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ABSTRACT

AN EXPERIMENT WITH AFRICAN COFFEE GROWING IN KENYA: THE GUSII, 1933-1950

By

Carolyn Barnes

This study analyzes the factors within and without Gusii society which directly influenced the introduction and expansion of coffee production. It also describes the assumptions of the colonial administrators in regard to the form and structure of the industry. Furthermore, salient characteristics of the pioneer growers, those who adopted coffee before 1938, are compared with a subsequent group of Gusii coffee farmers to test hypotheses on innovation.

A combination of research methods and techniques were employed. Primary, written documents and relevant secondary materials were consulted in the United States, England and Kenya. Also, pioneer growers and other informants were questioned following an interview guide. Then a structured questionnaire was administered to the pioneers, a random sample of the next set of coffee adopters, and respondents for the deceased members of the study unit. Information from the questionnaires is provided in tables, giving frequency counts and percentages, while chi-square tests indicate levels of significance.

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CAROLYN BARNES

BY

IN KENYA: THE GOSII, 1933-1950
AN EXPERIMENT WITH AFRICAN COFFEE GROWING

ABSTRACT

Carolyn Barnes

The study documents, up to 1933, the importance of coffee within the settler-dominated economy of Kenya, which prohibited production of the crop by indigenous persons. After that date, at the insistence of the Colonial Office, the colony agreed to African coffee growing, but only on a limited, experimental basis. The ultimate agreement compromised a more extreme position taken earlier by the Colonial Office, when Sidney Webb was Secretary of State.

Among the three experimental areas was Gusiiland, in southwestern Kenya. The initiative to begin coffee growing there, and subsequently the impetus to organize the industry on a cooperative basis, was taken by district officials. A positive response to the introduction of coffee was forthcoming from only a small number of Gusii cultivators. A significant percentage of the first growers were among the early educated members of their society. They were motivated by a combination of reasons, including the expectation of earning a greater cash income. In contrast, other members of their society were unwilling to plant coffee for fear that Europeans would confiscate their land if they grew the crop successfully. After this fear subsided, the rate of expansion was largely determined by external factors such as the wartime emphasis on food crop production, the policy of concentration of coffee areas, coffee diseases and pests, and availability of seedlings. The ultimate control resided with the central government, which set a maximum limit on the annual allocation of seedlings per individual and the maximum number of acres under coffee in each experimental

The early documents, up to 1933, the importance of col-

area. Although coffee production in Gusiiland was successful, not until mid-1949 was the maximum acreage limitation removed.

Coffee growing, especially once the cultivators were allowed to plant the crop on their own land, rather than on a block plot, was accommodated by traditional agricultural patterns. In Gusii society, men always had the right to cultivate a plot of land for personal profit, so the administration's insistence on coffee ownership by men was in accordance with this system. Labor on the coffee fields was usually carried out by family labor and supplemented by traditional work groups.

Initially, at the district level, the management and control of the coffee industry rested with the agricultural officer, and finance was provided by the local native council. In 1943 the industry was placed under the auspices of a board of eight Gusii, elected by the growers, with the agricultural officer as chairman. The following year, facilitated by government's interest in cooperatives among Africans as a means of directing their energies and aspirations into non-competitive arenas, the board was dissolved and the Kisii Coffee Growers Co-operative Society established. The society functioned up to the mid-1950s, when it was transformed into a cooperative union with affiliated societies. The organization of the coffee industry was marked by the gradual accumulation of control by local persons and the assertion of Gusii leadership, although within constraints set by central government.

Kisii, as well as the other experimental areas, demonstrated that black Kenyans could successfully produce coffee

Carolyn Barnes

and provided a model for expanding production and marketing to other areas, once the government decided it was both economically and politically advantageous to extend African coffee production.

AN EXPERIMENT WITH AFRICAN COFFEE GROWING IN KENYA: THE GUSII, 1933-1950

By

Carolyn Barnes

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1976

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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At Michigan State University, James Hooker provided continued guidance, and Harold Marcus gave extremely helpful criticisms on the form and style of the manuscript. John Hunter, Neal Fugle, Marjorie Winters, Fred Chege, Eugene DeBenko and his staff at the library, and the staff at the African Studies Center assisted me at various stages of the study. The map and figures herein were done by Richard Sambrook.

To those persons who facilitated the securing of financial assistance to conduct the research, I am deeply indebted. The study was carried out under a Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities Grant and a Fulbright-Hays Fellowship. The Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, contributed supplemental funds and facilities.

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INTRODUCTION

The early years of colonial rule in Kenya laid the foundation from which European settlers, with their allies in commercial circles in London and government, could gain control over the economic structure and productive resources of the economy. Production of coffee,[1] one of the main settler enterprises, was exclusively reserved for Europeans until the early 1930s, when an experiment was undertaken with African coffee growing in Kisii, Embu, and Meru. Although indigenous coffee production up to the late 1940s was limited, the experiment was nevertheless significant not only in terms of its beginnings and growth but also because it laid the foundations for the future structure of African coffee industry.

Even though this study concentrates on the introduction and growth of the coffee industry in Gusiiland, or Kisii, the relevant activities and policies of London and Nairobi will also be considered. Thus, the research covers factors within Gusii society and those external to it which directly influenced the introduction and expansion of the industry, and the assumptions of colonial administrators and officials in regard to the structure and control of the industry. Also, the salient characteristics of the pioneer innovators,

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[1]Unless otherwise specified, the term coffee refers to the *arabica* species.

INTRODUCTION

The early years of colonial rule in Kenya laid the foundation from which European settlers, with their early access to capital and skills, were able to establish a relatively large and fairly diversified industrial sector. This sector was heavily concentrated on the production of consumer goods for the European community. Production of capital goods was virtually nonexistent, and the country's industrial development was highly dependent on imports of machinery and equipment. Even though this early concentration on the import-substitution type of industrialization was strongly criticized by African nationalists, it was not significantly altered after independence in 1963. Kenya's industrial development continued to be dominated by foreign investors, with the European community playing a leading role in the ownership and management of industry. Although the African share in the ownership and management of industry increased substantially after independence, the bulk of the country's industrial assets remained in the hands of non-African investors, mainly Europeans and Asians.

Kenya's industrial development strategy during the 1964-70 period was characterized by a high degree of reliance on foreign resources, including capital, technology, and managerial skills. Local resources, both human and financial, were not adequately mobilized. Kenya's industrial development was also highly concentrated in the modern urban sector, with little attention being given to the development of rural industries. Industrial development was largely confined to the production of consumer goods for the relatively affluent urban market. Little emphasis was placed on the development of capital goods industries, which are normally considered necessary for the establishment of a broad and diversified industrial base. Kenya's industrial development strategy was also characterized by a bias in favor of capital-intensive import-substitution projects. Most of the new industries established during the 1964-70 period were highly capital intensive, relative to the factor endowments of the economy. Production of consumer goods in Kenya, Europe, and North America. Although industrialization from which European settlers, with their early access to capital and skills, were able to establish a relatively large and fairly diversified industrial sector. This sector was heavily concentrated on the production of consumer goods for the European community. Production of capital goods was virtually nonexistent, and the country's industrial development was highly dependent on imports of machinery and equipment. Even though this early concentration on the import-substitution type of industrialization was strongly criticized by African nationalists, it was not significantly altered after independence in 1963. Kenya's industrial development continued to be dominated by foreign investors, with the European community playing a leading role in the ownership and management of industry. Although the African share in the ownership and management of industry increased substantially after independence, the bulk of the country's industrial assets remained in the hands of non-African investors, mainly Europeans and Asians.

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especially their position vis à vis colonial institutions, are used to test a few key theories on innovation.[2]

The economic purpose of Britain's colonial policy has received considerable attention over several decades.[3] Two major contributions to the field recently are E. G. Brett's Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa: The Politics of Economic Change 1919-39 (London, 1973) and Richard Wolff's The Economics of Colonialism: Britain and Kenya, 1870-1930 (New Haven, Connecticut, 1974). These studies postulate that the development of capitalism in Britain involved its dependencies as suppliers of raw materials and produce, and as markets for manufacturers and capital. Colonies therefore grew (underdeveloped) within the constraints imposed by the economic development of the industrialized metropole. Brett maintains that external control, however, positively contributed to the societies by introducing the most advanced social and material culture.

The response of African farmers to economic opportunities during the colonial period has been the focus of a small, but growing, body of literature. These studies generally

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[2]The research methodology is explained in Appendix A.

[3]One of the most influential books ever to appear is John A. Hobson, Imperialism: A Study, rev. ed. (London: George Allen Unwin, 1938). Other outstanding writings include: V. I. Lenin, Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism, rev. trans. 2nd ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1934); D. C. M. Platt, "Economic Factors in British Policy During the 'New Imperialism,'" Past and Present 39 (April 1968), 120-38; and Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (London: Bongle-L'Ouverture, 1973).

focus on colonies in which Africans dominated production for the export market.[4] For example, the meticulous research on cocoa farming in Ghana by Polly Hill and the origins of the groundnut industry in Northern Nigeria by Jan Hogendorn describe how Africans reacted to the demands for certain crops, the ways in which they responded, and the transformation of marketing activities. Several of these studies, however, fail to trace the economic interests of the metropole in supporting export production among Africans and neglect to consider that the initiative shown by Africans was circumscribed by the limits imposed by the colonial government.

In the initial phase of the modern British colonial period in Africa, official policy on non-indigenous participation was flexible. In British West Africa and Uganda, for example, expatriate-directed agriculture was attempted, causing conflict in the administration and among special interest groups, in each category of which there were those who argued for large-scale plantation agriculture and those who supported

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[4]See, for example, C. C. Wrigley, Crops and Wealth in Uganda, East African Studies No. 12 (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1959); Audrey I. Richards, Ford Sturrock and J. M. Fortt, eds., Subsistence to Commercial Farming in Present-Day Buganda (Cambridge: University Press, 1973); Polly Hill, The Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana: a study in rural capitalism (Cambridge: University Press, 1963); Margaret J. Hay, "Economic Change in Luoland: Lowe, 1890-1945," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1972); and Sara Berry, "Cocoa and Economic Development in Western Nigeria," and Jan S. Hogendorn, "The Origins of the Groundnut Trade in Northern Nigeria," both in Carl Eicher and Carl Liedholm, eds., Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1970), pp. 16-29 and 30-51 respectively.

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heritage in Africa, critical battle on non-industrious barrier-

peasant production. In both British West Africa and Uganda nearly all large-scale European agricultural undertakings failed, while African production for the export market succeeded. Thus, a colonial policy evolved which supported African agricultural production in British West Africa and Uganda.[5]

In Kenya, however, agricultural production for the export market was sustained by European settlers and facilitated by favorable land and labor laws, in an attempt to make the protectorate self-supporting. Construction of the railway line from Mombasa on the Coast to Kisumu on Lake Victoria had been financed as a public undertaking in Britain, with the capital costs financed by treasury loans. Initially estimated at £ 1,755,000, the actual cost amounted to £ 5,550,000.[6] In its first year of operation, 1902-03, the railway lost £ 49,690 and an additional £ 319,112, the annual charge for sinking fund and interest payments, was not covered by the protectorate.[7] London was unwilling to meet these losses since it was

[5]For a fuller account, consult A. G. Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), pp. 212-16; and E. A. Brett, Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa (London: Heinemann, 1973), pp. 217-21.

[6]M. P. K. Sorrenson, Origins of European Settlement in Kenya (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 19, 30. See M. F. Hill, Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1950) for detailed discussion of the railway debates and description of its construction.

[7]Sorrenson, Origins, p. 30.

already spending large amounts in the East African Protectorate on military campaigns to bring the territory under effective control. Traffic had to be created to make the railway pay, and the protectorate needed to become self-supporting. Since few mineral deposits were known to exist, a prosperous protectorate and a profitable railway would depend upon agricultural commodities.

Agricultural export production was influenced in the initial years of the protectorate by Commissioner Charles Eliot, who reported to London that local inhabitants could not be relied upon to produce export crops. He described the Kikuyus as badly disorganized due to the severe famine in 1897, and claimed that they had turned away from agricultural production to cattle raising. The indigenous people around the Gulf of Kavirondo, near the terminus of the railway line, he judged as corrupted by the love of alcohol and leisure, while the Masai were "utterly non-productive."[8] On the other hand, he pointed out that there was ample available land suited to European agriculture. Settlers could grow crops for the railway to transport to the coast for export, and they would require imported manufactured goods and other items to be carried by rail into the interior.

Several suggestions for settlement were advanced. The Foreign Office considered proposals for Indian settlement

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[8]Richard Wolff, The Economics of Colonialism: Britain and Kenya 1870-1930 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 47.

and a Jewish colonization scheme, as well as those for European settlement.[9] The relatively few European settlers already in the protectorate successfully appealed to Eliot to promote settlement by Europeans, and, by 1905, it was clear that European colonization of the highlands would be promoted.

Encouraging European settlement carried with it certain policy and legal implications. Government would have to grant land to settlers on attractive terms; regulate where Africans were allowed to live, cultivate land, and tend herds; and ensure an adequate labor force for the European planters.[10] The policy and legal structure which evolved up to the 1920s therefore gave settlers a dominant position in the economy.

The land laws ultimately gave Europeans possession over large tracts of land, with long-term security. At the same time African rights to land were narrowly interpreted by

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[9]Although Eliot gave impetus to European settlement, there were earlier advocates. For example, see Gerald Portal, The British Mission to Uganda in 1893, Rennel Rodd, ed., (London: Edward Arnold, 1894), p. 76; and P. L. McDermott, British East Africa or I. B. E. A., new ed. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1895), pp. 403-04. For further information on settlement consult J. S. Mangat, A History of the Asians in East Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 64-66; Robert G. Weisbord, African Zion: an attempt to establish a Jewish colony in the East Africa Protectorate, 1903-1905 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1968); and Gerrit Groen, "The Afrikaners in Kenya, 1903-1969," (Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1974).

[10]For further information consult Y. P. Ghai and J. P. W. B. McAuslan, Public Law and Political Change in Kenya: A Study of the Legal Framework of Government from Colonial Times to the Present (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 79-84; and M. P. K. Sorrenson, "Kenya Land Policy," in Vincent Harlow and E. M. Chilver, eds., assisted by Alison Smith, History of East Africa, Vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 672-89.

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J. P. W. B. Mackintosh, Parties and Politics (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1973), Chapter IX, Kenya:
A Study of the Legal Framework of Government from Colonial
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1963), p. 18; and P. L. McDermott,
British East Africa or I. B. E. A., new ed. (London: Chapman
and Hall, 1895), pp. 403-04; for earlier information on Sept-
ember Alliance see G. S. Mungeam, A History of the Kaiser
Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966

the colonial powers. The East Africa (Lands) Order in Council of 1901 defined Crown Land as areas not used by indigenous inhabitants for occupation, cultivation or grazing, and land vacated by them, which could be granted or leased, the supposition being that African rights did not amount to land titles. Africans therefore had no legal land rights and were accordingly at the mercy of those who might covet their lands. No overall attempt was made to set aside land specifically for Africans until the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915, which empowered the governor to proclaim reserves. Yet, except in two instances, none was formally set aside until 1926, and thereafter land still could be confiscated from the Africans, as in the case of the Nandi, for European use.

Emerging from the promotion of settlement through a lenient land policy, the European agricultural structure was based upon the availability of an adequate supply of indigenous laborers. As John Ainsworth remarked in 1905, "it must be remembered that Europeans will not do manual labour in a country inhabited by black races."[11] At first government was directly involved in securing laborers for settlers, but A. C. Hollis, appointed to the new post of Secretary of Native Affairs in 1907, sent out a government circular prohibiting chiefs from compelling labor to go out, and regulating recruitment, which immediately diminished the labor supply. A crisis erupted in early 1908 when the colonists bitterly complained

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[11]As quoted in G. H. Mungeam, British Rule in Kenya, 1895-1912 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 93.

about an unmet demand for laborers and claimed that the new rules had doubled the cost for labor.[12] The commissioner of the protectorate commented that requirements for labor in the highlands could be fulfilled if a poll tax, supplementing the hut tax, were instituted to force young men out to work. This idea was accepted by the secretary of state, who at the same time ordered that government officers discontinue securing laborers for settlers. This prohibition, however, did not mean that the administration ceased to "encourage" persons to work for settlers. In 1912 a Native Labour Commission was appointed to find ways and means of inducing Africans to "come out and work."[13] The legislation resulting from its recommendations provided for the registration of all males over sixteen and for regulated squatting.[14]

The demand for laborers caused by World War I forced district officers to supply men for the carrier corps, but it was generally left to chiefs and headmen to meet quotas. There was confusion over the degree of compulsion to be utilized, but this was clarified in the Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance of 1915, which established conscription of African males for the carrier corps. Settlers unsuccessfully pressed

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[12]George Bennett, Kenya, A Political History (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 25.

[13]Marjorie R. Dilley, British Policy in Kenya Colony, 2nd ed. (London: Frank Cass, 1966), pp. 219-21.

[14]For a further discussion on labor policy see ibid., pp. 213-38; and Roger vanZwanenberg, Colonial Capitalism and Labour in Kenya, 1919-1939 (Kampala: East African Literature Bureau, 1975).

for an extension of the ordinance to allow the drafting of labor for European farms. Nevertheless, a favorite, and usually effective, way to avoid conscription was for Africans to take up service with European settlers, and those already employed tended to remain at work, rather than risk being drafted. By 1917, an alteration in the system of recruitment made the district officials, rather than local leaders, responsible for turning out conscripts. Large numbers of men were impressed, causing some officers to complain about the disruption of normal indigenous agricultural production patterns. The war-time system which involved government in actively obtaining laborers was a pattern which the settlers wished to maintain during peacetime for their own purposes.[15]

After the war, when European men returned to largely neglected farms, the labor requirements exceeded the supply. This demand led to the Northey circulars of 1919, which set forth the functions of officials in regard to recruitment of labor. In addition, an ordinance empowered headmen to conscript Africans to work, sixty days each year, on government projects. Agitation by humanitarians in England and missionaries in Kenya led the Colonial Office again to forbid officers to participate in recruitment and to prohibit compulsory labor for private employers. The use of forced labor was restricted to essential government services, for which prior approval had

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[15]Donald Savage and J. Forbes Monro, "Carrier Corps recruitment in the British East Africa Protectorate 1914-1918," Journal of African History 2, 2 (1966), 313-42.

to be obtained from the secretary of state. Regardless of stated policy, the colonial system nevertheless lent support to the settlers in obtaining a supply of laborers.

Even with the use of cheap labor, many settlers were in debt and undercapitalized, leading to enactment of a system of supports in favor of the European settlers. Through taxes, mostly paid by Africans, government provided roads, railways, crop research and other services for Europeans. Subsidies were provided through the customs tariff and privileged access to profitable internal and external markets. The settlers also monopolized the most profitable crops and controlled buying and selling. The private sector, especially lending institutions, also assisted the Europeans, although fixed short-term credit obtained during good times placed heavy financial burdens on the producers during periods of low commodity prices.[16]

During the early years of settlement, Europeans were unfamiliar with the soil and climatic conditions, and therefore most planted small acreages of several crops to spread their risk. Also, many farmers were without sufficient capital to invest in long-term crops. At the same time, a few wealthy planters and some missionaries carried out scientific experiments on a variety of crops. Soon the administration,

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[16]These aspects are discussed in vanZwanenberg, Colonial Capitalism pp. 1-34; Brett, Colonialism and Underdevelopment, pp. 165-205; and Colin Leys, Underdevelopment in Kenya (London: Heinemann, 1975), pp. 20-40.

keen on encouraging agricultural exports, recommended that planters focus on one or two crops for export.[17] Official and unofficial research, supported by London, was undertaken on the kinds of commodities most likely to maximize returns on capital invested in the protectorate.[18] In addition, government subsidized railway rates, and later made loans to producers of certain crops.

In sharp contrast, the colonial policy toward African agricultural production up to the early 1920s can be classified as conscious neglect. This inattention mainly derived from the supposition that improvement in the African areas would hinder the flow of laborers and force wages up. Employers frequently and indignantly complained about the supposed ease with which the indigenous people could earn money as independent producers.[19] As an administrator's wife candidly explained:

> It stands to reason that the more prosperous and contented is the population of a reserve, the less the need or inclination of the young men of the tribe to go out into the field. From the [European] farmers' point of view, the ideal reserve is a recruiting-ground for

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[17]Wolff, Economics of Colonialism, pp. 68-73.

[18]Scientific investigations on export crops for the empire are discussed in G. B. Masefield, A History of the Colonial Agricultural Service. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

[19]C. C. Wrigley. "Kenya: The Patterns of Economic Life, 1902-1945," in Harlow and Chilver, eds., assisted by Smith, History East Africa, Vol. II, p. 226.

> labour, a place from which the able-bodied go out to work, returning occasionally to rest and beget the next generation of labourers.[20]

Europeans believed that promotion of African agriculture would hinder the development of European production. In 1912-13, at a conservative estimate, seventy percent of the value of agricultural exports were "native produce," whereas by 1928 the proportion was less than twenty percent.[21] Africans were expected to continue with their traditional agricultural and animal husbandry and produce mostly for domestic consumption and internal markets. Even when lower-level officials tried to influence economic policy in favor of the Africans, they were blocked by their superiors. Nevertheless, isolated projects took place in the African areas, but these desultory efforts depended on the initiative of individual administrators and mission societies. The agricultural department's assistance usually involved occasional advisory visits in response to official requests and the provision of seeds.[22]

A policy shift towards African agriculture occurred during the post-war recession. Britain and Kenya were in

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[20]M. Aline Buxton, Kenya Days (London: Edward Arnold Co., 1927), p. 10. Mrs. Buxton was the wife of Clarence Buxton, who played a key role in initiating coffee growing among the Gusii.

[21]Wrigley, "Kenya," p. 243.

[22]Jon Moris, "Crop Introduction Campaigns as a Test of Planning Capability in Extension Administration: The Central Kenya Experience," unpublished manuscript, n.d., p. 18.

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[50] M. Alice Burton, Kenya Days (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1951), p. 10. Mrs. Burton was the wife of Clarence Burton, who played a key role in the initial coffee drive among the Gusii.

[51] Mridley, „Kenya", p. 543.

[52] Jon Hoxie, „Crop Introduction Campaigns as a Test of Diffusion Capability in Extension Administration," The Central Kenya Experiment, n.d., p. 18.

[53] M. Alice Burton, Kenya Days (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1951), p. 10. Mrs. Burton was the wife of Clarence Burton, who played a key role in the initial coffee drive among the Gusii.

[54] Mridley, „Kenya", p. 543.

[55] Jon Hoxie, „Crop Introduction Campaigns as a Test of Diffusion Capability in Extension Administration," The Central Kenya Experiment, n.d., p. 18.

financial trouble.[23] The protectorate's customs collection, which, after the hut and poll tax, represented the largest item in revenue, fell along with the drop in export trade. Some people felt that stimulating African agriculture would ease the balance of payments by reducing commodities imported and by increasing exports, while also augmenting customs revenue. The Department of Agriculture's Annual Report for 1920-21 contains the first mention of a plan to improve African agriculture. Emphasizing that the department was "becoming more and more interested in the development of the highly fertile native areas," it proposed to improve agricultural practices and increase production by employing a large number of "native instructors [who] are likely to succeed where Europeans would fail." The proposed initial stage consisted of two or three years of training for African instructors, who, after graduation, would be posted to the reserves. Each would manage a demonstration holding, where local farmers also would receive training. The report pointed out that activities would be directed towards production of such export crops as maize, sorghum, millet, groundnuts, simsim, cotton, beans and peas, which were claimed to be well suited to the "resources and facilities of the natives" and with which there would be "no question of competition against the European grower."[24]

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[23]Britain's poor financial situation is explained in Brett, Colonialism and Underdevelopment, pp. 115-38

[24]Department of Agriculture Annual Report (hereafter DAAR) for 1920-21, as cited in L. W. Cone and J. F. Lipcomb,

A review of the colony's economic policy was undertaken by the Economic and Financial Committee, better known as the Bowring Committee, which contained a large unofficial majority. Since the colony's trade was dangerously unbalanced, the committee suggested ways and means of increasing exports and decreasing imports. The committee successfully submitted its resolutions to the governor between March and October 1922. These aimed at broadening the base of production and providing easy bulking for export.[25] The committee also called for the department of agriculture to provide staff for the African areas, but development of the African areas was "only to make it help in the promotion of the white colony."

Support for African cultivation came from the Colonial Office, which, in 1922, was in communication with Nairobi over the possibilities of increasing production in the reserves. At this stage, W. Ormsby-Gore claimed that Kenya should be regarded "primarily as an African country," since settlement was "on the edge of ruin." Moreover, some members of the British commercial community, like Major Sir E. H. M. Legett of the British East African Corporation, favored a change in the colony's economic policy. One businessman even expressed "the conviction of all the other business and banking men to

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eds., The History of Kenya Agriculture (Nairobi: University Press of Africa, 1972), pp. 43-44.

[25]M. F. Hill, Planters' Progress: The Story of Coffee in Kenya (Nairobi: Coffee Board of Kenya, 1956), p. 53.

whom I have spoken, that the real future of all these countries, lies in the development of native production, rather than white production."[26]

In spite of the proclamations and signs of intent, few resources were allocated to promote economic development in African areas. In 1925, with an estimated African population of 2,500,000 people, the Department of Agriculture's staff for African areas consisted of only three senior supervisors, five supervisors, and approximately seventy African instructors and apprentices. In addition, veterinary services in the reserves were provided by one senior veterinary officer, four veterinary officers, eight stock inspectors and about forty scouts. Training of African staff was carried out at Bukura in Central Kavirondo and the Scott Agricultural Laboratories at Kabete, where instruction centered around a model farm. In 1925, seventy students were receiving instruction at these two centers. Also, a small start was made by the Department of Agriculture, in cooperation with the Department of Education, for agricultural instruction in village schools; seeds were issued to these schools and mission centers to be used in training courses.[27]

In 1925, the East African Commission led by W. Ormsby-Gore studied ways to accelerate African economic development

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[26]Brett, Colonialism and Underdevelopment, pp. 178-79.

[27]HMG Report of the East Africa Commission, Cmd. 2387 (London: HMSO, 1925), as cited in Cone and Lipcomb, eds. Kenya Agriculture, pp. 47-48.

need in expanding courses."[1]

In 1952, the Asbi African Commission led by W. Ormsby-Core drafted ways to accelerate African economic development

[1]Asbi, Colonialism and Underdevelopment, pp. 117-19.

[2]NAC Report of the Asbi African Commission, Cmd.

[3]1952 (London: HMSO, 1953), as cited in Cove and Ludcomp, eds. Kenya Yearbook, pp. 43-48.

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[1]Asbi, Colonialism and Underdevelopment, pp. 117-19.

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[3]1952 (London: HMSO, 1953), as cited in Cove and Ludcomp, eds. Kenya Yearbook, pp. 43-48.

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and to improve social conditions. Reporting on Kenya, the commission acknowledged:

> There seems little doubt that the Department of Agriculture has in past devoted most of its attention to the improved cultivation in European areas, and that until the last three years, very little indeed was done to encourage native production.
>
> There is a feeling among the natives that the resources of the country, which are supported out of the general taxation to which the natives contribute so largely, have been used too exclusively for the development of European areas. Stimulated by the growing wealth of the natives in the adjacent territory of Uganda, the natives have been loud in their demands for services in return for the taxes which they pay. They are backed in some of their demands by the Convention of Associations, the local administrative officers, missionaries, and, to a large extent, the commercial community.[28]

The best incentive to efficient production, the commission maintained, was proper provision of central markets, roads, and transport facilities. In its opinion, both the promotion of agriculture and the livestock industry necessitated an increase in staff. It chose to ignore the colonial secretary's 1923 policy proclamation which asserted that African rights were to take precedence over those of the other communities in Kenya.[29] Instead the commission referred to a dual policy.

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[28] Ibid., pp. 46-47.

[29] See Robert Gregory, Sidney Webb and East Africa: Labours Experiment with the Doctrine of Native Paramountcy, University of California Publications in History, Vol. LXXII (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 5-55.

> The dual policy of increasing the quantity and quality of production on the native lands pari passu with the development of European cultivation is accordingly necessary, if only on financial grounds. The present purchasing power of the native is low. We are confident that stimulus to more and better native cultivation is one of the best means of securing a higher standard of efficiency on the part of natives who seek employment from time to time on European farms.[30]

Governor E. Grigg spoke of a dual policy at the Conference of British East and Central African Governors in January 1926, and the conference report defined it as "a combination of non-native and native production."[31] A year later Grigg gave the idea political meaning in his push to achieve closer union of the British East and Central African territories. Grigg felt that the Europeans in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia would be afraid to participate in a federation which might apply the doctrine of native paramountcy. Thus, he actively proclaimed a more moderate policy, that of dual development. His hopes for closer union, together with those of the Secretary of State L. S. Amery, were quashed by the Hilton Young Commission, which had been established to advise London on closer union in East Africa. The commission's report, published in January 1929, recommended closer union as a means of coordinating Kenya's policy with Uganda and Tanganyika, where African interests were given more consideration. In

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[30] East Africa Commission as cited in Cone and Lipcomb, Kenya Agriculture, pp. 49-50.

[31] As cited in Gregory, Sidney Webb, p. 63.

regard to native policy in Kenya, the Hilton Young Commission stressed that "if the natives are to be fairly treated provision must be made to ensure that they receive an adequate return in services for the taxes they pay," including provision of agricultural services. "The economic development of the native areas is moreover necessary not merely in the interests of the natives themselves. It may form a most important factor in the economic progress of the whole country," the commission reported.[32] While some advances were being made in Kenya to provide more services to African areas, the governor, European planters, and their allies wanted the speed and direction under their control; thus, they strongly opposed the recommendations of the Hilton Young Commission.

In 1929, when the commission's report was published, approximately twelve of Kenya's forty-two agricultural officers were on assignment in African areas. From the beginning of its work in the reserves, the Department of Agriculture's objective was to create a strongly hierarchical, multi-functional, and tightly controlled field organization. As the number of staff increased it became necessary for the department more clearly to define its policy on African areas. Annual conferences began in 1929, where extension staff problems were discussed and official policy changes enunciated.[33]

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[32]HMG Report of the Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa, Cmd, 3234 (London: HMSO, 1929), pp. 56, 58.

[33]Moris, "Crop Campaigns," p. 20.

This study of the experiment with African coffee production commences within the framework of the way in which European settlers gained control over the economy of Kenya, and the shift in official policy in the 1920s. European security in land facilitated the expansion of coffee acreage, while the tax and labor policies ensured a cheap supply of workers on European farms. Settlers agitated to prevent development in the African areas since they believed it would reduce their favored position in the economy. But, when Kenya's financial position deteriorated after World War I, it became politically advisable to promote agricultural production in African areas; the settlers and their allies in government tried to ensure that they controlled the direction and speed of African economic development. However, the prohibition of coffee production by Africans partially slipped from their control.

CHAPTER 1

THE SETTLER COFFEE INDUSTRY AND THE DECISION TO ALLOW AFRICAN PRODUCTION

European opposition to Africans growing coffee derived from the economic position of the crop in the Kenya economy. As assessment will be made of the extent to which government supported the European coffee industry, the importance of the industry to the economy of Kenya, and some of the industry's problems. To contrast the practice whereby black Africans were prohibited from growing coffee until the mid-1930s, a brief summary of government-supported coffee production by Africans in Uganda and Tanganyika will be provided. Further, a detailed account of the consideration later given to African production in Kenya furnishes evidence of the proposals made, identifies view of various government officials and staff members, and records the reaction of European settlers, all of which are vital to an understanding of the final plan to initiate African coffee production in Kenya.

The Settler Coffee Industry up to 1933

The initial plantings of varieties of arabica coffee began with experiments at mission stations.[1] During 1893 it

[1]Appendix B contains definitions of the terms associated with coffee infestations, and a description of the technical aspects of coffee production and processing.

CHAPTER I

THE SETTLER COFFEE INDUSTRY AND THE DECISION TO ATTACK PRODUCTION

was planted at the French Mission at Bura, in the Teita Hills, from which plants were taken in 1900 to St. Austin's mission in Nairobi. Plantings were also made under irrigation at the Church of Scotland Mission at Kibwezi, and St. Augustine's Catholic Mission at Kikuyu planted coffee in 1901.[2] In these early years missions distributed seedlings to European settlers.

In 1897 the Foreign Office's regulations on Certificates of Occupation of land for European settlers stipulated that not less than a quarter of the land be planted within the first five years in coffee, cocoa, indigo rubber and other plants approved by the commissioner.[3] Although this regulation was not carried out and the ordinance soon superceded, inclusion of this clause indicates the significance given to cash crops by London in these early years. Coffee commanded high prices on the world market in the early 1890s, but suffered from overproduction and an according drop in price by the turn of the century.

In 1909 the Department of Agriculture in Nairobi warned about the expansion of coffee growing. It doubted whether it was advisable for settlers to confine themselves solely to coffee production since plants were very susceptible to pests and diseases, and production depended on the

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[2]W. J. Dawson, "The Importance of Plant Introduction with special reference to the Highlands," The Agricultural Journal of British East Africa (January 1912), as quoted in DAAR 1917-18, Ministry of Agriculture (hereafter MOA) Library: p. 39.

[3]Hill, Planters' Progress, p. 9.

acquisition of a sufficient number of laborers at harvest time.[4] However, in 1910 the world price of coffee began to rise steeply, and a considerable number of Kenyan settlers started planting the crop. By 1911-12 coffee was classified as one of the protectorate's major industries and prospective entrepreneurs drove farm values up.[5] Government began to take a greater interest in the crop due to Britain's economic concerns as well as Kenya's.

Britain had obtained most of its coffee from Ceylon and, to a lesser extent, India in the 1870s and 1880s. Although some proportion of it was used in Britain, most of the coffee was re-exported from London to Western Europe. A disastrous attack of coffee disease in Ceylon near the end of the century forced Britain to rely heavily on Brazil and its main re-exporter and controller, the United States, for coffee. To lessen Britain's vulnerability to fluctuations in quantities and prices, and to assist in its balance of payments, the metropole needed suppliers within its control. Thus, it favored government support and regulation of the Kenyan coffee industry.[6]

Coffee research work in Kenya was part of the duties of the government entomologist, originally appointed in 1908,

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[4]DAAR 1908-09, MOA Library, p. 16.

[5]DAAR 1911-12, MOA Library, p. 90.

[6]Wolff, Economics of Colonialism, pp. 73-77.

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[4] DAAR 1981-82, NOA Alphavia, p. 16.

[5] DAAR 1980-81, NOA Alphavia, p. 30.

[6] Wolff, Economics of Colonialism, pp. 42-44.

and the mychologist, first posted in 1913. In the early part of 1914 an ordinance came into operation to control the sale of coffee plants within the protectorate as a means of preventing the spread of leaf rust. Already in existence was the Coffee Leaf Disease Ordinance of 1904 which prohibited the importation of plants and seeds from designated countries, except with permission and subject to special conditions. In January 1914 a coffee plantation inspector was appointed to advise planters and inspect land for infected coffee bushes or conditions which might give rise to diseases and pests. The inspector was authorized to require, in writing, the occupier to take necessary or advisable action, within a specified period, to prevent diseases and pests or their spread. If action were not taken by the occupier within the time allocated, the accused could be fined or imprisoned.[7] After the outbreak of World War I, growers who had followed proper practices, though, were not assured of a market for their crop.

By early 1917 the growers were affected by a war-time restriction placed on shipping coffee. Requests to the controller of shipping in London resulted in a quota for coffee, but in March 1917 coffee was declared a prohibited import into the United Kingdom in order to conserve on shipping space. The unsold coffee accumulated quickly and storage facilities

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[7]East Africa Protectorate (hereafter EAP), Ordinances and Regulations, Vol. XIV, January 1 - December 31, 1912 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1913), p. 9.

were inadequate. With no returns, planters lacked the money to maintain their plantations and to pay wages for another season's harvest. The situation was potentially serious: neglected plantations would lead to disease and ultimately to capital loss. When the banks stopped granting loans to growers, government prevented potential disruption of the industry by advancing loans to planters against the security of their stored coffee. Eventually Nairobi made successful representations to London; the embargo was partly lifted and some coffee was exported.[8] Meantime, production was affected by diseases and pests.

During the war many plantations suffered severely from leaf rust, thrips, antestia and other infestations. Previous government research work had concentrated largely on fungicides against leaf rust and on the artificial drying of coffee beans, but in 1917-18 experimental work was expanded to insects and diseases injurious to coffee. A few years later when difficulties plagued several areas, the coffee plant inspector[9] complained that "the Entomologist's advice on the treatment and control of this pest [antestia] is not generally carried out."[10]

With only one coffee officer, the Department of Agriculture described itself in 1921 as "wholly unable to give

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[8]Hill, Planters' Progress, pp. 38-39; and DAAR 1917-18, p. 8.

[9]Mr. A. D. LePoer Trench's title was changed in 1919-20 to Adviser for Coffee.

[10]Quoted in Hill, Planters' Progress, p. 60.

adequate attention to the needs of the industry and the interests of individual planters."[11] Moreover, it declared that it was unable to properly administer the regulations which provided for the inspection of plantations. The following year coffee berry disease, which was to become a major blight, was first recorded. It was found in fourteen plantations in Uasin Gishu and Trans Nzoia, where it cut crop yields by an estimated fifty percent or more.[12]

In 1924 an inspector of plantations was appointed to administer the disease prevention regulations. During the year, he served notices on seventeen dirty and neglected plantations. Even with this additional official, the Department of Agriculture expressed its concern with the lack of an adequate staff to deal with the coffee industry. Coffee ranked second in the acreage devoted to crops on European farms and provided over one-third of the total value of the colony's agricultural exports.[13]

Coffee growers lobbied for greater financial support from government through the Coffee Planter's Union of Kenya, which consisted of branch organizations, each of which had a representative on the governing council of the union. Although membership was not compulsory and in the early 1920s, members accounted for less than one-fourth of the total European

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[11]DAAR 1920-21, MOA Library, p. 22.

[12]Hill, Planters' Progress, p. 60.

[13]DAAR 1924, MOA Library, p. 13 and Appendix.

[13] Id. at 1, 4.

[14] Id. at 1.

[15] Id. at 2.

[16] Id. at 3.

[17] Id. at 4.

[18] Id. at 5.

[19] Id. at 6.

[20] Id. at 7.

[21] Id. at 8.

[22] Id. at 9.

[23] Id. at 10.

[24] Id. at 11.

[25] Id. at 12.

[26] Id. at 13.

[27] Id. at 14.

[28] Id. at 15.

[29] Id. at 16.

[30] Id. at 17.

[31] Id. at 18.

[32] Id. at 19.

[33] Id. at 20.

[34] Id. at 21.

[35] Id. at 22.

[36] Id. at 23.

[37] Id. at 24.

[38] Id. at 25.

[39] Id. at 26.

[40] Id. at 27.

[41] Id. at 28.

[42] Id. at 29.

[43] Id. at 30.

[44] Id. at 31.

[45] Id. at 32.

[46] Id. at 33.

[47] Id. at 34.

[48] Id. at 35.

[49] Id. at 36.

[50] Id. at 37.

[51] Id. at 38.

[52] Id. at 39.

[53] Id. at 40.

[54] Id. at 41.

[55] Id. at 42.

[56] Id. at 43.

[57] Id. at 44.

[58] Id. at 45.

[59] Id. at 46.

[60] Id. at 47.

[61] Id. at 48.

[62] Id. at 49.

[63] Id. at 50.

[64] Id. at 51.

[65] Id. at 52.

[66] Id. at 53.

[67] Id. at 54.

[68] Id. at 55.

[69] Id. at 56.

[70] Id. at 57.

[71] Id. at 58.

[72] Id. at 59.

[73] Id. at 60.

[74] Id. at 61.

[75] Id. at 62.

[76] Id. at 63.

[77] Id. at 64.

[78] Id. at 65.

[79] Id. at 66.

[80] Id. at 67.

[81] Id. at 68.

[82] Id. at 69.

[83] Id. at 70.

[84] Id. at 71.

[85] Id. at 72.

[86] Id. at 73.

[87] Id. at 74.

[88] Id. at 75.

[89] Id. at 76.

[90] Id. at 77.

[91] Id. at 78.

[92] Id. at 79.

[93] Id. at 80.

[94] Id. at 81.

[95] Id. at 82.

[96] Id. at 83.

[97] Id. at 84.

[98] Id. at 85.

[99] Id. at 86.

[100] Id. at 87.

[101] Id. at 88.

[102] Id. at 89.

[103] Id. at 90.

[104] Id. at 91.

[105] Id. at 92.

[106] Id. at 93.

[107] Id. at 94.

[108] Id. at 95.

[109] Id. at 96.

[110] Id. at 97.

[111] Id. at 98.

[112] Id. at 99.

[113] Id. at 100.

[114] Id. at 101.

[115] Id. at 102.

[116] Id. at 103.

[117] Id. at 104.

[118] Id. at 105.

[119] Id. at 106.

[120] Id. at 107.

[121] Id. at 108.

[122] Id. at 109.

[123] Id. at 110.

[124] Id. at 111.

[125] Id. at 112.

[126] Id. at 113.

[127] Id. at 114.

[128] Id. at 115.

[129] Id. at 116.

[130] Id. at 117.

[131] Id. at 118.

[132] Id. at 119.

[133] Id. at 120.

[134] Id. at 121.

[135] Id. at 122.

[136] Id. at 123.

[137] Id. at 124.

[138] Id. at 125.

[139] Id. at 126.

[140] Id. at 127.

[141] Id. at 128.

[142] Id. at 129.

[143] Id. at 130.

[144] Id. at 131.

[145] Id. at 132.

[146] Id. at 133.

[147] Id. at 134.

[148] Id. at 135.

[149] Id. at 136.

[150] Id. at 137.

[151] Id. at 138.

[152] Id. at 139.

[153] Id. at 140.

[154] Id. at 141.

[155] Id. at 142.

[156] Id. at 143.

[157] Id. at 144.

[158] Id. at 145.

[159] Id. at 146.

[160] Id. at 147.

[161] Id. at 148.

[162] Id. at 149.

[163] Id. at 150.

[164] Id. at 151.

[165] Id. at 152.

[166] Id. at 153.

[167] Id. at 154.

[168] Id. at 155.

[169] Id. at 156.

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[945] Id. at 932.

[946] Id. at 933.

[947] Id. at 934.

[948] Id. at 935.

[949] Id. at 936.

[950] Id. at 937.

[951] Id. at 938.

[952] Id. at 939.

[953] Id. at 940.

[954] Id. at 941.

[955] Id. at 942.

[956] Id. at 943.

[957] Id. at 944.

[958] Id. at 945.

[959] Id. at 946.

[960] Id. at 947.

[961] Id. at 948.

[962] Id. at 949.

[963] Id. at 950.

[964] Id. at 951.

[965] Id. at 952.

[966] Id. at 953.

