions for becoming teachers and church leaders. Later political activity concentrated on greater African influence at the national level and on achieving better education for Bukusu in order to give them better chances in the competition for jobs at the middle and higher levels. Denominational differences were forgotten to achieve these aims and ethnic identities were manipulated in accordance with the level and scale of political operations.

One difficulty inherent in the use of the group-grid dichotomy is the fact that grid seems to be so similar to network that it could be doubted whether grid is a term at the same level of abstraction as group. After all it has been argued that the criterion of inclusion into a network should be social interaction between people alone. Thus a network consists of all relations among some set of individuals. At a higher level of abstraction these individuals can be treated as persons occupying positions in groups and organizations, which can be defined in terms of normative roles (Garbett 1970, p. 221). It is often assumed that a society is comprised of a number of associations, which together constitute its total structure. A man may perform a number of roles within a single association. But as a member of different associations he has a wide and varied range of roles (Lloyd 1967, p. 162).

Nadel (1957, p. 95) warned strongly against such a simplistic model of society. Relationships may be bounded by sub-groups and relations between sub-groups consist of interactions between people who act as representatives of these sub-groups. But there are also other relationships which interlock with the society at large as their focus, without first being confined in sub-groups. It is this latter type of role which forms a grid of ego-centred social categories. Thus grid must be defined in terms of roles, just as groups, associations and organizations. It is a concept at the same level of abstraction as group. However, the abstraction of group roles is normally a step in the process through which institutional structures, defined in terms of goals, can be established. On the other hand the study of grid roles leads to a consideration of personal sets or networks which are likely to be different for each ego, since they are based to a large extent on choice. Nevertheless Mary Douglas is completely justified in comparing societies both in terms of grid and of group.

A more difficult matter is the question of measurement of the relative strength of grid and group. Mary Douglas's solution to this problem is to require that predictions of her hypothesis are limited to any given social environment, and to state that the more limited the cultural ranges within which the comparison is made, the more significant the results are. Yet she recognises the fact that the latitude allowed by the term 'given social environment' is a matter of discretion (1970, pp. 63-64). Of course, the distinction between group and grid can most easily be taken into account when the societies considered are extreme cases within the framework set by the variables of group and grid. I think that this is one of the more important objections which can be raised against her attempt to find correlates in the cosmology of primitive peoples. She mainly considers examples which illustrate extreme possibilities and which can probably be called ideal types.

Her most detailed analysis of the differences between Muer and Dinka does not even deal with the problems inherent in measuring the relative strength of group and grid. Instead she concentrates on the total strength of control on individual behaviour through both group and grid roles (ibid. pp. 86-97). It may well be that the analysis of social change in terms of group and grid seemed to fit the facts so well in the case of the Bukusu because their social system approaches the ideal type of the extreme possibility of weak group and strong grid. Nevertheless I believe that the success of the application of this theoretical framework suggests that consideration of roles which are not contained within sub-groups, but which have the society as a whole as their focus, may be important for a correct understanding of processes of social change elsewhere.

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