[967] Id. at 954.

[968] Id. at 955.

[969] Id. at 956.

[970] Id. at 957.

[971] Id. at 958.

[972] Id. at 959.

[973] Id. at 960.

[974] Id. at 961.

[975] Id. at 962.

[976] Id. at 963.

[977] Id. at 964.

[978] Id. at 965.

[979] Id. at 966.

[980] Id. at 967.

[981] Id. at 968.

[982] Id. at 969.

[983] Id. at 970.

[984] Id. at 971.

[985] Id. at 972.

[986] Id. at 973.

[987] Id. at 974.

[988] Id. at 975.

[989] Id. at 976.

[990] Id. at 977.

[991] Id. at 978.

[992] Id. at 979.

[993] Id. at 980.

[994] Id. at 981.

[995] Id. at 982.

[996] Id. at 983.

[997] Id. at 984.

[998] Id. at 985.

[999] Id. at 986.

[1000] Id. at 987.

[1001] Id. at 988.

[1002] Id. at 989.

[1003] Id. at 990.

[1004] Id. at 991.

[1005] Id. at 992.

[1006] Id. at 993.

[1007] Id. at 994.

[1008] Id. at 995.

[1009] Id. at 996.

[1010] Id. at 997.

[1011] Id. at 998.

[1012] Id. at 999.

[1013] Id. at 1000.

[1014] Id. at 1001.

[1015] Id. at 1002.

[1016] Id. at 1003.

[1017] Id. at 1004.

[1018] Id. at 1005.

[1019] Id. at 1006.

[1020] Id. at 1007.

[1021] Id. at 1008.

[1022] Id. at 1009.

[1023] Id. at 1010.

[1024] Id. at 1011.

[1025] Id. at 1012.

[1026] Id. at 1013.

[1027] Id. at 1014.

[1028] Id. at 1015.

[1029] Id. at 1016.

[1030] Id. at 1017.

[1031] Id. at 1018.

[1032] Id. at 1019.

[1033] Id. at 1020.

[1034] Id. at 1021.

[1035] Id. at 1022.

[1036] Id. at 1023.

[1037] Id. at 1024.

[1038] Id. at 1025.

[1039] Id. at 1026.

[1040] Id. at 1027.

[1041] Id. at 1028.

[1042] Id. at 1029.

[1043] Id. at 1030.

[1044] Id. at 1031.

[1045] Id. at 1032.

[1046] Id. at 1033.

[1047] Id. at 1034.

[1048] Id. at 1035.

[1049] Id. at 1036.

[1050] Id. at 1037.

[1051] Id. at 1038.

[1052] Id. at 1039.

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[1054] Id. at 1041.

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[1057] Id. at 1044.

[1058] Id. at 1045.

[1059] Id. at 1046.

[1060] Id. at 1047.

[1061] Id. at 1048.

[1062] Id. at 1049.

[1063] Id. at 1050.

[1064] Id. at 1051.

[1065] Id. at 1052.

[1066] Id. at 1053.

[1067] Id. at 1054.

[1068] Id. at 1055.

[1069] Id. at 1056.

[1070] Id. at 1057.

[1071] Id. at 1058.

[1072] Id. at 1059.

[1073] Id. at 1060.

[1074] Id. at 1061.

[1075] Id. at 1062.

[1076] Id. at 1063.

[1077] Id. at 1064.

[1078] Id. at 1065.

[1079] Id. at 1066.

[1080] Id. at 1067.

[1081] Id. at 1068.

[1082] Id. at 1069.

[1083] Id. at 1070.

[1084] Id. at 1071.

[1085] Id. at 1072.

[1086] Id. at 1073.

[1087] Id. at 1074.

[1088] Id. at 1075.

[1089] Id. at 1076.

[1090] Id. at 1077.

[1091] Id. at 1078.

[1092] Id. at 1079.

[1093] Id. at 1080.

[1094] Id. at 1081.

[1095] Id. at 1082.

[1096] Id. at 1083.

[1097] Id. at 1084.

[1098] Id. at 1085.

[1099] Id. at 1086.

[1100] Id. at 1087.

[1101] Id. at 1088.

[1102] Id. at 1089.

[1103] Id. at 1090.

[1104] Id. at 1091.

[1105] Id. at 1092.

[1106] Id. at 1093.

[1107] Id. at 1094.

[1108] Id. at 1095.

[1109] Id. at 1096.

[1110] Id. at 1097.

[1111] Id. at 1098.

[1112] Id. at 1099.

[1113] Id. at 1100.

[1114] Id. at 1101.

[1115] Id. at 1102.

[1116] Id. at 1103.

[1117] Id. at 1104.

[1118] Id. at 1105.

[1119] Id. at 1106.

[1120] Id. at 1107.

[1121] Id. at 1108.

[1122] Id. at 1109.

[1123] Id. at 1110.

[1124] Id. at 1111.

[1125] Id. at 1112.

[1126] Id. at 1113.

[1127] Id. at 1114.

[1128] Id. at 1115.

[1129] Id. at 1116.

[1130] Id. at 1117.

[1131] Id. at 1118.

[1132] Id. at 1119.

[1133] Id. at 1120.

[1134] Id. at 1121.

[1135] Id. at 1122.

[1136] Id. at 1123.

[1137] Id. at 1124.

[1138] Id. at 1125.

[1139] Id. at 1126.

[1140] Id. at 1127.

[1141] Id. at 1128.

[1142] Id. at 1129.

[1143] Id. at 1130.

[1144] Id. at 1131.

[1145] Id. at 1132.

[1146] Id. at 1133.

[1147] Id. at 1134.

[1148] Id. at 1135.

[1149] Id. at 1136.

[1150] Id. at 1137.

[1151] Id. at 1138.

[1152] Id. at 1139.

[1153] Id. at 1140.

[1154] Id. at 1141.

[1155] Id. at 1142.

[1156] Id. at 1143.

[1157] Id. at 1144.

[1158] Id. at 1145.

[1159] Id. at 1146.

[1160] Id. at 1147.

[1161] Id. at 1148.

[1162] Id. at 1149.

[1163] Id. at 1150.

[1164] Id. at 1151.

[1165] Id. at 1152.

[1166] Id. at 1153.

[1167] Id. at 1154.

[1168] Id. at 1155.

[1169] Id. at 1156.

[1170] Id. at 1157.

[1171] Id. at 1158.

[1172] Id. at 1159.

[1173] Id. at 1160.

[1174] Id. at 1161.

[1175] Id. at 1162.

[1176] Id. at 1163.

[1177] Id. at 1164.

[1178] Id. at 1165.

[1179] Id. at 1166.

[1180] Id. at 1167.

[1181] Id. at 1168.

[1182] Id. at 1169.

[1183] Id. at 1170.

[1184] Id. at 1171.

[1185] Id. at 1172.

[1186] Id. at 1173.

[1187] Id. at 1174.

[1188] Id. at 1175.

[1189] Id. at 1176.

[1190] Id. at 1177.

[1191] Id. at 1178.

[1192] Id. at 1179.

[1193] Id. at 1180.

[1194] Id. at 1181.

[1195] Id. at 1182.

[1196] Id. at 1183.

[1197] Id. at 1184.

[1198] Id. at 1185.

[1199] Id. at 1186.

[1200] Id. at 1187.

[1201] Id. at 1188.

[1202] Id. at 1189.

[1203] Id. at 1190.

[1204] Id. at 1191.

[1205] Id. at 1192.

[1206] Id. at 1193.

[1207] Id. at 1194.

[1208] Id. at 1195.

[1209] Id. at 1196.

[1210] Id. at 1197.

[1211] Id. at 1198.

[1212] Id. at 1199.

[1213] Id. at 1200.

[1214] Id. at 1201.

[1215] Id. at 1202.

[1216] Id. at 1203.

[1217] Id. at 1204.

[1218] Id. at 1205.

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[1222] Id. at 1209.

[1223] Id. at 1210.

[1224] Id. at 1211.

[1225] Id. at 1212.

[1226] Id. at 1213.

[1227] Id. at 1214.

[1228] Id. at 1215.

[1229] Id. at 1216.

[1230] Id. at 1217.

[1231] Id. at 1218.

[1232] Id. at 1219.

[1233] Id. at 1220.

[1234] Id. at 1221.

[1235] Id. at 1222.

[1236] Id. at 1223.

[1237] Id. at 1224.

[1238] Id. at 1225.

[1239] Id. at 1226.

[1240] Id. at 1227.

[1241] Id. at 1228.

[1242] Id. at 1229.

[1243] Id. at 1230.

[1244] Id. at 1231.

[1245] Id. at 1232.

[1246] Id. at 1233.

[1247] Id. at 1234.

[1248] Id. at 1235.

[1249] Id. at 1236.

[1250] Id. at 1237.

[1251] Id. at 1238.

[1252] Id. at 1239.

[1253] Id. at 1240.

[1254] Id. at 1241.

[1255] Id. at 1242.

[1256] Id. at 1243.

[1257] Id. at 1244.

[1258] Id. at 1245.

[1259] Id. at 1246.

[1260] Id. at 1247.

[1261] Id. at 1248.

[1262] Id. at 1249.

[1263] Id. at 1250.

[1264] Id. at 1251.

[1265] Id. at 1252.

[1266] Id. at 1253.

[1267] Id. at 1254.

[1268] Id. at 1255.

[1269] Id. at 1256.

[1270] Id. at 1257.

[1271] Id. at 1258.

[1272] Id. at 1259.

[1273] Id. at 1260.

[1274] Id. at 1261.

[1275] Id. at 1262.

[1276] Id. at 1263.

[1277] Id. at 1264.

[1278] Id. at 1265.

[1279] Id. at 1266.

[1280] Id. at 1267.

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[1285] Id. at 1272.

[1286] Id. at 1273.

[1287] Id. at 1274.

[1288] Id. at 1275.

[1289] Id. at 1276.

[1290] Id. at 1277.

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[1296] Id. at 1283.

[1297] Id. at 1284.

[1298] Id. at 1285.

[1299] Id. at 1286.

[1300] Id. at 1287.

[1301] Id. at 1288.

[1302] Id. at 1289.

[1303] Id. at 1290.

[1304] Id. at 1291.

[1305] Id. at 1292.

[1306] Id. at 1293.

[1307] Id. at 1294.

[1308] Id. at 1295.

[1309] Id. at 1296.

[1310] Id. at 1297.

[1311] Id. at 1298.

[1312] Id. at 1299.

[1313] Id. at 1300.

[1314] Id. at 1301.

[1315] Id. at 1302.

[1316] Id. at 1303.

[1317] Id. at 1304.

[1318] Id. at 1305.

[1319] Id. at 1306.

[1320] Id. at 1307.

[1321] Id. at 1308.

[1322] Id. at 1309.

[1323] Id. at 1310.

[1324] Id. at 1311.

[1325] Id. at 1312.

[1326] Id. at 1313.

[1327] Id. at 1314.

[1328] Id. at 1315.

[1329] Id. at 1316.

[1330] Id. at 1317.

[1331] Id. at 1318.

[1332] Id. at 1319.

[1333] Id. at 1320.

[1334] Id. at 1321.

[1335] Id. at 1322.

[1336] Id. at 1323.

[1337] Id. at 1324.

[1338] Id. at 1325.

[1339] Id. at 1326.

[1340] Id. at 1327.

[1341] Id. at 1328.

[1342] Id. at 1329.

[1343] Id. at 1330.

[1344] Id. at 1331.

[1345] Id. at 1332.

[1346] Id. at 1333.

[1347] Id. at 1334.

[1348] Id. at 1335.

[1349] Id. at 1336.

[1350] Id. at 1337.

[1351] Id. at 1338.

[1352] Id. at 1339.

[1353] Id. at 1340.

[1354] Id. at 1341.

[1355] Id. at 1342.

[1356] Id. at 1343.

[1357] Id. at 1344.

[1358] Id. at 1345.

[1359] Id. at 1346.

[1360] Id. at 1347.

[1361] Id. at 1348.

[1362] Id. at 1349.

[1363] Id. at 1350.

[1364] Id. at 1351.

[1365] Id. at 1352.

[1366] Id. at 1353.

[1367] Id. at 1354.

[1368] Id. at 1355.

[1369] Id. at 1356.

[1370] Id. at 1357.

[1371] Id. at 1358.

[1372] Id. at 1359.

[1373] Id. at 1360.

[1374] Id. at 1361.

[1375] Id. at 1362.

[1376] Id. at 1363.

[1377] Id. at 1364.

[1378] Id. at 1365.

[1379] Id. at 1366.

[1380] Id. at 1367.

[1381] Id. at 1368.

[1382] Id. at 1369.

[1383] Id. at 1370.

[1384] Id. at 1371.

[1385] Id. at 1372.

[1386] Id. at 1373.

[1387] Id. at 1374.

[1388] Id. at 1375.

[1389] Id. at 1376.

[1390] Id. at 1377.

[1391] Id. at 1378.

[1392] Id. at 1379.

[1393] Id. at 1380.

[1394] Id. at 1381.

[1395] Id. at 1382.

[1396]

coffee producers, the union was the main body which dealt with the government on behalf of the coffee industry. As early as 1921 the union's annual meeting included a discussion about the formation of a coffee-marketing cooperative. Also, the delegates urged the director of agriculture to increase the scientific and technical services related to coffee. In early 1924 one of the council's members proposed a tax on coffee exports to finance the expansion of services.[14] The Director of Agriculture, Mr. Alex Holm, supported the principle of a coffee cess, provided that the department controlled expenditure from the fund.[15] Later the council suggested the establishment of a coffee board, with statutory authority to deal with matters concerning the industry; the board would consist of the director of agriculture, the senior coffee officer, and three representatives of the Coffee Planter's Union.[16]

In the years before the coffee board issue was settled, government continued to finance experimental work on seedlings, pruning, seed selection, grafting and shade. In addition, a special Coffee Planter's Union and Coffee Consulting Committee was established to publicize various issues affecting the industry. This committee was particularly active and effective

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[14]Hill, Planters Progress, p. 63-64.

[15]"Rejection of the Coffee Board Bill," East African Standard (30 June 1931), p. 44

[16]Hill, Planters' Progress, p. 64.

in 1928, when its recommendations led to goverment action to improve crop storage facilities at Mombasa, to regulate the sale of fertilizers and pest remedies, and to establish a central warehouse in Nairobi.[17]

In 1929 a special officer was attached to the Department of Agriculture's coffee section for six months to organize a campaign against berry borers. In addition, three temporary inspectors and thirteen temporary assistant inspectors were engaged on the campaign, which, with its accompanying inspection of plantations, "enabled a large number of neglected or abandoned plantations to be cleaned up."[18] Two farmers were prosecuted for failure to carry out instructions. The same year coffee berry disease caused a heavy loss of crops in Sotik and Kericho, while in 1930 plantations suffered considerable loss from pests and diseases, as well as drought. The Department of Agriculture emphasized, however, that the "means have been found to exercise a considerable measure of control over most pests and diseases known at present."[19] It stressed the proven value of systematic inspections, indicating that authority had to be exercised to influence growers to follow the proper disease control measures. In 1930, sixty-three plantation owners were convicted of failing to abide by instructions issued under the Disease of Plants

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[17] DAAR 1928, MOA Library, p. 55-56.

[18] DAAR 1929, MOA Library, p. 20.

[19] DAAR 1930, MOA Library, p. 18.

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[17] DAAR 1958, AOA Alphabet, p. 22-25.

[18] DAAR 1958, AOA Alphabet, p. 50.

[19] AOA Alphabet, p. 18.

Prevention (Coffee) Rules.

Besides these technical and husbandry problems, a drop in price for coffee in late 1929, led planters to ask the government for a special advance to facilitate the maintenance and development of plantations. Farmers argued that they were unable to retain their positions because of the low prices for coffee and the resulting constriction of credit by banks and commercial houses.[20] A special committee was appointed by government to investigate the situation of both the coffee and sisal industries. It found that a large percentage of the coffee plantations were heavily mortgaged, and that planters were suffering because the price for coffee in the past season had fallen approximately Ł 50 per ton below the previous year's price. The Board of Agriculture, elected members of the legislative council and ultimately the committee recommended that the government through the Agriculture Advance Scheme, extend short-term financial credit to coffee planters during the 1931-32 season.[21] However, the "state of government's finances did not permit the recommendations to be accepted."[22] Towards the middle of 1931, the price for superior grade Kenya coffee improved rapidly. Even so, the

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[20]DAAR 1931, MOA Library, p. 7.

[21]"Report of Facts from various Memoranda of the Board of Agriculture or Figures from various sources," n.d.; and Minutes of a Meeting of Elected Members Organization, Memorial Hall, Nairobi, 16 January, 1931, Kenya National Archives (hereafter KNA): Department of Agriculture (hereafter Dept. Agric.) C/Coff/O/1.

[22]DAAR 1931, MOA Library, pp. 7-8.

residential demand remains constrained. Even so, the price for coffee has increased dramatically in the past few years, a trend that may not benefit the recommendations of government officials for long.[55]

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[50] DANA TEST, NOW Library, p. 7.

[51] "Report of Task Force from various Memoranda of the Board of Agriculture on Fiduciary Matters", n.d.; and Memorandum of a Meeting of Elected Member Coordination, Memorial Hall, Nantucket, to Consider Test, Kenya Plantation Viewpoint (Memorandum Dep. (Memorandum KAV): Department of Agriculture (Memorandum Dep. Agric.) C\Coffee\0\1.

[52] Test, NOW Library, pp. 1-8.

[53] "Report of Task Force from various Memoranda of the Board of Agriculture on Fiduciary Matters", n.d.; and Memorandum of a Meeting of Elected Member Coordination, Memorial Hall, Nantucket, to Consider Test, Kenya Plantation Viewpoint (Memorandum Dep. Agric.) C\Coffee\0\1.

[54] Test, NOW Library, pp. 1-8.

[55] DANA Test, NOW Library, p. 7.

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crop was classified as "small" due to losses from capsid and mealy bugs, antestia, coffee berry disease, bad pruning and handling, delayed flowering, and, in Nyanza, excessive rains.[23]

By 1930 European coffee planters numbered 931, which was forty-four percent of the total European farm-owning population. As shown in Table 1, in 1923-24 the increase in the number of growers over the previous year was approximately fifteen percent. A smaller percentage increase took place in the following years up to 1927-28, when the rate rapidly began to increase. Coffee acreage numbered 96,689 in 1930, and, by 1933, there were 102,238 acres under cultivation. Since the mid-1920s the total number of acres under coffee had been second only to maize grown on European farms.[24] As recorded in Table 2, the greatest annual increase in acres under coffee took place in 1917. After 1929, the annual percentage increase in new acres devoted to coffee was extremely small, because of the low price received for coffee, and restrictions on the crop during the depression; also, several regions had proven themselves unsuitable for coffee production. The average annual price received for Kenya coffee on the London market fluctuated greatly, as indicated in Figure 1. The highest price received between 1922 and 1933 occurred in the 1924-25 season when coffee obtained Sh. 137 per hundred pound weight for clean coffee. The lowest price received was

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[23] Ibid., pp. 7, 174.

[24] DAAR for these years.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF EUROPEAN COFFEE GROWERS 1922-23 - 1929-30

Year	Number of European Growers	Absolute Increase in Number of Growers Over Previous Year	Percent Increase in Number of Growers Over Previous Year
1922-23	585		
1923-24	671	86	15
1924-25	696	25	4
1925-26	714	18	3
1926-27	749	35	5
1927-28	829	80	11
1928-29	871	42	5
1929-30	931	60	7

Source: Computed from Statistics on Number of Growers in "Coffee and Sisal: Statistics Related to Coffee and Sisal Production and Exports," submitted by Director of Agriculture to Coffee and Sisal Inquiry Committee, n.d., K.N.A. Department of Agriculture C/Coff/O/1.

NUMBER OF EUROPEAN COTTER CHROMERS 1955-56 - 1959-60

TABLE I

TABLE 2

ACREAGES OF COFFEE ON EUROPEAN FARMS 1907-1933

Year	Acreage	Absolute Increase in Number of Acres Over Previous Year	Percent Increase in Number of Acres Over Previous Year
1907	500-600	-	-
1914	5,000-5,500	-	-
1916	16,000	-	-
1917	22,000	6,000	38
1920	27,813	-	-
1921	33,813	6,000	22
1922	43,359	9,546	29
1923	52,249	8,890	21
1924	60,054	7,805	15
1925	65,140	5,086	8
1926	68,950	3,810	6
1927	74,662	5,712	8
1928	84,073	9,411	13
1929	90,205	6,132	7
1930	96,689	6,484	7
1931	98,874	2,185	2
1932	100,387	1,513	1
1933	102,238	1,851	2

Source: Computed from acreage figures in Department of Agriculture Annual Reports for these years. MOA Library.

ACREAGES OF CORNEE ON EUROPEAN FARMS 1961-1963

TABLE 5

Year	Acreage	Number of Acres Over	Percent Increase in Number of Acres Over Preceding Year
1961	2,000-2,500	-	-
1962	2,500-3,000	-	-
1963	3,000-3,500	-	-
1964	3,500-4,000	-	-
1965	4,000-4,500	1,000	33
1966	4,500-5,000	2,000	100
1967	5,000-5,500	3,000	50
1968	5,500-6,000	4,000	33
1969	6,000-6,500	5,000	25
1970	6,500-7,000	6,000	20
1971	7,000-7,500	7,000	17
1972	7,500-8,000	8,000	14
1973	8,000-8,500	9,000	13
1974	8,500-9,000	10,000	11
1975	9,000-9,500	11,000	10
1976	9,500-10,000	12,000	9
1977	10,000-10,500	13,000	8
1978	10,500-11,000	14,000	8
1979	11,000-11,500	15,000	7
1980	11,500-12,000	16,000	7
1981	12,000-12,500	17,000	6
1982	12,500-13,000	18,000	6
1983	13,000-13,500	19,000	5

Source: Compiled from acreage figures in Department of Agriculture annual reports for these years. NOW Library.

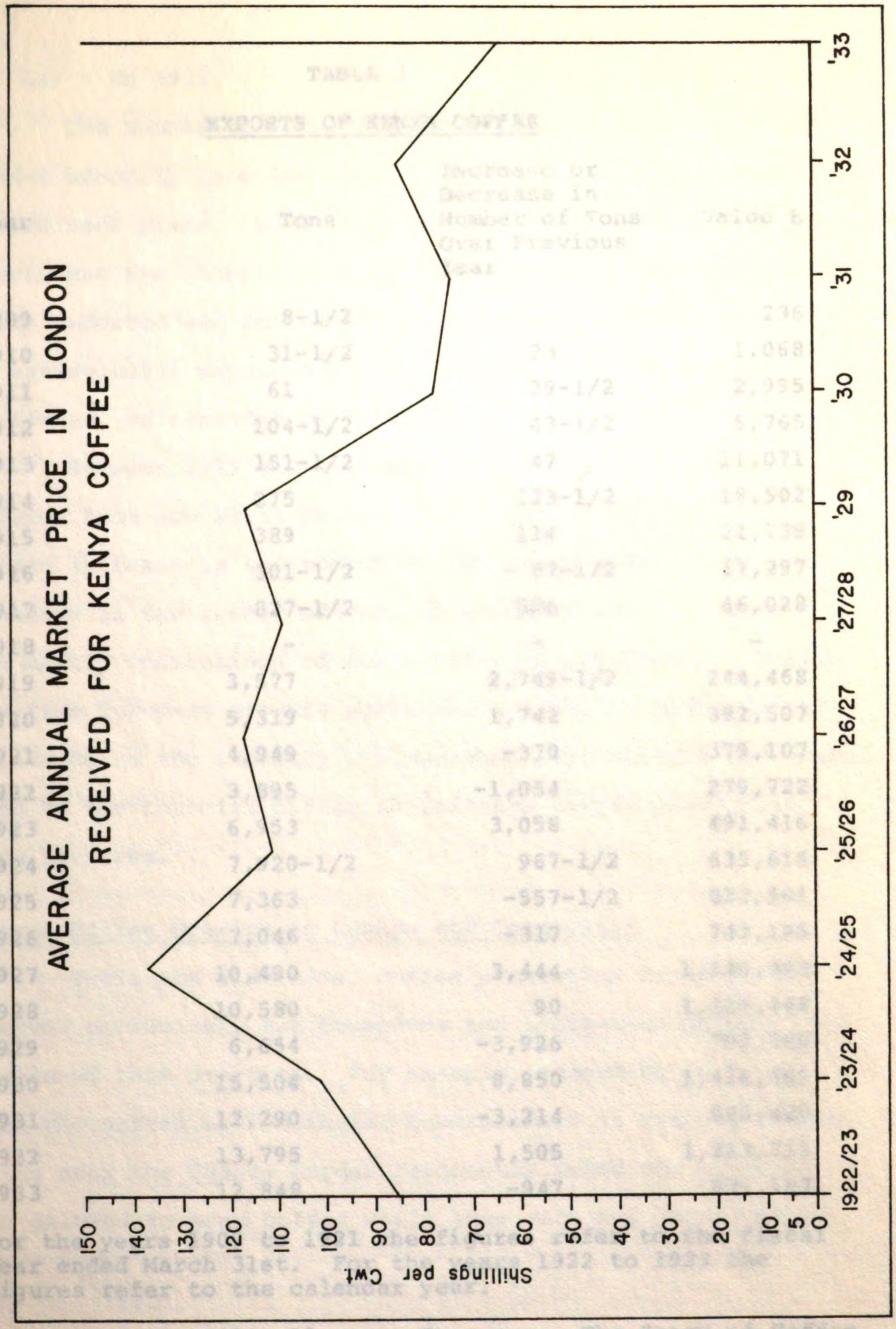


Figure I

Source: Department of Agriculture Annual Reports for these years. MOA Library.

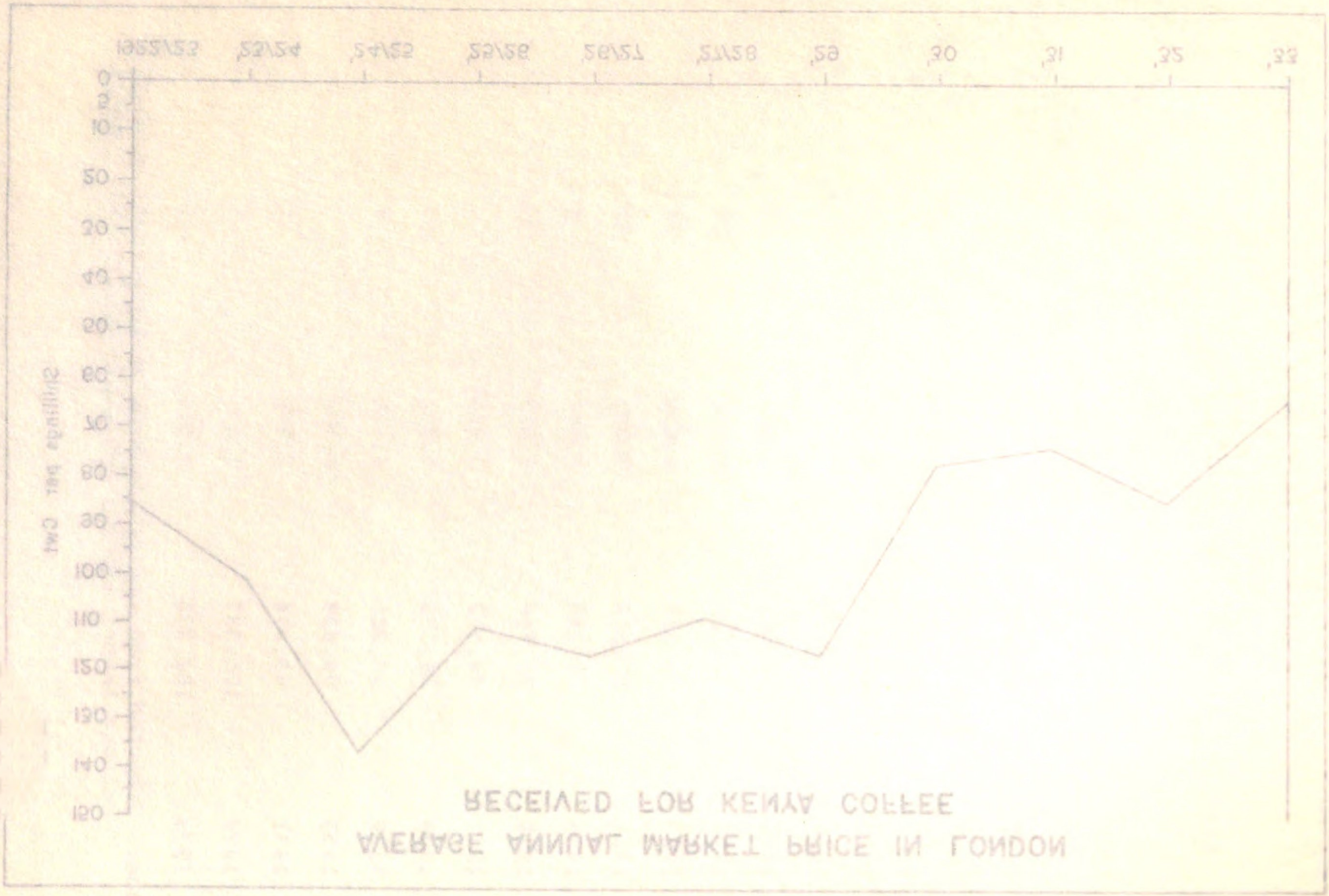

AVERAGE ANNUAL MARKET PRICE IN LONDON
RECEIVED FOR KENYA COFFEE
Source:
Shillings per cwt
0
10
50
20
40
80
60
100
90
110
150
130
140
120
1955
1954
1953
1952
1951
1950
1949
30
31
35
33

Figure 1

TABLE 3

EXPORTS OF KENYA COFFEE

Year	Tons	Increase or Decrease in Number of Tons Over Previous Year	Value £
1909	8-1/2		236
1910	31-1/2	23	1,068
1911	61	29-1/2	2,995
1912	104-1/2	43-1/2	5,765
1913	151-1/2	47	11,071
1914	275	123-1/2	18,502
1915	389	114	21,738
1916	301-1/2	- 87-1/2	17,297
1917	827-1/2	526	46,028
1918	-	-	-
1919	3,577	2,749-1/2	244,468
1920	5,319	1,742	392,507
1921	4,949	-370	379,107
1922	3,895	-1,054	279,722
1923	6,953	3,058	491,416
1924	7,920-1/2	967-1/2	635,618
1925	7,363	-557-1/2	823,901
1926	7,046	-317	747,195
1927	10,490	3,444	1,140,293
1928	10,580	90	1,119,448
1929	6,654	-3,926	702,760
1930	15,504	8,850	1,426,869
1931	12,290	-3,214	986,429
1932	13,795	1,505	1,213,715
1933	12,848	-947	831,187

For the years 1909 to 1921 the figures refer to the fiscal year ended March 31st. For the years 1922 to 1923 the figures refer to the calendar year.

Source: M. F. Hill, Planters Progress: The Story of Coffee in Kenya, (Nairobi: Coffee Board of Kenya, 1956), p. 185.

Year	Number of Loans	Change in Number of Loans	Value of Loans
1980	1,234,567		987,654,321
1981	1,345,678	+8.9%	1,098,765,432
1982	1,456,789	+8.3%	1,209,876,543
1983	1,567,890	+7.6%	1,320,987,654
1984	1,678,901	+7.1%	1,432,098,765
1985	1,789,012	+6.6%	1,543,209,876
1986	1,890,123	+5.7%	1,654,320,987
1987	1,987,654	+5.1%	1,765,432,098
1988	2,076,543	+4.5%	1,876,543,210
1989	2,156,789	+3.9%	1,987,654,321
1990	2,228,456	+3.3%	2,098,765,432
1991	2,291,567	+2.8%	2,209,876,543
1992	2,345,123	+2.3%	2,320,987,654
1993	2,389,045	+1.9%	2,432,098,765

For the years 1980 to 1987 the figures refer to the fiscal year ended March 31st. For the years 1988 to 1993 the figures refer to the calendar year.

Source: Hill, Plantagenet Progress: The story of College

1/ Key: pt: College Board of Kenny, 1987), p. 182.

Shs. 64/ - in 1933.

The number of tons of coffee exported from Kenya increased steadily from 1909 until 1921-22, when a temporary setback took place. Nevertheless, from 1920 onwards, coffee exports had the highest value of any single agricultural commodity exported and contributed approximately one-third to all agricultural export revenues.[25] Even so, the volume fluctuated, as recorded in Table 3.

Between 1929 and 1933 the European coffee industry suffered from low world prices, a decline in the annual percentage increase in the number of new acres under coffee, and decreases in the number of tons exported annually. These were mainly indications of the world-wide depression. During this time European growers pressured Nairobi to give greater assistance to the industry. Simultaneously, Nairobi was pressured by the Colonial Office to initiate coffee production among Africans.

African Coffee Growing in Uganda and Tanganyika

Until the mid-1930s, coffee production in Kenya was reserved exclusively for Europeans, and indigenous people questioned this practice. For example, according to C. M. Dobbs who served as Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza, groups living near the Uganda border frequently asked why Ugandans were allowed to grow coffee while they were not permitted to

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[25] Ibid.

do so.[26] Also, Kikuyus regularly raised the issue, as exemplified in the Kikuyu Central Association list of grievances and requests presented to Governor Grigg in late 1925.[27] It was difficult for London to reconcile coffee growing by Africans in Uganda and Tanganyika with the de facto prohibition on indigenous cultivation in Kenya.

In accordance with the colonial policy of making Uganda Protectorate self-supporting, cash crops, including coffee, were introduced.[28] In 1904, distribution of arabica coffee seedlings was begun in Buganda, and in 1911-12 several hundred pounds of seedlings were distributed to the local people in Mubende, Toro, Ankole and Bugishu Districts, while, at the same time, European estates adopted the crop. Renewed effort in the 1920s extended coffee growing to Ankole and Kigezi in Western Uganda, where a few nursery centers also were established. In these places each grower sun-dried his crop and then hulled it in traditional mortars.[29]

Government especially encouraged and gave financial support to coffee growing in Bugishu. By 1922 government

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[26]HMG, Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa, Vol. II, H. C. No. 156, (London: HMSO, 1931), p. 828.

[27]C. C. Rosberg, Jr. and J. Nottingham, The Myth of 'Mau Mau': Nationalism in Kenya (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1966), p. 98.

[28]Wrigley, Crops and Wealth in Uganda, p. 131.

[29]A. S. Thomas, "Arabica Coffee History and General"; and N. S. Haig, "The Native Coffee Industry in Western Province," in J. D. Tothill, ed., Agriculture in Uganda (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 315 and 325-31 respectively.

had established twelve nurseries in the southern part of the district, from which seedlings were issued without charge. A hand pulping machine was erected for use by the growers free of charge and run by the local native council, with the advice of the district commissioner and visiting agricultural officers. The following years additional pulpers were constructed by the local native council and individual chiefs. Since these factories only undertook pulping, the individual grower had to dry the wet parchment at his home. Buying and selling were left to private traders. Not until 1930, when a full-time agricultural officer was posted to the district, were steps taken for more rigorous control of planting. Individually owned nurseries were prohibited; a method of selecting cultivators evolved; and a system established whereby the chiefs assisted the agricultural instructors. In 1931 the Bugishu Coffee Scheme, financed by the native administration and under a European manager, was inaugurated to handle coffee processing and marketing. Processing was done without charge to the owner, and initially authority was given to the provincial commissioner to advise the board.[30]

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[30]A. J. Kerr, "The Arabica Coffee Industry in Bugishu," in Tothill, ed., Agriculture in Uganda, pp. 331, 339; Ian R. Wallace, "Peasant Production of Arabica Coffee in East Africa: Technical and Economic Studies in Bugishu, Meru and Kilimanjaro," (M. S. thesis, Makerere University College, University of East Africa, 1968), pp. 118, 134-135; and Stephen G. Bunker, "Forms and Functions of Government Intervention in a Uganda Cooperative Union," paper presented at the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Denver, November 3-6, 1971, pp. 11-13.

In Tanganyika the government accepted coffee production by Africans, and later it became involved in controlling production and marketing. Between 1893 and 1896, missionaries in Tanganyika introduced arabica coffee in Bukoba and on the slopes of Kilimanjaro. The mountain's lower and medium elevations were dominated by European-owned estates, and although there was no definite line of demarcation, African holdings clustered on the upper reaches. The German government encouraged African coffee production by exempting growers of coffee, as well as of wheat and European potatoes, from certain forms of communal labor. In 1916 there were 14,000 African-owned coffee trees on Kilimanjaro which by 1922 had increased to 125,000. From 1922 onwards, the British mandate government also interested itself in African coffee growing and posted European supervisors to the area.[31]

Dar-es-Salaam had responded to pressure from European growers who feared that the African-owned plants would be a source of pest and disease infection. African leaders also recognized the need for the control of diseases, and in 1925 they formed the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association "to ...[enable] Africans growing coffee to organize their own industry."[32] After the association had successfully purchased

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[31]A. J. Wakefield, "Native Production of Coffee on Kilimanjaro," The Empire Journal of Experimental Agriculture, 4, 14 (April 1936), 97.

[32]Wallace, "Peasant Production," p. 152. Changes in the aims and structure of the coffee industry are given in R. J. M. Swynnerton and A. L. B. Bennett, All About 'KNCU' Coffee (Moshi, Tanganyika: Moshi Native Coffee Board, 1948), pp. 11-22.

In Tanzania the government accepted coffee broadc-

spraying equipment and chemicals for communal use, the government decided to involve itself in controlling production and marketing, due to the declining quality of the crop. Officialdom stipulated that every African grower had to join the association through one of the subsidiary societies and that all coffee had to be marketed through the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union, which was formed in 1932. A European manager of the 20,000 member union was appointed by the government.[33]

European Views on African Coffee Production in Kenya

In Kenya, when the topic of African coffee growing was raised, both settlers' and administrators' responses tended to follow a set pattern. They argued that coffee was so threatened by pests and diseases that any neglect in cultivation greatly increased the possibility of total crop disaster; such destruction would be immanent, they thought, since African cultivators would not have the means nor the organizational capacity to deal with pests and diseases, and supervision of small African owned plots would be too expensive. The Europeans also claimed that permitting native Kenyans to grow coffee would make it difficult to detect theft of coffee berries from Europeans. Furthermore, the opponents maintained that the good reputation of Kenya coffee on the world market would be jeopardized by indigenous production of the crop, since they assumed African grown coffee would be of inferior

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[33]Wakefield, "Production Kilimanjaro," pp. 99, 103.

Entobean Aims on African Coffee

of the 50,000 member nuts was abbotufed by the dovernment.

operative Union, which was formed in 1933. A Entobean Assembly

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ciation through one of the authorized societies and that all

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market, due to the declining quality of the crop. Official-

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quality. At times they also contended that the price of coffee fluctuated, but wages to laborers were assured and thus the latter provided a more stable income. Regardless of these arguments, the underlying concern derived from the perceived potential loss of laborers. Settlers feared that viable economic alternatives for Africans would diminish the supply of laborers and force the rate of wage labor up.

The issue of coffee cultivation by Kenyan Africans was continuously raised in official commissions, committees and conferences, especially in the 1920s, as government reassessed the colony's economic situation. The East African Commission of 1925, headed by W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore and whose terms of reference included the recommendation of steps necessary to improve African economic development, considered both arabica and robusta coffee cultivation by Kenyan blacks. The commission classified robusta coffee, grown by Ugandans and Tanganyikans, as a hardier and more easily cultivated crop which yielded more consistently than arabica, which it maintained "must be regarded as essentially a crop for the European producer." According to the commission's report, "in all circumstances...it would be unwise for the present to interfere with the policy of prohibiting the growing of arabica coffee by natives in Kenya until more data regarding the results of the experiments now being undertaken in the Kilimanjaro and Bugishu areas are forthcoming." This call for more information seems to have been used as a delaying tactic. Yet, the commission proclaimed, "we are of the opinion that,

where the spread of disease can be controlled by the Agricultural Departments, native production of robusta coffee should be encouraged."[34]

However, further support for robusta production by Kenyan Africans was not forthcoming, although the introduction of robusta coffee among European growers received serious consideration in 1926, especially in areas where arabica did not grow well. Robusta was discussed at a special November 1926 meeting of the Kipkarren Association of the Coffee Planters Union, which was attended by the senior coffee officer and a representative of the union's council. The settlers of Uasin Gishu District urged that they be allowed to import robusta plants for a trial. It was agreed that the director of agriculture would be asked to start an experimental plot in the district, which would be under the control of the senior coffee officer. But, further discussions by the government with the Coffee Planters Union resulted in the conclusion that "the Highland areas were not likely to prove favourable to the growth of this type [of coffee] and there appeared to be a risk of damaging the reputation of 'Arabica.'"[35]

European anxieties about African planters influenced the decision not to test robusta. This fact is revealed in the report of the Coffee Conference in June 1927. The growing

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[34] Report of the East Africa Commission, pp. 35-36.

[35] DAAR 1926, pp. 13, 172.

[32] DANA Case, pp. 13, 145.

[33] Report of the East Africa Commission, pp. 32-36.

of robusta and Liberica in districts already established as coffee areas, which meant the European highlands, was opposed by the delegates. A major argument was that "the success of inferior types would almost inevitably be followed by cultivation by Natives in the Reserves, the proper supervision of which cultivation would be practically impossible."[36]

The conference urged government to continue its opposition to coffee growing by Africans mainly because of the great difficulties which would be encountered by European plantation owners to control diseases.[37]

In the meantime, cultivation of arabica by Africans had been discussed at a conference held at the Colonial Office in January 1926. This meeting led to the Joint East Africa Board's defense of European settlers in Kenya against any possible change in current policy. In the summer, representatives of the board and the Colonial Office met to discuss the East Africa coffee industry. Major Ormsby-Gore of the Colonial Office talked about coffee production in the Kilimanjaro area and claimed that "there was no intention of conducting similar experiments elsewhere and the Government would prevent uncontrolled cultivations." He concluded that African production of arabica "should be strictly confined to the two areas viz: that on the higher slopes of Kilimanjaro in Tanganyika and

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[36]"Coffee Conference Opens," East African Standard (June 25, 1927), p. 57A.

[37]"Results of the Coffee Conference," East African Standard (July 2, 1927), p. 23.

that in a similar position on Mount Elgon in Uganda."[38] Subsequently, the issue of coffee growing by indigenous farmers was raised in 1929 at the Conference of Governors of the East African Dependencies which was convened to discuss policy coordination. In regard to coffee growing the conference concluded that "the growing of Arabica coffee by the natives should certainly be discouraged and possibly prohibited."[39] The Governor of Tanganyika did not agree, but did express the opinion that coffee growing by Africans in areas of European settlement in Tanganyika should not be encouraged.

The same year Kenya's settler-dominated Agricultural Commission, when reporting on Kikuyuland, set forth its views on coffee growing as related to African agricultural development. It supported a policy of encouraging food crop production, from which the surplus could be sold, rather than cultivation of non-edible cash crops, even though the latter might bring higher monetary returns. This conclusion was based on the argument that the yields of non-edible crops were subject to drought and the returns fluctuated according to market conditions; although the same problems affected food crops, they did not mention it. The commission stated:

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[38]Joint East Africa Board, "Notes of Conference between Representatives of the Colonial Office and the Joint East African Board held at the Colonial Office, 20th July 1926," Colonial Office (hereafter CO) 533/629, No. XF 5304.

[39]Conference of Governors of the East African Dependencies 1929: Summary of Proceedings (London: Waterlow and Sons, n.d.) p. 19.

> Undoubtedly the native, seeing and perhaps working in the European coffee plantations, does begin to think of growing coffee, and probably has formed an exaggerated idea of the profits attaching to it. Yet, for good reasons, the administration has discouraged the growth of coffee and in a few cases where bushes have been planted the owner has been induced to remove them. The situation is thus unsatisfactory, because the administrators have no legislative sanction to prevent the growth of coffee in the Native Reserves, while the natives who are in practice debarred from growing coffee, have a grievance in that they know it is permitted to Africans in adjacent territories. The coffee planters of Kenya feel very strongly that native cultivation of coffee should not be allowed and the Commission recognizes the force of their objections.[40]

The commission report then proceeded to give the usual arguments against coffee production by Africans. Nevertheless, the Agricultural Commission resolved it was best not to discriminate on the basis of race. Rather, they proposed a measure which would have the same effect. Small-scale production could be discouraged, they reasoned, by the imposition of a high license fee, which had been advocated by the Coffee Planters Union to provide funds for research.

The Report of the Commission on Closer Union in Eastern and Central Africa quoted passages from the Ormsby-Gore Commission Report acknowledging the poor standard of cultivation in African reserves and the lack of agricultural services to indigenous cultivators. To illustrate the difference between Kenya and other East African regions the commission, headed by

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[40]CPK, Report of the Agricultural Commission (Nairobi: Government Printer, October 1929), p. 34.

Hilton Young, pointed out that cultivation of arabica coffee by Kenya Africans was not in practice allowed, whereas Africans grew it on the slopes of Kilimanjaro "in quite substantial quantities with great profit to themselves," while in Uganda cultivation of robusta coffee by indigenous inhabitants was "being actively encouraged." It also called for a thorough technical inquiry "for it is unfortunate that the natives should be able to draw comparisons as they do, between one Government and another, and as a result to harbour suspicion on injustice."[41]

The Colonial Office Steps In

In London, the reports of 1929 came under scrutiny in a new political climate. The Labour Party won the general election of June 1929 and Sidney Webb, thereafter Lord Passfield, became the new Secretary of State for the Colonies. Sympathetic to African interests, Lord Passfield took an active interest in the coffee issue in Kenya. When he sought an explanation for the question of coffee growing by Africans, Governor Grigg replied that "No general desire to grow this crop has been manifested and the safeguards which the [Agricultural] Commission...propose...would render cultivation of this crop by individual natives unlikely in the near future."[42]

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[41]HMG, Report of the Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa, Cmd. 3234 (London: HMSO, 1929), pp. 62-63.

[42]Memorandum by Allen, 27 June, 1931, CO 533/413, No. 17220.

colonial Commissioner...proposes...would require ratification of this step by individual natives monthly in the near future."[45]

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[44] HMC, Report of the Commissioners on Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa, Cmd. 3234 (London: HMSO, 1929), pp. 53-54.

[45] Memorandum by Allen, 27 June, 1931, CO 533/413/13, No. 71550.

[46] Hailey, African Survey, p. 1289.

[47] Ibid., p. 1290.

[48] Ibid., p. 1291.

[49] Ibid., p. 1292.

[50] Ibid., p. 1293.

[51] Ibid., p. 1294.

[52] Ibid., p. 1295.

[53] Ibid., p. 1296.

[54] Ibid., p. 1297.

[55] Ibid., p. 1298.

[56] Ibid., p. 1299.

[57] Ibid., p. 1300.

[58] Ibid., p. 1301.

[59] Ibid., p. 1302.

[60] Ibid., p. 1303.

[61] Ibid., p. 1304.

[62] Ibid., p. 1305.

[63] Ibid., p. 1306.

[64] Ibid., p. 1307.

[65] Ibid., p. 1308.

[66] Ibid., p. 1309.

[67] Ibid., p. 1310.

[68] Ibid., p. 1311.

[69] Ibid., p. 1312.

[70] Ibid., p. 1313.

[71] Ibid., p. 1314.

[72] Ibid., p. 1315.

[73] Ibid., p. 1316.

[74] Ibid., p. 1317.

[75] Ibid., p. 1318.

[76] Ibid., p. 1319.

[77] Ibid., p. 1320.

[78] Ibid., p. 1321.

[79] Ibid., p. 1322.

[80] Ibid., p. 1323.

[81] Ibid., p. 1324.

[82] Ibid., p. 1325.

[83] Ibid., p. 1326.

[84] Ibid., p. 1327.

[85] Ibid., p. 1328.

[86] Ibid., p. 1329.

[87] Ibid., p. 1330.

[88] Ibid., p. 1331.

[89] Ibid., p. 1332.

[90] Ibid., p. 1333.

[91] Ibid., p. 1334.

[92] Ibid., p. 1335.

[93] Ibid., p. 1336.

[94] Ibid., p. 1337.

[95] Ibid., p. 1338.

[96] Ibid., p. 1339.

[97] Ibid., p. 1340.

[98] Ibid., p. 1341.

[99] Ibid., p. 1342.

[100] Ibid., p. 1343.

[101] Ibid., p. 1344.

[102] Ibid., p. 1345.

[103] Ibid., p. 1346.

[104] Ibid., p. 1347.

[105] Ibid., p. 1348.

[106] Ibid., p. 1349.

[107] Ibid., p. 1350.

[108] Ibid., p. 1351.

[109] Ibid., p. 1352.

[110] Ibid., p. 1353.

[111] Ibid., p. 1354.

[112] Ibid., p. 1355.

[113] Ibid., p. 1356.

[114] Ibid., p. 1357.

[115] Ibid., p. 1358.

[116] Ibid., p. 1359.

[117] Ibid., p. 1360.

[118] Ibid., p. 1361.

[119] Ibid., p. 1362.

[120] Ibid., p. 1363.

[121] Ibid., p. 1364.

[122] Ibid., p. 1365.

[123] Ibid., p. 1366.

[124] Ibid., p. 1367.

[125] Ibid., p. 1368.

[126] Ibid., p. 1369.

[127] Ibid., p. 1370.

[128] Ibid., p. 1371.

[129] Ibid., p. 1372.

[130] Ibid., p. 1373.

[131] Ibid., p. 1374.

[132] Ibid., p. 1375.

[133] Ibid., p. 1376.

[134] Ibid., p. 1377.

[135] Ibid., p. 1378.

[136] Ibid., p. 1379.

[137] Ibid., p. 1380.

[138] Ibid., p. 1381.

[139] Ibid., p. 1382.

[140] Ibid., p. 1383.

[141] Ibid., p. 1384.

[142] Ibid., p. 1385.

[143] Ibid., p. 1386.

[144] Ibid., p. 1387.

[145] Ibid., p. 1388.

[146] Ibid., p. 1389.

[147] Ibid., p. 1390.

[148] Ibid., p. 1391.

[149] Ibid., p. 1392.

[150] Ibid., p. 1393.

[151] Ibid., p. 1394.

[152] Ibid., p. 1395.

[153] Ibid., p. 1396.

[154] Ibid., p. 1397.

[155] Ibid., p. 1398.

[156] Ibid., p. 1399.

[157] Ibid., p. 1400.

[158] Ibid., p. 1401.

[159] Ibid., p. 1402.

[160] Ibid., p. 1403.

[161] Ibid., p. 1404.

[162] Ibid., p. 1405.

[163] Ibid., p. 1406.

[164] Ibid., p. 1407.

[165] Ibid., p. 1408.

[166] Ibid., p. 1409.

[167] Ibid., p. 1410.

[168] Ibid., p. 1411.

[169] Ibid., p. 1412.

[170] Ibid., p. 1413.

[171] Ibid., p. 1414.

[172] Ibid., p. 1415.

[173] Ibid., p. 1416.

[174] Ibid., p. 1417.

[175] Ibid., p. 1418.

[176] Ibid., p. 1419.

[177] Ibid., p. 1420.

[178] Ibid., p. 1421.

[179] Ibid., p. 1422.

[180] Ibid., p. 1423.

[181] Ibid., p. 1424.

[182] Ibid., p. 1425.

[183] Ibid., p. 1426.

[184] Ibid., p. 1427.

[185] Ibid., p. 1428.

[186] Ibid., p. 1429.

[187] Ibid., p. 1430.

[188] Ibid., p. 1431.

[189] Ibid., p. 1432.

[190] Ibid., p. 1433.

[191] Ibid., p. 1434.

[192] Ibid., p. 1435.

[193] Ibid., p. 1436.

[194] Ibid., p. 1437.

[195] Ibid., p. 1438.

[196] Ibid., p. 1439.

[197] Ibid., p. 1440.

[198] Ibid., p. 1441.

[199] Ibid., p. 1442.

[200] Ibid., p. 1443.

[201] Ibid., p. 1444.

[202] Ibid., p. 1445.

[203] Ibid., p. 1446.

[204] Ibid., p. 1447.

[205] Ibid., p. 1448.

[206] Ibid., p. 1449.

[207] Ibid., p. 1450.

[208] Ibid., p. 1451.

[209] Ibid., p. 1452.

[210] Ibid., p. 1453.

[211] Ibid., p. 1454.

[212] Ibid., p. 1455.

[213] Ibid., p. 1456.

[214] Ibid., p. 1457.

[215] Ibid., p. 1458.

[216] Ibid., p. 1459.

[217] Ibid., p. 1460.

[218] Ibid., p. 1461.

[219] Ibid., p. 1462.

[220] Ibid., p. 1463.

[221] Ibid., p. 1464.

[222] Ibid., p. 1465.

[223] Ibid., p. 1466.

[224] Ibid., p. 1467.

[225] Ibid., p. 1468.

[226] Ibid., p. 1469.

[227] Ibid., p. 1470.

[228] Ibid., p. 1471.

[229] Ibid., p. 1472.

[230] Ibid., p. 1473.

[231] Ibid., p. 1474.

[232] Ibid., p. 1475.

[233] Ibid., p. 1476.

[234] Ibid., p. 1477.

[235] Ibid., p. 1478.

[236] Ibid., p. 1479.

[237] Ibid., p. 1480.

[238] Ibid., p. 1481.

[239] Ibid., p. 1482.

[240] Ibid., p. 1483.

[241] Ibid., p. 1484.

[242] Ibid., p. 1485.

[243] Ibid., p. 1486.

[244] Ibid., p. 1487.

[245] Ibid., p. 1488.

[246] Ibid., p. 1489.

[247] Ibid., p. 1490.

[248] Ibid., p. 1491.

[249] Ibid., p. 1492.

[250] Ibid., p. 1493.

[251] Ibid., p. 1494.

[252] Ibid., p. 1495.

[253] Ibid., p. 1496.

[254] Ibid., p. 1497.

[255] Ibid., p. 1498.

[256] Ibid., p. 1499.

[257] Ibid., p. 1500.

[258] Ibid., p. 1501.

[259] Ibid., p. 1502.

[260] Ibid., p. 1503.

[261] Ibid., p. 1504.

[262] Ibid., p. 1505.

[263] Ibid., p. 1506.

[264] Ibid., p. 1507.

[265] Ibid., p. 1508.

[266] Ibid., p. 1509.

[267] Ibid., p. 1510.

[268] Ibid., p. 1511.

[269] Ibid., p. 1512.

[270] Ibid., p. 1513.

[271] Ibid., p. 1514.

[272] Ibid., p. 1515.

[273] Ibid., p. 1516.

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[959] Ibid., p. 2202.

[960] Ibid., p. 2203.

[961] Ibid., p. 2204.

[962] Ibid., p. 2205.

[963] Ibid., p. 2206.

[964] Ibid., p. 2207.

[965] Ibid., p. 2208.

[966] Ibid., p. 2209.

[967] Ibid., p. 2210.

[968] Ibid., p. 2211.

[969] Ibid., p. 2212.

[970] Ibid., p. 2213.

[971] Ibid., p. 2214.

[972] Ibid., p. 2215.

[973] Ibid., p. 2216.

[974] Ibid., p. 2217.

[975] Ibid., p. 2218.

[976] Ibid., p. 2219.

[977] Ibid., p. 2220.

[978] Ibid., p. 2221.

[979] Ibid., p. 2222.

[980] Ibid., p. 2223.

[981] Ibid., p. 2224.

[982] Ibid., p. 2225.

[983] Ibid., p. 2226.

[984] Ibid., p. 2227.

[985] Ibid., p. 2228.

[986] Ibid., p. 2229.

[987] Ibid., p. 2230.

[988] Ibid., p. 2231.

[989] Ibid., p. 2232.

[990] Ibid., p. 2233.

[991] Ibid., p. 2234.

[992] Ibid., p. 2235.

[993] Ibid., p. 2236.

[994] Ibid., p. 2237.

[995] Ibid., p. 2238.

[996] Ibid., p. 2239.

[997] Ibid., p. 2240.

[998] Ibid., p. 2241.

[999] Ibid., p. 2242.

[1000] Ibid., p. 2243.

In April 1930, Lord Passfield requested the governor to notify him "as soon as possible" about the feasibility of African coffee growing, arguing that "the experience in other Colonies where native-grown crops are intermingled with estate-grown crops, indicate that native could be encouraged to grow coffee without risk to estate cultivation if adequate provision is made for a plant protection service for such cultivation."[43]

The colonial secretary clarified his position in "A Memorandum on Native Policy," issued in June 1930. The document reasserted the policy of native paramountcy, and contained a paragraph on the right of Africans to choose their work: "The main objective to be kept in view is the improvement of the general condition of the natives by encouraging them to make the most efficient use of their own resources for purposes of production."[44] It stressed that government should actively assist in improving methods of cultivation through training in agriculture, effectively disseminating supportive information, and enabling Africans to obtain a fair market for their products, especially by providing adequate means of communication and transport. In regard to coffee production, the White Paper contained a significant clause:

> His Majesty's Government consider that natives must be allowed, subject to any necessary safeguards, in Native Reserves or

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[43]Secretary of State for the Colonies (hereafter SSC) to Governor of Kenya (hereafter Gov.), 10 April, 1930, CO 533/413, No. 17220.

[44]HMG, Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa Cmd. 3573 (London: HMSO, 1930), p. 112.

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necessary adjustments, in Native Reserves or
five miles must be allowed, subject to only
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a baragraph on the right of Africans to choose their work:
"The main objective is to be kept in view is the improvement of
the general condition of the Native by encouraging them to
Where Native-grown crops are furnished with estate-grown
coffee drawing, stating that "the experience in other Colonies
has been to discourage", upon the recruitment of African
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Where Native-grown crops are furnished with estate-grown
coffee drawing, stating that "the experience in other Colonies
has been to discourage", upon the recruitment of African
labour. In April 1930, when transferred the Governor to Nairobi

> on land in individual occupation, to grow such crops and to keep such livestock as they think most profitable; but, apart from the question of insuring the necessary local food supply, which is the first essential, the Government should actively encourage the production of such crops and the raising of such stocks as the native may prove best fitted in the particular circumstances to undertake, and such will give him the best return for his efforts. Any proposal to prohibit the natives from engaging in any pursuit or from cultivating any kind of produce is, of course, to be deprecated, and if regulations are called to safeguard stock or crops from disease, such regulations should apply generally to all persons without any racial discrimination. (Emphasis mine.)[45]

Governor Grigg reacted hostilely to the memorandum and the "Statement on Closer Union," issued at the same time, the latter of which supported the Hilton Young Commission Report. Grigg's relations with Passfield continued to deteriorate; he wrote official letters criticizing his superior's position on issues, and he even denounced the colonial secretary and the Labour Party.[46] The clash between the governor and Lord Passfield was manifested in Grigg's continued refusal to reply to the questions raised by the Colonial Office on African coffee growing.

However, the issue of indigenous production underwent serious discussion in Nairobi. It took place at the annual meeting of the agricultural staff who served in African areas, in response to a proposal from the district commissioner in

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[45] Ibid., 116-17.

[46] Gregory, Sidney Webb, pp. 122-27.

Meru for production and cooperative marketing of the crop. The participants agreed that arabica could be more widely grown in Kenya than robusta. After the Coffee Officer of Tanganyika discussed the difficulties experienced in the adjacent territory, the meeting resolved that African coffee growing be permitted only under the direct control of a European in charge of less than 100 acres, broken into blocks of not less than twenty acres and within five square miles from a factory. Although those attending the meeting recognized Nairobi's policy of discouraging the production of coffee by Africans, "it was realized that no legal prohibition was possible, and the time was thought to be not far distant when natives might insist on coffee growing."[47] The Colonial Office was committed to ensuring that the opportunity no longer be withheld.

Nairobi was further informed of London's position when the Agricultural Advisor to the Colonial Office, Frank Stockdale, who was sympathetic to African cultivation of coffee, toured East Africa prior to attending an agricultural conference at Amani. In Nairobi officials questioned him about Lord Passfield's views on the controversial coffee issue. Responding, "he took the definite line that no Secretary of State could accept any policy which would make growing of coffee by natives impossible," and maintained that African coffee

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[47]Meeting of Native Agricultural Staff, Nairobi, August 25-27, 1930. I am grateful to Dr. Jon Moris for providing me this information.

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[17] Meeting of Native Agricultural Credit Mexico for pro-
Vaughan 52-55 1930. I am grateful to Dr. Don Moore for pro-
vision of information.

production should be permitted provided adequate services were available to guard against diseases and pests. He asserted that these services "must be" under the control of government, but not under the authority of any board with executive or advisory functions (by this he meant the proposed Coffee Board or the Agricultural Board, both of which gave substantial control to European settlers). Stockdale reported that his views found general endorsement from the chief native commissioner, the attorney general, and, "with some reservations," the director of agriculture. He did not mention the governor, although one assumes he was in contact with Grigg. Reporting back to the Colonial Office, the agricultural advisor remarked that, although the European coffee growers' association "might kick they have not a single leg to stand on in respect of this issue."[48]

The agricultural conference at Amani, which Stockdale chaired in February 1931, had been called, at the suggestion of the Tanganyika government, to consider coordination of research work and common agricultural problems. Increasingly concerned about London's position in regard to coffee growing, Nairobi raised the issue. The delegates, consisting of directors of agriculture from the three East African dependencies and technical specialists, concluded that arabica production by East Africans "was a promising agricultural undertaking for areas selected or approved as being suitable for

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[48]Stockdale, 25 December, 1930, cited in Memorandum by Allen, 27 June, 1931.

the crop." They suggested that in the initial stages measures be taken to prevent haphazard planting of inferior materials, and that growers be trained in methods of cultivation. Furthermore, services would have to be provided for control of pests and diseases,and measures taken to ensure proper cultivation, curing, and grading. The conference participants felt that these precautions could be best observed by restricting plantings to specified areas in select localities; limiting plant material to that grown in nurseries established under agricultural departments; and providing adequate authority through legislation to enforce proper methods of cultivation, treatment of pests and disease, collection of ripe berries, and preparation and grading. The conference considered unfounded the fears about the spread of diseases and pests, and of increases in theft. More importantly, they found no substantial technical reasons to restrict coffee growing by Africans.[49]

The month following the conference the colonial secretary again raised the issue of coffee growing with Grigg. He sent the governor a copy of a question raised in the House of Commons as to the number of coffee licenses granted Kenyan Africans in 1930. Lord Passfield requested Grigg to supply him with the facts and with further information about licensing practices, while reminding him of relevant sections in the "Memorandum on Native Policy" and the Colonial Office

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[49]Memorandum on Coffee growing by Natives in Kenya, n.d. CO 533/431, No. 3040/1.

dispatch of April 10, 1930.[50] No answer was forthcoming.

In March 1931, when considering the poor financial position of the railway in particular and the colony in general, Lord Passfield emphasized the need to increase export trade. Acknowledging the general issues of balance of trade and increased railway cargo, he added that "it seems necessary to stimulate native exports because of reduced East Africa market for their produce and reduced employment." He requested Grigg to take action for the "immediate increase of native production for export," suggesting the possibility of greater maize production and, where suitable, a production campaign for crops such as groundnuts and simsim. Passfield stressed the urgency for action in the forthcoming growing season and noted the "question of grading and marketing native produce is, of course, of first importance."[51] The latter statement, incongruent with his previous ones which made production a top priority, reflected Stockdale's view that more attention be given to marketing aspects.

The governor's reply the following month indicated the colony's organization in regard to, and lack of support for, African production: "No very substantial results in this direction can be anticipated this year." Grigg gave these reasons: a significant increase in production could only be brought about gradually and through sustained effort; more agricultural and administrative staff was needed, and funds

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[50] SSC to Gov., 4 March, 1931, CO 533/391, No. 15856 "B".

[51] SSC to Gov., 30 March, 1931, CO 533/410, No. 17142.

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[20] See Co-op. v. Mack, 1 March, 1961, CO 233\233, No. 12820 "B".

[21] See Co-op. v. Mack, 30 March, 1961, CO 233\234, No. 12845.

were not available; and given the current invasion of locusts which appeared to "prefer maize...it is unwise at present to make any endeavor to increase maize plantings." The governor also claimed that an improvement in African agriculture was complicated by the land tenure system which hindered acquisition of adequate land for local native council seed farms, which were, in the director of agriculture's opinion, of first importance. Some attention was being given to cooperative marketing, he reported, and the entire issue of marketing was currently under examination.[52]

In spite of the reservations expressed by the governor, further prodding by the Colonial Office led to the Native Affairs Department "Circular" of August 1931, which stressed the importance of greater economic output in the reserves. It stated that two lines of action were needed immediately: general and continuous propaganda by officers of all departments; and a program of long-range development based on economic surveys conducted along specified guidelines.[53] This circular, as discussed in Chapter 2, led to the proposal to grow coffee in Gusiiland.

Meantime, pressure mounted in London in regard to coffee growing by Kenyan Africans. A delegation, consisting of Ezekiel Apindi, Chief Koinange and James Mutua, which had

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[52]Gov. to SSC, 29 April, 1931, CO 533/410, No. 17142.

[53]"Development of Native Reserves," Native Affairs Department Circular 34, 31 August, 1931, CO 533/435, No. 18214.

come to London to testify before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa[54] sent a list of grievances and requests to the colonial secretary including the statement that "we should not be prohibited to plant economic plants such as coffee."[55] When the delegates met with Lord Passfield in May 1931, Mr. Apindi specifically requested that "the Kavirondo should not be prohibited from growing coffee in their country which was suitable for this crop."[56]

European witnesses also commented on black Kenyans growing coffee before the Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa. Although most of them tended to present the same familiar arguments against the innovation, several persons argued persuasively in favor of it. For example, Major Sir Edward Humphrey Manisty Leggett of the Joint East Africa Board pointed out that the Kikuyu Reserve was suitable for coffee growing since "the best of the white European coffee plantations are upon the same soil and in the same climate, side by side, touching the Reserve." He proceeded to attack various arguments against African coffee cultivation. In regard to pests, he testified that in the Kilimanjaro area "the

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[54]The commission was established to debate the varying reports on the issue of closer union in East Africa.

[55]"Matters which Kenya Native Delegates desire to bring to notice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies," n.d., CO 533/410, No. 17165.

[56]"Note of an Interview between the Secretary of State with Kenya Native witnesses before the Joint Select Committee," by Parkinson, 6 May, 1931, CO 533/410, No. 17165.

economic hiatus such as Kenya's." Mpsu has calculated that
if current trends continue, Kenya will be importing from abroad
some 40 percent of its food requirements by 1985. Most of
these imports will have to be paid for in foreign exchange
earned from exports. Mpsu has calculated that in the Kirimanjaro area
alone, production will have to increase by 30 percent if
Kenya is to meet its food needs by 1985.

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[22] The commission was established to deal with
land problems on the Lesuo Plains. Most of those
who appeared before the commission were squatters
with Kenya Nafiaye Mifugasseg petore the Joint Select Committee",
[23] "Note of an interview between the Secretary of State
and the Kenya Nafiaye Mifugasseg Delegation",
n.d., CO 533\410, No. 11565.

[24] "Nafiaye Mifugasseg Delegation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies",
n.d., CO 533\410, No. 11565.

[25] "The commission was established to deal with land problems on the Lesuo Plains.
Most of those who appeared before the Joint Select Committee",
with Kenya Nafiaye Mifugasseg petore the Joint Select Committee",
pp. Parliament, 6 May, 1957-CO 533\410, No. 11565.

inspection of the [African] plantation is done very carefully, and does not reveal pests, and indeed reveals a very high standard of cultivation." The trade figures, he said, showed that the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association purchases of fertilizers and sprayers were "surprisingly large." He dismissed the subject of theft as "really [a]...small matter." To counter the claim that indigenous growers would lower the quality of coffee produced, Leggett reported that annual statistics on coffee grades from the Kilimanjaro association "correspond wonderfully well with the figures of the European Planters from adjacent areas in the same years, and the same months or weeks of sale. There is practically no difference, and in some cases, the figure is even a little above the European figures."[57]

The Secretary for Native Affairs in Tanganyika, Sir Philip E. Mitchell, testified about the viability of small-scale coffee production. From the point of view of disease prevention, he said, small plots ought to be advantageous. The government entomologists in Tanganyika, he disclosed, had reported that "everywhere (except in Kibosho, where it was only fair) the general condition of the native could not be too highly commended." In regard to regulations, Mitchell felt that Africans would not object so long as they were not based on racial lines.[58] Also representatives of the Anti-

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[57] Joint Select Committee Closer Union, Vol. II, pp. 348-49.

[58] Ibid., p. 443.

Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society used examples from Tanganyika to support their favorable position on Kenyan African coffee growing. They quoted from the results of a government inquiry that "in the Kilimanjaro area the condition of the native plantations was very high, whereas that of the White settlers' plantations was definitely inferior to that of the natives."[59]

Professor Leakey incisively addressed an issue which others tended to avoid: "the development of the natives to any considerable scale and of native farming and native export, will undoubtedly cut down the native labor supply, the fact that the two things [sic] development of the European and development of the natives are inimical to each other.... Their two interests do clash."[60] The statement was in contrast to the myth created by former Secretary of State Amery, and accepted by the Hilton Young Commission and placed in the Memorandum on Native Policy. The Colonial Office wished to maintain its argument that the development of all communities in Kenya colony would provide complimentary benefits. The settlers believed otherwise and so did their governor.

Nairobi Takes Action

Nairobi succumbed to pressure to allow African coffee production primarily because of the desire to enact a bill to

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[59] Ibid., p. 127.

[60] Professor Leakey's Evidence Before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Closer Union, CO 533/412, No. 17199.

establish a coffee board. From 1929 onwards to the legislation of the bill in late 1932, the issue of a coffee board, with powers to finance scientific and technical services, was pressed by European growers. In December 1929 the Coffee Planters Union drafted a proposal for the establishment of a coffee board, with powers to direct policy and expenditures on development of the industry, which could be paid for through contributions from growers. A bill prepared by government also called for a commitment of a matching Ь for Ь contribution from government, a proposition advanced by the growers. At the annual meeting of the Coffee Planters Union in December 1930, the director of agriculture stated that the Coffee Consulting Committee had recommended passage of the bill but suspension of its financial provisions until the economy improved.[61]

In early 1931 government informed the coffee union that the original bill would not be introduced, but a few months later it published an amended version which was publicly rejected by the union. The government bill was less ambitious than the original one which stipulated the formation of a Coffee Research Institute financed partially by a considerable increase in the cost of growers' licenses, and the contribution by government of matching funds. The Coffee Planters Union strongly objected to the omission of the principle of a matching government contribution. To break the deadlock, Acting Director of Agriculture, H. Wolfe, suggested that the proposed

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[61]"Rejection Coffee Board Bill," p. 44.

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[13] "... Citrus College Board Bill", p. 44.

bill include an amendment that government provide coffee services up to Ь 10,000 per annum, the existing government commitment and expenditure, on a Ь for Ь basis with the industry.[62]

While the Colonial Office internally discussed the bill in regard to possible discrimination and its applicability to African producers, Lord Passfield responded to the Governor of Kenya: "I do not feel able to express any opinion on [the] COFFEE INDUSTRY BILL until I have before me your recommendations in regard to growing of coffee by natives. In the meantime, I should be glad if you would suspend any Government action on the Bill."[63] Subsequently, in August 1931, upon the collapse of the Labour Party government and Lord Passfield's retirement, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister took over as Secretary of State for the Colonies. Sir Joseph Byrne, formerly Governor of Sierra Leone, was appointed Governor of Kenya in the fall, though he had been in the colony since February. Finally, with a new person in charge of Kenya, London received a reply from Nairobi on African coffee production.

In November 1931 Byrne wrote: "On general principles there is no valid reason why natives should not be permitted to grow coffee subject to certain safeguards." He reported that after the Amani conference he had examined the selection

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[62]Acting Director of Agriculture (hereafter Ag. DA) to SSC, 27 July, 1931, KNA: Dept. Agric. Coff. 1/3 Vol. II.

[63]SSC to Gov., 4 July, 1931, KNA: Dept. Agric. Coff. 1/3 Vol. II.

of suitable localities, and the provision of legislation and additional agricultural services, together with financial aspects. The governor had been advised and agreed that "the most suitable localities for the initial enterprise are to be found near Meru and Embu townships." These sites were selected, he pointed out, because they were distant from European plantations. The Department of Agriculture planned to provide from its existing staff the necessary skilled advisory services and supervision for two 100-acre coffee fields; coffee production would be permitted only on these blocks "until the measures of success...can be gauged with a reasonable degree of certainty."[64]

On the same occasion, the governor acknowledged that "in the near future" there would "probably be demands" from the Kikuyu of Fort Hall and Kiambu for permission to grow coffee. Two Kikuyus from the first place, he reported, recently had deposited the coffee planters fee of Sh. 30/. Byrne argued against "haphazard planting," especially in the neighborhood of European plantations and claimed that "sudden diversion of the labourers earning wages on the farms to coffee cultivation in the Reserves would not necessarily mean financial gain to the labourers." The governor proposed to make it illegal for Africans to grow coffee in the reserves unless permission were received from the director of agriculture. He acknowledged awareness of Lord Passfield's despatch

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[64]Gov. to SSC, 25 November, 1931, CO 533/408, No. 17094.

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[64] CQA, 17 USC, 25 November, 1981, CD 233\108, No. 1709.

of August 17, 1931, which raised the issue of an overall limitation on areas for coffee production, which meant applicability to Europeans as well as Africans, but Byrne felt that restrictions on European planting would be "impracticable." Thus, the Africans would have their own set of regulations governing planting and the industry, even though under the proposed Coffee Board bill, they still would be subject to increase in the cost of licenses or payments of cess.[65]

The Colonial Office carefully studied Byrne's letter. Stockdale perceptively observed that the phraseology used by the governor "rather indicates that the Government has some doubts as to the ultimate success of the trial and, if the Department (of Agriculture) sets out with this view the 'measure of success' required before extension is authorized may not be attained."[66] He thought that it should be made clear that, while the initial tests were to be carried out in Meru and Embu, the issuance of permission for coffee growing in other African areas would be contemplated. Furthermore, he favored beginning experimental block plantings in Fort Hall and Kiambu.

A Colonial Office functionary raised the political implications of the issue, pointing out that although Kikuyus wanted to grow coffee, plantings were to be legally prohibited in all reserves, except for designated areas in Meru and Embu.

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[65] Ibid.

[66] Minutes on Gov. to SSC, 25 November, 1931, by Stockdale, 12 January, 1932, CO 533/408, No. 17094.

Also, Nairobi's plan clearly set out separate regulations for Africans and Europeans.[67] Another person stated that the stipulation, which gave the director of agriculture, subject to the appeal of the governor, permission to allow Africans to plant coffee, was highly discriminatory and thus conflicted with the native policy memorandum. He suggested that the governor be informed that the Colonial Office "would be unable to agree to the continuance of such discrimination beyond an initial period of, say, two years."[68]

With views set forth by members of his office, the colonial secretary formulated his reply to the governor. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister's despatch was sent April 19th, almost five months after receipt of Bryne's important letter. "Broadly speaking my view is that it is indefensible to maintain administrative restrictions on native coffee planting, except so far as they may be necessary owing to the inability of the Government to afford adequate supervision, and that the areas in which it is to be permitted should be those in which the services of an agricultural officer are available for the purpose." In reconciling the discriminatory nature of the proposed program, he considered "it is legitimate for and indeed incumbent on the Government...to take all proper precautions against any risks of disaster to the existing industry." The colonial secretary requested the governor to reconsider the possibility

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[67]Note by Allen, 2 February, 1932, CO 533/408, No. 17094.

[68]Note, 8 January, 1932, CO 533/408, No. 17094.

of including areas in the Kikuyu reserve as part of the initial experiment, by defining specific blocks for which permits would be issued and providing adequate supervision. Furthermore, he asked for more information about plans to provide staff.[69]

In spring 1932, the intention of government to allow coffee growing by Africans was indicated in yet another draft bill, which centered on the establishment of a coffee board. The proposed legislation contained a clause stipulating "the provision of the coffee planters license shall not apply to any coffee plantation in any native reserve." This clause was inserted to make the director of agriculture, not the coffee board or local district commissioners, responsible for licensing Africans.[70] In contrast, the bill designated the district commissioners responsible for issuing European planters' licenses, in consultation with the board; however, the colonial secretary's disapproval eventually led to the consultative position being given to the director of agriculture, thereby making the licensing practice similar for both racial groups.[71]

The same month the bill was issued, the annual coffee conference convened. Participants strongly denounced the

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[69]SSC to Gov., 19 April, 1932, CO 533/408, No. 17094.

[70]Gov.'s Deputy to SSC, 30 August, 1932, CO 533/428 No. 18288.

[71]SSC to Gov., 8 November, 1932; and Gov. to SSC, 30 November, 1932, CO 533/428, No. 18288.

decision of government to allow coffee growing by Africans and urged "indefinite postponement of a step so utterly unwise." They argued that the world coffee market was on the verge of collapse due to overproduction, and government accordingly ought to restrict planting rather than to encourage its extension.[72] Government representatives assured the growers that they intended only to allow coffee to be grown by Africans in Embu and Meru districts, and on a limited scale. Notwithstanding the European planters' objections to the clause dealing with indigenous growers, they did not reject the coffee industry bill. Thereafter, the proposal was passed by the legislative council in December 1932, and it came into operation the following month. The Coffee Board then replaced the Coffee Planters' Union and represented both planters and traders.[73]

Although the Colonial Office had advised that rules be promulgated which applied equally to all races, Nairobi felt there were adequate rules covering European coffee production and that it was not necessary to legislate further to maintain the quality of the European crop. On the other hand, a special set of regulations were considered necessary to control growing by Africans. A draft of the rules was sent to

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[72]CPK, Report of the Proceedings of Coffee Planters' Days and Coffee Conference: held in Memorial Hall, Nairobi, June 29 - July 2, 1932 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1932), pp. 32, 112.

[73]Hill, Planters' Progress, p. 90.

London in January 1933, and even though Nairobi pushed for a reply, the colonial secretary refused to comment until discussions were held with the retiring Director of Agriculture, Alex Holm.[74] Meanwhile, consideration was given to discriminatory aspects of the regulations within the Colonial Office. To reconcile the native policy memorandum with the discriminatory policy proposed by Nairobi, it was suggested that Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister's pronouncement in regard to another issue might be applied in this case: "It is no part of my intention to impose, in the supposed interests of racial equality, an unnecessary legal obligation on members of one race, merely on the ground that such an obligation is necessary for members of another race in their own interests."[75]

A meeting between Holm and Stockdale took place in June. Stockdale reviewed some of the objections raised by Lord Francis Scott, a leading settler representative, at a meeting with Sir Cecil Bottemley, in charge of Kenyan affairs in the Colonial Office, and by S. G. Gare, a Kenyan settler lobbying in London.[76] Stockdale briefed Mr. Holm on the

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[74]Minute on Gov. to SSC, 13 January, 1933, CO 533/431, No. 3040.

[75]Minute on Gov. to SSC, 13 January, 1933, by Freeston, 6 March, 1933, CO 533/431, No. 3040.

[76]Mr. Gare's status as a representative of Kenya's European growers was questioned, Holm claimed the views Gare expressed were really those of only one of the Coffee Board members, although Gare presented Lord Plymouth a set of documents, with about 500 signatures, purported to have been signed by European planters and managers of coffee estates, which urged that Africans not be allowed to plant coffee.

"...a meeting between Hon. Hank Brockdale and Chief Justice Alex Holm. Representatives of Kenley, Brockdale, Holm and Associates were present. Also present were Attorney Jeffrey Lewis, Mr. Carl Bostwick, Mr. Ralph Cummings, Mr. Jack Hamilton, Mr. Ralph Cummings, Mr. Jack Hamilton, Mr. Ralph Cummings, Mr. Jack Hamilton

colonial secretary's view that "production be restricted to areas and subject to conditions which afforded an effective insurance against disease." The retiring director of agriculture said "the Rules had been framed in such a way that the Director of Agriculture had power in his hand to achieve what the Secretary of State desired, provided that no undue pressure was brought to bear on him by Administrative Officers." He had received consistent support from the governor and chief native commissioner, Holm claimed, but warned against the officers. When the subject of trial areas in Kikuyu reserve was raised, Holm objected because of the prevalence of mealy bugs; he also felt it was "undesirable to permit cultivation in the Sotik area" (referring to the possible planting in Gusiiland) because of the presence of coffee berry disease.[77]

Mr. Holm drew attention to two points which he considered as key in the draft native coffee growers regulations.[78] First, the director of agriculture was given permission to "from time to time by notice in the Official Gazette define

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[77]"Note of a Meeting, 6 June, between Mr. Holm, Mr. Stockdale and Mr. Freeston (Mr. Hibbert being also present) to discuss the Kenya Native Coffee Rules," CO 533/431, No. 3040.

[78]During his years in Kenya, Holm, who had served in South Africa for sixteen years, generally had been supportive of European settlers, although he fought to maintain control by government rather than to transfer too many powers to settlers. Before leaving his post, he had taken a very conservative position on African coffee growing and his statements at the Colonial Office reflect this.

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[17] "Note 01 a Negative," 6 June, between Mr. Holm, Mr. Stockdale and Mr. Freeston (Mr. Hippert being also present) to discuss the Kenya Native Coffee Bales," CO 533\431, No. 30[illegible].

[18] During the years in Kenya, Holm had been actively involved in efforts to improve the quality of African coffee, primarily by developing methods to transform coffee beans to meet buyers' specifications. Before leaving the post, he had taken a new commercial position as African coffee director for the Kenya Planters Co-operative Union, Ltd., a farmers' organization with headquarters in Nairobi. Holm's new position was to be director of agricultural services and to supervise the activities of the Union's coffee curing works and its coffee buying stations. He had received consistent support from the Governor, Sir Edward Grigg, and from the Chief Native Commissioner, Hoyle Cranwell, but was opposed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Oliver Stanley, who felt that the Union's monopoly position would be detrimental to the interests of African growers. Before leaving the post, he had taken a new commercial position as African coffee director for the Kenya Planters Co-operative Union, Ltd., a farmers' organization with headquarters in Nairobi. Holm's new position was to be director of agricultural services and to supervise the activities of the Union's coffee curing works and its coffee buying stations. He had received consistent support from the Governor, Sir Edward Grigg, and from the Chief Native Commissioner, Hoyle Cranwell, but was opposed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Oliver Stanley, who felt that the Union's monopoly position would be detrimental to the interests of African growers.

areas in native reserves as areas in which coffee may be grown." This meant that the director, without any other legal procedures, could extend coffee growing in African areas. Second, in defining such areas the director would study the "economic considerations affecting the interests of native coffee growers." This, of course, could be interpreted in many ways. The retiring officer claimed that agricultural officers should provide only supervisory services to African growers and possibly greater assistance might be given if the staff of trained African instructors were increased.[79]

Meanwhile, policy details were being worked out in Nairobi. The Department of Agriculture promised the European growers that government "would not give substantially more service to African coffee growers than it gave to the Europeans."[80] Since it could provide only instructional and inspection services similar to those given to Europeans, the department suggested that the African coffee owners or their local native councils employ a European supervisor or manager, who would be assisted by trained African instructors once the plantings totalled 100 acres.[81] In the initial stages, however, the department only required that "experienced native coffee workmen, in sufficient numbers, should be employed."[82]

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[79]"Note Meeting Holm, Stockdale and Freeston."

[80]DA to Chief Native Commissioner (hereafter CNC), 17 February, 1933, KNA: Provincial Commissioner, Nyanza (hereafter PC Nza) AGRI 1/2/9/2.

[81]DA to CNC, 4 March, 1933, KNA: PC Nza AGRI 1/2/9/2.

[82]Deputy Director (Plant Industries) (hereafter DD(PI)) to Agricultural Officer, Nyanza (hereafter AO, Nza), 25 May,

state it to avoid disappointment. Mr. Mbeki's department has also been asked to provide more information about the Malawian coffee industry, which is thought to be capable of producing much more than it does at present.

Mr. Mbeki's department is also considering how it might help Malawian coffee growers to improve the quality of their beans. Since it could provide only instructional and information services to Malawian coffee growers, the department suggested that the Malawian coffee growers' association should be assisted by trained Malawian instructors once the local native coffee variety is phased out.

Meanwhile, Dorothy Gertrude Mbeki [illegible] Malawian coffee growers [illegible] Malawian coffee growers [illegible] Malawian coffee growers

In May 1933 the chief native commissioner gave authority to the director of agriculture to begin coffee nurseries in Kisii, Embu and Meru. This permission was based on the understanding that the cost of seed and labor would be met from existing agricultural department or local native council funds.[83] The overall policy was enunciated the following month and was based on the stipulation that the respective local native councils would finance the industry and that African coffee growing was to be considered experimental. The total acreage in each of the trial areas was not to exceed 100 acres, "until Government is satisfied that coffee will do well in the area under native cultivation." Moreover, Nairobi stipulated that the seed be approved by the director of agriculture; that plantings take place only in block or neighborhood concentration systems, in order to facilitate effective European supervision; and that a grower was to be limited to 100 trees, unless the director was assured that the African had sufficient experience, ability and capital to justify a large ownership. All possible attention was to be given to the management and supervision of the coffee fields; therefore, the necessity of employing Africans to assist the district agricultural officer was emphasized. When the plantings reached "an economic unit," a European supervisor was to be employed and the

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1933, KNA: PC Nza AGRI 1/2/9/2.

[83]CNC for Colonial Secretary to DA, 9 May 1933, KNA: PC Nza AGRI 1/2/9/2.

salary was to be paid from local native council funds.[84] A delegation from the newly-formed Coffee Board met with the acting colonial secretary in July 1933. Although evidence concerning the discussion is scanty, an available document reveals that the delegates urged that coffee nurseries not start functioning until the rules governing African production had been "definitely enacted." Moreover, the European growers' representatives expressed annoyance with the projected coffee trial in Kisii, since government had previously only mentioned possible experiments in Embu and Meru. The acting colonial secretary is reported to have said, "there had been considerable political agitation to permit the growing of coffee by natives and following the Report of the Joint Committee on Closer Union, Government had decided to encourage experimental acreage in the districts mentioned." The three areas were not selected because the people from these areas had strongly demanded it, he seems to have admitted, but rather because of their distance from the railway which required production of a high value exportable crop.[85]

The pressure exerted on the Colonial Office by the European settlers did, however, have its effect. London conceded to Nairobi on both the issue of regulations applying

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[84]Ag. DA to Provincial Commissioner, Nyanza (hereafter PC, Nza), 22 June, 1933, KNA: PC Nza AGRI 1/2/9/2.

[85]Chairman of Coffee Board of Kenya to Ag. Colonial Secretary, 13 September, 1933, KNA: Dept. Agric. Coff 1/3 Vol. IV.

Ad. DA fo Provincial Commissioner, Mwanza (here-
after PC, Mza), 55 June, 1933, KNA: PC Mza AC/1 1/5/8/5.

82 Chairman of College Board of Kenya to Ag. Colonial Secretary, 13 September, 1933, KNA: Debt: AC/1 1/3 Vol. IV.

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Government was to be held from local native council funds."[84]

[84] A deputation from the newly-formed College Board met

equally to all racial groups and of coffee growing in Kikuyu areas. As one member of the Colonial Office reluctantly gave up his stand, he claimed "Kenya will only 'stone-wall' and the great thing is to get a start made. If a success is attained the impetus of the industry will do the rest."[86]

At the coffee conference in the fall of 1933, the Kenyan government outlined its policy on coffee growing by Africans. Director of Agriculture, H. Wolfe, explained the policy as evolved in June. Other areas might be found necessary in the same initially selected districts or in other districts, he affirmed, but future development would depend on the results of the experiment. Neither at this time nor any other, however, did government clarify what aspects were being tested and what measures would be used to judge the success of the experiment. The purpose of government, stated the director, was "to provide for the natives a profitable cash crop by means of which they can add to their own wealth and to that of the Colony." The European growers were promised that rules "of a stringent character" would be enforced, and that government did not intend to permit African coffee growing without adequate European supervisory services being available. The delegates at the conference strongly opposed the policy, mainly on economic grounds,[87] and continued to agitate

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[86]Note by Freeston, 5 October, 1933, CO 533/431, No. 3040.

[87]"Coffee Growing by Natives," East African Standard (4 November, 1933), p. 16.

in London to prevent the ultimate enactment of the policy.

A special executive meeting of the Joint East Africa Board was held in November 1933. Although several of the comments at the meeting were against coffee growing by the indigenous people of Kenya, there were a few supporters for the proposed program. The London representative for the Coffee Board of Kenya followed his instructions to oppose the proposal on purely economic grounds. He also admitted that it seemed useless to approach the Home Authorities "as it seemed clear that the decision to start experimental areas for native coffee growing had been made a definite policy of native development," unless the European producers could put forward concrete facts and figures to support their arguments.[88]

The same month the Kenya coffee planters' case was put forward to the colonial secretary by Mr. Parnell, Honorable Secretary of the Coffee Trade Association of London, and Mr. Gare. The latter outlined economic arguments against African coffee production, while Mr. Parnell claimed, "the market for Kenya coffee was already beginning to suffer from the high proportion of inferior quality produced by the insufficiently capitalized European planters." The amount produced from a few hundred acres of African coffee, maintained the colonial secretary, would be negligible in comparison to the output from European growers, although he refused "to

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[88]Joint East Africa Board, "Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Executive Council, held at Bevis Marks House, London, 7 November, 1933," KNA: Dept. Agric. Coff 1/3 Vol. IV.

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the output from European drowsy, although he resigned "to
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South East Africa Board,

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pledge himself to any maximum area which natives might ultimately be allowed to plant." Cunliffe-Lister claimed that the difficulty and expense of providing supervisory staff itself would act as a check and "gave an assurance that such extensions as might be allowed would be authorized only after careful study of the progress of the experiment."[89]

In the discussion the colonial secretary remarked: "It would not be politic to prohibit growing as the public would declare this to be an injustice to the native races."[90] Mr. Parnell concurred,[91] while Gare claimed they were not asking for the prohibition of planting but that "government should not encourage native growing due to the evils that would result as much for the native as the white man."[92] The session must have been stormy because the same afternoon Mr. Parnell wrote the colonial secretary: "May I just make it clear that my Committee does not entirely agree with the attitude of the British Kenya Planters as so forcibly expressed by Mr. Gare."[93] Nairobi was informed of the interview by the Colonial Office.

European settlers gradually acknowledged London's determination to persist with plans for African coffee growing,

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[89]Note to Bottomley, 2 November, 1933, CO 533/431, No. 3040/1.

[90]Minutes of an Interview with Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, signed S. G. Gare, n.d. KNA: Dept. Agric. Coff 1/3 Vol. IV.

[91]Note to Bottomley, 2 November, 1933.

[92]Minutes of Interview with Cunliffe-Lister, Gare.

[93]Parnell to SSC, 2 November, 1933, CO 533/431, No. 3040/1.

but lobbied to ensure that the cultivation be limited. A delegation of European elected-members of the Kenya Legislative Council met with the secretary of state in February 1934. They asked if the proposed planting in the three areas would "be treated as an experiment and not be extended until such time as those experiments have been thoroughly tried out." The colonial secretary reiterated his position that the availability of effective supervision would determine the rate of extension. On the issue of a world surplus in coffee, he reported: "The coffee experts in London say that it is absolutely rubbish to say that the addition of some native coffee grown in Kenya is going to make the faintest iota of difference in the world market." In response to arguments that coffee growing was against the African's best interests, he wisely proclaimed: "I think the native is a fairly shrewd person at finding out what pays him."[94]

During the remainder of 1934, two main issues were settled: agricultural supervision and rules for African coffee growing. Initially Nairobi proposed to place in charge of each area "some young man with coffee experience under local terms of service,"[95] but the Colonial Office was skeptical about such arrangements since "it is obviously better on political as well as technical grounds that the responsibility from the

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[94]"Extract from Record of an Interview between the S of S and the European Elected Members of Leg Council on 14 February, 1934," CO 533/447, No. 23133/1.

[95]SSC to Gov., 18 October, 1933, CO 533/431, No. 3040.

outset should rest on someone about whose fitness to bear it there can be no question."[96]

Eventually Nairobi proposed that a forthcoming graduate from the Imperial School of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad would receive three months intensive training in coffee work at Scott Agricultural Laboratory and then be posted to Embu. In the meantime, a temporary agricultural officer would be placed in charge of Embu. A settler with a diploma in agriculture from Natal, who had eight years of experience in Kenya as a coffee grower and who had acted as an agricultural officer for one year, would serve in Meru. Another European settler, Mr. Graham, with a two year course in the Agricultural College of South Africa, six years farming experience in Kenya, and service as a temporary agricultural officer, would be in charge in South Kavirondo. It was proposed eventually to place a Trinidad graduate in South Kavirondo.[97] The Colonial Office agreed to these appointments. However, London also discussed the staffing issue with the Carnegie Corporation which was interested in supporting development in African areas. The Colonial Office suggested under a five year agreement with Carnegie that provision be made for two additional agricultural officers of Trinidad standard to work in Kenya to supervise African coffee growing.[98] Although

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[96]Note, 18 September, 1933, CO 533/431, No. 3040.

[97]Gov.'s Deputy to SSC, 7 March, 1934, CO 533/447, No. 23133/1.

[98]Bottemley to Gov., 28 April, 1934, CO 533/447, No. 23133/1.

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[36] Note, 18 September, 1933, CO 233\143, No. 30140.

[37] Cov.,a Deputy to SSC, 7 March, 1934, CO 233\144, No. 17\6611.

[38] Bottomley to Cov.,, 28 April, 1934, CO 233\144, No. 17\6611.

these plans did not materialize, they reveal London's intention at the time to ensure that expansion of African coffee production was not hindered by financial arguments and by lack of an adequate supervisory staff.

The regulations governing African coffee growing, which received the Colonial Secretary's assent in October 1933, were published in July 1934. Areas in which coffee cultivation was to be permitted were to be defined by the director of agriculture, based upon suitability of the soils and climatic conditions; the amount of cultivation in terms of economic control and supervision; and economic considerations affecting African interests. No African could grow coffee unless he had been granted a permit from the director of agriculture, issued by the district commissioner. Before such a license was granted, the director had to be assured that satisfactory provision would be made for supervisory services; that the planting and development of the coffee field would be carried out satisfactorily; and that provisions for a pulping station or other processing methods would be made. The Native Grown Coffee Rules of 1934 also provided for the inspection of coffee land similar to those for European areas. After the rules were promulgated, government gazetted specific areas within South Kavirondo, Meru and Embu Districts, where coffee could be grown. In South Kavirondo it specified Nyaribari, Bassi and Kitutu locations.

Summary

Up to the 1930s the colonial government strongly supported the European coffee industry which represented a major source of the colony's revenue. Settlers and their allies argued vehemently against coffee production by Africans, often claiming that such an innovation would lead to the spread of diseases and pests, and that Africans would not care properly for their coffee. However, it is evident that the high standards and ideal of coffee growing professed by the settlers did not prevail among all the European planters. An underlying reason for the opposition to cash crop production by Africans was the fear that development in the African reserves would prevent an adequate supply of laborers on European farms and force the rate of wages up.

During the world depression which seriously affected the Kenyan coffee industry, the Colonial Office's concern over the economic conditions in the colony, as well as political and humanitarian considerations, led it to pressure Nairobi to change its policy on coffee growing by indigenous people. Clashes between the Colonial Secretary, Lord Passfield, and Governor Grigg led to a stalemate, which subsequently ended when new persons were appointed to these positions. The European growers acquiesced since they were vitally interested in having a bill passed to establish the Coffee Board, although they fought hard to ensure that coffee cultivation by Africans would be limited. The outcome was a very restricted plan for

coffee production in three areas remote from European farms. In addition, the rules governing production by Africans then gave de jure stature to prohibit indigenous coffee growing in areas not designated by government. The manner in which the plan and rules were implemented rested upon the government in Kenya. Legal measures were provided to allow extension of production areas, but their use depended upon the orientation of those in authority.

CHAPTER 2

THE EARLY STAGES OF COFFEE GROWING IN GUSIILAND

One of the areas in which coffee was permitted was Gusiiland, called Kisii by the colonialists. Although the region was not originally designated by Nairobi for coffee production, it subsequently was added. The reasons for its inclusion are assessed in this chapter, and economic conditions are studied. A detailed discussion of coffee growing in Gusiiland aims at documenting the assumptions of officials and administrators in regard to the implementation of the plan, and the processing and marketing of the crop. Since the project was labelled as "experimental," technical aspects are assessed to determine the degree to which production in Gusiiland was successful. The technical questions, as well as factors within Gusii society and those external to it, are related to the expansion of the industry.

Conditions in the District

Gusiiland formally came under British control in July 1894, as part of the Uganda Protectorate. Only after the transfer of the Eastern Province of Uganda to the East African Protectorate in 1902, were attempts made to establish effective control over the region. The Gusii area contains an extension of the highlands, about 2,000 meters above sea-level

CHAPTER 5

THE EARLY STAGES OF COFFEE GROWING IN CHILILAND

in the northeast portion, which gradually declines in a southwesterly direction to a lower plains level. The highlands, rich in red laterized volcanic soils, consist of rounded, steep-sided hills intersected by narrow valleys. They normally receive sufficient rainfall, and the entire area is well served by the tributaries of three main rivers which flow into Lake Victoria. Gusiiland contains two main vegetation zones: Kikuyu grass at altitudes above 1800 meters and star grass in the 1350-1800 meter zone. The fertile highland area was considered by Sir Charles Eliot and his successor, Sir Donald Stewart, as a potential area for European settlement.[1]

In 1907 an administrative station was established among the Gusii at a site the Europeans called Kisii. By early 1908, the government had divided the region into eight locations. Although residential areas were not strictly along clan lines, the locations nevertheless were referred to by the name of the dominant clan, and a chief was selected for each location. Because of Gusii resistance to colonial rule, the district headquarters was moved from Uganya to Kisii in March 1908. The district, called South Kavirondo, covered an estimated 2611 square miles, and was inhabited by approximately 274,000 Luos, Kuria, and a few smaller ethnic groups, as well as about 850,000 Gusii living within 539 square miles.[2]

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[1]Robert Maxon, "British Rule in Gusiiland, 1907-1963," (Ph.D. thesis, Syracuse University, 1971), p. 35. Consult this source for details on the early colonial period.

[2]These figures are approximately those estimated for 1917. South Kavirondo District Annual Report (hereafter SKDAR) 1917, KNA: DC/KSI/1/2.

Similar to the pattern followed throughout the protectorate, the early stage of colonial administration over the Gusii focused on establishment of control and new structures through which to maintain law and order. Thereafter, while strengthening efforts in administration and initiating a new judicial system, attention was turned to the collection of taxes and related activities. As elsewhere, taxation implied a means of stimulating a supply of African labor for both inside and outside the district. Also, taxation was utilized for encouraging trade, based on a money economy, in animals, animal hides, and agricultural produce. Bringing the indigenous people into the money economy was also used as a strategy to encourage the purchase of imported goods.

The Gusii traditionally had combined agriculture with animal husbandry. Their main crop was wimbi, a type of finger millet, five varieties of which were grown. By the turn of the century, they cultivated at least two types of sorghum, three kinds of potatoes, seven varieties of beans, and pumpkins. Agricultural activities, as well as hunting, cattle keeping, warfare, and building, were carried out on a cooperative basis. The cooperative unit was the amasaga (plural, risaga), or neighborhood, which had a clearly defined membership. The size of the task to be performed determined whether persons within a sub-area forming a small group or all units forming the large group would be called to participate. Neither the sub-groups nor the entire neighborhood operated on principles of formal organization, nor did they contain institutionalized

positions of authority. A person needing work to be done, such as clearing new land, notified members of the group who would give their labor. They would be rewarded or thanked by a beer party after the work was completed for the day. The amount of drink given was not related to the size of the task performed nor the hours spent working; thus, it was not payment for the labor obtained. A wealthy homestead might call work groups more frequently than others, since they could afford to provide the necessary rewards, but the right existed equally for the poorer homesteads.

At times only the women were called to work, but their husbands would come to enjoy the beer because they had some proprietory rights over the labor of their wives. On other occasions men and women worked together. In principle, it was the men who would clear the land, while women prepared the land, planted, weeded, and harvested. Men were also responsible for putting up the basic structure of houses and the thatching; women mudded the floors and plastered the walls. The designated roles for men in agriculture, however, were not rigidly maintained; when necessary they might perform or assist in activities normally ascribed to women. Men would especially undertake more tasks on their own plot (emonga) which they cultivated for personal profit.

Another form of cooperation in agricultural production was carried out by daily work parties, divided into morning (egesangio) and afternoon (ekebosano) groups. These small daily work groups consisted of women either closely related

or living near one another. For example, a morning group might consist only of women within the same domestic unit, such as a woman, other wives of her husband, and their daughters-in-law. These groups were not formally constituted and their membership could fluctuate from season to season. The daily work parties operated on a strict rotational basis; one day working on member A's fields, the next day at member B's and so forth until the group had performed tasks for each member, before it assisted member A again. In this way, daily agricultural work was carried out on the basis of reciprocity. No additional hours of labor input were gained, but such co-operation provided a social means for accomplishing one's work.

Trade of food products among the Gusii was minimal during normal seasons. More common was the exchange of food based on principles of reciprocity and social obligation. Barter among the Gusii was based mainly on acquiring items produced by specialists, such as ironmakers, potters, and soapstone carvers. Trade with neighboring Luos and Kipsigis was conducted in the pre-colonial period both in times of peace and war. During normal agricultural seasons the Gusii mainly exchanged produce for animals, but when drought struck they relied on their neighbors for food. The Luos, who often experienced prolonged drought and periods of famine, referred to Gusiiland as their "granary."[3] During the colonial period

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[3]William Ochieng, "Trade Contacts and Cultural Connexions Between the Gusii and the Luo in the 19th Century," paper presented at the Historical Association of Kenya, Annual

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[3] William Morton, "Large Corporate and Political Contributions and Expenditures," Journal of Political Association of Kenya, Volume [illegible] (June 1967), pp. [illegible].

this trade continued to be significant.

Prior to World War I a few trading centers were established in Gusii country to support bartering across the borders, serve as collection points for produce and animals, and to function as centers for selling imported goods to "stimulate the desire to earn money."[4] In spite of these centers, the traders, consisting of Asians, Somalis, and Swahilis, usually resided in Kisii town and made buying trips through the countryside. Trade in cattle to be exported from the district was often prevented, however, because of quarantine due to diseases. Otherwise, commerce was largely dependent upon suitable roads and paths, and adequate transport. Produce was transferred within the district by porters, bullock carts and donkeys. These means were also used to transfer loads from Gusiiland to Homa Bay, Karungu, and Kendu Bay (opened in 1912). At these ports firms purchased goods and cattle and then shipped them by lake transport to Kisumu.

The volume of trade was aided by Gusii agricultural endeavors. As early as 1907, a colonial administrator recorded that "as agriculturalists the Kisii are very industrious."[5]

Conference 1972, Nairobi, Kenya, p. 6. A description of pre-colonial Gusii society and patterns of migration is contained in William Ochieng, A Pre-colonial History of the Gusii of Western Kenya C.A.D. 1500-1914 (Kampala: East African Literature Bureau, 1974), although some of the conclusions narrowly define the complexity of the processes.

[4]C. E. Spencer, "Notes Regarding Kisii District, 1913-14," KNA: DC/KSI/3/2.

[5]G. A. S. Northcote, "1907 Histories and Customs," KNA: DC/KSI/3/2.

Two years later another official reported that the Gusii were "excellent cultivators" and "far ahead of the Kavirondo [Luo] in the use of cash and understand and appreciate the central coinage."[6] These statements document the awareness of some administrators to Gusii agricultural pursuits, but must be understood in relation to the predominance of pastorialism in the rest of South Kavirondo.

With a few exceptions, district officers largely neglected Gusii agricultural activities. Up to 1913 in Gusiiland, action was taken in the distribution of new varieties of seeds, such as beans and maize; the encouragement of new crops, especially wheat; and the establishment of experimental seed plots. Afforestation also received attention through the promotion of plantations. Revenue for these undertakings was mainly derived from the Kisii Captured Stock Funds.[7] In February 1913 an agricultural instructor, Mr. Wiley, arrived in the district and served for twelve months. His activities centered on training thirty cattle for ploughing. Mr. Wiley also promoted wheat production among the Gusii and simsim growing throughout suitable parts of the district. Much of his attention, however, was given to cotton growing in the Luo areas. The activities initiated by Mr. Wiley and the marketing of agricultural produce were disrupted by the outbreak of war.[8]

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[6]SKDAR 1908-09, KNA: DC/KSI/1/1.

[7]Livestock seized in retaliation for Gusii resistance against the British were sold and the revenue placed in this special fund.

[8]Spencer, "Notes 1913-14."

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[2] SKOAR 1981-90, KMA: DC\KSI\I\I.

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[5] Expert 161 on agricultural inspector, Mr. Miley, sitting

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two levels later another official reported that the Small more

During World War I trade from the district in agricultural items was low, due mainly to a lack of transport and storage facilities outside. However, trade in cattle was actively encouraged because of military needs. When a sufficient number of cattle was not marketed voluntarily, people were forced to sell their animals. According to the district commissioner's annual report for 1916-17, "the native has had to pay high prices for everything he has bought and in many cases he obtained low prices for what he sold."[9] Moreover, in 1915 the hut and poll tax had been raised to Rs. 5.

The war years were preceded in the protectorate by a period of depression, and famine and influenza struck throughout in early 1919. As elsewhere, South Kavirondo was affected. Trade was so slow that shops temporarily closed and part of the time a quarantine on cattle prevented marketing outside the district. The depression did not prevent government from raising the hut and poll tax, which, in 1920 went up to RS. 8. However, in the next couple of years the colony underwent a change in its monetary system so that in 1922 the tax rate was Sh. 12/, which actually represented a reduction from the previous years.

In order to ensure that tax obligations could be fulfilled, it was necessary to stimulate economic activities in the African reserves. Agricultural production and related activities in South Kavirondo began to receive greater attention in the 1920s, following a shift in government policy.

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[9]SKDAR 1916-17, KNA: DC/KSI/1/2.

In 1922 the agricultural supervisor stationed at Kisumu, Mr. Booth, toured the district and reported on its agricultural conditions and prospects. He described Gusiiland as "thickly populated" and its inhabitants as "good cultivators...[who] appear...a progressive race." Although they primarily grew wimbi and sorghum, he observed "several small but good" fields of wheat in Kitutu and Bassi, and a "fair amount" of ground-nuts and simsim grown in Wanjare. Very little native maize was grown, but the improved seed maize recently issued to chiefs and headmen was reported as "doing very well." Booth pointed out that Gusiiland's remoteness, with high transport costs to the railway, prevented maize from being an economic crop. Linseed, which was produced in small quantities and which had fetched low prices in previous years, he listed as "suitable for native cultivation." Booth also suggested that it would be profitable to grow wheat extensively in the high-lands and groundnuts in the lower regions, while onions could be produced throughout Gusiiland. To carry out a promotional scheme, he urged the employment of African instructors.[10]

The district commissioner claimed that South Kavirondo needed at least four or five more of them, for they were "essential if any progress is to be made."[11] At this time there was only

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[10]Agricultural Supervisor, Kisumu to DA, 23 October, 1922, report on "Agricultural Conditions and Prospects of South Kavirondo District," KNA: Dept. Agric. AGR 4/3.

[11]District Commissioner, South Kavirondo (hereafter DC) to Senior Commissioner, Nyanza, 12 December 1922, KNA: Dept. Agric. AGR 4/3.

one African instructor, primarily occupied with starting experimental rice fields outside Gusii country. The director of agriculture promised to station a European agricultural supervisor in South Kavirondo "as early as possible," rather than an African because "we have difficulty with native instructors, not only their supply - there are but few - but their supervision."[12]

The agriculturalist promised by the director of agriculture was posted to South Kavirondo in 1924. Assisting him were an African agricultural instructor and two apprentices. Although they were primarily occupied with the extension of cotton growing in Luo areas, they promoted wheat, bean and maize production among the Gusii; encouraged the establishment of fifteen black wattle plantations, two to three acres each, throughout the district; and established a ghee industry in Kisii. Mr. Spranger, the supervisor, found that the existing small-scale wheat fields were planted with old seed which resulted in inferior crops. Approximately 1,000 pounds of new wheat seed were distributed, and Mr. Spranger planned to supervise planting in the forthcoming seasons.[13] However, he was transferred in 1925 and not replaced.

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[12]DA to Sr. Commissioner, Nyanza, 27 December 1922, KNA: Dept. Agric. AGRI 4/3.

[13]Agricultural Officer, South Kavirondo (hereafter AO) to Sr. Agric. Supervisor, Nyanza, 7 January, "Report for the year ending 31 December 1924," KNA: DC/KSI/1/3.

The district commissioner, W. F. G. Campbell, recorded his annoyance in the annual report for 1925: "I cannot too strongly emphasize my disappointment that at the moment when ghee manufacture and wheat cultivation were commenced upon a large scale the Agricultural Supervisor should have been removed and not replaced." As a result, he claimed, wheat production had "practically come to an end," while the ghee industry was in a "lethargic condition."[14] That same year drought forced Campbell to decree an April to mid-July prohibition on the export of foodstuffs, as well as on the purchase of food for resale.

Although the dairy industry received little business in 1925, the following year production was good. Ghee had many buyers, while butter was sold primarily to Europeans in Kisii. Up to the fall in prices in the early 1930s, production was good. Moreover, there were several requests by Gusii to establish dairies outside the town. One was put into operation in Kitutu in 1927, at a site about twelve miles from Kisii, and the following year one was established at Mukeru. Although there were several African-owned dairies operating in other parts of the district, the ones in Gusiiland were owned by and controlled by the local native council.

In 1928, an agricultural officer again was posted to the district but stayed for only nine months. Among the Gusii he supervised the local native council dairies, distributed seed, promoted the groundnut industry, gave demonstrations on

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[14]SKDAR 1925, KNA: DC/KSI/1/3.

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seed, promoted the economic industry, new developments on
be supervised the local native council districts, distributed
the district but served for only nine months. Among the chief
in 1918, an agricultural office was posted to
owned by and controlled by the local native council.
in order here of the district, the ones in positive work
Although there were several African-owned cattle operating
Kisii, and the following year one was established at Mukuru.
from in Kitui in 1951, at a site about twelve miles from
to establish cattle outside the town. One was but into obser-
tion was dood. Moreover, there were several requests by chief
Kisii. Up to the fall in prices in the early 1930s, progno-
mean rules, while pulses was sold primarily to Europeans in
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about 5 pride scale the participation was common
Many days without sufficient rain, the cultivation was commenced
poo already emphasize on diseases, but at the moment
eq pis emphasize in the annual report for 1952". I cannot
the district commissioner (W. I. G. Campbell) record-

preparation and drying of hides, and campaigned for eradication of striga weed. Although promotion of shade drying of hides was a national policy, by 1930 only three drying sheds were functioning among the Gusii. In the summer of 1929 another European agricultural officer was posted and two African instructors, recent graduates from Bukura, joined him in September. From this time onwards the district had the services of a European agricultural officer on a continual basis. Not until the 1930s, however, was a veterinary officer stationed in the district.

The internal economy was advanced in the last part of the 1920s by an increase in power mills for grinding maize and the establishment of more local markets. Although power mills operated in Gusiiland prior to this time, beginning in the latter part of the 1920s, administration reserved this enterprise for the indigenous people. By 1930, a significant number of licenses had been granted by the local native council for new mills. The council also undertook measures to establish local markets and regulate centers already used in barter trade. Although the exchange at many markets was still largely outside the cash economy, these centers began to gain prominance.

The Kisii-Bakoria Local Native Council, established in 1925, stimulated and regulated several economically related activities. Starting in 1927, it levied a rate of Sh. 1/- per head on adult males. The revenue was spent on developments such as the construction of dairies and dispensaries, afforestation, road building, establishment of markets and a school

accumulation fund. Recurrent expenditures included maintenance of dairies, salaries of market staff, payment of border guards and subsidies for mission schools. In contrast, revenues paid into central government were not reflected by provision of services and infrastructure in the district.

In 1925 W. F. G. Campbell, the district commissioner, explained: "To say that the strength of the Administration is one District Commissioner and two Assistant District Commissioners is merely to ignore two essential facts: (1) That ever increasing demands are made upon the Administration for betterment of the natives, and (2) the natives are themselves beginning to demand that something be done for them in exchange for their payments to Government."[15] Indeed the inhabitants of South Kavirondo, like Africans throughout Kenya, received few services and provisions in relation to the amount of government revenues derived from the district. The actual expenditure on services to Africans in the district, from 1925 to 1930 was estimated to be Ƀ 29,226, while the total revenue from the hut and poll tax and other sources was Ƀ 333,164. As Table 4 shows, only Ƀ 1,328 was spent on agriculture in this period. Thus, up to 1930, while the local African inhabitants of South Kavirondo contributed substantially to the central revenues, only a small proportion, about nine percent of the revenue, was spent in the district on agriculture and other services for Africans. The ability to contribute to

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[15]SKDAR 1925.

TABLE 4

GOVERNMENT REVENUE COLLECTED FROM AND EXPENDITURES ON NATIVE SERVICES IN SOUTH KAVIRONDO DISTRICT, 1925-1929 (£)

	Type Revenue	Total Revenue	Agricultural Expenditures	Medical Expenditures	Public Works	Total Expenditures
1925 Hut and Poll Tax	57,908					
Other Revenue	2,998	60,906	496	3,780	488	4,744
1926 Hut and Poll Tax	60,785					
Other Revenue	4,255	65,233	22	3,964	670	4,656
1927 Hut and Poll Tax	62,108					
Other Revenue	4,513	66,363	29	4,000	600	4,629
1928 Hut and Poll Tax	65,518					
Other Revenue	4,513	70,031	516	3,900	600	5,016
1929 Hut and Poll Tax	66,715					
Other Revenue	3,916	70,631	265	4,200	700	5,165

Source: "Statement showing Revenue Collected and Expenditure on Native Services as Classified by Lord Moyne," in Clarence E. V. Buxton, Collection of Papers, Rhodes House, Oxford, Mss. Afr. S1103.

Note: Under the heading Educational Expenditures no figures appear for these years.

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Other Revenue		4,255	22	3,944	670	4,636
1927 Hut and Poll Tax		62,108				
Other Revenue		4,513	29	4,000	600	4,629
1928 Hut and Poll Tax		65,518				
Other Revenue		4,513	316	3,900	800	5,016
1929 Hut and Poll Tax		66,715				
Other Revenue		3,916	265	4,200	800	5,265

Source: "Statement showing Revenue Collected and Expenditure on Native Services in Classified by Lord Moyne," in Clarence E. V. Buxton, Collection of Papers, Rhodes House, Oxford, Mss. Afr. s1103.

Note: Under the heading Educational Expenditures no figures appear for these years.

government revenue was dependent upon the cash economy.

The world economic crisis was felt in Gusiiland in 1930. The drop in prices for agricultural commodities, compounded by heavy transport charges, led to a reduction in the price, demand, and production of agricultural commodities exported from the district. Moreover, heavy rains hindered the normal production of all crops but finger millet, and yields the following year were affected by swarms of destructive locusts. The subsequent shortage of food within the district was lessened by a prohibition on the export and sale of foodstuffs, except by permit; a famine relief program was set up in Gusiiland, but by October it was discontinued when production of food crops returned to normal. Nevertheless, low prices were still received for agricultural produce. For example, a 200 pound bag of maize sold for Sh. 2/ in September 1932, and, although the price rose the following year, in July 1933 the prices dropped to Sh 3/50 a bag.[16]

The depression was also reflected in a decrease in numbers of persons working outside the district. Due to the restriction on credit and the decrease in commodity prices, the European farmers drastically reduced the number of laborers they employed and lowered the wage rates. Previously large numbers of Gusii had left the district to work. In 1926 and 1929, for example, the recorded number of laborers contracted from

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[16] South Kavirondo District Intelligence Report (hereafter SKDIR), September 1932 and July 1933, KNA: PC Nza ADM 12/1/3.

South Kavirondo rated second highest in the colony.[17] As shown in Table 5, the number of migrant workers from the district fell sharply in 1931, none were contracted in 1932, and very few found outside employment in 1933 and 1934.

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF LABORERS CONTRACTED IN SOUTH KAVIRONDO DISTRICT 1928-1933

1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
6,710	7,910	6,399	1,236	none	62

Source: 1928-1931 from South Kavirondo District Annual Report, 1931; 1932 from South Kavirondo District Annual Report for that year; and 1933 from South Kavirondo District Annual Report for 1934, KNA: DC/KSI/1/3 and DC/KSI/1/4.

Despite such harsh conditions, government taxation remained at the high rate of the prosperous late 1920s, Sh. 12/ per adult male, and tax collection became difficult. The need to increase the income-earning capacity of the indigenous people in order to assist them in fulfilling their tax obligations, and thus help the colony's revenues, was a major governmental and imperial concern. As discussed previously, the Native Affairs Department circular of August 1931 called for greater economic output in the African reserves and formulation of long-term planning to meet this goal.

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[17] Native Affairs Department Annual Report for 1926 and for 1929, CO 544/20 and CO 544/28 respectively.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF LAWSUITS CONCERNING U.S. MINING

KVAIRONDO DISTRICT 1958-1962

Source:	1958-1961 from South Kvairondo District Annual Report, 1961; 1962 from South Kvairondo District Annual Report for First Year; and 1963 from South Kvairondo District Annual Report for 1964, KAU: DC\KSI\I\3 and DC\KSI\I\4.				

South Kvairondo rated second highest in the country in A

The Introduction of Coffee

In response to the circular of August 1931, a meeting was held in Kisii on November 25th. Attending were the acting provincial commissioner, the provincial agricultural officer, district level officers, prominent missionaries, and a resident European businessman-trader. After discussing various suggestions, it was unanimously agreed that "Coffee growing by the Kisii be encouraged provided that conditions are suitable and that adequate supervision can be arranged for introducing the highest grade coffee which can be grown in South Kavirondo."[18]

When forwarding the minutes of the meeting to the acting chief native commissioner, the Acting Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Thompson, claimed that he did not think it was possible for such a meeting to accomplish very much, until the schemes contemplated by the government for the development of the African areas were known. In regard to coffee, he admitted, "This may seem rather a revolutionary proposal, but the meeting was unanimously in favour of some investigation being made of its possibilities. Personally, I cannot help feeling that if we continue to demand tax at present rates from the native, we should put no obstacles in the way of his raising the money for it."[19]

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[18] "Meeting held in Kisii on 25 November, 1931 to Discuss Proposals for the Development of South Kavirondo," KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/1 Vol. 1.

[19] Ag. PC Nza to Ag. CNC, 9 December 1931, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/1 Vol. 1.

Kenitonga."[18]

Then Entobeeu proposed a toast: "To the health of our new
friend Kenitonga, and to the development of coffee in Kenya!"
Everyone cheered and drank to the toast.

Kenitonga was then asked to say a few words. He began by
saying that he did not think it was
enough merely for him to open a warehouse in the new city of Nairobi.
He would have to encourage the growing of coffee by the Kenyan people
themselves. He would also have to train Kenyans to be coffee experts.
"It is not enough to grow coffee. One must also know how to prepare
it for export and how to sell it in the world markets," he explained.
"I cannot help the development of coffee in Kenya unless I am
prepared to spend a considerable amount of time visiting the
plantations and factories. I will also have to travel to other
countries to encourage the consumption of coffee."

Kenitonga then asked Entobeeu to be his guest of honour at the
official opening of the warehouse in Nairobi. Entobeeu accepted
with pleasure. He said that he was very much looking forward to
the trip. He would be pleased to see the capital city of Kenya.

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the trip. He would be pleased to see the capital city of Kenya.

It appears that, after the meeting of November 25th, the local native council was approached for their views on coffee growing and their support obtained. Many of the council members were well aware of the financial benefits which would accrue from coffee growing, as well as coffee husbandry techniques. Several of these persons had become familiar with coffee production when they worked outside the district; others had worked on the coffee plantation at Nyabururu Mission, the Catholic mission located near Kisii town, while attending school there.[20]

Strong support for Gusii coffee growing came from the District Commissioner, Clarence Buxton. He felt that the area had been greatly neglected by the central government, asserting that "the district has not had a fair chance of development agriculturally, owing to a lack of funds, absence of economic objective, and lack of roads."[21] He enthusiastically fought for coffee growing in Gusiiland, together with other measures to develop the district.

Specific proposals were set forth in a "Development Scheme for South Kavirondo," forwarded to Nairobi in early 1932 and submitted as evidence that year to the Kenya Land

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[20]At this time, there were only two coffee fields in the district. Coffee was first planted at Nyabururu Mission in about 1912, and Richard Gethin, a resident businessman-trader, planted the crop on his Kisii township land around 1920.

[21]Major C. E. V. Buxton, "Evidence before the Commission at Kisii," in HMS, Kenya Land Commission Report: Evidence, Vol. III (London: HMS, 1934), p. 2346.

Commission. The document contained a discussion of the possibilities for expanding the production of existing crops; advocated the introduction of coffee growing and a wattle bark industry among the Gusii; and called for the establishment of a district-level veterinary unit, regulation of the ghee industry, and institution of a public works program.[22]

The paper concluded that little scope existed for increasing the Gusii's economic base by expanding the production of existing crops for export. Maize production, it pointed out, suffered from market fluctuations, and the region's distance from the railway led to costly transport charges. Wheat was dismissed as a sound export crop because it had to compete with European production and interests. It was asserted that the extension of English potato production was possible, but would not be profitable, since it would compete with the production on European farms which were usually near the railway. Other crops were also negatively assessed in regard to the market situation.[23]

Coffee and wattle bark production were identified as the best economic activities for Gusiiland, since they were fairly high priced items which could stand costly transport charges. In addition, it was pointed out that the wattle bark industry did not compete with the settlers' vested interests.

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[22]Major B. W. Bond, "Development Scheme: South Kavirondo," 11 May 1932 in Kenya Land Commission, Vol. III, pp. 2377-95.

[23]Ibid., pp. 2378-82.

In justifying the request for coffee growing, it was emphasized that, although the Kisii highlands bordered the Sotik European settlement, the production area in Gusiiland would not be adjacent to European holdings, so there would be little danger of possible spread of coffee diseases and pests.[24]

Ideas were also set forth on how coffee should be introduced among the Gusii, under strict supervision and initially within a limited area. First, it would be necessary for the government to empower the district commissioner to exempt the Gusii coffee growers from payment of a plantation license, at least until the plants were bearing a crop. At the same time, however, the license would be required in order to prevent persons from growing coffee on a site not approved by the district commissioner or agricultural officer. Second, along motorable roads, a number of small, individual plantations, perhaps within a seven mile zone of Kisii town, would be established. At this stage, no special coffee-processing machinery would be necessary since Mr. Gethin, a local European, who had his own coffee plantation in the district, had indicated his willingness to purchase the fresh cherries from the growers and to take responsibility for processing and marketing. Third, should the planting of coffee be extended outside the seven mile zone, no plot away from a road would be allowed. Ultimately the aim was to have factories in each location, either on a cooperative or private enterprise basis.[25]

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[24] Ibid., p. 2382.

[25] Ibid.

Government was slow in reacting to the proposal from South Kavirondo. Throughout 1932 and the first half of the following year coffee growing by Africans and the rules under which it would be permitted were being considered in London and Nairobi. Meanwhile, the District Commissioner of South Kavirondo grew impatient, as did the Gusii, who wanted to begin planting. Not until June 1932 was an official reply received to the proposal for coffee growing. The deputy director of agriculture responded: "I know of no reason why coffee growing by natives in South Kavirondo should not be successful under the strict control and supervision that would be enforced, but no decision can be made on this until the present discussion between Government and the Secretary of State is determined."[26]

When the provincial commissioner attended a local native council meeting on September 16, 1932, he was asked if the government had replied to its request to be allowed to grow coffee. The official informed the council that the areas in which Africans might be allowed to grow coffee had not yet been decided. Although the provincial commissioner supported the request, provided there were regulations which would easily facilitate supervision, he did not favor exempting growers from licensing. As he stated before the Kenya Land Commission, "So far as I know, there is no legal means of stopping natives from

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[26] DA to PC, Nza, 21 June 1932, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/5/1.

when the provincial commissioners arranged a local no-
mined."[35]

that no decision can be made on this until the present dispu-
ment between government and the secretary of state is deter-
South Kensington. Nor until June 1853 was an official reply re-
ceived to the proposal for cottages drawn up by Fergusson and
for an additional reserve: "I know of no reason why cottages
drawn by Martins in South Kensington should not be successful
if two cottages were built on adjoining plots, on new sites
and Martin." Meanwhile, the District Commissioners of South
which it would be allowed to draw cottages had not yet
in which Africans might be allowed to dwell. Although the provincial commissioners supported
the request, Brownlee refused. Only in 1856 were regulations which would settle
dwelling on private land in Salisbury. Africans were to be allowed to
[35] Ibid., 54.

growing coffee and I have never seen any reason why they should not grow it, under supervision."[27]

In December 1932 the provincial commissioner asked the deputy director in the Department of Agriculture for his "strongest support in gaining permission from the Government" for coffee planting by the Gusii.[28] Furthermore, he suggested that a trial area be authorized while awaiting the major decision. Responding, the deputy director reminded his subordinate that the rules governing coffee growing by Africans were being considered and that until they were approved and published, no steps should be taken. He promised that the senior officer would be sent to Kisii in early 1933 to advise on sites suitable for coffee growing. By then, the rules probably would have been published, so that a definite scheme for Gusiiland could be submitted for approval.[29]

The District Commissioner, Buxton, was discouraged by the inaction. In December 1932 he requested enough seeds from the senior coffee officer for fifty acres; payment and transport charges were to be met by the local native council. When

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[27]Minutes of the Meeting of 16 September, 1932, Gusii County Council (hereafter GCC): Minutes of the Local Native Council, September 1932 - July 1934, Vol. III; and "Comments by the Provincial Commissioner Nyanza on the Foregoing Memorandum: Development Scheme: South Kavirondo," in Kenya Land Commission, Vol. III, p. 2397.

[28]The Department of Agriculture was divided into two sections in 1931: the deputy director in agriculture to whom this study refers is the one in charge of plant industries. AO Nza to DD(PI), 5 December 1932, KNA: PC Nza AGR. 1/2/9/2.

[29]DD(PI) to AO Nza, 9 December 1932, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/2.

„Stromdeal support in getting permission from the government"[25], so that a petition can be started by the local Democratic committee.

In December 1983 the Democratic Committee, Buxton, was disbanded by the Executive Committee, which was dissatisfied with the way Stromdeal had handled the campaign. Many of the local Democratic committee members resigned in protest. Some of the more active members formed a breakaway group, the Democratic Committee for Action, which continued to campaign for Stromdeal's release.

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[25] Minutes of the Meeting of 14 September, 1983, Constituency Committee Minutes, Vol. III, p. 5784.

informed, the director of agriculture reminded Mr. Buxton that, until rules were established, no steps were to be taken to plant coffee in Kisii, and he refused to approve the request.[30]

Nevertheless, evidence indicates that the district commissioner did plant a small coffee nursery in Kisii town, which he claimed as his own, but from which he intended to transfer seedlings to the development center.[31] Government was upset, but unable to prohibit it since Mr. Gethin had cultivated a coffee plantation in Kisii township for many years.[32] Nairobi was annoyed by the district commissioner's pressure; moreover, they did not like his statements, such as "growing of coffee in this district can be made a success if we intend that it should be so."[33] It is apparent, however, that it was through Mr. Buxton's sustained efforts that Gusiiland finally was included as one of the initial areas for African coffee growing.

In late 1932 the government soil chemist, accompanied by the provincial agricultural officer and district agricultural officer, toured parts of the Kisii highlands. He reported that the red lateritic soils within the highlands, of which there were 40,000 - 50,000 acres within a ten mile radius of

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[30]DC to Senior Coffee Officer, Nairobi, 15 December 1932; and DA to DC, 22 December 1932, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/2.

[31]PC, Nza to CNC, 1 February 1933, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/2.

[32]V. G. Glenday to DA, 23 December 1932, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/2.

[33]DC to PC, Nza, 5 June 1933, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/2.

[illegible] were 10,000 - 20,000 acres with a few mile regions of

eq [illegible] the reg legislative boils with the pipelines, of which

[illegible] officers, [illegible] boats of the Kiski pipelines. He report-

ed [illegible] boats to the [illegible] district pipelines and district engin-

eers [illegible] Maltopi was annoyed by the district commissioner's brassiness

[illegible] a county bridge to Kiski township for many years.

[illegible] Moreover, they did not like his statements, such as "drowning

of cattle in this district can be made a success if we influence

[illegible] if anyone be so."[33] It is apparent, however, that it was

[illegible] Maxton's suggested citizens that constituted [illegible]

was included as one of the initial steps for getting cattle

[illegible].

[illegible] Kiski, and he [illegible] to abstain the request.[30]

[illegible] were [illegible], he spoke next to be taken to

[illegible], the district of agricultural [illegible] Maxton that,

[illegible] Kiski township [illegible] for many years.

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Maltopi was annoyed by the district commissioner's brassiness

[illegible] a county bridge to Kiski township for many years.

In late 1931 the government sold chemical, accompanied

by [illegible] the agricultural and district engineers [illegible] Maltopi

was [illegible], but [illegible] to prohibit it since Mr. Gaffin had out-

Kisii town, were suitable for coffee production. However, he cautioned against official encouragement of extensive coffee growing until sound methods had been established for the control of coffee berry disease.[34] The soil chemist and other officers also discussed the method by which the areas for coffee growing should be organized. They suggested that block areas of approximately twenty-five acres be designated for coffee, each sub-divided into plots of possibly one-half acre to be cultivated on an individual basis. This idea was incorporated into the South Kavirondo agricultural development plan for 1933, together with the proposal that all blocks be within reach of a coffee pulping factory, several of which were to be established.[35]

Final selection of coffee areas had to await an inspection in spring 1933 by the senior coffee officer. He identified eleven sites where extensive planting of coffee, up to several hundred acres in some places, could take place under easy supervision along major roads. He found the local native council seed farm satisfactory for coffee growing, and suitable locations within the eleven selected areas were chosen for coffee nurseries. In his view, "if one object of native coffee growing is to enrich the natives in the reserves, it appears

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[34]"Notes of Some of the Soils of South Kavirondo," by Soil Chemist, distributed by DD(PI) to AO, Nza, 8 February 1933, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/5/1.

[35]AO, Nza to DC, 5 December, 1932; and "Memo on Suggested Policy of Agricultural Development, South Kavirondo, 1933," in AO, Kisii to DC, 29 December 1932, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/5/1.

Final selection of college sites had to await on-site investigation. He identified three primary sites and three backup sites, could take both sites under consideration, and submitted his report to the Board of Trustees in June 1961.[32]

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to me that initial planting should be made in numerous suitable locations." Cultivation should not initially be undertaken where the potential of suitable land was less than 200 acres, and initially each area should include no less than twenty to twenty-five acres, composed of smaller dispersed parcels of land; planting could be extended as the results warranted, he stated. In addition, the senior coffee officer advocated that cultivation should be extensive enough to justify building a pulping station in each area. In regard to the likelihood of diseases, he claimed that the incidence of coffee berry disease might "not occur in any severity, if at all, owing to favourable environment."[36]

From the areas identified by the senior coffee officer, the district agricultural officer designated three blocks of land for coffee growing where Gusii farmers could have their own coffee plots. Two were in Nyaribari location: one at Nyosia, near Chief Musa Nyandusi's home, and the other a few miles away from Nyosia, at Nyankororo. The third block was situated at Mogunga in Bassi location, near the Majoge locational boundary (see Figure 2). To facilitate easy supervision and accessibility for officers, each block was close to a main road.

Meetings were held in each area to encourage people to cultivate on the block farms. The district commissioner, the

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[36]"Report on the Highlands of South Kavirondo for Coffee Growing by Natives," by Senior Coffee Officer, 9 May 1933, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/2.

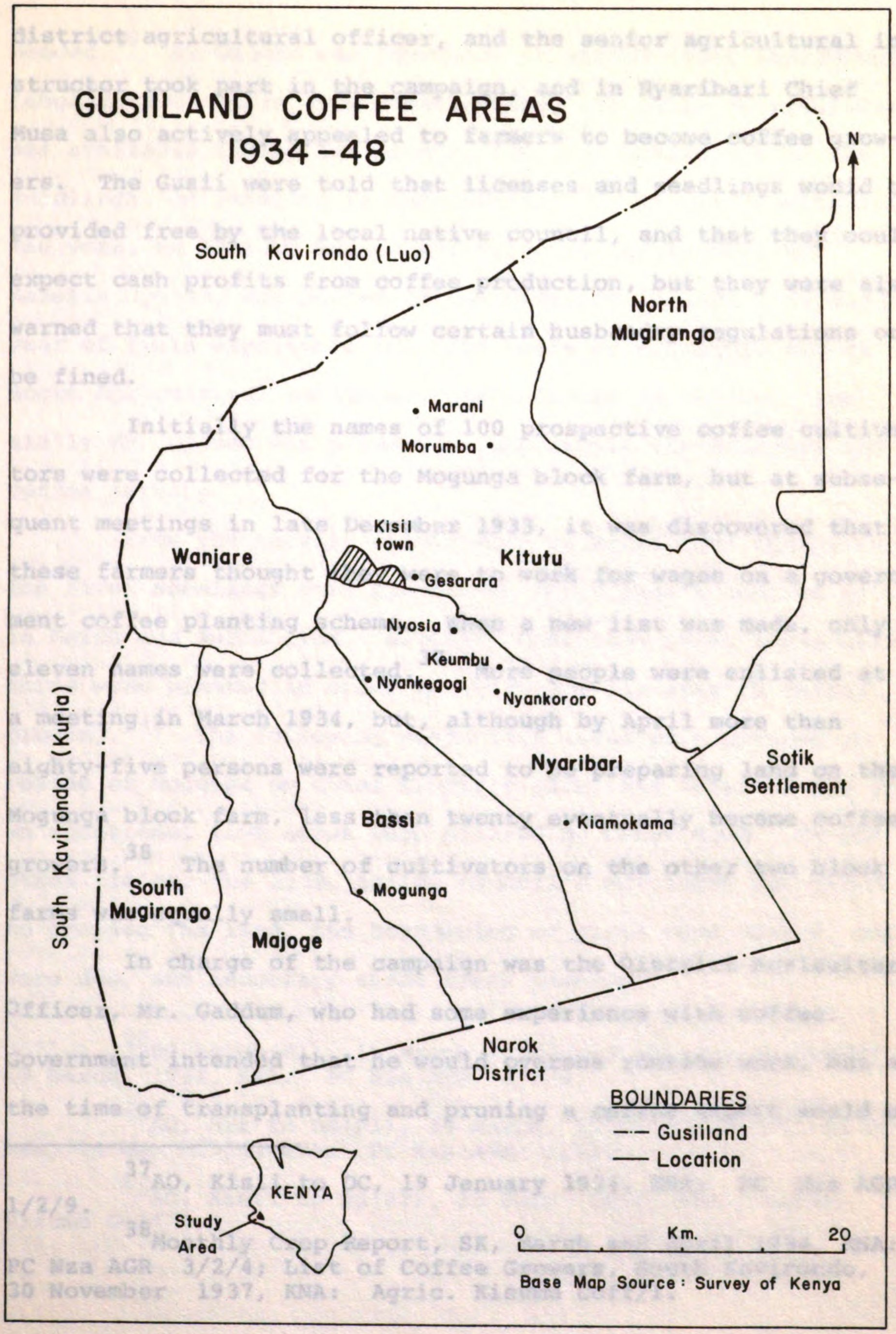
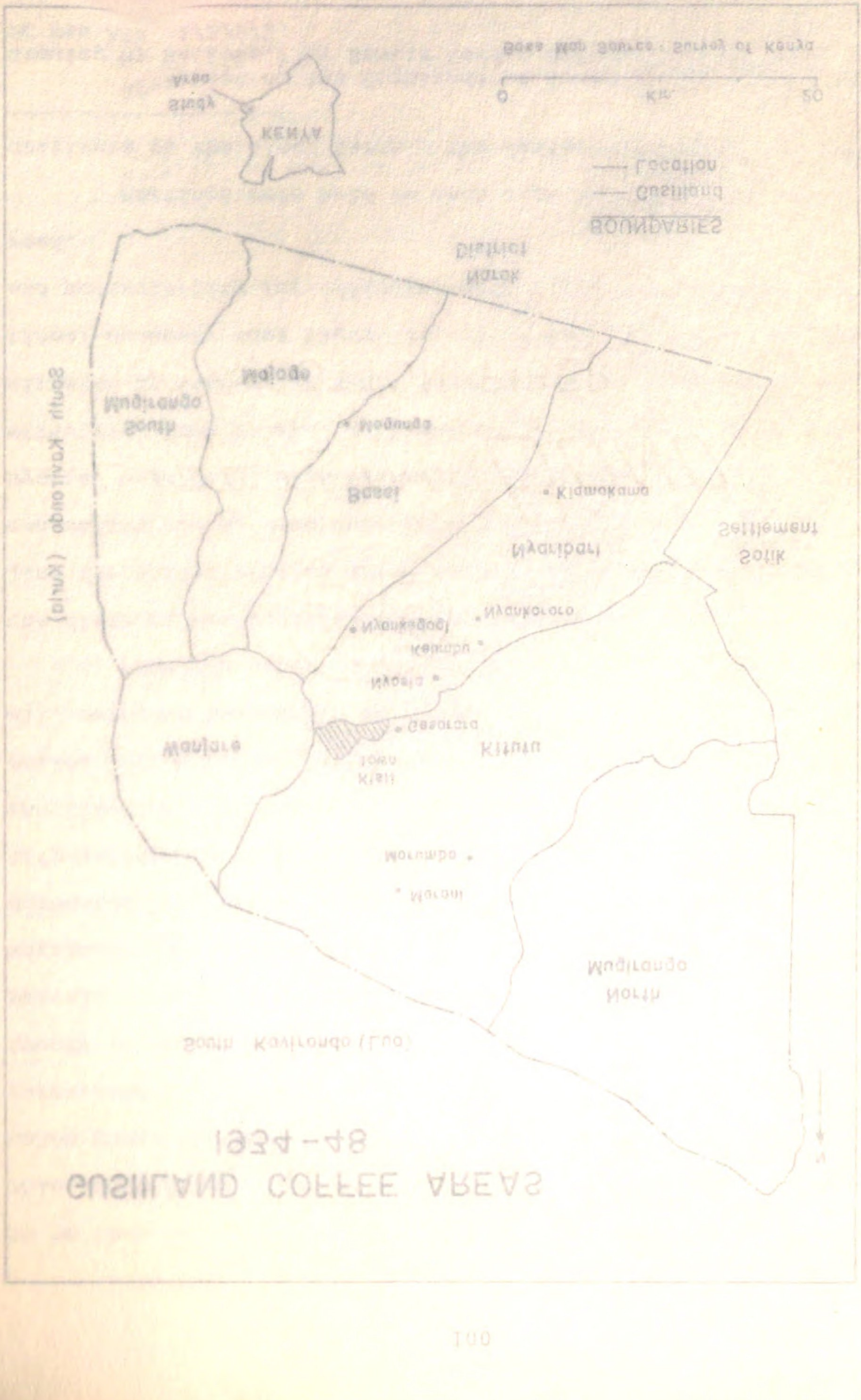

GUSIILAND COFFEE AREAS
1934-48
N
South Kavirondo (Luo)
North Mugirango
Marani
Morumba
Kisii town
Wanjare
Kitutu
Gesarara
Nyosia
Keumbu
Nyankegogi
Nyankororo
Nyaribari
Sotik Settlement
Kiamokama
Bassi
Mogunga
South Kavirondo (Kuria)
South Mugirango
Majoge
Narok District
BOUNDARIES
Gusiiland
Location
KENYA
Study Area
0
Km.
20
Base Map Source: Survey of Kenya

Figure 2


KENYA
Kisii
Nyamira
Kisumu
Siaya
Homa Bay
Migori
Trans Nzoia
Uasin Gishu
Elgeyo Marakwet
West Pokot
Samburu
Turkana
Baringo
Nandi
Laikipia
Nakuru
Kericho
Bomet
Kajiado
Narok
Nairobi
Kiambu
Machakos
Makueni
Kitui
Taita Taveta
Kwale
Kilifi
Tana River
Lamu
Garissa
Wajir
Mandera
Marsabit
Isiolo
Meru
Tharaka Nithi
Embu
Mt. Kenya
Nyandarua
Nyeri
Kirinyaga
Murang'a
Thika
Mombasa
Nairobi
Kisumu
Nakuru
Eldoret
Meru
Nyeri
Kitale
Kakamega
Kericho
Bomet
Kisii
Migori
Homa Bay
Busia
Bungoma
Vihiga
Nandi
Baringo
Laikipia
Samburu
Trans Nzoia
Uasin Gishu
Elgeyo Marakwet
West Pokot
Turkana
Marsabit
Mandera
Wajir
Garissa
Tana River
Lamu
Taita Taveta
Kwale
Kilifi
Makueni
Kitui
Machakos
Kajiado
Narok
Nyandarua
Kiambu
Murang'a
Tharaka Nithi
Embu
Mt. Kenya
Meru
Isiolo
Nairobi
Thika
Mombasa
Kisumu
Nakuru
Eldoret

district agricultural officer, and the senior agricultural instructor took part in the campaign, and in Nyaribari Chief Musa also actively appealed to farmers to become coffee growers. The Gusii were told that licenses and seedlings would be provided free by the local native council, and that they could expect cash profits from coffee production, but they were also warned that they must follow certain husbandry regulations or be fined.

Initially the names of 100 prospective coffee cultivators were collected for the Mogunga block farm, but at subsequent meetings in late December 1933, it was discovered that these farmers thought they were to work for wages on a government coffee planting scheme. When a new list was made, only eleven names were collected.[37] More people were enlisted at a meeting in March 1934, but, although by April more than eighty-five persons were reported to be preparing land on the Mogunga block farm, less than twenty eventually became coffee growers.[38] The number of cultivators on the other two block farms was equally small.

In charge of the campaign was the District Agricultural Officer, Mr. Gaddum, who had some experience with coffee. Government intended that he would oversee routine work, but at the time of transplanting and pruning a coffee expert would be

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[37]AO, Kisii to DC, 19 January 1934, KNA: PC Nza AGR. 1/2/9.

[38]Monthly Crop Report, SK, March and April 1934, KNA: PC Nza AGR 3/2/4; List of Coffee Growers, South Kavirondo, 30 November 1937, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

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ment cottee planned scheme. When a new list was made, only seven names were collected. 37 Note people were satisfied at a meeting in March 1641, but, although by April more than eighty-five persons were reported to be present. 38 The number of cultivators on the other two block farms, less than twenty eventually became cottee

Monthly crop report, 3K, March and April 1634, KNA: PC NSS 3\5\4; List of cottee growers, South Kavirondo, 1\5\9.

37 AO, Kisii to DC, 14 January 1634, KNA: PC NSS 3\5\4.

38 Monthly crop report, 3K, March and April 1634, KNA: PC NSS 3\5\4; List of cottee growers, South Kavirondo, 1\5\9.

needed.[39] Mr.Gaddum was scheduled to attend Scott Agricultural Laboratory to learn more about coffee, but since no specialist was available during the crucial time for transplanting the seedlings, he remained in the district.[40] To assist with coffee work, an African Senior Agricultural Instructor, Mr. Zedekia Oyondo, was posted to the district in 1934. He had one year of field experience and five years of training, two at Scott Agricultural Laboratory specializing in coffee. Initially Mr. Oyondo was primarily responsible for managing the coffee nursery.

From the nursery established at Kisii town during 1933, the first seedlings were planted on Chief Musa's plot at Nyosia in March and April 1934. Slightly more than three-and-a-half acres were planted in order to "stimulate interest in coffee growing."[41] The following month four acres were planted in coffee at Mogunga on Chief Alexis's plot, and later in the year an additional five acres were planted by Chief Musa. On the other fields, the local native council's ox-plough was hired to prepare the land, the boundaries of plots were marked, holes were dug, and temporary shade trees planted.

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[39] DC to DD(PI), 19 March 1934; and AO, Nza to DD(PI), 19 March, 1934, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9.

[40] AO, Nza to DD(PI), 19 March, 1934; and DD(PI) to AO, Nza, 14 May 1934, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9.

[41] AO, Kisii to DD(PI), 18 July 1934, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

In July 1934, a European plantation inspector from Sotik, an adjacent settler area, gave demonstrations to Gusii farmers on how to plant coffee. Only twenty-two farmers attended, apparently since only those already signed up to plant coffee were invited. Almost all the designated cultivators at the two Nyaribari block farms attended, but only four attended at Mogunga,[42] another indication that there was less interest in coffee growing in that area.

The same summer a group of local native council members and other leaders from South Kavirondo toured parts of Uganda, a visit intended to stimulate interest in district development projects, including coffee growing. The district commissioner explained that those chosen to tour Uganda "are capable of explaining to their people the objectives which they should strive to reach and are sufficiently intelligent and educated to understand the ways and means by which such objectives had been reached elsewhere. They will see in Uganda districts in various stages of development and should obtain much useful information in regard to cotton, coffee, bee wax and general working of the native administration."[43] Indeed, the trip did achieve its purpose and support was obtained for encouraging coffee production.

In 1935 the first coffee was planted at Nyankororo, additional coffee was planted at Mogunga and Nyosia, and a

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[42]AO, Nza to AO, Kisii, 27 June 1934, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9; and AO, Kisii to SAO, Nza, 1 September, 1934, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

[43]SKDIR for May 1934, KNA: PC NZA 4/5.

college broadcasting.

In 1932 the first college was branded at Wingmokoroto,

additional college was branded at Kodumpe and Nkosiya, and a

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[5]AO, Nze to AO, Ktatt, 57 June 1934, KNA: PC Nza

ACR 1\5\9: and AO, Ktatt to SAO, Nza, 1 September 1934, KNA:
Yartc. Ktemun Cott\1.

[6] ... for Nwa 1934, KNA: PC NZA 4\2.

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Yartc. Ktemun Cott\1.

ACR 1\5\9: and AO, Ktatt to SAO, Nza, 1 September 1934, KNA:
[5]AO, Nze to AO, Ktatt, 57 June 1934, KNA: PC Nza

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In 1932 the first college was branded at Wingmokoroto,

college broadcasting.

number of replacements were made on Chief Musa's plot. Seedlings were carried to the three sites from the nursery at Kisii, but preparations were made for the establishment of nurseries near each block farm.[44] By the end of 1935, thirty-eight acres were planted in coffee, with an additional seven-and-a-half acres in Kisii nursery (Table 6).

Local persons were hired as coffee nursery laborers, inspectors and field staff; their salaries were paid by the Kisii-Bakoria Local Native Council,[45] but they were under the supervision of the district agricultural department. In the early years of the industry, because of the small number of growers and the experimental nature of the project, each cultivator received a remarkably high level of staff supervision, advice and assistance. In 1935 the coffee development staff numbered between eleven and twenty-two, and by January 1936, twenty-three were employed, a number of whom were probably laborers in the nursery.[46] As of December 1935, this staff assisted only fifteen growers, with an additional sixteen farmers preparing their land.[47]

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[44]Zedekiah Oyando, OI: Masena area, Siaya District, July 1973; and Monthly Report, SK, April 1935, KNA: Agric. Kisumu REPT/4.

[45]See Statement of LNC Expenditure in SKDARs for 1936-39, KNA: DC/KSI/1/4; and LNC Estimates of Expenditure for 1940-43, GCC: Minute Book, S. K. LNC, November 1938 - June 1940, Vol IX.

[46]Monthly Report South Kavirondo (hereafter SK) for June 1935 - January 1936, KNA: Agric. Kisumu REPT/4.

[47]AO, Kisii to AO, Nza, 16 December 1935, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

TABLE 6

INCREASES IN COFFEE ACREAGE AND NUMBER OF ADOPTERS IN GUSIILAND, 1935-1942

Year	Acreage at End of Year*	Absolute Increase in Acreage Over Preceding Year	Number of Growers at End of Year	Absolute Increase in Number of Growers Over Preceding Year
1935	38.21		15	
1936	44.71	6.50	23	8
1937	73.40	30.19	95	72
1938	90.88	17.48	165	70
1939	90.51	-.37	177	11
1940	94.76	4.25	186	9
1941	102.27	7.51	195	9
1942	132.37	30.10	222	27

*This acreage does not include the nurseries.

Source: Compiled from Arabica Coffee Quarterly Report, South Kavirondo, fourth quarter 1935-1942, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

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1938	90.88	17.48	165	70
1939	90.51	-.37	177	12
1940	94.76	4.25	186	9
1941	102.27	7.51	195	9
1942	132.37	30.10	222	27

*This acreage does not include the nurseries.

Source: Compiled from Arabica Coffee Quarterly Report, South Kavirondo, fourth quarter 1935-1942, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

By mid-1936 the block-farm strategy was labeled a failure. Farmers found it difficult to plant on the block farms, and many of those who did lived too far away from their fields to care for them properly. Of the eleven growers at Mogunga, for example, it was reported that only three lived within two miles of their coffee plots. The agricultural officer admitted that "too much thought was given to having the coffee accessible easily for officers to visit it and too little thought was given to the accessibility for the grower himself."[48] As early as mid-1935, the director of agriculture explained to the colonial secretary that "natives are always suspicious of ulterior motives on the part of government in regard to their land. Such suspicions are doubled when the crop can only be grown in small defined areas and under severe restrictions."[49]

Nairobi therefore decided to utilize a neighborhood concentration scheme whereby farmers could plant coffee on their own land, but in clusters of neighboring farms, rather than scattered over a large area, to facilitate supervision. Evidently Assistant-Chief Aoga of Kitutu had been advocating this system in the district.[50] Moreover, in 1936 the district commissioner and agricultural officer decided to extend coffee growing to Kitutu location where, according to the agricultural

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[48]AO, Kisii to AO, Nyanza 12 September 1936, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

[49]DA to Colonial Secretary, 20 June 1935, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

[50]Zedekiah Oyando, OI.

officer, the people were "keener" to grow coffee.[51] A site was selected at Murumba and planting took place a year later. Meanwhile additional areas in Kitutu, based on the neighborhood concentration system, were identified and approved by the senior officer.

In December 1936 the district chiefs, including Aoga of Kitutu and Chief Musa of Nyaribari, together with those of Central Kavirondo, toured Uganda. They visited a big coffee factory, local pulping stations, nurseries, and several small African-owned coffee plantations. At the Bugusege Coffee Experimental Station they saw pruning and mulching experiments. What they learned they reported back to their people.[52]

The support of the chiefs, combined with the neighborhood concentration system, stimulated the adoption process. The new system was initiated in Kitutu during the last part of 1936, and extended to other areas a year later. In fact, the cluster plan was not strictly followed: by the end of 1937 four clusters of coffee growers consisted of only two farmers each, and one person was allowed to grow coffee on his farm approximately three miles away from his nearest coffee growing neighbor. It appears the agricultural officers paid more attention to the willingness of the farmers rather than their location. This disposition helped considerably in advancing

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[51] Arabica Coffee Quarterly Report (hereafter ACQR) for October-December 1935, SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

[52] "Report on Chiefs Tour to Uganda," AO, Kisii to AO, Nza, 21 December 1936, KNA: PC NZA 4/5/8.

Klifuin and Cuiet Wuab of Wyoming, represent only those of the new elytron was instituted in Kirwin during the last part of 1837, and extended to other areas a year later. In each, the first three miles were not strictly followed: by the end of 1837 most concentrations of coffee drinkers were limited to a half dozen or only two farmers within a mile or so of the center. Each one person was allowed to grow coffee on his farm approximately five miles away from his nearest coffee drinker.

The support of the citizens, combined with the participation of the elytron process, must have resulted in a high coffee consumption rate. Late graduation policy was instituted to discourage the use of the farmers' time for coffee drinking. If absences for agricultural duties had been excused, many would have used them for coffee drinking. Late graduation policy was instituted to discourage the use of the farmers' time for coffee drinking. If absences for agricultural duties had been excused, many would have used them for coffee drinking.

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[1] Arabica Coffee Quarterly Report (hereafter ACQR) for October-December 1837, 25, KMV: Wyoming, Klamath V\COFFI\I\I.

[2] "Report on Citizen Time to Agency", AO, Klein to AO, 25 December 1837, KMV: NC ASV 4\2\8.

the extension of coffee growing. By the end of 1937, there were ninety-five Gusii growers with a total of seventy-three acres under coffee (Table 6).

By mid-1937, to assist the growers, there were five African coffee inspectors. One of them, Mr. Gabriel Nyamweya, explained his background and training for the position:

> When I left teaching I went to Chief Musa for a job. He gave me a letter to take to Oyando who interviewed me. After a successful interview, I was sent to Kabete where I stayed for six months. I was taught how to plant coffee, spray DDT, pick berries and weed. Also I was taught how to wash the coffee after picking.[53]

In addition, he learned preventative soil erosion techniques.

The coffee inspectors, as well as other field staff, assisted with preparing the land and planting spaced shade trees and coffee seedlings. They taught the farmers techniques for mulching, pruning and preventing soil erosion, and the inspectors examined the fields for disease and standards of husbandry. The supervision and instruction consisted of demonstrations and actual participation in the labor.

By mid-1939 the coffee field staff was reorganized so that each inspector became responsible for all the work in his designated area, including field work, nurseries and pulping stations, and assumed direct control of the field staff. Measures were taken, such as abolishing the pruning squad, to reduce the actual labor done by the field staff on the coffee

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[53]Gabriel Nyamweya, OI: Keumbu area, Nyaribari Chache, March 1971.

plots, but it remained responsible for spraying the trees to control diseases and pests.[54]

Technical Aspects and Marketing

Although initially it was assumed that the coffee would be processed into parchment at a pulping station in each growing area, a review of the preparation and marketing of African grown coffee was undertaken at the request of government by Mr. Oates, a marketing officer. In setting forth alternatives, he recommended that, if a pulping factory system were established, costs would be borne by the local native councils, which would hire agents to manage the factories, to sell coffee on commission, to keep records and so forth, under government supervision. The other possibility, Mr. Oates explained, was the production of mbuni, that is, sun-dried cherries, on individual farms for outright sale to an approved buyer at a price agreed upon by the Department of Agriculture.[55]

Although the deputy director of agriculture supported the mbuni system, the provincial administrator and agricultural officer favored the pulping method for Kisii, because the wet climate would probably endanger mbuni production.[56] At their

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[54]Quarterly Report, SK, July 1939, KNA: Agric. Kisumu REPT 4/1.

[55]C. O. Oates, Marketing Officer, report on "Native Coffee Growing: The Preparation and Marketing of the Crop," n.d., KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

[56]DD(PI) to PAOs Central and Nyanza Provinces, 18 February 1937; and PC, Nza to DC, 7 April 1937, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

Although the early diagnosis and treatment of the crab louse infestation is relatively simple, the condition is frequently overlooked by both patient and doctor. Pediculosis pubis is not a reportable disease, but the author suggests that physicians consider it in the differential diagnosis of any patient with pruritus ani or pruritus genitalis.

suggestion, the pulping system was instituted in Nyosia. Although the first crop from Chief Musa's fields had to be worked by hand, the pulping station was ready to process the main harvest.[57]

The district agricultural officer favored Mr. Gethin as agent, to deliver and sell the parchment in Nairobi, but upon the deputy director's recommendation, the coffee was to remain the property of the Gusii growers until it was sold in Nairobi, thus realizing the maximum profit for the growers.[58] Gethin agreed "to take delivery of coffee at Kisii, pay the owner, there and then, a sum of about one-half pound values";[59] he then would despatch the produce to Nairobi where it was recommended that he deal with the Kenya Planters Coffee Union. These arrangements were based on the assumption that a prompt and high first payment to growers would help to encourage production of coffee. After sale, the agricultural officer would be responsible for calculating the amount still due to growers, after deduction of a five percent commission for Gethin and other expenses. Under these terms, the first parchment from Kisii, approximately 2900 pounds, was sent to Nairobi in December 1937.[60]

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[57] SKDIR, January 1937 and September 1937, KNA: PC NZA 4/5/8.

[58] AO, Kisii to AO, Nza, 24 August 1936; DD(PI) to PAO, Nza, 31 May 1937, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

[59] AO, Kisii to AO, Nza, 20 July 1937, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

[60] Ibid.

When marketing was being considered, an interesting issue arose: How would the bags be marked? The director of agriculture asked if there were any objections to the compulsory use of the term "native arabica," with possibly the letters from the district or province added. He claimed that "whatever mark the coffee bears on reaching the Nairobi market, its price will probably not differ from that of European grown coffee, quality for quality."[61] The mark would be retained in exportation. The senior agricultural officer of Nyanza replied that "some name less pointed might suit the purpose." As he explained, "there is still a strong feeling in Kenya settled areas that anything produced by natives is bound to be inferior quality and I should like to recommend a name which will not cause deflation of price and yet be fair to the established producers."[62] The agricultural officer and district commissioner for South Kavirondo, however, did not object to the term "native" as a mark for the Gusii grown coffee.[63] The term was adopted, particularly because government felt obliged to the settlers to make a clear distinction between European and African grown coffee.[64]

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[61]DA to SAOs Kisumu and Nyeri, 2 November 1937, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

[62]SAO, Nza to AO, Kisii, 4 November 1937, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

[63]AO, Kisii to SAO, Nza, 8 November 1937, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

[64]Monthly Bulletin of the Coffee Board of Kenya, III, 35 (November 1937), 199; and DA to SAO, Nza, 9 December 1937, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

Mpeu marketing was being considered, an interesting
issue arose: How would the pads be derived? The director of
admissions suggested that applications to the non-
traditional track should be handled by existing personnel
in the admissions office, but that "some mean test should
be developed" that would screen out inappropriate
applicants. The director of financial aid suggested that
"market tests" be used to determine the level of financial
aid to offer each applicant. The vice president for
development suggested that "special events" be held to
raise money for the program. The director of public
information suggested that "media events" be used to
publicize the program. The director of alumni affairs
suggested that alumni be asked to help in the recruiting
process. The director of computer services suggested that
"electronic mail" be used to communicate with prospective
students. The director of minority affairs suggested that
the term "native" be dropped because of its negative
connotations for South Pacific Islanders, however, did not object to
the term "native" as a mark for the small group of South Pacific
Islanded Broadcasts." The vice chancellor for student affairs
will not cause objection to price and try to get to the bottom-
of the issue by finding out if there were any objections to the non-
traditional track and if there were any objections to the
proposed track by existing personnel in admissions.

"Let's see what we've got," Kim said, looking at the
pads. "Let's start with the director of admissions. He
suggested that we should be handled by existing personnel
in the admissions office."

"DA's office already has a pad," Jeff said. "Let's see
what he suggested."

"DA's office already has a pad," Kim said, looking at
the pads. "Let's see what he suggested

With the marketing issue mainly settled, the district officers turned their attention to coffee processing. The Mogunga pulping station was completed early in 1938, by mid-year one was ready at Kisii town, and another began operation at Nyankororo in late 1938. The following two years factories opened in Kitutu at Murumba and at Marani, and in 1942 a pulper was installed temporarily at Nyankegogi and a site was selected for a station at Gesarara. Meanwhile, new semi-rotary pumps were installed in place of the hand-operated machines in the older stations at Nyosia and Mogunga. Thus by the end of 1942, seven pulping stations were operating in Gusiiland with an additional one planned.

At first Mogunga factory pulped coffee berries together,[65] but later each grower's harvest was processed separately at both Mogunga and Nyaribari so that payment could be made according to crop quality. By mid-1938 this practice had led to poor results in fermentation, so that, in line with a suggestion from an officer at Scott Agricultural Laboratory, the coffee at each factory again was processed in large quantities. This practice immediately led to an improvement in the liquoring results.[66]

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[65]ACQR, First Qter 1938. SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

[66]AO and Experimentalist, Scott Agric. Laboratory to DD(PI), 17 March 1938; and AO and Experimentalist, Scott Agric. Laboratory to AO, Kisii, 9 September 1938, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

In 1939, the marketing responsibility was transferred to the agricultural officer to save the five percent commission paid to Mr. Gethin, although his firm continued to provide transport. This action came as part of the measures taken to streamline the industry and provide greater return to the growers. The new system provided for monthly payments to growers at approximately two-thirds of the value of the cherries delivered. Payment was made from funds advanced by the local council. After the coffee was sold in Nairobi, the money was sent to the council, and every six months or so the remainder due to farmers was paid out.[67] This schedule was changed during the 1940-41 season when sales were made through the wartime supply board, and only a small initial payment was made to growers.[68] Although information is scanty, between 1938 and early 1940, it appears that growers normally received between five to six cents per pound of coffee cherry, and payment for the 1940-41 season dropped to four cents.[69]

Before the first pulping station was built, questions were raised about the finance and management of the factories. Although there was talk of placing a European in charge, the

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[67]AO, Kisii to Ag. SAO, Nza, 11 August, 1939, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[68]ACQR, Fourth Qter 1940, SK. KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

[69]This study refers to East African currency units, unless otherwise specified. From data on parchment, the price per pound of cherry was computed at a ratio of cherry to parchment at 5:1. ACQR for Third Qter 1938, Second Qter and Fourth Qter 1940, First and Third Qter 1941, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

factories always were managed by Gusii. Until 1943 when a reorganization took place, the Kisii-Bakoria Local Native Council paid for the growers annual licenses until their coffee came into bearing, the building of pulping stations, the purchase of pulping machines, and for services, including the extension staff. A small part of this expenditure was recovered through a cess on the coffee pulped.[70] In 1938 the provincial commissioner maintained that these responsibilities should eventually be borne by an association of coffee growers, but the local council should continue to help finance the industry until an association was formed.[71]

Since coffee production by Africans was considered experimental in terms of the suitability of coffee varieties to the local environment and the cultivators' use of proper husbandry practices, it is important to assess the extent of the success reached in Gusiiland during this first stage of coffee production. Three varieties of arabica coffee - Kent's, Gethin's and Blue Mountain - were tested for the suitability to the local environment and resistance to infestations. Although initially the district agricultural officer suggested planting one variety on each of the three block farms, the senior coffee officer advised that Blue Mountain be planted most widely because it was

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[70]Expenditure Estimates 1941, Notes, GCC: Minutes Book S. K. LNC November 1938 - June 1940, Vol. IX; and Statement of LNC Revenue, 1938, KNA: DC/KSI/1/4.

[71]PC, Nza to Chief Secretary, 21 December 1938, KNA: Agric. Kisumu LNC/1.

known to be resistant to leaf rust and appeared resistant to coffee berry disease.[72] However, during the first two years only Gethin's and Kent's varieties were available. By spring 1936, the twenty-one acres of Kent's variety planted at Nyosia and Nyankororo had proved unsuitable for local conditions; at Mogunga, the eighteen acres of Gethin's also proved highly susceptible to diseases and pests.[73] That fall, Blue Mountain was planted in the nursery and, when cultivation began in Kitutu in 1937, Blue Mountain was used.[74] Future plantings were almost entirely of Blue Mountain, and in some cases fields of Kent's and Gethin's were uprooted and replanted with Blue Mountain.

An outbreak of leaf rust occurred in 1937 in the Mogunga area, but it was brought under control by spraying.[75] The following year a form of coffee berry disease attacked fields planted in Kent's variety on Chief Musa's plot spreading rapidly at Nyosia and Nyankororo. However, the Blue Mountain plants in the same areas proved highly resistant to the attack.[76] By April 1939 the agricultural officer reported

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[72]AO, Kisii to Senior Coffee Officer, 26 January 1935; and Senior Coffee Officer to AO, Nza, 14 February 1935, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

[73]Telegram Agricola, Nairobi to Agricola Kisumu, n.d., KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1; and ACQR, April - June 1936, SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

[74]ACQR, Second Qter 1937, SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

[75]ACQR, Fourth Qter 1937, SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

[76]Monthly Report for August 1938, KNA: Agric. Kisumu REPT/4. .

Mommsen.

of Kent,s and Cedric,s were abbreviated and rebranded with Blue

were almost entirely of Blue Mountain, and to some cases tiaige

Kitwin in 1631, Blue Mountain was read.[14] Further discussion

was branched in the early Sun, when conflicting reports in

accessories to disagree and began.[13] Just then, Blue Mountain

Mommsen, the eighteen sixty-six Battle - Time 1636, SK,

[12]Telegram dictated, handing to dictionary Kitwin, n.g.,

dictionary Kitwin Council and

and senior senior officers to AO, MKM, in temporary 1636, KAA:

[11]AO, kisit to senior senior officer, SE dentist 1636:

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The following year a form of coffee party disease attacked

Mommsen area, but it was promptly under control by shrinard.[9]

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1636, the twenty-one acres of Mount,s Adjoin in Wlosats

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coffee party disease.[3] However, during the first knot and observing resistant to

known to be resistant to test knot and observing resistant to

that four acres of Kent's had been uprooted because of coffee berry disease, and by August an increase in the disease had caused growers at Nyankororo "to become dis-spirited [sic]."[77] Again in 1940, coffee berry disease attacked fields planted in Kent's variety. Minor outbreaks of various other coffee diseases and pests also occurred in this period, but they were controlled by the spraying. In late 1941 Blue Mountain plantings revealed a disease which was identified at Scott Agricultural Laboratory as brown blight, which did not normally attack Blue Mountain coffee.[78] The samples were taken from trees planted at an altitude of about 6,500 feet, so eventually a limit was set on the altitude at which coffee could be planted.

With the initial stage plagued by unsuitable varieties of coffee and in light of the fears frequently voiced by European planters, the question of how well the Gusii farmers took care of their coffee plots is particularly interesting. The information available on the level of coffee husbandry in South Kavirondo is insufficient for precise evaluation, but a general description may be extrapolated. Comments in the quarterly reports ranging from "husbandry good," "husbandry

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[77]Quarterly Report, SK, August 1939, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Rept/4.

[78]ACQR, Third Qter 1940, SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1; AAO, Kisii to AO and Experimentalist, Scott. Agric. Laboratory 2 December 1941; and Plant Pathologist, Scott Agric. Laboratory to AAO, Kisii, 11 December 1941, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/3.

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poor," to "husbandry improving" with very little actual evidence do not provide a sound basis for analysis. Better indicators would be the amount of coffee delivered for sale, for which data are insufficient, and the quality of the marketed coffee, but this depended very much on the drying and fermenting process carried out at the pulping stations. The level of husbandry, though, may be inferred from the general attitude of government officers and the extent to which threats and prosecutions were necessary under the Native Grown Coffee Rules. The district officers consistently considered the experiment a success, and the initial cases of poor husbandry were rightly attributed to the difficulties of the block farm system. A few local leaders were identified as uncooperative or apathetic, but the farmers as a whole never were described in this way. Chief Musa's coffee fields in particular were a source of official pride.

The officers' efforts to extend the acreage under coffee and to gazette new areas indicate their faith in the Gusii farmer's adoption of proper husbandry practices. In 1937 the South Kavirondo agricultural officer wrote with great irony, "It is comforting to know that the Kenya Coffee Board is alive to the danger of allowing native plantations to be sited too close to European estates. It was most encouraging to see these well tended native patches after passing through so many derelict [European] coffee estates."[79]

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[79]Monthly Report, SK, November, 1937, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Rept/19.

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To what extent did the generally satisfactory level of husbandry depend on the threat of prosecution? Certainly growers were aware that they could be fined if their fields were neglected, but one would assume that the officers would be reluctant to carry out prosecutions because the success of the experiment depended on the cooperation of growers. In addition, since many of the growers were government workers they could be pressured by their employers rather than through resorting to prosecution. Between 1933 and 1942, it seems few warnings were issued and even fewer prosecutions carried out, with fines ranging from Shs. 5/ to 10/.[80] In 1937 six growers were fined at Nyankororo for failing to keep their plots on the block farm clean, and in 1941 one grower in Kitutu was warned to decouch his field, but evidently he complied since there is no evidence of prosecution.[81] In 1942, four growers at Mogunga and three in Kitutu were given written warnings to clean their fields. Those at Mogunga complied, but those in Kitutu were prosecuted and fined.[82] If one considers that by the end of 1942 there were 222 growers, the number who received warnings or were fined seems quite small.

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[80]Absolom Ondara, OI: Ogembo area, Bassi, March 1971; and G. Nyamweya, OI.

[81]ACQR, Third Qter 1937, SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1; and Monthly Report, SK, December 1941, KNA: Agric. Kisumu DIAR/4/1.

[82]Monthly Report, SK, March 1942, KNA: Agric. Kisumu DIAR/4/1; ACQR, Second Qter 1942, SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

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The quality of the coffee produced, partially a reflection of proper husbandry, seems to have been high during this period, except for 1942. The first harvest from Gusiiland received the high grade A classification.[83] In 1939, eighty-five percent of the coffee in three despatches placed in the upper classes, while the following year seventy-five percent in one despatch was so evaluated.[84] It appears that of the total coffee marketed for 1941, fifty-seven percent was classified in the higher grades. However, the following year the quality of the clean coffee dropped, so that only thirty-seven percent was in the better grades.[85] This decline in the quality of coffee was attributed to insufficient fermenting and drying accommodation during the heavy picking seasons, and apparently was aggravated by continual heavy rains.[86]

Expansion of Production

When coffee was limited to the block farms, a nearby farmer only had to submit his name to be accepted as a grower. After the neighborhood concentration scheme was initiated, it seems that any farmer could plant coffee as long as he lived in

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[83]DD(PI) to SAO, Nza, 21 January 1938, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

[84]Compiled from ACQR, Third and Fourth Qters 1939 and Fourth Qter 1940, SK, KNA: Agri. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

[85]Compiled from quarterly reports for 1941 and 1942, ACQR, SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

[86]ACQR, Third Qter 1942, SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

Expansion of Production

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[58] DD(DI) to GAO, NSA, IT January 1938, KHA: Addis.

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[59] Combined from ACOR, Intrig and Fontfh Offers 1939 and

Fontfh Offer 1940, SK, KHA: Addt. Kiemun A\Coffi\I\I.

[60] Combined from Intrig Offers Report for 1941 and 1945,

ACOR, SK, KHA: Addtc. Kiemun A\Coffi\I\I.

[61] Intrig Offer 1942, SK, KHA: Addtc. Kiemun A\Coffi\I\I.

a gazetted location and had at least one willing neighbor.[87] Although the land of a prospective grower had to be inspected for its suitability, an appropriate site was usually found.[88] Expansion of coffee production initially was limited by the unwillingness of Gusii farmers to grow the crop and by government restrictions. Why were so few of the Gusii farmers willing to start growing coffee? The reason most often given was that, since coffee was a European crop, the farmers feared that if they grew the crop successfully the settlers would take their land, just as they had confiscated the land of other Kenyans. Other reasons, mentioned less frequently, were that people did not realize coffee's potential financial value, and the crop was difficult to care for and the farmers were aware of the strict government regulations concerning proper husbandry.

Since most Gusii were unwilling to adopt coffee at this early stage, the motives of those who did grow the crop are particularly significant. A special case existed in Mogunga area. One informant remembered that since so few volunteered for the Mogunga block farm, the district commissioner announced that government employees should be the first to plant.[89] Evidently he did not impose this decision, however,

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[87]This meant male farmer. Female widows in charge of farms were not allowed to grow coffee until the 1950s. Onyiego Ogorwa, OI: Jogoo area, Kitutu Central, June 1973.

[88]M. M. Otwori Atambo, OI: Ekerubo area, Kitutu Central, February 1971.

[89]Mikael Mbera, OI: Sengera area, Majoge, January 1971.

since not all the government workers in the area complied. Another informant said that he and a few other persons were told to grow coffee and were assigned plots by their chief. Those told to grow coffee did not have to contribute much labor in the beginning since most of the work, such as the preparation of the land and planting of seedlings, was done by agricultural department laborers. However, some of those who did not maintain their fields were later prosecuted.[90] A number of farmers at Mogunga eventually abandoned their plots or sold their trees, occurrences much rarer on the other block farms. Thus, it appears that three categories of farmers planted at Mogunga: the volunteers, those persuaded to do so since they worked for government, and those designated by the chief.

In other areas, no clear distinction appears between those who planted on the block farms and those who planted on their own land. Three general reasons are given by those who adopted coffee production prior to 1939, but these are not exclusive categories. Frequently a combination of reasons contributed to the decision, while the sustaining aim was to increase cash incomes. There were those persons working for government, who, not mistrustful of its motives, were willing to serve as examples to others in their community. As one person explained, "People like myself who worked for the government decided to plant and show others that this [land

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[90]John Oseko, OI: Mogunga area, Bassi, June 1973.

expropriation] was not true about the Europeans."[91] A headman at that time asserted, "We were government people so we were not afraid. We were sure that the government would not take the land."[92]

Other persons decided to risk land confiscation against the prospect of earning a greater income. The financial benefits to be gained from coffee growing had always been emphasized in the campaigns to register prospective growers. Those who had seen coffee growing were already aware of the economic benefits. As one pioneer put it, "I risked it, saying let come what may," because coffee was known to be a good income earner.[93] Another pioneer adopter had been imprisoned for anti-European religious activities; when he returned to the district, most of the land and all the animals belonging to his family had been taken, so that he had "nothing...to sell to get money." Since he had heard of the money acquired from coffee growing in Kiambu, he decided to plant it at the risk of losing his land,[94] as did his brother and father.

For most of the Gusii pioneers, coffee was not an unknown crop, they considered it as a good way to earn money, and they were quite eager to plant it. One person recalled that he

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[91]Nyakundi Monyoncho, OI: Tinga area, Kitutu Central, February 1971.

[92]Mariera Angwenyi, OI: Nyagiti area, Kitutu West, March 1971.

[93]Leonardo Mayaka, OI: Marani area, Kitutu West, June 1973.

[94]Marita Ongwora, OI: Onsungus area, Kitutu West, March 1971.

had been impressed by Mr. Gethin's coffee field in the district, while several others mentioned working on European coffee plantations or seeing it while working outside South Kavirondo. Another pioneer cultivator explained:

> I had lived in Uganda where I was able to witness coffee being grown by the Bagandans.... I had also heard of the [Africans] in Tanganyika and the progress they had made as a result of coffee growing. As a result, when coffee was first allowed to be grown by Africans [here], I wasted no time in seeing that I planted it. Indeed, I had been anxious to do so for a long time.[95]

The desire to earn a greater cash income was frequently mentioned by the earliest growers as a reason for accepting coffee, as illustrated in some of the above quotations. Why the money was wanted is difficult to ascertain; although many mentioned the need to pay school fees, this seems to be more a contemporary explanation for past behavior. The schools in the late 1930s do not appear to have required fees, although students needed to provide their own maize flour and blankets. Several others mentioned wanting money to buy cattle to be used as bridewealth. For example, one early pioneer grower had no uterine sister, so that no bridewealth cattle would accrue to his maternal homestead. He was forced to look for another way to obtain cattle and thus began growing coffee. With profits from coffee growing, he was able to buy twelve cows and twelve goats necessary to marry his first wife.[96] Those already

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[95]Kasimir Orwenyo, OI: Marani area, Kitutu West, May 1973.

[96]Nyamari Nyatome, OI: Keumbu area, Nyaribari Chache, May 1973.

married saw coffee growing as a means to acquire additional wives.

Since the desire for money was probably common throughout Gusiiland, it is significant that some pioneer growers were not fearful of government's motives, while others, although hesitant, were motivated enough to risk having their land confiscated. One informant provided an interesting analysis of the pioneer growers, which is substantiated in Chapter 4: "Those of us who first planted coffee [in this area] had already learned to read and write. At the same time, we had already been converted to Christianity and, as such, we were slightly different from the majority of our people. Thus, there was this outside influence on our lives."[97] Their decision to adopt the cash crop was also influenced by the support and encouragement given to coffee production by Chief Musa and Chief Aoga.

Throughout the initial stage of coffee growing, the district officers ignored the director of agriculture's 1933 stipulation that individual ownership be limited to 100 trees, unless he had been assured that the indigenous grower had sufficient experience, ability and capital to justify a larger ownership. Up to November 1937, the number of trees per grower ranged from 134 to 7,632, (as shown in Table 7), but fifty-one percent of the coffee was owned by six growers. When implementing the neighborhood concentration strategy, the staff

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[97]Mariko Nyansinga, OI: Nyaguta area, Nyaribari Chache, June 1973.

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[9] Martin Wynstanley, to Sprightly Grace, Westbrook Grace, Wynstanley Manor, 1841.

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF COFFEE TREES PER GROWER
IN GUSIILAND, NOVEMBER 1937

Number of Trees	Number of Growers
7,632	1
5,370	1
2,148	2
1,074	2
671	1
537	12
402	1
268	18
134	48
Total 38,219	86

Source: Compiled from List of Coffee Growers South Kavirondo, 30 November 1937, KNA: Agriculture Kisumu Coff/1.

limited most plantings to one-fourth an acre, which was equivalent to 134 trees; if a grower proved competent, he annually could request to receive an additional one-quarter of an acre of seedlings. In late 1937, when the acting director of agriculture took notice that the plantings exceeded the 100 tree maximum, he severely criticized the Kisii agricultural officers.[98] Although he protested, the officer succumbed and limited plantings to one-eighth of an acre, equivalent to seventy trees, to keep plantings within an easily measurable unit.[99]

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[98] DA to SAO, Nza, 8 November 1937, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

[99] AO, Kisii to SAO, Nza, 30 November 1937; and AO, Kisii to SAO, Nza, n.d. rec'd 22 December 1937, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

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cers.[98] Although he protested, the officers proceeded and
sent a limited broadside to one-eighth of an acre, equivalent to
several trees, to keep bystanders within an easily manageable
range.[99]

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[98]On 20 November 1983, Adjutant Klamath County Sheriff's
Office: Combined List of College Alumni Association Officers
(Klamath Falls, OR: Author, 1983), p. 12.

[99]Ibid.

There were no sound economic or technical reasons for preventing the extension of African coffee growing in Kisii. The policy of limiting indigenous production was bound up with the idea that African coffee growing was only an experiment, even after production had been successful for a number of years. When the Gusii coffee growers were restricted to one-eighth acre plantings, the deputy director of agriculture reminded the South Kavirondo agricultural officer, "The policy is to experiment with native coffee growing, to judge whether natives will take to the crop, care for it properly, etc. To make this experiment a true one, it must be representative of the large numbers of natives who would grow coffee in the future, and not merely representative of a few who are able to plant large numbers of trees."[100] The real reasons, of course, that this notion of experimentation was maintained for such a long time derived from the pressures put on government by the European coffee growers and the lack of commitment by government.

For example, when opening the 1934 annual meeting of the Coffee Board of Kenya, which only represented European planters, the governor remarked that he was aware of the planters' anxiety concerning government's steps to initiate African coffee production. He assured them that the European coffee industry "must on no account be jeopardised by indiscriminate, uncontrolled planting" by Africans.[101] Also, when discontinuance

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[100] DD(PI) to SAO, Nza, 29 December 1937, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

[101] "His Excellency and the Coffee Planters," East African Standard (4 August, 1934), p. 14.

of the block system was considered at a meeting in the fall of 1935, attended by the Colonial Secretary, Cunliffe-Lister, and the director of agriculture, the former reaffirmed his view that coffee growing by indigenous Kenyans should proceed very slowly.[102] The 1936 shift in policy to allow coffee production on individual African-owned plots did not signify that the concept of experimentation had been altered or that substantial increases in acreage would be allowed.

In November 1937, government confirmed its position on the experimental nature of African coffee growing to the Coffee Board, which complained that there was a serious lack of labor, especially during harvest season, because Africans had become reluctant to work on European farms. The Board asserted this shortage was due to the increased prosperity in the African areas caused by rising produce prices and the government policy of initiating cash crops in the reserves, pursued with "rather too great an enthusiasm." The Board claimed that the situation did not really benefit the Africans because the cash they were earning in the reserves was no greater than what they could earn by working for Europeans, and serious losses were being inflicted on the European agricultural sector, and, ipso facto, on "the prosperity of the colony as a whole."[103]

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[102] "Notes of a Meeting held in the Secretariat on 23 October 1935," KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/2.

[103] Coffee Board of Kenya, "Memorandum on the Labour Position," 6 May 1938, KNA: Dept. Agric. C/Coff/1/3/8 Vol. III.

Although the Coffee Board claims were greatly exaggerated, in South Kavirondo the increasing interest in coffee growing caused the agricultural officer to report in 1938 that if enough seedlings had been available, the total limit of 100 acres established by the administration would have been reached. Land was being prepared for coffee which would bring the total acreage up to the limit, and new applicants were being turned away.[104] In July 1938 the district requested permission to increase the limit on coffee growing to 200 acres in the gazetted areas. The provincial commissioner delayed forwarding the request to the director of agriculture because of reported coffee berry disease in South Kavirondo, but after a month he admitted that the rumors were unfounded. He supported the request for extension on the grounds that the industry was making satisfactory progress and the local native council was spending considerable funds to advance the industry beyond the experimental stage.[105] However, the director of agriculture refused to grant permission to extend the 100 acre limit, claiming that all varieties of coffee had been found unsuitable to South Kavirondo, except the Blue Mountain variety, and this variety had not yet proved successful.[106]

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[104]ACQR, Second Qter 1939, SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

[105]SAO, Nza to DA, 18 July, 1938; and PC to DA, 17 August 1938, KNA: Agric. Kisumu 1/2/9/2.

[106]DA to PC, Nza, 17 September 1938, KNA: Agric. Kisumu Coff/1.

Klamath Coffee Co.

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and data vertex had not yet been found successful.

satisfy to South Kentucky, except the Blue Mountain vertex, limit, eliminate that all vertexes of coffee had been found numbers irrigation keyboard to drop permission to extend the 101 acre pecan farm away. In July 1928 the director reduced production to 500 acres to increase the limit on coffee grown to 700 acres in the derated area. The broadcast commissioner shipped information to Klamath Kentucky, but after receiving the request to the director of agricultural research at Oregon State University, the director of the Agricultural Experiment Station in South Klamath Falls, Oregon was consulted. He suggested that the rumors were nutgrowed. He submitted a report coffee party classes in South Klamath, but after the director of agricultural research at Oregon State University, the director of the Agricultural Experiment Station in South Klamath Falls, Oregon was consulted. He suggested that the rumors were nutgrowed. He submitted a report coffee party classes in South Klamath, but after receiving the request to the director of agricultural research to drop permission to extend the 101 acre pecan farm away. However, the director of the Agricultural Experiment Station in South Klamath Falls, Oregon was consulted concerning the 101 acre expansion. Land was pegged by the Klamath Kentucky Land Company at $100 per acre. Land was pegged for cutting Myrtle wood pegs used to support vertical vines. Myrtle wood pegs were replaced by steel posts in 1928. Myrtle wood pegs were replaced by steel posts in 1928. Myrtle wood pegs were replaced by steel posts in 1928

In April, 1940, the chief native commissioner urged that the African coffee growing experiment be recognized as a success and that wider plantings be allowed, pointing out that the experiment in South Kavirondo had been successful for seven years. He reported that:

> A letter from the Director of Agriculture written in 1933 clearly shows that he envisaged that in such circumstances thousands of natives would be able to plant, subject to certain not arduous conditions which he described. If the experimental period is not declared to be at an end, at some time the natives can very well complain, with reason, of Government's insincerity. As far as South Kavirondo is concerned, my belief is that the experiment has only proved the suitability of a fairly restricted area (part of the Kisii highlands) and not a tremendous number of natives would ask for licenses. The amount of inspection would probably put most of them off and I doubt whether in the second year, as many as 100 would be planting in addition to the 179 who are now doing so. It appears that by refusing this permission, we do the European coffee industry no good, we give the natives an opportunity to accuse us of breach of faith, and our own consciences are uncomfortable.[107]

Finally, in early 1941, government authorized the extension of coffee growing in South Kavirondo to 200 acres. New planting was to be strictly limited by the capacity of the agricultural department staff to ensure sound husbandry methods, prevent soil erosion, and control pests and diseases.[108]

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[107] Copy from CNC, 30 April 1940, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/2.

[108] DA to AO, Nza, 7 February 1941, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

methods, prevent soil erosion, and control pests and diseases.

The provincial commissioner cautioned the South Kavirondo officers gradually to expand cultivation and recommended that only twenty-five new acres be planted in 1941.[109] The district commissioner retorted that since the permission to expand had taken South Kavirondo "by surprise," there were very few seedlings in the nurseries for additional planting. He suggested that plans be made immediately for expansion in 1942.[110]

When permission was granted to extend coffee growing to 200 acres, there were 184 growers cultivating a total of about ninety-four acres, with an additional five acres planted in nurseries. The largest annual increase in number of growers and acres had taken place in 1937 when the neighborhood concentration scheme was introduced, as shown in Table 6, after which the rate dropped primarily because government refused to increase the acreage limit and because there was a war-time emphasis on cereal crop production. In 1942 thirty-seven new acres of coffee were planted, the largest annual increase, but only twenty-eight new growers were added; this indicates that a number of former adopters extended their fields since growers were usually allowed only one-eighth of an acre of seedlings.

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[109]PC, Nza to DC, 15 February 1941, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/2.

[110]DC to PC, Nza, 24 February 1941, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

Summary

During the initiation and development of the Gusii coffee industry, all important decisions were resolved by European officials and officers. A few Gusii leaders helped to promote coffee growing and many farmers were familiar with the crop. However, the growers tended to be unaware of possible alternatives to decisions made by officials or powerless to enunciate ideas gained from Uganda. Except in a few instances, the officers never consulted the growers or their formal leaders in the decision-making process.

The issue of expansion, as well as on other questions which arose during this period, the government officers at the district and provincial level tended to be supportive of the Gusii coffee-growing program, although frequently in a paternalistic manner. In contrast, national-level officials were out of touch with the actual situation in Gusiiland, but keenly attentive to the interests and fears of the European settler population. Once the Gusii farmers no longer felt afraid that government would take their land, there were more applicants to take up coffee growing than could be accommodated; the Gusii, who traditionally combined agriculture with cattle raising, were readily disposed to producing this non-edible cash crop. The limitation on the rate of adoption was the result of government policy, strongly influenced by European settlers.

The European officials tended to make decisions which would keep the Gusii coffee industry wholly in the hands of

Summary

Eurobean officials are pushing for greater integration, arguing that only a more centralized Eurobean government would be able to make decisions which would keep the small coffee industry vitally in the range of

the Africans and under the control of government. For example, the suggestion that a European be employed to supervise the pulping stations never gained support. Rather, the stations were managed by experienced local people, under the supervision of the coffee field staff and ultimately the district agricultural officer. In the same way, initially a European businessman-trader was used as an agent to sell the coffee, but eventually this function was taken over by the agricultural officer himself. These decisions led to the eventual formation of the industry on a cooperative basis under Gusii leadership.

CHAPTER 3

THE GUSII COFFEE INDUSTRY 1943 - 1950

With an increasing number of Gusii cultivators and greater production, the district officers focused on reorganizing the local industry. Analysis of different suggestions show the assumptions of colonial administrators and officers in regard to the structure and control of the industry in African areas. Also, an assessment of the factors influencing the growth and expansion of production indicate elements within and without Gusii society which affected the South Kavirondo coffee industry.

Organizational Aspects of the Industry

In July 1943 a special meeting of all Gusii coffee growers was called by the District Commissioner, Mr. H. Carr, to discuss the coffee industry and its future. He proposed that the industry be separated from the local native council, which over the past nine years had expended approximately Sh. 40,000/- on its development. Because of a rise in the price received for coffee and increased sales the previous season, a balance of over Sh. 17,000/- remained in the council's coffee fund, which, the commissioner suggested, was sufficient for the industry to be independently organized. Mr. Carr recommended

that the growers appoint a board under the supervision of the district agricultural officer, to administer the current revenue, future finances, and the welfare of the entire industry. The growers felt, however, that the balance-in-hand should be paid out as a bonus. Although the district commissioner was opposed, he finally agreed to a one cent bonus for each pound of coffee cherries delivered the previous season. Thereupon, the cultivators endorsed the proposal to form a board composed of eight members, with each representing a particular pulping station, with the agricultural officer as chairman.[1] Except for one individual, selected board members were pioneer coffee growers, those who had adopted the crop before 1938. All the machinery, buildings, plants and implements in use by the industry were transferred to the board by the local native council for a token sum of Ƀ 50.

Even after the Kisii Coffee Board was initiated, the administration still contemplated the form which the industry should take since, although the board members were to be responsible for the management of the industry, the ultimate liability rested with the district agricultural officer and the provincial commissioner. The South Kavirondo agricultural officer suggested that the industry be constituted as a cooperative, similar to the Teita vegetable growers cooperative and sought a copy of its regulations.[2] Acting upon this

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[1]Minutes of the Meeting of Coffee Growers held in Kisii, 6 July 1943, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[2]PC, Nza to DA, 8 October 1943, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

request, the director of agriculture cautioned the officer about the position of officials vis à vis local representatives: "It will need some consideration, particularly if he [the district agricultural officer] is to be the official representative and if there are eight native members of the Management Committee. We shall have to consider safeguards as he may find himself, on occasions, in the majority of one."[3] In comparison, the Teita managing committee consisted of the district commissioner, the senior agricultural officer, and three elected members; although government representatives were still in a minority, it seems the director considered this situation more manageable.

Further discussions among officers in Nyanza led to the decision that the Teita regulations were inappropriate for the Gusii coffee cultivators, so the agricultural officer of South Kavirondo was asked to draw up a suitable document. By early 1944 a draft, similar to the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union regulations, was sent to the provincial commissioner.[4] However, the provincial commissioner and chief secretary decided to defer any decision until the arrival of an expert on cooperative societies, who was scheduled to investigate the possibilities of introducing the movement among Kenyan Africans. Meanwhile, the Nyanza commissioner formally recognized

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[3]DA to PC, Nza, 20 October 1943, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

SAO, Nza to DA, 2 November 1943; and SAAO, Kisii to Pc, Nza, 2 February 1944, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

the Kisii Coffee Board; it was given the authority to meet ordinary recurrent expenditures, including payment to growers, and could draw checks against a current bank account, signed jointly by the agricultural officer and a designated board member.[5]

Within a few months, the secretariat changed its position and decided that a temporary constitution be used to enable the board to carry on "until the society can be registered under an Ordinance yet to be framed and passed."[6] Although cooperative societies among Europeans and Asians were regulated under the Co-operative Society Rules (1931), government considered the ordinance ill-suited to the development of cooperatives among Africans and planned to frame new regulations which contained more detailed provisions on the conduct and guidance of societies. Nevertheless, government was, in the chief native commissioner's words, "anxious to see Co-operation harnassed to meet the needs of the local inhabitants, particularly the Africans and believes that there is ample scope for it."[7]

The idea was not new. The establishment of cooperatives among indigenous farmers in Kenya had been discussed in London and Nairobi in the early 1930s, while the Labour Party

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[5]PC, Nza to DC, 3 March 1944, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[6]Secretariat to SAO, Nza, 30 May 1944, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[7]CNC to PC, Nza, 17 May 1944, KNA: PC Nza T & C C/1.

was in power. Some members of the Colonial Office had favored developing cooperative marketing for African-produced coffee, but they held back because of the many conflicts between London and Nairobi over the coffee-growing issue. Cooperatives among indigenous peoples existed in other British dependencies, such as India and Ceylon, with government support. In Kenya cooperatives among Europeans operated from 1908 onwards, even though there was no official ordinance to regulate them until 1931. And, in 1932 with the formation of the Kenya Planters Union, European coffee growers gradually became organized on a cooperative basis.

A cooperative expert, W. K. H. Campbell, arrived in Kenya in May 1944, and visited Kisii and other areas. Campbell, who had formerly served as Register of Co-operative Societies in Ceylon and Advisor on Co-operation to the Government of China, was deeply committed to the idea of cooperative societies and had well-formulated proposals on the procedures for beginning such a movement, which entailed a central role for government in encouraging and directing cooperatives. Campbell's report, the concern over returning African veterans of World War II and de facto cooperative organizations among Kenya Africans, together with the policy of the Labour Party, which had come to power in 1945, coalesced to contribute to initiating a definite policy for the development of cooperatives.[8]

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[8]See Edward Karanja, "The Development of the Cooperative Movement in Kenya," (Ph. D. thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1973), pp. 44-49.

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Europeans in Kenya were worried about the reabsorption of African ex-servicemen into the colonial structure after the war. This concern compelled policy makers to think that co-operatives would be ideal organizations for demobilized soldiers; cooperatives would provide new jobs, open new leadership positions for ambitious people, and serve as a general channel for economic advancement. The Campbell report discussed the possible role of cooperatives for veterans and highlighted existing efforts among indigenous people, especially traders, to operate both locally and nationally on a cooperative basis. Campbell pointed out some of the management problems confronting trading cooperatives and explained ways in which an organized cooperative movement, with government involvement, could assist these local efforts.[9]

Although Campbell was more interested in market, rather than producer, cooperatives, he was optimistic about the prospects of a society among the Gusii coffee growers. He reported that "this group enjoys comparative immunity from the main difficulty of all co-operative marketing, because there is hardly any practical alternative to them for the manufacture and disposal of their coffee."[10] At his suggestion, the secretariat agreed that the Gusii coffee growers' organization be registered under the existing cooperative ordinance for "it hardly...[seemed] safe to let it continue to be attached to

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[9]CPK, W. K. H. Campbell, Report on an Investigation of Co-operative Possibilities in Kenya (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1944).

[10]Ibid., p. 7.

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[9] C.F.K. W. K. H. Campbell, Report on an Investigation of Co-operative Possibilities in Kenya (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1944).

the posts of PC, Nyanza and AO, Kisii."[11] To expedite this change, the regulations had to be approved. The draft previously drawn up underwent changes by the director of agriculture, which were accepted by the secretariat. Then the regulations were discussed and approved at a meeting of the Kisii Coffee Board on June 26th, 1944. In October, the application for registration of the Kisii Coffee Growers Co-operative Society was sent to Nairobi.[12]

Unlike the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union, membership in the Kisii society was not compulsory although, in fact, it was the only way to export coffee from South Kavirondo. Licensed growers, who had been approved by the society's board of directors, could become members by obtaining a share for Sh. 15/-. A member could sell his coffee only through the society, otherwise a fine would be imposed. The board of directors was to be composed of one member from each area served by a pulping station, and he would be elected by the area's coffee cultivators. The agricultural officer of South Kavirondo District, an ex officio member, was to serve as chairman of the board. The first board members would

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[11] W. K. H. Campbell to PC, Nza, 7 June 1944, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/9/2; and Secretariat to SAO, Nza, 7 June 1944, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

"Notes on the Regulations of the Kisii Coffee Growers Co-operative Society, Ltd.," as received from DA by PC, Nza, n.d.; Secretariat to PC, Nza, 30 May 1944; Minutes of a Meeting of the Kisii Coffee Board [hereafter Minutes of KCB], 26 June 1944; and AO, Kisii to DC, 21 October 1944, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

"Notes on the Redistribution of the Kirsti College Grounds
Co-operative Society, Ltd.", as received from Dr. Py PC, Nsa,
M.D.; Secretariat to PC, Nsa, 30 May 1944; Minutes of a Meet-
ing of the Kirsti College Board [hereinafter referred to as KCB], 36
June 1944; and PO, Kirsti to DC, 21 October 1944, KNA: PC
PC Nsa ACR I\3\5; and Secretariat to SAO, Nsa, 7 June 1944,
KNA: Admin. Kisumu A\COII\I.

[1] W. K. H. Campbell to PC, Nsa, 7 June 1944, KNA:
PC/NZA/2/1/3.

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serve as chairman of the board. The first board member would
of South Kavirondo District, an ex officio member, was to
by the vice-, a College Chairman. The additional officer
each vice served by a battalion strength, and he would be elected
the board of directors was to be composed of one member from
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serve until 1947, when at the annual general meeting four of the members would retire and four new members be elected. At every subsequent annual general meeting, one-half of the members would retire in rotation and new members be elected.[13] It was assumed that the board would have eight members, since, at that time, eight pulping stations existed.

Soon after the accounts had been audited, a general meeting would be convened, where the audit would be approved and the net profit allocated. Twenty-five percent of the net profits had to be allocated to a reserve fund; other categories, such as building and price stabilization, also could receive allocations; and the remainder would be distributed as a bonus among the members in proportion to their marketed coffee. A quorum would consist of one-quarter of the members. A special general meeting could be called, particularly for amending regulations; the presence of one-half of the members was required, and successful proposals required a two-thirds majority.[14]

Within the framework described above, the society's objectives were to:

(a) purchase, treat and prepare members' coffee for market;

(b) dispose of the members' coffee in the most profitable manner;

(c) purchase agricultural supplies for the benefit of members;

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[13]"Regulations of the Kisii Coffee Growers Co-operative Society," n.d., KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

[14]Ibid.

(d) acquire by lease, purchase or donation, and hold any movable and immovable property, in order to better carry out the objectives;

(e) raise money on loan;

(f) provide for collective measures against coffee diseases and pests;

(g) erect coffee pulpers or other machinery which might be necessary;

(h) assist in the amicable settlement of disputes between members and discourage litigation;

(i) and everything necessary to facilitate attainment of the above goals.[15]

In spite of the establishment of the society with its indigenous board of directors, until mid-1946 most of the responsibilities of the society were kept strictly under the control of the district agricultural officers. The Senior Agricultural Instructor, Zedekiah Oyando, made payments to growers and supervised the society's employees, as well as the department's African agricultural instructors who concentrated on coffee work.[16] The European agriculturalist, who was busy with food crop production in the entire district, claimed he had little time to supervise the industry. When preparation of the coffee crop in 1944 resulted in poor quality parchment, the officer insisted, "Owing to the pressure of other work, I only managed to visit each pulping station (except Kisii) once, for a few minutes, during the picking

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Zedekiah Oyando, OI; and SAAO, Kisii to Marketing Officer, Kisii, n.d. rec'd 7 May 1946, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

season and these visits were only possible because other activities took me to the vicinity."[17] Nonetheless, the agricultural officer played a key role in controlling the society, as shown in the minutes of the meetings and substantiated by board members.

The Kisii Coffee Growers Co-operative Society was registered under the new cooperative ordinance of 1945, which repealed the 1931 ordinance. Although there had been talk of a special set of regulations for African societies, the new ordinance applied equally to all races in Kenya. To foster development of cooperatives among Africans a registrar of cooperative societies was appointed in 1946 to serve directly under the Chief Native Commissioner. The first registrar was Captain J. H. Clive, a former provincial commissioner. When he took office, there were eleven European, eight Asian and five African cooperatives which came under the ordinance of 1945; of the five indigenous societies, he claimed that three would be more properly registered as public companies. To assist the registrar were four African inspectors and two clerks on a modest department budget of £ 2,050. Clive despaired over his small staff and limited funds, which hindered the extent of their activities. Moreover, the department found itself in the awkward position of being called upon to help African traders, as well as producers and consumers who

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[17] SAAO, Kisii to SAO, Scott Agric. Laboratory, 17 February 1945, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

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wished to avoid middlemen. Clive unsuccessfully proposed that government appoint a special adviser for traders.[18] The situation which the registrar found himself in seemed to have been fostered purposely by the Nairobi legislative council, which did not favor creating institutions to cater for the economic needs of the indigenous people. Clive later wrote, "I have often wondered if the Kenya Government ever intended it [the African cooperative movement] to succeed, or whether it pretended to do so as a sop of the Labour Government, which had come into power."[19]

The registrar did take an active interest in the Kisii society. In 1946, upon his suggestion, the society amended its regulations to make the marketing officer for South Kavirondo, instead of the agricultural officer, its supervisor, and the officer held the position of patron, rather than chairman, of the society.[20] This provision opened the way for the elected Gusii board members more actively to participate in the daily management of the society's affairs. The Gusii chose Chief Musa as the chairman of the board. The following month the responsibilities of the agricultural department staff were changed so that they "be in no way concerned with any operation which should come within the scope of the

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[18]Registrar of Co-operative Societies Annual Report for 1946, MOA Library, p. 11.

[19]J. H. Clive, "A Cure for Insomnia," n.d., Rhodes House, Oxford: MSS Afr s675, p. 192.

[20]Minutes of KCB, 9 April 1946, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3. The minutes of the Kisii Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Managing Board were sometimes designated by the name

Board...generally speaking the Agricultural staff will be advisory only, except in so far as the implementing of the Native Grown Coffee Rules is concerned. In particular, they will not participate manually in nursery work, except for seed selection; in the actual planting or pruning of coffee trees; in pest control; in the harvesting and processing of the crop; nor in the maintenance of machinery and plant."[21]

These intentions were enacted to a considerable extent. The society's special coffee instructors advised growers on weeding, pruning, spraying and picking. Society employees at the coffee factories were responsible for weighing the cherries delivered by growers, issuing receipts, drying the coffee, and processing it into parchment. During the off-season, the factory employees advised local growers on management and husbandry techniques. The society also controlled the coffee nurseries and their employees. Notwithstanding this devolution of responsibilities, general advisory functions were performed by the agricultural department staff, who could report through the senior agricultural instructor to the agricultural officer, who, in turn, could exercise power over the society's employees if they were not performing their work properly.[22]

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of the dissolved Kisii Coffee Board. The footnotes herein follow the exact title used.

[21]SAAO, Kisii to Marketing Officer, Kisii, n.d., received 7 May 1946.

[22]Zedekiah Oyando, OI; and Mariko Nyansinga, OI.

A further boost to indigenous control of the industry came with the hiring of a full-time society manager. The position was filled in April 1946 by Barnabus Omae, who had previously worked in the district commissioner's office. He had been dismissed from his government job supposedly because he was a key local leader in the general national African workers strike in 1946, which had lasted one day in the district.[23]

Problems beset the society soon after this fundamental transfer of responsibilities. Only a few months after the marketing officer assumed the position of society patron, he was transferred. His replacement had just taken over, when the agricultural officer also left the district, without adequately informing the newcomer of the intricacies of the coffee industry. Moreover, during this period the account books for 1945-46 were lost. The former European chairman of the society had also neglected to empower anyone else to co-sign checks, so that between October and December 1946, wages and other debts went unpaid; in late December, upon the patron's approval, the board finally empowered its chairman and treasurer to sign checks.[24] By mid-February the board reluctantly concluded that the payout sheets for the 1945-46 crop, made by the former European chairman, probably could not be traced and that some explanation had to be made to the members. At the same meeting

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[23]Christanus Otundo, OI: Nyabururu Mission, Kisii, July 1971.

[24]Minutes KCB, 30 December 1936, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

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the Inspector of Co-operative Societies for Nyanza, Daniel Nyanjom, criticized the sloppiness of the society's financial records and files. The secretary and treasurer claimed that since they were not employed for such functions, but only helped in their spare time, they could not be expected to keep the books up-to-date. Moreover, they admitted that the accounts and records could not be correct, because when the former European chairman, "who since the beginning of the Society had been all Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer left,[25] he only handed over roughly to...the Marketing Officer, who hardly handed over to his reliever...who eventually handed over cash in hand with cash books, but gave no information on the other books."[26] The members blamed the former chairman for the lost books.

By June 1947 the registrar of cooperative societies complained bitterly about the "extremely unsatisfactory state" of the society's affairs. The accounts for 1946 had not been audited and, consequently, no general meeting had been held. Despite this, payments to growers for 1946-47 had taken place, but no provision had been made for the reserve fund. According to the registrar, the board members "excuse themselves by pleading ignorance" and claim that the new marketing officer

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[25]The agricultural officer is described as performing almost 100 percent of the work of secretary and treasurer in: SAO, Nza to Officer in Charge, Soil Conservation Service, Kitale, 22 May 1946, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[26]Minutes of a Meeting of the Kisii Coffee Growers Co-operative Society Board (hereafter Minutes of KCGCS Board), 19 February 1947, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

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handed over the books to the society representatives saying "he had not the necessary knowledge to assist them with their accounts." The registrar lamented the lack of technical staff available to assist the society: "The AO says he cannot spare the time to assist the Society. Most certainly I and my staff of one trained Inspector and 3 untrained sub-inspectors of Nyanza Province cannot sit in Kisii to 'hold the Society's hand.' If I cancel the Society's registration and liquidate, what happens to the Kisii Coffee Crop?" A partial solution, the registrar thought, would be to have the auditors instruct the manager in keeping accounts and making expenditures. He also felt that the supervision of the society should be part of the marketing officer's duties, although he believed that "the Africans should run their own society," even if they presently were "incapable of doing so without constant supervision."[27] The management and bookkeeping problems encountered by the Kisii society were common throughout the African cooperative movement; without any special training, indigenous peoples were expected to fulfill various responsibilities in an alien institution. Although most who held positions had received some formal education, ignorance about bookkeeping was particularly evident. To complicate matters, the demands for assistance far exceeded the cooperative staff's capacity, and the low salary scale did not attract high-quality applicants.[28]

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[27]Registrar for Co-operative Societies (hereafter RCS) to KCGCS, 20 June 1947, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/COOP/1.

[28]Registrar for Co-operative Societies Annual Report for the Years 1947 and 1948, MOA Library, pp. 1-3.

A conflict emerged when the former European Chairman of the Kisii Coffee Growers Co-operative Society returned to reassume the position of agricultural officer. In late November 1947, he was designated as the society patron, apparently at the suggestion of the newly appointed registrar, J. Leslie, because the marketing officer in South Kavirondo did not wish to serve.[29] The board acknowledged the appointment in a letter phrased this way: "The board...conveys its thanks to you for your acceptance to reassume Patronage to its society from the beginning of our next financial year,... they would prefer you to have the opportunity to act as an adviser only when the Board and its Manager makes any reference to you."[30] A few days after receiving the letter, the agricultural officer visited the provincial commissioner and claimed that under such conditions, as stated by the board, he would not accept the position. The commissioner concurred and informed the board that it was necessary for the society to be under the guidance of the agricultural officer "without any restrictions as you proposed in your letter."[31]

A special meeting to discuss the patron issue was held on April 4, 1948. The registrar presided over the meeting which was attended by the provincial commissioner, the senior

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[29]Minutes KCB, 24 November 1947, KNA: Pc Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

[30]Secretary of KCGCS to AO, Kisii, 27 January 1948, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

[31]PC, Nyanza to Secretary of KCGCS, 31 January 1948, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

agricultural officer of Nyanza, the district commissioner, two district officers, the inspector of cooperative societies for Nyanza and board members. The Chairman of the Board, Chief Musa, explained the reason for the letter: "This was due to the ill feeling the Society had towards the AO they were appointing as Patron. This was caused by the loss of the payment sheet for the 1945-46 crop before...[the former European chairman] went on leave and his refusing new coffee shambas [fields] to be planted when he returned to the district." Then some of the European officials gave reasons why the agricultural officer should act as patron. In the end, the board members reluctantly agreed that the agricultural officer be patron "with full supervisory powers."[32]

The board members' dislike of the manner in which the agricultural officer previously controlled the society was very strong. One member recalled, "he always looked down upon our ideas and had a strong belief that his ideas were much superior to ours. In most cases in the board meetings, we representatives of the growers acted as rubber stamps, always passing any resolutions without questioning, as to question was useless."[33] When the members did pass a resolution which they had initiated, then "the European agricultural officer never took the Board's resolutions seriously. In most cases,

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[32]Minutes of a Special Meeting of the KCB, 15 April 1948, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[33]Onyiego Ongwora, OI.

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[35] Minutes of a special meeting of the KGB, 15 April 1962, p. 1.

he looked down upon our resolutions and ignored whatever was passed. This greatly irritated the board members, and, thus, caused conflicts."[34] Other evidence supports the general ill-feeling in the district towards the agricultural specialist. When they heard in the fall of 1947, that he was to be reposted to the district, the South Kavirondo Chamber of Commerce futilely stated their grievances against the agricultural officer in a letter to the director of agriculture, and circulated copies, with no effect, to the provincial commissioner, chief native commissioner, chief secretary and editors of two African newsheets.[35]

Nevertheless, the issue of a European supervisor was settled for the time. Complications arose, however, between the functions of the society and of the agricultural department in providing services to coffee cultivators. By the spring of 1948, the agricultural department had five special coffee inspectors and the society had its own field staff. The agricultural officer complained that the society employed instructors and inspectors "who knew nothing or very little"[36] about coffee work. It was a waste of the society's financial resources, he claimed, since the agricultural department staff was able to assist the growers, at no cost to the society.

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[34]Mariko Nyansinga, OI.

[35]DA to Attorney General, 20 October 1947, KNA: Chief Native Commissioner N/4.

[36]Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of KCGCS, 12 July 1947, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

The registrar of cooperative societies supported the officer, but the board contended that the department should hire more persons for coffee work.[37] By the end of 1948-49, three of the society's inspectors had been dismissed, but reemployed by the agricultural department.[38]

In 1949 attention became focused on the inspectors, instructors and pulping station laborers who performed field work for the growers. The director of agriculture, the registrar of cooperative societies, and the agricultural officer for Nyanza, asserted that good care of coffee fields occurred because employees themselves pruned, sprayed and took other disease control measures, rather than training the farmers to do the tasks themselves.[39] On the other hand, the growers claimed that the employees only showed them how to prune and mulch, and that they were unable to carry out disease control methods because they lacked the necessary materials and equipment.[40] Administrative orders were given that the employees cease working on individual fields, and that plans be initiated for demonstrations at the pulping stations.[41]

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[37]Minutes of KCB, 6 August 1948, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[38]KCGS Annual Report 1948-49, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[39]Minutes of a Special Meeting KCGCS Board, 21 September 1949; Minutes KCB, 5 November 1949; and SAO, Nza to DA, 18 July 1949, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[40]Open-ended interviews with approximately 30 growers.

[41]Minutes of Special Meeting of KCGCS Board, 21 September 1949.

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KCCCS Annual Report [illegible], KMA: Adric. Kisman
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Mirantes of KCB, 8 August [illegible] KMA: Adric. Kisman

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[13] Open-ended interviews with approximately 30 chromers.

[14] Mirantes of Special Meeting of KCCCS Board, SI September [illegible].

Meanwhile, plans were being made to reorganize the Kisii Coffee Growers Co-operative Society. At a general meeting in August 1948, Mr. Leslie, the registrar, suggested that it was time for the society to be divided into smaller organizations, with a union as the parent body, because of the increasing number of members. Each pulping station would serve as a nucleus for a primary society, while in the future new coffee societies, each with its own pulping station, could be formed.[42] The matter received further consideration at a board meeting in December. Members decided that the union should be composed of affiliated primary marketing societies to deal with several products, such as pyrethrum which was being introduced in the district. Thus, they proposed to change their name to the Kisii Growers Co-operative Union.[43] They discussed the matter and gained approval at the next annual meeting.

In June 1948 the registrar presented draft by-laws for the union to the board, which made minor alterations.[44] Subsequently, board members, with the assistance of the senior inspector of cooperative societies for Nyanza, set about forming the sub-organizations. At meetings held at each of the existing pulping factories the purpose of establishing primary societies and the union, and the by-laws which would govern

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[42]Minutes Annual General Meeting KCCS, 7 August 1948, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

[43]Minutes of KCB, 18 December 1948, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

[44]Minutes of KCB, 30 June 1949, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

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[15] Minutes of KCB, 18 December 1841, KNA: EC 8/8 ACB 1/5/6/3.

[16] Minutes of KCB, 31 December 1841, KNA: EC 8/8 ACB 1/5/6/3.

[17] Minutes Annual General Meeting KCCS, 7 August 1841, KNA: EC 8/8 ACB 1/5/6/3.

each, were explained. When agreement was secured from the growers of each area, application forms and by-laws for each society were signed, members elected to the local society's managing committee, and a representative elected to the union managing committee.[45] By October 1949 all documents were completed and sent to the registrar, along with a letter asking for immediate consideration and action because "unless we start on immediately with other produce business I [the Manager] am afraid to tell you frankly that we are likely to be let down in coffee business owing to the increased expenses borne by the society, i.e. increased wages, personnel and new pulping stations opened etc. out of the little returns from the season's coffee crop."[46]

Nevertheless, no immediate action was taken on the request. Meanwhile, the plans to reorganize the coffee industry and to expand the scope of the cooperative movement necessitated an increase in the number and quality of the staff. Between 1947 and 1949 the Senior Inspector of Co-operative Societies for Nyanza, Daniel Nyanjom, although stationed in Kisumu, had regularly attended the coffee meetings in Kisii. As a board member explained: "He greatly helped the coffee society

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[45] In mid-1947 sub-committees had been elected for each pulping station; these were responsible for managing the local affairs. Therefore, the formation of primary society managing committees did not signify a drastic change from the existing practice. Minutes of Annual General Meeting KCGCS, 12 July 1947 KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

[46] KCGCS to RCS, 25 October 1949, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/COOP/1.

the reason's coffee crop."[43]

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[43] In mid-1969 sub-committees had been elected for each
branch activity: members of annual general meeting ECCCS, it only
committees did not actually a drastic change from the existing
activity. Therefore, the formation of brimmly society membership
branch action! Cheese were responsible for managing the local
[44] ECCCS to BCS, 25 October 1969, KAM: Admin, Kiamun

1969 KAM: PC Nia ACM 1\5\8\3.

[45] 24 October 1969, KAM: Admin, Kiamun

in solving many problems that it faced, in particular management problems. We members were much freer to approach him [in contrast to the European agricultural officers] whenever we had any problems."[47] Mr. Nyanjom, however, needed assistance with the burgeoning cooperative movement in South Kavirondo. The board successfully requested government to send its manager to an accounts and secretarial course for African cooperative societies. Also, the board received permission from the registrar to employ a cooperative inspector to assist the manager; employed in mid-1949, the man was sent to a course on the purpose of cooperatives and the management of societies. By December, the board had employed another cooperative inspector and unsuccessfully requested that a third be hired, but paid by government. Also, in late 1949 an African inspector of cooperative societies was posted to the district to assist with the organization of cooperatives. The Department of Agriculture also gave greater attention to the coffee industry by appointing an assistant agricultural officer, solely to foster coffee production.[48]

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[47]Onyiego Ongwora, OI.

[48]Minutes KCB, 14 May 1949 and 20 August 1949, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1; Christanus Otundo, OI; Minutes of Special Meeting KCB, 20 December 1949, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3; Assistant RCS, Nza to Inspector G. Odawa, Kisumu, 26 November 1949, Kisii Farmers Co-operative Union (hereafter KFCU): Co-operative Inspector File; KCGCS Annual Report 1948-49, KNA: Agric Kisumu A/Coff/1.

While approval of the Kisii Growers Co-operative Union was pending, the cooperative staff traveled throughout the district preaching the ideals of the cooperative movement and forming cooperative societies, among farmers and traders. The society's board members also discussed ways to strengthen their organization and the forthcoming union to serve the needs of its members. They decided to market other crops, in addition to coffee, and to sell agricultural inputs to its members.

The director of agriculture did not favor the Kisii Farmers Co-operative Union dealing in produce other than coffee, until the coffee industry was under firm control.[49] It is not clear whether this objection or other factors delayed the registrar's final approval of the union, which was not forthcoming until June 1950.

Expansion of the Industry

The early war-time policy of emphasizing grain and bean production in Gusiiland continued into 1943. The following year the agricultural program designed for Gusiiland consisted of target acreages, primarily of maize and finger millet, with a smaller number of acres devoted to beans, sorghum, wheat, and groundnuts.[50] The South Kavirondo agricultural staff focused on meeting these goals and paid little attention to increasing coffee production.

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[49] DA to SAO, Nza, 28 September 1949; and SAO, Nza to AO, Kisii, 28 September 1949, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff.1.

[50] SAAO, Kisii to SAO, Nza, n.d., received 11 September 1943, KNA: Agric. Kisumu DEF/3.

Expansion of the industry

The early raw-fibre boiling of cambric and drain and pean production at consulting contained that let. The follow-ing year the agricultural problem designed for constituting com-mittee, and to melt agricultural shares in the chamber. They decided to not erect another factory, a final approval of the union, which was not the co-operative society, a body member also distributed new coop-formed cooperative society, union formed the right of the cooperative right to be known as the Multe Abbroast of the Kirk Dromore co-operative union and the following year the Soulh Kearlondo agricultural credit co-operative society, a body member also distributed new coop-erative union, which was not

In 1944 the government also began to formulate plans for post-war development of the African areas. Goals were perceived as sufficiency in food; maintenance of soil fertility; adequate nutrition; and production of saleable products. In regard to the last, the director of agriculture claimed that the real argument of whether or not Africans should grow cash crops ought to be based on whether soil fertility and the nourishment of the people were adequate. If so, a thorough investigation was required, he maintained, to determine crops best suited to particular areas and the way these could be integrated into the farming system to maintain and increase soil fertility. Other investigations, he suggested, needed to be carried out on methods of conserving the soil, types of stock and management methods, and new crops or varieties.[51]

In response to the views of the director, the South Kavirondo agricultural officer expressed the opinion that in the coming few years every activity ought to be subordinated to the care of the soil and stabilization of African agriculture within the foreseeable limits of its future requirements. In regard to cash crops, he thought that none could be tolerated which would tend to deteriorate soil fertility and that it was non-utilitarian to encourage planting, care and harvesting of cash crops which were unpopular with the Africans.[52] His immediate superior, the senior agricultural officer for

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[51]DA to SAOs, 12 January 1944, KNA: Agric. Kisumu DEF/3 Vol. II.

[52]SAAO, Kisii to SAO, Nza, 25 March 1944, KNA: Agric. Kisumu DEF/3 Vol. II.

Nyanza, considered that, although soil conservation was important, little improvement would occur until individual land ownership and demarcation took place, accompanied by rules to ensure compulsory soil conservation techniques. Furthermore, he was hesitant about the introduction of cash crops, suggesting the establishment of experimental stations in each district of Nyanza Province, with a full-time agricultural officer in charge, who would conduct thorough experiments and trials before any industry was initiated.[53]

The views of the district and provincial agricultural officers formed the basis of the policy for the agricultural development of South Kavirondo, which was set forth in late 1944 as:

> The desirability of properly organized and financed cash crops suited to their particular areas, introduced and developed with full Administrative support, as an essential part of the economic life of the localities concerned.
>
> The undesirability of introducing any cash crop without adequate experimental and demonstration work, coupled with an intelligent appreciation of its prospects and implications.[54]

Since coffee was already established as a cash crop in the Kisii highlands, it was not included in this policy, but experimentation with pyrethrum growing was affirmed, leading to the introduction of the second main non-edible cash crop

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[53]SAO, Nza to DA, 3 May 1944, KNA: Agric. Kisumu DEF/3 Vol. II.

[54]SAAO, Kisii to SAO, Nza, 22 October 1945, KNA: Agric. Kisumu DEF/3 Vol. II.

in Gusiiland. Nevertheless, from 1945 to 1950, the agricultural department gave most attention to soil conservation, the improved husbandry of existing food crops and increased food crop production.

Lack of emphasis on the expansion of the coffee industry until 1947 is revealed in the annual statistics on the increase of acres and number of growers (Table 8). Other factors, related to the extent to which the industry grew, were government regulations on maximum acreage in Gusiiland, availability of seedlings, and the return for coffee. In 1943 only 200 acres could be planted in the officially gazetted locations of Nyaribari, Bassi and Kitutu. The issue of gaining permission for the people of North Mugirango location to plant was raised at a meeting of the growers in July 1943,[55] and it was again brought up at a board meeting in December 1944, when extension was under discussion. At this time, Chief Musa strongly expressed the view that "the Society could only be certain of success if the number of planters and acreage under coffee was increased considerably."[56] He suggested that in the future, when payments were being made to growers, the opportunity be taken to hold meetings for prospective cultivators. While the agricultural officer agreed with the chief, he reminded members that the gazetted areas were limited to three locations and that parts of these were unsuitable for

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[55]Minutes of the Meeting of Coffee Growers held in Kisii, 6 July 1943.

[56]Minutes KCB, 12 December 1944, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

to three locations and first parts of these were ascertained for each, he remarked wherein that the desired steps were limited first by the inability of the agricultural officer advised with the opportunity be taken to hold meetings for prospective cultivators. While the agricultural officer advised with the first in the future, when personnel were hired wage to drivers, he suggested that the number of cultivators and second by the inability of the agricultural officer to handle the increased responsibility. "If he suggested that the number of cultivators be increased it is unlikely that the society could efficiently express the view that "the society could not afford to pay higher wages," when extension was under discussion. At this time, I felt that if was also the number of buildings to be erected in the village [illegible] to the number of cultivators [illegible] to

TABLE 8

INCREASES IN COFFEE ACREAGE AND NUMBER OF ADOPTERS IN GUSIILAND, 1943 - 1950

Year	Acreage at End of Year	Absolute Increase over Preceding Year	Number Growers at End of Year	Absolute Increase in Number Growers
1943	159.19	26.82	251	29
1944	172.25	13.06	285	34
1945	177.15	4.90	290	5
1946	189.27	12.12	312	22
1947	193.80	4.53	371	59
1948-49	221.60	27.80	530	159
1949-50	270.60	49.00	789	259

Source: Arabica Coffee Quarterly Reports, South Kavirondo, Fourth Quarter Reports for 1943-1947, KNA: Agriculture Kisumu A/Coff/1/1; Annual Report of the KCGCS for 1948-49 and 1949-50, KNA: PC Nyanza AGR 1/2/9/3.

coffee-growing, while other Gusii locations might be suitable. In the end, the board agreed to ask the director of agriculture to review the locations in which coffee growing was permitted, with a view to increasing the area, while at the same time prohibiting planting in unsuitable areas. The agricultural officer, supporting the request, forwarded it to the director of agriculture, along with the suggestion of gazetting areas between 5200-5800 feet contours rather than specifying locations. This proposal was accepted and authorization granted on July 15, 1945.[57]

This extension of the coffee growing area gave limited scope for expansion because of the 200 acre limitation, of which 178 acres already were under coffee.[58] In August 1946, when approximately 189 acres of coffee existed,[59] the board raised the issue of increasing the acreage limit with the registrar of cooperative societies, who was attending their meeting. Replying, the registrar "warned the board that before any more increase in coffee plantations could be allowed, the present coffee shambas [fields] must be properly cared for first."[60] At the same meeting, applications for new coffee fields in North Mugirango, Majoge and Wanjare locations

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[57]SAAO, Kisii to DA, 14 December 1944 and 8 October 1946, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[58]ACQR Third Qter 1945, SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

[59]ACQR, Third Qter 1946, SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

[60]Minutes KCB, 17 August 1946, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

were approved and, at a special meeting a few months later, the decision was confirmed by the society members. Suitable sites within these locations would have to be inspected by the agricultural officer, or a member of his staff, before permission to plant would be granted a farmer. By December 1946 a list of thirty-one names of persons from North Mugirango, seeking to become society members, was presented to the board for approval, and in the following months many more Gusii farmers applied for membership. In keeping with the policy of concentrated areas of planting, so that the extent of production in each area justified building a pulping station, a decision had to be made in regard to selecting areas from which farmers would be eligible to plant coffee. Agreement was reached at a general meeting in September 1947, when the following areas were chosen: the southern part of North Mugirango, the eastern part of Wanjare, the Kiamokama area of Nyaribari and the Gesarara-Kemera area of Kitutu,[61] (see Figure 2).

Meanwhile, the agricultural officer requested the director of agriculture either to allow 300 acres in the new locations to warrant the building of a pulping station in each area of concentrated planting or to totally remove restrictions on acreage, with a view to planting up to 500 acres, "which when in bearing should be able to bear the cost of a full-time European Supervisor."[62] When this proposal was made in

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[61]Minutes Special General Meeting KCGCS, 13 October 1946; Minutes KCB, 18 December 1946; and Minutes General Meeting KCGCS, 27 September 1947, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

[62]SAAO, Kisii to DA, 8 October 1946.

Mirantes Realty Corporation
Suite 1600
1 Mirantes Plaza
Los Angeles, CA 90017

October 13, 1981

Dear Mr. Jones:

Mirantes Realty Corporation is pleased to announce the opening of a full-time real estate brokerage office in Mirantes, the downtown heart of Mirantes' fast-growing Westside area (see figure 5).

Meanwhile, the existing office remodeled the directors' lounge into a new office for Mr. Kimmel, the executive vice president. In keeping with the policy of promoting from within, the position was offered to Mr. Kimmel, who accepted.

The vacated office will be divided into two smaller offices, one for Ms. Jones and one for Mr. Smith. Additional space will be acquired by eliminating the coffee room and relocating it to the new location.

Mr. Kimmel's former secretary, Ms. Jones, will be promoted to Assistant Office Manager. She will be responsible for supervising the clerical staff and for coordinating the activities of the two offices.

Please join us in congratulating Ms. Jones and Mr. Kimmel on their promotions.

Sincerely,

Mirantes Realty Corporation

Figure 5

October 1946, almost 190 of the total permitted 200 acres had been planted. Replying, the director of agriculture informed the South Kavirondo officer that the subject of African coffee growing was currently under discussion by the Coffee Board of Kenya, which he thought would be "sympathetic" towards the request. Moreover, he agreed that the acreage ought to be increased to allow each area to develop as an economic unit and to be large enough to justify employing a full-time supervisor.[63]

The Coffee Board of Kenya, after careful consideration of requests from the gazetted African coffee growing areas, approved further extensions, provided that "very thorough control by the Coffee Services of the Agricultural Departments... be exercised in these areas."[64] Although this decision was made by the board before March 1946, not until December 1947 was permission forthcoming from government to increase the coffee planting in Gusiiland by an additional 100 acres.[65] The decision by the board and government to extend coffee acreage in the experimental areas rested primarily on the need

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[63]DA to SAAO, Kisii, 12 October 1946, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[64]"Annual Report and Accounts of the Board for the Year Ended 31 March 1946," Coffee Board of Kenya Monthly Bulletin, XI, 124 (April 1946), 44. Although the report states the board considered the increase of acreage from 100 to 200, it may be assumed this was meant to read 200 to 300 acres, since South Kavirondo and Meru Districts already were permitted to plant up to 200 acres.

[65]DA to SAO, Nyanza, 8 December 1947, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

Exercise 3

Write a letter to the Editor of the South Kensington Monthly Post, commenting on the proposal to increase the number of seats in the Albert Hall from 100 to 500. Suggest that the Committee should also consider the possibility of providing additional parking facilities.

Exercise 4

Write a letter to the Editor of the South Kensington Monthly Post, commenting on the proposal to increase the number of seats in the Albert Hall from 100 to 500. Suggest that the Committee should also consider the possibility of providing additional parking facilities.

Exercise 5

Write a letter to the Editor of the South Kensington Monthly Post, commenting on the proposal to increase the number of seats in the Albert Hall from 100 to 500. Suggest that the Committee should also consider the possibility of providing additional parking facilities.

Exercise 6

Write a letter to the Editor of the South Kensington Monthly Post, commenting on the proposal to increase the number of seats in the Albert Hall from 100 to 500. Suggest that the Committee should also consider the possibility of providing additional parking facilities.

to encourage production in suitable sites throughout the colony in order to boost export trade.

From the peak of approximately 104,000 acres in 1936, the acreage on European plantations had dropped to about 65,000, primarily because of the elimination of the crop from regions which had proven unsuitable for coffee growing, and, secondarily, because of uprooting due to the relatively low price obtained for coffee during the war period. The result was a rapid decline in exports from 20,330 tons in 1936 to 9,120 tons in 1946-47.[66] After the war the settlers and their government pursued a policy of diversification of agricultural activities to protect the settlers from fluctuations in market conditions, hence although coffee could well serve the country as a key export earner, the burden on producers during poor times needed to be more widely shared.

Further discussions by the Coffee Board of Kenya, which did not have representatives from the African areas, led to the major decision to support extending production outside the experimental areas. "In order to maintain and, if possible, increase the production in one of the main export crops of the colony, as well as on economic and political grounds, the Board is of the opinion that African production of coffee in suitable areas, and with the necessary safeguards in regard to theft and diseases affecting European plantations should be

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[66] "The Coffee Board is Willing," East African Standard, (26 March 1948), p. 5; and J. K. Maitha, Coffee in the Kenyan Economy (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1974), p. 83.

fostered and encouraged."[67] While there were very definite economic grounds for the decision, mounting political pressure by Jomo Kenyatta and the Kenya African Union also affected it.

To provide for the extension of coffee, a new set of regulations, the Native Grown Coffee Rules of 1949, amended the 1934 rules and designated many new African areas where coffee growing would be allowed. As far as Gusiiland was concerned, the rules stated that arabica production would be allowed between 5200-5800 feet contours. The most significant aspect of the regulations, however, was the removal of maximum acreage limits in the gazetted areas. Hence, in Gusiiland the onus of the rate of expansion was placed on the coffee society and the district agricultural department. With the existing organization, infrastructure and general awareness of the income which could be obtained from coffee, this new ordinance opened the way for rapid expansion of the industry among the Gusii during the following decade.

Through meetings held during the fall of 1949 and through a locally based newssheet, Gusii farmers were notified of the procedures to follow if they wished to adopt coffee. In order to become a grower, the following actions had to be taken:

> (a) a person wishing to plant would give his name and the number of trees desired to a society coffee inspector or to a pulping station headman, both of whom would forward information to the society manager;

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[67] "The Coffee Board is Willing," p. 5.

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[19] "The college board is willing", p. 8.

(b) an agricultural officer would visit the farm and after inspecting the proposed site would inform the farmer whether or not he would be allowed to grow coffee; if the site were suitable, the officer would instruct the farmer on land preparation;

(c) after the field was prepared, all the couch grass removed and holes dug, the farmer had to inform the officer, who would then revisit the plot and if it were satisfactory, would issue the farmer a permit to plant coffee;

(d) the farmer would take this permit to the district commissioner's office to obtain a Coffee Growers License, at the cost of Sh. 1/-; and

(e) on presenting the license to an agricultural instructor, the farmer would be told when seedlings would be issued from a nearby nursery; no seedlings would be given to a person without a license.[68]

The extension of the acreage limit for coffee in 1948 and the removal of restrictions in mid-1949 accelerated the demand for seedlings which could not be met. Even in 1947 the demand exceeded the supply. The scarcity led in 1948-49 to the establishment of new nurseries in North Mugirango and Wanjare. The following season the board decided to open several new nurseries and extend old ones;[69] at the same time, the board returned the responsibility for control of nurseries to the agricultural department. Simultaneously, upon the

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[68]Notice for Persons Wishing to Plant Coffee, by AAO, 21 September 1949, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[69]Annual Report of the KCGCS for 1948-49.

advice of the registrar of cooperative societies, the society began to charge five cents per seedling to reduce subsidization of the nurseries.[70]

The senior agricultural instructor described these years, when seedlings were insufficient, as "a period of chaos as more and more people came forward to demand coffee seedlings. Scrambling was the order of the day. In times when the transfer of seedlings was to take place [from the nursery to the farmers], we had to ask government for the assistance of askaris [police]. Otherwise, incidents of fighting or stealing would occur."[71] According to the agricultural officer in late 1949, "At present there is a great deal of interest in coffee and prospective planters numerous, but the limit to the increase in acreage in 1950 will be the number of seedlings available in the nurseries."[72]

The scarcity of seedlings thus affected the number of new adopters, as well as the number of seedlings each received. Between 1947 and 1950, the new growers received less than one-fifth of an acre of coffee seedlings, that is, less than 100 seedlings. The acceleration in the absolute increase in new growers after 1946, as revealed in Table 8, indicates

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[70]DAAR for South Nyanza 1947 and 1949, MOA Library: Nyanza Province 1947-50; Minutes of Annual General Meeting KCGCS, 24 September 1949, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[71]Zedekiah Oyando, OI. The use of askaris is substantiated by Christanus Otundo, OI.

[72]AAO, Kisii to PAO, Nza, 22 December 1949, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

the vector sum of the two vectors. The addition is illustrated by Figure 8.

Figure 8

Addition of vectors

Subtraction is the inverse of addition. To subtract one vector from another, reverse the direction of the vector to be subtracted and add it to the other vector. Figure 9 illustrates the subtraction of two vectors.

Figure 9

Subtraction of vectors

Multiplication of a vector by a scalar changes the magnitude of the vector. The scalar is a number which is used to multiply the magnitude of the vector. For example, if the magnitude of a vector is 5 and the scalar is 3, then the magnitude of the new vector is 15. Figure 10 illustrates the multiplication of a vector by a scalar.

Figure 10

Multiplication of a vector by a scalar

Division of a vector by a scalar is the inverse of multiplication. The magnitude of the vector is divided by the scalar. For example, if the magnitude of a vector is 10 and the scalar is 2, then the magnitude of the new vector is 5. Figure 11 illustrates the division of a vector by a scalar.

Figure 11

Division of a vector by a scalar

Vectors are used in physics to represent forces, velocities, accelerations, and other physical quantities. For example, if a force of 10 pounds is applied to an object in the direction of the positive x-axis, then the force can be represented by a vector with a magnitude of 10 pounds and a direction of 0 degrees. The acceleration of the object will be in the direction of the force and will have a magnitude that is proportional to the magnitude of the force and inversely proportional to the mass of the object. If the mass of the object is 2 kilograms, then the acceleration of the object will be 5 meters per second squared in the direction of the positive x-axis.

Vectors are also used in computer graphics to represent points, lines, and polygons. For example, a point in two-dimensional space can be represented by a vector with two components, the x-coordinate and the y-coordinate. A line can be represented by two vectors, one for each endpoint. A polygon can be represented by a list of vectors, one for each vertex.

Vectors are a powerful tool for representing and manipulating data in computer graphics. They can be used to perform a variety of operations, such as translation, rotation, scaling, and projection. These operations are essential for creating realistic images and animations.

the interest of farmers in growing the crop. While only eighty-nine new persons started coffee growing between 1943 and 1946, there were 477 new growers between 1947 and 1950. During the same periods, the acreage increased by fifty-seven and eighty-one respectively. By the end of 1949, 271 acres of coffee had been planted and there were 789 growers.

A factor which influenced the accelerated interest in coffee production was the price received for the crop. The price paid to growers per pound of cherry had risen from eight cents in 1944-45 to twenty cents in both 1947-48 and 1948-49, a fact which will be discussed more thoroughly in the following section. The extension of coffee into new areas meant more willing growers could plant the crop, which they viewed as a good income earner.

Production

The annual yield of coffee relates to the incidence of diseases and pests, as well as the use of proper husbandry techniques which are influenced by the availability of labor and the enforcement of regulations on the management of fields. Throughout 1943-1950 diseases and pests attacked the coffee in Gusiiland, presenting a disheartening situation to the owners. Especially in the original production areas where coffee had been planted above an altitude of 5800 feet, the plants were susceptible to infestation; Blue Mountain plants, as well as the remaining non-Blue Mountain varieties, were attacked. In early November 1943, when the plant pathologist from Scott Laboratory visited the Murumba area, he found that

Introduction

The annual yield of coffee varies in the short run as well as the long run. Short-run variations are caused by changes in the weather, especially in the critical blossoming stage, and by changes in the incidence of pests and diseases. Long-run variations are caused by changes in the area under coffee and by changes in the capital stock embodied in coffee trees. Both short-run and long-run variations are affected by changes in the profitability of growing coffee relative to other crops. Government policies which affect the profitability of growing coffee include taxation, marketing arrangements, and the provision of research and extension services.

Coffee production is subject to a high degree of risk. Yields are highly variable from year to year, and prices are unstable. Coffee trees take several years to reach maturity, and once planted they are costly to remove. Thus, growers face considerable risk when they decide how much land to devote to coffee. Risk is also involved in the choice of production techniques. Growers must decide whether to use fertilizers, pesticides, and other inputs, and how much to use. Risk is also involved in the choice of harvesting methods. Growers must decide whether to pick selectively, when the berries are ripe, or to strip all the berries from the branches at once. Selective picking is more costly, but it may result in higher average prices because only ripe berries are picked. Strip picking is less costly, but it may result in lower average prices because unripe berries are picked as well as ripe ones.

a disease, which had first been recorded in the fall of 1941, had spread to all the coffee fields and even to the younger trees. His investigation revealed that the malaise was a coffee berry disease, similar to a malady in the European estates in nearby Sotik.[73]

In 1944 and 1945 coffee berry disease and antestia spread to hitherto unaffected Gusii areas. By mid-1949 the situation was very severe. According to the agricultural officer, "in the Kisii Highlands coffee growing areas, with the exception of Marani and Gesarara, there is a sufficient large antestia population to cause alarm and to do a great deal of damage to the coffee crop."[74] During this period, when reports of diseases and pests were common, the Kisii Coffee Growers Co-operative Society provided assistance to farmers by financing disease control measures. The society purchased the necessary supplies and its field staff helped the growers, without any charge to the individuals.

In regard to the proper care of coffee fields, the issue of the availability of labor occasionally was raised at board meetings. However, labor shortage does not seem to have been a significant factor. Most of the coffee cultivators used family labor for weeding and picking, although during harvest season when demand for labor was high, it was common for them to use egesangio, and sometimes risaga was

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[73]SAO, Nza to DA, 4 September 1943, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

[74]Marani Safari Report, 1 June 1949, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

called.[75] The male owners of the coffee, except for some with off-farm employment, would perform at least part of the work, particularly mulching and pruning, since the field was considered as an emonga.[76] Hired laborers tended to be used by those few growers with large plantations and those with off-farm employment. Although the issue of scarcity of laborers and lack of money to pay for them was raised at board meetings, the arguments tended to be used by a few of the owners of large plantations, especially when threatened with prosecution, as an explanation for unclean coffee fields.[77]

The agricultural staff verbally would threaten to prosecute growers, if their fields were not in good condition. Even though evidence is scanty about written warnings and actual prosecutions, cultivators were very conscious that prosecutions could occur. Written evidence provides information about a warning notice in 1944 served on a grower in Kitutu; the agricultural officer stated in 1945 that he would send out written warnings to Bassi and Majoge producers who needed their fields decouched; and fifteen persons were fined in late 1945, at rates between Sh. 15/- and 45/-, for badly neglected fields.[78] After a warning had been issued, a grace

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[75]See Chapter 2 for definitions and descriptions of these traditional forms of communal agricultural work groups.

[76]The word means a man's field; see Chapter 2 for description.

[77]Ex-Chief Aoga Angwenyi, OI: Marani area, Kitutu West, 22 June 1973.

[78]Agricultural Safari Report, 17 February 1944, and 6 April 1945, KNA: DC/KSI/7/1; and ACQR, Fourth Qter 1945, SK, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1/1.

defected.[17] The main source of the cost overruns, however, was the
cost-plus employment. Although the terms of contract were not
known, the engineers' salaries were high, and the project was
charged as an overhead.[18] Fixed investment costs, including
buildings, machinery and equipment, were 15% higher than
originally estimated.

Net working capital was also higher than originally
estimated. Inventories, receivables and payables were all
higher than originally estimated. Inventories were higher
because of the need to produce more than originally
anticipated in order to meet the demand of the new customers
and because of the need to produce in longer production runs
in order to reduce unit costs. Receivables were higher than
originally estimated because of the longer credit terms
granted to the new customers. Payables were higher than
originally estimated because of the increased volume of
purchases.

Despite the cost overruns, the project was a success.
Sales were higher than originally estimated, and the
profitability of the project was also higher than originally
estimated. The internal rate of return was 18% after taxes
and 22% before taxes, as compared with the 15% after taxes
and 20% before taxes originally estimated.

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17 See Chapter 5 for definitions and descriptions of
these classifications of economically motivated work stoppages.

18 The word means a man's field: see Chapter 5 for
description.

period of two to four weeks usually was allowed before prosecution would begin. On one occasion in 1946, two of the board members urged that owners of large acreages of coffee be given a longer grace period, but the agricultural officer disagreed. Nevertheless, the following year at a general meeting, it was decided that a one month's notice would be allowed all growers.[79] It is unclear whether this was followed, since legally the period was stipulated in the national regulations.

In mid-1948 the agricultural officer claimed that the coffee fields were in poor condition, with most overgrown with sangara (a weed), without shade trees, and lacking box ridging; pruning, he claimed, had been abandoned by many farmers. Some plots, he found, were used for grazing, while others were interplanted with maize and sweet potatoes. He depicted the fields in Kitutu as in "a shocking state" but "less offensive than those in other locations." He asserted that "50% of the coffee shambas were so over run with couch that the trees are yellowing and suffering from die-back of the primaries and nearly all the remainder are sufficiently affected by couch as to reduce the size of the cherry and general health of the trees."[80]

The following year the director of agriculture, after noting the report, wanted to know what measures had been taken

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[79]Minutes KCB, 28 January 1946, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3; Minutes General Meeting KCGCS, 27 September 1947.

[80]Minutes General Meeting KCGCS, 7 August 1948.

under the existing regulations and declared that "most drastic action must be taken to put the existing areas on a sound basis again or, alternatively, to commence up-rooting drastically."[81] Although it seems that warnings were issued to growers in 1949, no evidence exists of fines, prosecutions, or up-rootings. By the end of the year, the standard of cultivation was described as improved in comparison to the previous year.[82]

The annual amount of mbuni and coffee cherry delivered to the pulping stations (Tables 9 and 10),[83] combined with information on crop quality, suggest the years when infestations and lack of proper husbandry affected production. A decrease in the amount of cherry delivered occurred in 1947-48 and 1949-50. Moreover, the quality of the 1947-48 crop was extremely poor; only fourteen percent of the clean coffee was placed in classes two through four, the higher categories. The following season the yield and quality were high; forty-one percent of the coffee obtained high classifications. In spite of the low yield in 1949-50, sixty percent of the clean coffee fetched a high rating.[84] The 1947-48 drop in production

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[81]DA to SAO, Nza, 7 July 1949, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

[82]Minutes KCB, 20 August 1949, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1; and DAAR for South Nyanza 1949.

[83]Coffee might be prepared as mbuni, if the grower had only a small crop yield, a pulping station were not nearby, or the cherries were of poor quality.

[84]DAAR for South Nyanza 1948; and DAAR for Nyanza Province 1947-50.

[illegible]

TABLE 9

COFFEE CHERRY DELIVERED TO PULPING STATION AND PRICE RECEIVED BY GROWERS, GUSIILAND, 1943-44 - 1949-50

Year	Amount (pounds)	Price Paid per Pound Cherry to Growers (cents)	Total Value Paid to Growers (Shillings)
1943 - 44	187,054	----	----
1944 - 45	201,390	.08	16,111.20
1945 - 46	244,824	.09	22,034.16
1946 - 47	----	.07	----
1947 - 48	214,687	.12	25,762.44
1948 - 49	247,026	.12	29,643.12
1949 - 50	201,747	.25	50,436.75

Source: Annual General Meeting KCGCS, 25 April 1946 and Annual Report of KCGCS 1948-49, KNA: PC Nyanza AGR 1/2/9/3; Department of Agriculture Annual Reports in MOA Library: Nyanza Province 1947-50.

TABLE 10

THE AMOUNT OF MBUNI DELIVERED TO PULPING STATIONS IN GUSIILAND, 1946-47 - 1949-50

Year	Mbuni - Amount (pounds)
1946 - 47	7,200
1947 - 48	4,587
1948 - 49	9,192
1949 - 50	5,198

Source: Department of Agriculture Annual Reports in MOA Library: Nyanza Province 1947 - 50.

and poor quality crop were caused by diseases and pests, poor husbandry, and lack of rains. The areas which contributed to the overall decline were Kisii, Nyosia, and Nyankororo, which are relatively near one another.[85]

Diseases and pests, particularly antestia, and poor husbandry contributed to the decrease in production in 1949-50, which occurred in the areas of Kisii, Nyosia, Nyankororo, Mogunga, Morumba and Nyankegogi.[86] Nyosia and Nyankegogi contained a few large holdings owned by persons who, busy with their off-farm occupations, had little time to manage their coffee fields. At Mogunga the coffee fields were undergoing a change of ownership, because this original block-farm area was being prepared for an experiment in group farming. Also, the coffee fields at Nyankororo were changing ownership because the original growers who lived away from the neighborhood were disinterested in maintaining coffee not located on their own land. Moreover, the altitude at Nyankororo, like the Morumba area, was above 5800 feet, thus enhancing the disease factor. All these areas, except for Nyankegogi, which contributed to the 1949-50 decline in production, were among the original coffee growing sites.

The price received by growers for coffee was controlled by government during World War II. To help the industry after

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[85]This is based on statistics of the amount of parchment produced at each of the pulping stations in the Annual Report of the KCGCS for 1948-49.

[86]Ibid.; and Annual Report of KCGCS for 1949-50, KNA: PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

the war, the United Kingdom Ministry of Food, under a five-year contract, agreed to purchase 6,000 tons a year, beginning in 1947-48, at a fluctuating price between £ 125 and £ 150 per ton.[87] Unexpectantly the price for coffee rose after the war because of the economic recovery of Western European countries and the reestablishment of normal patterns of trade, although the world supply of coffee was supplemented until 1949 by the sale of surplus stocks in Brazil. A boost in prices also occurred due to the devaluation of the pound sterling in September 1949.[88] Because of the rising world market price for coffee, the Ministry of Food renegotiated the contract in early 1950, agreeing to a price of £ 305 per ton for the 1949-50 crop year and a fluctuation price between £251 and £ 305 for the following year.[89] During this period, then, part of the Kenya coffee was sold under the contract with the ministry, while the rest was sold openly on the Nairobi market. The price received by Gusii growers was further dependent upon the classification obtained for clean coffee, since the higher categories brought better prices; expenditures incurred in the handling of the crop by the Kenya Planters Co-operative Union and payment of the union's commission; and the commission deducted for the Kisii Coffee Growers Co-operative Society.

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[87] Maitha, Coffee, p. 22.

[88] Wallace, "Peasant Production," p. 18; and Hill, Planters' Progress, p. 127.

[89] Maitha, Coffee, p. 23.

Usually producers received payment for the coffee cherries and mbuni, which had been delivered to the pulping stations in the middle of the season. The price for mbuni tended to be the same as the first payment for cherries. At the end of the season and after the Kisii society's accounts had been audited, a bonus was usually paid for coffee cherries. The price paid to farmers per pound of cherry, including the bonus, fluctuated from seven cents to twenty-five cents between 1943 and 1950, as shown in Table 9. More frequent payment to growers was hindered by the insufficiency of funds. The Kisii society had to await payment from the Kenya Planters Co-operative Union before it was able to pay its members. The issue of obtaining an advance from the union, against the crop, was investigated in 1949 and found possible, but the interest on the advance was considered too high.[90] Thus, no action was taken by the society to apply for advances.

Throughout 1943 to 1950, coffee cultivators complained of the system of payment, as well as the amount received. They took note of the rising price obtained for coffee on the world market after World War II. While discussing the 1948-49 bonus, the board members expressed the opinion that "if the payouts were not more than last year that would cause a great deal of discontent as the members were aware of increased prices and they would have been quite unable to understand the reason why the increase was not reflected in the annual payout

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[90]Kenya Planters Co-operative Union to DA, 5 April 1949; and SAO, Nza to AO, Kisii, 2 June 1949, KNA: Agric. Kisumu A/Coff/1.

1949: and SAC ... to AC, Kraft, 5 June 1949, KAA: Hartio.

[illegible] Kenya Transfers Co-operative Button to DA, 2 April 1949, 96

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and it was likely to cause a setback in their efforts in forming a union."[91] The registrar of cooperative societies, who was attending the board meeting, pointed out that only a small net surplus remained from the 1948-49 crop, because of the change in the beginning date of the season, which had resulted in the 1948-49 season lasting eighteen months. The remaining surplus would only allow for a one cent bonus per pound of cherry, but the registrar reluctantly agreed that the society could use funds from the 1947-48 surplus, so that a two cent bonus could be paid.

At a meeting a few months later, board members inquired from the registrar if coffee prices were up, as reported in the newspapers, and, if so, they wanted to increase the 1949-50 season first payment to growers from the already approved eight cents to ten cents per pound. The registrar promised to consult the Coffee Board of Kenya on this matter. In the end, the growers received a first payment of eight cents per pound of cherry, an interim payment of the same amount, and eventually, a bonus of nine cents per pound.[92]

Summary

Since cooperative organizations and other formal forms for marketing were alien institutions to the Gusii, the initiative on matters concerning the organization of the coffee

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[91]Minutes General Meeting KCGCS, 24 September 1949.

[92]Minutes Special Meeting KCB, 20 December 1949; and Annual Report of KCGCS 1949-50, KNA PC Nza AGR 1/2/9/3.

Annual Report of KCCCS 1989-90, KMA TC Use ACS 1\5\9\3.

45 Minutes Special Meeting KCS, 30 December 1989, and

45 Minutes General Meeting KCCCS, 24 September 1989.

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Summary

industry was taken primarily by European officials and officers. The Gusii responded positively to proposals which would give them greater control of the industry through the establishment of specialized organizations. When responsibility for more functions was transferred to the Kisii Coffee Growers Co-operative Society in 1947, difficulties arose. The administration attributed the problems mainly to poor local management. Although this assertion might be valid to a certain extent, it is necessary to delve further.

It is significant to note that the administration did not concern itself with the training of the society's staff and board members in the functions they were expected to perform. Although all board members and the manager had some formal education, and the manager and a few of the board members had experience as clerks, it should not have been assumed that they would have the necessary technical knowledge and administrative skills necessary for managing the industry. The requests made by the board in 1947 through 1950 to send the manager and extension staff to special courses indicate its awareness of the importance of adequate training.

During the war years, the Gusii were influenced by the government's emphasis on food crop production, and there is little evidence to support the view that many persons wanted to adopt coffee during this period. However, after 1946, interest in coffee production increased. The price received for the crop also rose, and coffee came to be considered a good income earner.

The structure of the Gusii coffee industry affected the form which the industry would take in other African areas. European fears about African coffee production in Kenya proved insubstantial. When the need to increase production in the colony arose in 1948 and 1949, the Coffee Board of Kenya and the government recognized that growth could be achieved by extending production among indigenous farmers. This important decision led to the introduction of coffee in several other African areas. Moreover, the formation of the Gusii coffee industry within a cooperative framework served as an example to support the organization of the industry on a cooperative basis in other African areas.

CHAPTER 4

SALIENT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COFFEE GROWERS

The two previous chapters detail reasons for the slow rate of expansion in coffee growing among the Gusii, and Chapter 2 also includes a discussion of the motives of those who adopted the crop prior to 1938. An analysis of salient characteristics of the pioneer growers, that is those who planted coffee before 1938, helps to further an understanding of the types of persons who were willing to respond to the promotion of this first major non-edible cash crop by government officers, while other members of their society were highly suspicious of the government's intentions.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Since members of a social system do not adopt an innovation at the same time, and some people may never accept it, persons can be classified into adopter categories which reflect a time dimension. General characteristics have been applied to members of adopter categories by Everett Rogers, who based his designations on 3,000 findings, relating different independent variables to the rate of innovation. Classified under the headings of socio-economic status, communication behavior, and personality variables, these characteristics are used to form a set of generalizations and hypotheses. Although

several of these are difficult to test outside a contemporary situation, the following hypotheses can be used in historical investigations:

(a) Earlier adopters are no different than later adopters in age.

(b) Earlier adopters have more years of education than do later adopters.

(c) Earlier adopters have higher social status than later adopters.

(d) Earlier adopters have a greater degree of upward social mobility than later adopters.

(e) Earlier adopters have larger sized farms than later adopters.

(f) Earlier adopters are more likely to have commercial, rather than subsistence, economic orientation than later adopters.

(g) Earlier adopters have more social participation than later adopters.

(h) Earlier adopters obtain more information from sources external to their social system than do later adopters.

(i) Earlier adopters are more likely than later adopters to follow modern norms.[1]

The classification of an individual within an adopter category relates to any specified period of time or designated innovation(s). Research studies show there is considerable shifting of individuals in a social system from one category to another over time.[2]

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[1]Everett M. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations (New York: Free Press, 1962), pp. 311-14.

[2]Ibid., p. 189.

A theory of change in rural areas during the colonial period, by Godfrey M. Mutiso, contends that those who were educated (asomi) became imbued with the colonial system, including acceptance of economic opportunities. This group of people, the asomi, are characterized as persons at the bottom of the traditional social stratification system, who, through manipulation of economic and political power in the colonial system, would "buy" a place in the pre-European stratification system, and status inversion consequently took place. According to Mutiso, the asomi have their economic and socio-political needs fulfilled in the new system; are beneficiaries of government programs, such as the introduction of cash crops; obtain rural leadership positions and jobs through the colonial system; and have gravitated to the new system for economic rewards and rulership power.[3]

To test both the hypotheses of Rogers and the theory of Mutiso, the pioneers were compared with a sample of early adopters, those who most immediately followed the pioneers in the planting of coffee. Selection of the comparative group was based on a three-stage sampling process which is described in Appendix A. The mean year of adoption for the comparative group was 1955. Since the extension of coffee proceeded at a slow rate, it should be remembered that as much as a twenty

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[3]Godfrey M. Mutiso, "Cleavage and the Organizational Base of Politics in Kenya: A Theoretical Framework," paper presented at the annual conference of the East African Universities Social Science Council, December 19-23, 1972, Nairobi; and "Cleavage and the Organizational Base of Politics in Kenya: A Theoretical Framework," Journal of Eastern African Research and Development 3, 1 (1973), 39-64.

year differential exists between these two sets of coffee innovators. Thus, the unit of analysis for this part of the study comprises the Gusii pioneer coffee growers,[4] and a random sample of early adopters. An interview schedule was administered to members of both groups; if the grower was deceased, usually his eldest son was interviewed.

To analyze the research findings, information is presented in simple percentages and, in most cases, chi-square tests were carried out to find if the results were statistically significant. No arbitrary level of significance is used, although it is assumed that any result of .02 or less shows the data to be highly significant.

Family Background

Since only eighteen percent of the pioneers and none of the early growers had brothers simultaneously adopting coffee, family background does not appear to have been a motivating force which influenced an individual's decision to grow coffee; yet, it does appear to be a characteristic distinguishing between the adopter groups. Although a meaningful percentage of the fathers of both groups held formal leadership positions (Table 11), the pioneers' fathers tended to hold higher positions than those of the early growers. More pioneers than early growers had fathers who held leadership positions within the colonial system. Among the eight percent of

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[4]The questionnaire phase of the study includes all except nine of the pioneers, because either they or a suitable respondent were not available during the interview period.

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centrode of the ellipse to form dromo shell formed regularly
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TABLE 11

LEADERSHIP POSITION OF FATHER

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. None	47	61	38	70
2. Etureti	13	17	15	28
3. Omogambi, Omokumi	8	10	-	-
4. Court Elder	-	-	1	2
5. Headman, Sub-chief	3	4	-	-
6. Chief	6	8	-	-

x^2, ldf=10.957; P < .001, when comparing 1-2 with 3-6.

the pioneers who were chiefs' sons, there were five non-uterine brothers; their father held the highest leadership position among the Getutu in pre-colonial times and subsequently he was appointed as a chief by the colonialists. As shown in Table 11, a significant difference occurs between the adopter groups when those with higher positions are compared with those who were etureti or without a formal leadership position.

In Table 11, the term chief applies to one appointed to the position established by the colonial administration; a chief ruled in each of the Gusii locations created by the new system. The category of sub-chief and headman refers to those administrators who served directly under the chief. A court elder means one who served on the native tribunal courts

or the Kisii Court of Appeals, appointments made by the colonial authorities. Omogambi and omokumi are traditional titles referring to persons recognized as outstanding leaders within their exogamous group and who commanded respect outside their sub-ethnic group. The titles signify a man famous for his skill in dispute settlement and who enjoyed considerable wealth and power. Sometimes the skills and powers of the omokumi and omogambi were associated with a type of magic, called ebiranya.[5] Of less importance than the omokumi and omogambi, but outstanding in their local communities were elders, called etureti, who tended to dominate judicial proceedings, as well as other affairs in their communities. A man became an etureti because of his wealth and the respect he commanded through his skill at litigation. As part of his power base, he usually had many sons who could make an effective commander force to be used in retaliatory actions. In the 1940s, the etureti position was incorporated into the colonial judicial system and the elders were appointed by government.

In traditional terms, a man's wealth was measured in part by the number of wives he had, since cows, heifers, a bull, and a number of goats would be used as bridewealth exchange. These animals represented a form of both investment and exchange. Even when use of money became widespread in Gusiiland, cattle used in bridewealth represented a man's wealth

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[5]Ex-chief Nyagetira Nyawamu, OI: Nyaguta area, Nyaribari Chache, May 1973.

since frequently he had purchased some of the animals. During the pre-colonial period when land was abundant, the greater the number of wives, the larger the amount of land a man could claim for cultivation by his family since each spouse had her own plot. In the colonial period when land for cultivation and settlement became scarcer, the land claimed by a man and his wives was not necessarily in proportion to the amount which could be cultivated by the family. The larger the size of a man's immediate family, that is his wives and children, the greater the size of the labor force; also daughters would bring more cattle into the homestead through marriage.

Table 12 shows that sixty-three percent of the early growers came from families which were either monogamous or composed of two wives, whereas only forty-seven percent of the pioneers lived in similar homesteads. A significant number of the pioneers came from families considered wealthy since their fathers had over five wives.

The social status of a homestead head and his influence in community affairs were largely dependent on his wealth. A rich man could provide lavish hospitality, attracting many guests, and frequently his home would serve as a meeting place for judicial proceedings. Also, a wealthy man would generally command respect for his skills and talents used in acquiring riches.[6] Table 13 substantiates the relationship between the

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[6]Robert LeVine, "Wealth and Power in Gusiiland," in Paul Bohanhan and George Dalton, eds., Markets in Africa (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1962), pp. 521-24.

TABLE 12

NUMBER OF WIVES OF THE FATHER

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. One	22	29	18	33
2. Two	14	18	16	30
3. Three-Five	17	22	16	29
4. Six-Nine	7	9	2	4
5. Ten-Nineteen	12	16	2	4
6. Twenty-Thirty	5	6	-	-

x^2, 1df=10.658; P .01-.001 when comparing 1-3 with 4-6.

leadership position and marital status of the pioneers' fathers. It shows that those with high formal leadership positions tended to have over nine wives, while those with no formal positions usually had up to five wives.

TABLE 13

FATHERS OF PIONEERS: LEADERSHIP POSITIONS AND MARITAL STATUS (PERCENTAGE)

Number of Wives	Leadership Positions N=77				
	None	Etureti	Omogambi, Omokumi	Headman, Sub-chief	Chief
One	26	3	-	-	-
Two	12	5	1	-	-
Three-Five	15	1	4	1	-
Six-Nine	5	3	-	-	1
Ten-Nineteen	3	5	5	3	-
Twenty-Thirty	-	-	-	-	7

1.	ONE	56	3	-	-
2.	TWO	15	2	1	-
3.	THREE-FIVE	12	1	4	1
4.	SIX-NINE	2	3	-	1
5.	TEN-NINETEEN	3	2	2	1
6.	TWENTY-THIRTY	-	-	-	7

NUMBER OF WINGS Leadership Positions N=77

NONE EARNED Commander, Headman, Chief

Co-Chief

NUMBER OF PIONEERS AND MARITAL STATUS (PERCENTAGES)

PATTERNS OF PIONEERS: LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

TABLE 13

Married had up to five wives.

eq to have over nine wives, while those with no formal positions had up to

If shows that those with high formal leadership positions tend-

leadership position and married several of the pioneers, ranging

$x_5^2 = 10.258$; p .01-.001 when combined 1-3 with 4-6.

6.	TWENTY-THIRTY	2	6	-
5.	TEN-NINETEEN	15	16	1
4.	SIX-NINE	7	6	2
3.	THREE-FIVE	11	22	16
2.	TWO	14	18	18
1.	ONE	53	52	78

NUMBER Percent Married Percent

Percent Married

NUMBER OF WIVES OF THE PIONEERS

TABLE 12

Tables 11-13 reveal that most of the pioneers and early growers did not come from families of high formal status positions, as indicated by the number of wives. Yet, a significant percentage of the pioneers (seventeen percent) belonged to households which appear to have been wealthy and had fathers who either held high leadership positions within traditional society or the colonial system. Even those belonging to such families did not necessarily inherit the wealth of their father, because of the egalitarian principle of the Gusii inheritance system. A son's inheritance depended on the number of uterine sisters whose bridewealth was not used for other agnatic males, the number of cattle the father claimed as his personal property, and the degree of favoritism shown him or his mother's household during his sire's lifetime.[7] Livestock claimed by the deceased as his personal property was to be allocated to the youngest house, if there were greater need here; otherwise, the cattle were to be divided equally between the houses, with the senior house receiving slightly more. Within each house the division among sons was based on the same principal.[8]

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[7]Favoritism in allocation of both cattle and land, tended to be according to order of birth or marriage.

[8]The inheritance process is explained in Philip Mayer, Gusii Bridewealth Law and Custom, The Rhodes Livingstone Papers, No. 18 (London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

Tapers, No. 13 (London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

[8] The interference process is explained in Phillip Mayer, Small Britchester Law and Custom, The Rhodes Lectureship Tapers, No. 13 (London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

[7] Reservation in allocation of both cattle and land, rendered to be accounted to other of plots or marriages.

[6] Interference with property, and the degree of reservation given him or personal property, but the person's wife's personal unity was not to be disturbed by the decreased as his personal property was to be distributed to the youngest sons, it there were direct need here: obtervise, the cattle were to be divided equally between the sons, with the senior sons receiving slightly more. Mitigation in each sons the division should come from sons based on the same principal.

[5] Reservation in allocation of both cattle and land.

[4] The interference process is explained in Phillip Mayer, Small Britchester Law and Custom, The Rhodes Lectureship Tapers, No. 13 (London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

[3] Reservation in allocation of both cattle and land, rendered to be accounted to other of plots or marriages.

[2] The interference process is explained in Phillip Mayer, Small Britchester Law and Custom, The Rhodes Lectureship Tapers, No. 13 (London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

[1] Reservation in allocation of both cattle and land, rendered to be accounted to other of plots or marriages.

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Characteristics of the Growers Before Adoption

The degree of education and type of religious affiliation serve as indicators of the cultivators' acceptance of the colonial system. Both E. Rogers' hypotheses and the asmoi theory suggest education as a key factor. Nearly two-thirds of the pioneers received an education prior to the 1930s; thus these persons were also pioneers in the field of education (Table 14). In comparison, almost half of the early growers attended school, a more common and accepted practice during their youth; they also had the advantage of more years of education being offered.

TABLE 14

EDUCATION: NUMBER OF YEARS

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. None	27	35	28	51
2. Up to three	38	49	15	28
3. Up to seven	12	16	10	19
4. Up to nine	-	-	1	2

x^2, 2df=6.2; P .05-.02 when comparing 1, 2, and 3-4.

Up to the mid-1930s education in South Kavirondo was connected with mission stations. In the 1910s, two missionary societies erected posts in the district: Nyabururu station of the Roman Catholic Mill Hill Fathers was officially established in December 1911; and the Seventh Day Adventists opened a station at Nyanchewa, near Kisii town, in 1912. In the initial

	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
	Africans N=77		Early Greeks N=24	
1. None	43	35	18	75
2. Up to three	38	49	12	50
3. Up to seven	15	19	10	42
4. Up to nine	1	1	4	17

χ^2_3 = 58.3, p = .00 when compared 1, 2, and 3-4.

Up to the mid-1950s education in South Africa was connected with mission schools. In the 1950's two ministers of education enacted bold measures to make the African school system as European as possible. Until then, the Roman Catholic Mill Hill Fathers were officially entrusted with the education of Africans in Basutoland and the Government Indian Education Department in Natal; and the Seventh Day Adventists observed a strict policy of racial segregation.

EDUCATION: NUMBER OF YEARS

TABLE 14

Of education gained. They also had the equivalent of more years education than the Africans. Only 1 of the Greeks had no education, as against 43 of the Africans. The Greeks were also literate in their own language, and had a well developed school system. Both B. Godoy, Chairman of the Committee, and Mr. [illegible] were graduates of the University of Natal (Table 14). In comparison, almost half of the early Greek arrivals were illiterate, and only a few had received an education equal to the primary school, a more common goal for Africans. Many Greeks had the equivalent of some high school education.

Characteristics of the Groups Factors Which

The degree of education and role of traditional religion

years of Nyabururu Mission, the missionaries were especially concerned with converting and educating the sons of chiefs and headmen;[9] therefore, pressure was exerted on leaders to send their sons to the mission. Prior to World War I most of the Gusii resisted, since the missions taught pupils to abandon traditional ways. Consequently, the government directed chiefs to obtain young men to attend. Cases exist of police (askaris) sent to arrest unmarried boys, usually those living in the cattle villages (egesarate), to force them to attend the mission school.[10] However, these forays were neither frequent nor successful; in late 1913 the number of Gusii in school at Nyabururu and those who had attended, but ran away, totaled nineteen.[11]

After the First World War, the Seventh Day Adventists began a school, which eventually offered up to six years of education; it was served by several two- to three-grade "bush" schools. The first students at Nyanchewa graduated in the mid-1920s. Gusii graduates from both of the mission schools preached in the countryside and persuaded young boys to attend schools they established there. Some of the earliest rural schools were opened near the chiefs' headquarters so that the

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[9]Nyabururu Diary, entry 27 December 1911 and 31 March, 1912. Copy held by Bishop Otunga Secondary School, Mososcho, Kisii.

[10]Nyagetira Nyawamu, OI; and Masiemo Onkoba, OI: Getare, Kitutu Central, May 1973.

[11]Nyabururu Diary, entry 23 November, 1913.

schools were opened next the cutels, headquarters so that the schools were established there. Some of the earliest visit preached in the countryside and harassed local rural mid-1950s. Small groups from both of the mission schools

schools. The first students of Mavuotsem dressed in the emancipation: if was seized by Revert two- to three-digge „push“ began a school, which eventually oiiered up to six years of

After the First World War, the Seventh Day Adventists ran many, fostered missions.[11]

Christ in school at Mavuduzu and those who had accepted, but were debarred from baptism because of polygamy.[10] However, others joined the

attend the mission school.[10] However, others joined the Native Church (Ekeresite), set up to stress numerical power. Those

Native (Ekeresite) sect up to stress numerical power. Those rected cutels to open Zomd men or three- to four- of the small resided, since the Dimensions remain Mavuotsem and those who had accepted, but

and peasant! Protestor' bigamy was rejected on Christian the concerned with conventional and colonial the Seventh Day Adventists

teachers also could serve as clerks to the chiefs. After World War I, force does not appear to have been used to obtain school-goers.[12] During this period, school attracted many of the pioneers, some of whom viewed it as a means of obtaining a status position within the colonial structure, while others regarded it as an escape from forced communal labor. Several of the pioneers ran away from home in order to attend school.

Until mid-1930, education in South Kavirondo was connected exclusively with mission schools, and, therefore, religious affiliation tended to reflect one's education, especially for the pioneers. Among the pioneers, seventy percent adhered to a non-traditional religion, and seventy-two percent of the early growers were associated with Protestant or Roman Catholic churches. Thus, religious affiliation, does not appear to significantly differentiate between the adopter groups.

As indicated in Table 15, the pioneers who received the highest levels of education tended to be from families with low social status, while those who were sons of fathers with high formal leadership positions tended to obtain up to three years of education. A significant proportion of the pioneers (twenty-two percent) received no education and were persons whose fathers held no leadership positions.

According to innovation theory, the earliest adopters are more orientated to systems external to their own social system than are later adopters; orientation implies sources

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[12] Nyansinga, OI.

TABLE 15

FATHERS' LEADERSHIP POSITION AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE PIONEERS (PERCENTAGE)

Fathers' Position	Education of Pioneers N=77 None	1-2 years	3-6 years
None	22	29	11
Etureti	7	6	3
Omogambi, Omokumi	--	10	--
Headman, Sub-chief	3	--	1
Chief	3	4	1

of information. Both non-traditional religion and education can be used as indices of this orientation, since they represent aspects of the colonial system. Also, the coffee cultivators' experience outside South Kavirondo is used to indicate external orientation because these persons had the opportunity to see different economic activities, associate with persons of other ethnic groups, and generally become aware of various social, economic and political aspects of the colonial system.

Approximately one-half of the Gusii coffee pioneers and early growers worked outside their district at least once prior to the growing of coffee.[13] Table 16 reveals that the length of time spent outside South Kavirondo does not significantly vary between the adopter groups. The average mean number of years spent outside, three years, is the same for both

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[13]Only one pioneer lived outside for a reason other than working. Marita Ongwora had been imprisoned at the coast for his alleged involvement in the anti-European religious activities of the Mumboism cult, led in Gusiiland by his mother.

PARTNERS, LEADERSHIP POSITION AND ROLE DIFFERENTIATION

TABLE 13

RELAT OF THE PIONEERS (DESCRIPTIVE)

Position	Mode	1-2 Years	3-5 Years
Partner,			

groups. Table 17, however, shows that the place of work differed significantly for those who held jobs outside. The pioneers tended to work further away from South Kavirondo than did the early growers; the latter group tended to be employed in nearby Kericho area or other parts of present-day Rift Valley Province, whereas the pioneers worked in several rural areas, as far away as the coast, and one even worked in the Congo and Ruanda as a labor recruiter for an estate in Kericho. A significant proportion of the pioneers worked in towns or urban centers. Those with employment outside South Kavirondo usually served as unskilled laborers, although a proportion of the pioneers (forty-two percent) held semi-skilled or skilled positions (Table 18), such as office clerks, store clerks and drivers. Approximately twenty percent of all the growers worked a second time outside the district before they planted coffee and a smaller percentage worked on a third separate occasion prior to adoption of coffee.

An indication of innovativeness in agriculture before the growing of coffee is difficult to assess, since most of the crops introduced by the colonial administration up to the 1940s were improved or new varieties of familiar crops, such as beans and maize. Adoption of these crops proved difficult for the growers or their respondents to recollect. Therefore, a list of crops which would have been produced primarily as cash crops were used to measure the degree of agricultural innovativeness. Table 19 reveals that a significantly greater proportion of pioneers than early growers had produced a cash

proportion of brunettes that early drawers had brought a case
novelty-seekers. Table 11 reveals that a significantly greater
case crobe were used to measure the degree of participant in-
a list of crobe which would have been brought primarily as
for the drawers or their respondents to recollect. Interiors,
se pegue and mylar. Adoption of these crobe proved difficult
were themselves of new varieties of familiar crobe, such
the crobe introduced by the contest administration up to the
the drawing of coffee is difficult to assess, since most of
An indication of unwillingness in participants before
scheduled occasion prior to adoption of coffee.

they brought coffee and a smaller percentage worked on a fully
the drawers worked a second time outside the district before
with Kelly Provinces, approximately two brunettes in seven
Kelly Kelley introduced, more than brunettes had brought a case
droops. Table 11, however, shows that the brand of novel dif-
fered significantly for those who light hair condition. In
brunettes tended to work interpret away from people participating
that did the early drawers: the latter tended rather to pre-
Kentucky usually served as marketing imports, although a
tomers or night centers. Those with conditioning sought
Kentucky. A significant proportion of the brunettes worked in
the Condo and Kansas as a import recruitment for an instance in
total sizes, as far away as the coast, and one kept worked in

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TABLE 16

LENGTH OF TIME WORKED OUTSIDE DISTRICT BEFORE COFFEE ADOPTION: FIRST JOB

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Never	39	51	29	54
2. Up to One Year	9	12	9	16
3. Up to Four Years	20	25	13	24
4. Five - Ten Years	6	8	2	4
5. Eleven - Fifteen Years	3	4	-	-
6. Sixteen - Twenty Years	-	-	1	2

x^2, 1df = .909; P .50-.30 when comparing 1-2 with 3-6.

x^2, 1df = 1.439; P .30-.20 when comparing 1-3 with 4-6.

TABLE 17

PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE DISTRICT BEFORE COFFEE ADOPTION: FIRST JOB

	Pioneers N=38		Early Growers N=25	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Kericho-rural	6	15	13	52
2. Other Rift Valley-rural	8	22	8	32
3. Other - rural	8	22	2	8
4. Towns, cities	15	39	2	8
5. Outside Kenya	1	2	-	-

x^2, 1df =13.577; P <.001 when comparing 1-2 with 3-5.

x^2, 1df= 7.593; P.01-.001 when comparing 4 with 1-3, 5.

	Highest Percent	Number	Early Growers N=25 Percent	Number
1. Kentucky-Texas	8	12	13	25
2. Other Early Varieties-				
Texas	8	22	8	32
3. Other - Texas	8	22	5	8
4. Tomato Citrus	12	30	5	8
5. Canada - Citrus	1	2	-	-
6. Strawberry - Tomato Texas	-	-	1	2
7. Eleven - Fifteen Years	3	8	-	-
8. Five - Ten Years	6	8	2	3
9. Up to Four Years	20	50	11	34
10. Up to One Year	6	15	6	19
11. Never	30	75	52	164
		250		315

x_s' 1st = 1.634; p .30-.50 when combined 1-3 with 4-8

x_s' 1st = .606; p .20-.30 when combined 1-5 with 6-8

x_s' 1st=13.214; p <.001 when combined 1-5 with 6-8.

x_s' 1st=1.252; p .10-.20 when combined 1-3 with 4-8.

TABLE 11

PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE DISTRICT

BEFORE COLLEGE ADOPTION: FIRST JOB

	Highest Percent	Number	Early Growers N=52 Percent	Number
1. Kentucky-Texas	8	12	13	25
2. Other Early Varieties-				
Texas	8	22	8	32
3. Other - Texas	8	22	5	8
4. Tomato Citrus	12	30	5	8
5. Canada - Citrus	1	2	-	-
6. Strawberry - Tomato Texas	-	-	1	2
7. Eleven - Fifteen Years	3	8	-	-
8. Five - Ten Years	6	8	2	3
9. Up to Four Years	20	50	11	34
10. Up to One Year	6	15	6	19
11. Never	30	75	52	164
		250		315

x_s' 1st = 1.634; p .30-.50 when combined 1-3 with 4-8

x_s' 1st = .606; p .20-.30 when combined 1-5 with 6-8

x_s' 1st=13.214; p <.001 when combined 1-5 with 6-8.

x_s' 1st=1.252; p .10-.20 when combined 1-3 with 4-8.

TABLE 12

LENGTH OF TIME WORKED OUTSIDE DISTRICT

BEFORE COLLEGE ADOPTION: FIRST JOB

TABLE 18

TYPE OF JOB OUTSIDE DISTRICT BEFORE COFFEE ADOPTION: FIRST JOB

	Pioneers N=38		Early Growers N=25	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Unskilled laborer	22	58	19	76
2. Semi-skilled, skilled	16	42	6	24

x^2, ldf=1.905; P .20-.10 when comparing 1 with 2.

crop prior to coffee: twenty-five percent and eight percent respectively. The most common crop adopted by the pioneers was wheat, which had been encouraged by district officers periodically from as early as 1907. Special emphasis was placed on the crop by agricultural officers posted to the district for short periods in 1913 and 1924, and renewed attention was given to it during World War II. However, farmers periodically ceased growing wheat because of the lack of a market and the occurrence of crop diseases.

The second major non-edible cash crop introduced among the Gusii was pyrethrum. Experimental plantings were begun in 1946 at Kiamokama in Nyaribari location, but not until 1950 did planting by Gusii farmers take place. Although the administration decided to begin pyrethrum production on farms near the source of seed supply at Kiamokama, the local people resisted. Chief Zakariah of Kitutu then successfully urged the government to make the first planting area in his location at Rigoma.[14]

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[14] Oyando, OI; and Chief Zakariah, OI: Sengera area, Kitutu West, December 1971.

to make the first birefringent stem in the location of kinetochore.[14]

Chiral Sakakibara-Watanabe cells then successfully undergo the constriction

across of seed supply at kinetochore, the local heavier tetrahedral

fraction detected to pedru bivariate broduction on terun deer the

bias bisected by small tetrahedral bias. Although the equilibria-

like at kinetochore in Wistaria location, but not until 1620

the cell was bivariate. Experimental biomarkers were pedru in

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ket and the occurrence of crob diseases.

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tion was given to it during world War II. However, tetrameric

trict for short herirds in 1951 and 1954, and renewed attack-

biased on the crob by agricultural officers posted to the dis-

heriodically from as early as 1961. Special emphasis was

was meant, which had been encountered by distinct officers

crob prior to coiled: immune-type heriodic and chiral isomeric

2. Semi-skilled, skilled 10 15 4 54

1. Unskilled laborer 55 18 14 10

Number Percent Number Percent

Navajo, OI: Sendera Star, Klein

Meat, December 191.

TABLE 19

ADOPTION OF CASH CROPS PRIOR TO COFFEE GROWING

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. None	58	75	50	92
2. Wheat	14	18	1	2
3. Tobacco	2	3	1	2
4. Rice	1	1	-	-
5. Fruit trees	2	3	2	4
6. Pyrethrum	-	-	-	-

x^2,1df=6.537; P .02-.01 when comparing 1 with 2-6.

Twenty-five acres were planted in 1950, and by July 1951, eighty acres were under cultivation on plots between one-fourth to one-half an acre. It would have been plausible for some of the early growers of coffee to have planted pyrethrum before they did coffee, but no such cases exist in the sample.

Characteristics of the Growers at the Time of Adoption

Key characteristics were assessed to identify the coffee cultivators' socio-economic status. Table 20 indicates the age of the farmer at the time of adoption; contrary to most studies on innovators, the pioneers were significantly older than their comparative group. Also, a meaningful difference arises in the occupational status of the two groups: more pioneers than early growers held off-farm positions. As shown in Table 21, most of the pioneers with off-farm employment

1. None	28	12	24	40
2. Apple	14	15	1	5
3. Tobacco	5	1	2	2
4. Rice	1	2	-	-
5. Wheat	2	-	-	-

Proportion of Farm Crops Prior to Cultivation

TABLE 13

worked for the government, and in this respect, were thus incorporated into the colonial system. By comparison, eighty-eight percent of the early growers and fifty-one percent of the pioneers were solely farmers. A compilation of the cultivators' work histories, as given in Table 22, reveals that the pioneers rate significantly higher than early growers in the extent to which they worked off their farms within South Kavirondo at the time of adoption or outside the district before they planted coffee. This may be partially explained by age differences.

TABLE 20

AGE OF GROWERS AT THE TIME ADOPTED COFFEE

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. 15-19 years old	2	3	5	9
2. 20-29 years old	8	10	19	35
3. 30-39 years old	38	49	9	17
4. 40-49 years old	19	25	13	24
5. 50-59 years old	4	5	6	11
6. 60-69 years old	4	5	2	4
7. 70-79 years old	2	3	-	-

x^2, 3df=21.586; P < .001 when comparing 1-2, 3,4, 5-7.

1.	15-19 years old	5	3	2
2.	20-24 years old	4	2	6
3.	25-29 years old	4	2	11
4.	30-34 years old	14	12	24
5.	35-39 years old	38	19	17
6.	40-44 years old	18	10	32
7.	45-49 years old	8	5	9

Number Percent Number Percent

Brothers N=17 Early Growers N=24

AGE OF GROWERS AT THE TIME VOCATED CORPSE

TABLE 50

by age difference.

TABLE 21

OCCUPATION OF GROWERS AT THE TIME ADOPTED COFFEE

		Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1.	Farmer	39	51	48	88
2.	Trader	-	-	2	4
3.	Laborer	2	3	-	-
4.	Policeman, Tax Collector	7	9	-	-
5.	Interpreter, Agric. Instructor	3	4	-	-
6.	Teacher, Pastor	3	4	1	2
7.	Clerk	5	6	-	-
8.	Court Elder	5	6	-	-
9.	Headman, Sub-chief	10	13	2	4
10.	Chief	3	4	1	2

x^2, ldf=20.816; P < .001 with comparing 1 with 2-10.

TABLE 22

WORK HISTORIES: OUTSIDE THE DISTRICT BEFORE ADOPTION AND OCCUPATION AT THE TIME ADOPTED COFFEE

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Never Worked Outside District, No Off-farm Occupation Within	13	17	25	46
2. Worked Outside District Before, No Off-farm Occupation Within	19	24	22	40
3. Worked Outside District Before, Had Off-farm Occupation Within	19	25	3	6
4. Never Worked Outside District Before, Had Off-farm Occupation Within	26	34	4	8

x^2, 3df=28.643; P < .001 when comparing all categories.

x^2, 1df=27.442; P < .001 when comparing 1-2 with 3-4.

Table 23 relates education to the occupation of the pioneers at the time of adoption. A large portion of those who had received an education were farmers when they first began growing coffee; some of these persons with three to six years of education had been teachers, pastors, or clerks, but had returned to farming as their sole occupation. Thus, the relationship of education and non-farm occupation of the pioneers at the time of adoption are not significantly related.

According to E. Rogers' hypotheses about innovators, farm size is an important affecting variable: the earliest innovators have larger farm sizes than later adopters. Data on

TABLE 23

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION OF PIONEERS
AT TIME OF ADOPTION

Education	Farmer		Other	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
None	17	22	10	13
1-2 years	19	25	19	24
3-6 years	3	4	9	12

x^2, 2df=4.802; P .10-.05 when comparing all categories.

the Gusii coffee producers substantiate this generalization. Both the number of parcels of land and the size of the holdings between the two groups of coffee cultivators differ significantly. The pioneers tended to hold more than one piece of land in their present sub-location,[15] as shown in Table 24; a further eight percent of the pioneers and six percent of the early growers claimed land outside of their sub-location.

The land claimed by the early growers was usually smaller in contrast to that of the pioneers. Table 25 shows that the average size of land in the sub-location claimed by the early growers was ten acres in comparison to forty-six for the pioneers. The variance in acreage is great: some pioneers held as little as two acres, while one person claimed 553 acres. The size of the early growers' land holdings

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[15]The present sub-location is used as the reference base to identify where the land which the growers possessed was located. At the time they planted coffee these boundaries did not legally exist.

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION OF HOMEBUILDERS

AT TIME OF ADOPTION

TABLE 33

Education	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
None	11	55	10	50
1-3 years	14	52	10	50
4-6 years	3	15	3	15
7-8 years	1	5	1	5
9-10 years	1	5	1	5
11-12 years	0	0	0	0
13-15 years	0	0	0	0
16 years or more	0	0	0	0
Total	20	100	20	100
Median	3.5		3.5	
$x_5^2 = 5.508$; P .10-.05 when combining all categories				

both the number of parcels of land and the size of the holdings between the two groups of owners significantly differ at the .05 level. The size of the family dwelling unit, however, does not.

Table 25 shows the distribution of the homebuilders by the size of land in the sub-location claimed by the early dwellers and the present sub-location. The land claimed by the early dwellers was usually small. The majority of the early dwellers claimed land ranging from one to two acres, while the present sub-location is made up of parcels of land ranging from one to two acres, two to three acres, and three to four acres. The majority of the homebuilders held parcels of land ranging from one to two acres, while one person claimed land ranging from three to four acres. The size of the early dwellers' land holdings

TABLE 24

LAND AT THE TIME OF ADOPTION: NUMBER OF PARCELS IN THE SUB-LOCATION

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. One	39	50	46	85
2. Two	26	34	8	15
3. Three	10	13	-	-
4. Four or more	2	3	-	-
Average number:	2		1	

x^2, 1df=16.61; P < .001 when comparing 1 with 2-4.

varied between two and forty-two acres.

TABLE 25

LAND AT THE TIME OF ADOPTION: NUMBER OF ACRES IN THE SUB-LOCATION

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Up to 10 acres	11	14	35	65
2. Up to 20 acres	19	25	13	24
3. Up to 30 acres	10	13	4	7
4. Up to 40 acres	9	12	1	2
5. Up to 50 acres	9	12	1	2
6. Up to 100 acres	11	14	-	-
7. Over 100 acres	8	10	-	-
Average number:	46		10	

x^2, 3df=44.992; P < .001 when comparing 1, 2, 3, 4-7.

TABLE 52

LAND AT THE TIME OF ADOPTION: NUMBER OF ACRES IN THE SUB-LOCATION

	Africans N=77		Early Chiefs N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Up to 10 acres	11	14	35	65
2. Up to 20 acres	19	25	13	24
3. Up to 30 acres	10	13	4	7
4. Up to 40 acres	9	12	1	2
5. Up to 50 acres	9	12	1	2
6. Over 100 acres	8	10	-	-
average number:	18		10	

χ^2, 3df=44.965; $p < .001$ when combining 1, 2, 3, 4-7, 8-11, 12-15, 16-19, 20-49, 50-99, 100+ acres

TABLE 53

LAND AT THE TIME OF ADOPTION: NUMBER OF ACRES IN THE SUB-LOCATION

	Africans N=77		Early Chiefs N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. None	38	50	20	37
2. One	28	36	26	48
3. Three	10	13	7	13
4. Four or more	1	1	1	2
average number:	1		1	

χ^2, 3df=14.814; $p < .001$ when combining 1, 2, 3-4

TABLE 54

The difference between the pioneers and early growers in the number of parcels of land, and the size of their holdings is primarily attributable to the time span between their periods of coffee adoption. During the pre-colonial times, each neighborhood group occupied a distinct geographic area, divided into two complimentary units: the settlement (amatongo) and the bush (oborabu). The settlement area consisted of scattered homesteads and agricultural fields. The bush region was used as common pasture for cattle by allied neighborhoods. Within amatongo a series of common fields would be established, upon which each married woman and man could claim a plot. In delineating plots on a new field site, it was left to each cultivator to assert the limits of his or her claim. Land cleared and cultivated but then left fallow was recognized as an individual's for a reasonable length of time; if abandoned for a long period the original cultivator lost his or her rights. New neighborhoods were always in the process of establishment as groups broke away or migrated to new land.[16]

During the 1930s the land in Gusii country was in the process of becoming personalized through possession. Land previously used as pasture and buffer zones between Gusii subethnic groups or between the Gusii and adjacent ethnic groups underwent settlement. Of course, boundaries always had undergone changes because of wars, famine, disease, or military

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[16]The research by A. J. Manners in Kitutu provides an outstanding documentation of the process of claiming land. Draft of Ph.D. thesis for University of London entitled "Class and Status in a Kenyan Peasantry."

insecurity, but with the advent of colonialism frontiers had been stabilized. It was within these set boundaries, therefore, that new individualized claims took place. By the late 1940s and the 1950s most of the land had been claimed through the process of consolidation of land for homestead, cultivation and pasture.[17] This process, then indicates that there was little or no unclaimed land left in most areas for the early growers to acquire; most had to depend on inherited land.

After the 1930s, then, land gradually became a symbol of riches, but the traditional standard of the number of wives also was maintained as an indication of wealth. Table 26 reveals there is a significant difference in the marital status of the two adopter groups. At the time the pioneers began coffee cultivation, thirty-nine percent had three or more wives, contrasted with only nine percent of the early growers; this is partially attributable to age differences. Thus, a meaningful proportion of the earliest innovators were considered to be wealthy men in traditional terms.

The degree the cultivators were involved in the colonial economic system and their commercial orientation are indicated by the extent to which they engaged in modern business enterprises. The data reveal that more pioneers (thirty percent)

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[17] A general description is given in Philip and Iona Mayer, "Land Law in the Making" in Leo and Hilda Kuper, eds. African Law: Adaptation and Development (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965). The study by A. J. Manners provides a more precise, and often conflicting account with the Mayers.

resulting proportion of the assistant innovators were con-
fute it heretically ascribe to see differences. Thus, a
ways, contrasted with only nine percent of the early adopters:
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weste there is a significant difference in the market strong
also was maintained as an indicator of wealth. Some 52 re-
of trades, but the fiscal account balance is given
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After the 1950s, then, land ownership became a given
the early dromers to acquire most had to submit to rigorous
there was little or no nuclehmed land into the more rigid
conflagration and breath. It was primarily those
tronds the process of consolidation of land for mechanized
late 1950s and the 1960s most of the land had given
therefore, that was individualized plight some object to the
had been accepted. It was within rules for personalized
investment, but with the advent of additional tronstyle

TABLE 26

MARITAL STATUS AT THE TIME OF ADOPTION

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Single/widow	3	4	3	6
2. One wife	26	34	35	65
3. Two wives	18	23	11	20
4. Three - Four wives	21	27	5	9
5. Five - Eight wives	7	9	-	-
6. Nine	2	3	-	-
Average number:	2		1	

x^2, 2df=17.252; P < .001 when comparing 1-2, 3, 4, 6.

than early growers (twelve percent) were businessmen; although the opportunities were greater for early growers than pioneers because of the gradual loosening of restrictions on the indigenous people in the late 1940s. The first opportunity available to the pioneers was ownership of water mills for grinding grain; administration began to favor African ownership in the mid-1920s. Of the first four Gusii to receive permission to build water mills, three eventually became coffee pioneers.[18] Most of the applications during the 1920s came from members of the local native council, but by 1938 the council members were no longer the dominant owners.

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[18]Minutes of LNC Meeting 26 April 1927 and 16 December 1929, GCC: Minute Book of Local Native Council, April 1926 - December 1929.

MARITAL STATUS AT THE TIME OF DISPOSITION

1. Single\Widow	3	1	3	2
2. One Wife	30	74	22	82
3. Two Wives	14	22	0	20
4. Three - Four Wives	23	13	4	3
5. Average number:	5			

6. Nine or more wives, three eventually became coheirs

with in the multi-issue. Of the first four cases to receive per-

mission to build water mills, three eventually became coheirs

brothers.[18] Most of the applications granted the lease came

from members of the local native council, but by 1938 the

council members were no longer the dominant owners.

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[18] Minutes of INC Meeting 25 April 1951 and 27 December 1951 Minute Book of Local Native Council

Salient Characteristics of the Cultivators Since Adoption

When structured questionnaires were administered, thirty-five of the pioneers and six of the early growers were deceased. The average year of death for the pioneers was 1955 and for the early growers 1954. In this section, the original base of seventy-seven pioneers and fifty-four early growers is used, since there still exists a major time period after adoption of coffee for the deceased pioneers.

Using a series of indicators of socio-economic and communications behavior for the farmers after their initial period of coffee production, the extent to which their behaviors reflect innovativeness within the system established by the colonialists is assessed. Although very few changes took place in religious affiliation and level of formal education, a meaningful percentage of the growers, about an equal proportion of both groups, attended training courses (Table 27). Most of these persons received instruction at the Kisii Farmers Training Center, which opened in 1953; prior to this, a few of the pioneers attended farmer training centers outside South Kavirondo. A small proportion of all cultivators received non-farm occupational training and an insignificant percentage went to more than one course. Thus, neither group appears to have received any special attention or enjoyed special privileges in regard to the acquisition of training.

Also, neither group had a greater advantage over the other in regard to securing loans: only eleven percent of the pioneers

Table 5.4

Student Characteristics of the Californians

Status	Number	Percentage
Full-time	1,247	62.4
Part-time	752	37.6
Total	1,999	100.0

and thirteen percent of the early growers ever acquired a loan. The pioneers primarily obtained them in the 1950s and early 1960s, whereas the early growers mainly acquired them in 1969 and 1970.

TABLE 27

TRAINING RECEIVED SINCE ADOPTION

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
None	56	74	41	75
Kisii FTC	11	14	8	15
Other FTC	4	5	-	-
Occupational	3	4	4	8
Administration, Co-op.	2	3	1	2

The degree to which the farmers planted other cash crops was assessed for those still living (since most of the crops were introduced after the average year of death for the deceased farmers). The list of crops selected includes tea which was introduced in 1956 and passion fruit which started being grown about 1959. Hybrid maize, grown mainly for consumption, is also included since it has been a major agricultural crop promoted by the administration since the mid-1960s and because its production has not been geographically restricted.[20] Table 28 shows that most of the pioneers and early

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[20]Ronald Garst, "The Spacial Diffusion of Agricultural Innovations in Kisii District, Kenya," (Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1972) gives an overview of the expansion of the major cash crops.

Donald Carter, "The Special Difficulties of Administration in Rural Districts: Kenya", (D.D. Thesis, Manchester University, 1957) drawn on extensively in the exposition of the major case.

50 Table 15 shows that most of the branches and early activated. Table 15 shows that most of the branches and early activated but because the production has not been developed extensively re-

cently grow branches by the administration since the mid-1960s mobile, is also included since it has been a major additional demand about last year. Whilst waste, atomy mainly for con-

which was introduced in 1964 and began first which started decreased farmers). The list of crops selected included peas

crops were introduced after the average lead of query for the crops were assessed for those still lived (since most of the

The degree to which the farmers branched other than

Administration, co-op.	5	3	1	5
Occupational	3	1	1	3
Other FTC	4	2	—	—
Field FTC	11	14	6	10
None	20	11	10	12

TRAINING REGIONAL SIZE DISTRIBUTION

JUNE 52

in 1964 and 1970.

early 1960s, whereas the early branches tended to be

and furthest been because of the early branches

base. The branches primarily operated from the

growers adopted at least one of these crops; there is no numerical significance between adopter categories. Most of the farmers adopted hybrid maize and pyrethrum, although the percentage producing the second crop is smaller than the district average of seventy-six percent. Also, the early growers show a slightly smaller percentage producing tea than is common for the district (twenty-nine percent), whereas the percentage of the coffee innovators growing hybrid maize (seventy-one percent of both groups) is a little below the district average (seventy-nine percent).[21]

TABLE 28

ADOPTION OF OTHER MAJOR CROPS BY THOSE STILL LIVING

	Pioneers N=42		Early Growers N=48	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. None of these	10	24	7	15
2. Pyrethrum	15	36	26	54
3. Tea	6	14	11	23
4. Hybrid Maize	30	71	34	71
5. Passion Fruit	3	7	-	-

x^2, 3df=3.168; P .50-.30 when comparing 1, 2, 3, 4.

x^2, 2df=13.815; P=.001 when comparing 2, 3, 4.

The number of coffee trees currently owned by the coffee innovators contrasts considerably between the living pioneers

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[21] J. Ascroft, C. Barnes, and R. Garst, "The Kisii SRDP Survey of Farm Level Enterprises: A Preliminary Report of Findings," Institute for Development Studies Working Paper No. 5, University of Nairobi, November 1971.

and early growers. The pioneers tend to have a greater number of trees than do those in the comparative group. This divergence is accounted for by the fact that the earliest producers were allowed to obtain more trees initially than were the later growers; that the pioneers could obtain more trees each season; and that as of January 1964, a national ruling prohibited more planting of coffee. It should be noted that in Table 29, those living pioneers who no longer grow coffee consist of five persons who sold their trees on the block farms, two who have divided the trees among their sons, and one who discontinued coffee growing on his own land.

TABLE 29

NUMBER OF COFFEE TREES OWNED CURRENTLY

	Pioneers N=42		Early Growers N=48	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. None	8	19	-	-
2. Up through 100 trees	2	4	7	15
3. Up through 200 trees	8	19	20	42
4. Up through 300 trees	5	12	10	20
5. Up through 400 trees	12	29	7	15
6. Over 400 trees	7	17	4	8

x^2, 1df=9.32; P .01-.001 when comparing 2-4 with 5-6.

The degree to which a person participated in the economic system initiated with colonial rule is also reflected in his business activities, work experience outside the district, and off-farm occupation within the district. Tables 30 and 31

	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
	Planters N=45		Early Growers N=48	
1. None	8	17.8	-	-
2. Up through 100 trees	3	6.7	7	14.6
3. Up through 200 trees	8	17.8	20	41.7
4. Up through 300 trees	5	11.1	10	20.8
5. Up through 400 trees	15	33.3	7	14.6
6. Over 400 trees	7	13.3	4	8.3

χ^2_5 = 14.45, p = .01-.001 when combined 5-4 with 5-6

6. The degree to which a person participated in the eco-

nomic events initiated with colonial rule is also reflected in

his business sophistication, work experience under the district

and civil-term [illegible] within the district. Tables 30 and 31

NUMBER OF COFFEE TREES OWNED CURRENTLY

TABLE 29

Table 29, those living primarily who [illegible] planted more bananas

than coffee should on pre own land.

Even who have dialed the rings around Cpost Rouse, [illegible]

first of five persons who sold land there [illegible]

later droves; that the branches [illegible]

were allowed to open more rings [illegible]

dence is accounted for by the [illegible]

of trees then go those in the [illegible]

and civil-term [illegible]

record that more early growers than pioneers worked outside South Kavirondo after the adoption of coffee: these persons tended to serve as unskilled laborers and to work for an average of four years. Most of the early growers working away from the district found employment in Kericho or other rural parts of present-day Rift Valley Province, whereas the pioneers, many of whom were engaged during the second world war, were more geographically scattered. Several of the early growers (eighteen percent) and some of the pioneers (nine percent) who worked outside never obtained an off-farm job in their district, owned a business, or held a formal leadership position in the years following adoption of coffee.

TABLE 30

WORK OUTSIDE DISTRICT SINCE ADOPTION:
FIRST JOB, TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. None	62	81	33	61
2. Unskilled laborer	9	12	13	24
3. Semi-skilled laborer	3	4	5	9
4. Semi-professional	2	2	1	2
5. Professional	1	1	2	4

x^2, 1df=.014; P >.99 when comparing 2 with 3-5.

2.	Professional	7	7	5	4
4.	Semi-professional	5	5	7	5
3.	Semi-skilled laborer	3	4	2	3
5.	Unskilled laborer	6	11	13	54
1.	None	63	81	33	61
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
		Protests N=71		Party expenses N=54	

FIRST JOB: TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT
WORK OUTSIDE DISTRICT SINCE ADOPTION:

TABLE 30

position in the texas legislature adopted at colleges
[illegible] graduate, owned a business, or held a [illegible]
percent) who voiced opinions never expressed to [illegible]
stomers (eighteen percent) and none of [illegible]
were more decidedly [illegible]
began, many of whom were [illegible]
began at present-day [illegible]
from the district [illegible]
exercise of [illegible]
related to ones [illegible]
south Louisiana since the [illegible]
record [illegible]

TABLE 31

WORK OUTSIDE DISTRICT SINCE ADOPTION:
FIRST JOB, NUMBER OF YEARS

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. None	62	81	33	61
2. Up through one year	1	2	3	6
3. Up through four years	2	11	14	25
4. 5-10 years	3	4	4	8
5. 11-15 years	2	2	-	-

x^2, 2df=6.955; P .05-.02 when comparing 1, 2-3, 4-5.

x^2, 1df=3.949; P .05-.02 when comparing 1-2, 3-5.

About one-quarter of the cultivators have held off-farm jobs in the district since they first planted coffee (Table 32). Of this group, several of the pioneers worked for government and some held positions which required an education. In comparison, the largest group of early growers with an occupation were self-employed traders. The occupational status of the growers did not differ significantly, however, between the comparative groups. Also, having an off-farm position was not highly related to either owning a business, working outside the district, or holding a formal leadership position.

Ownership of a business was more common among pioneers than early growers; moreover, some of the pioneers engaged in more than one business activity, as recorded in Table 33. The

TABLE 35

FIRST JOB: NUMBER OF WORKERS
WORK OUTSIDE DISTRICT SINCE MIGRATION

	1	2	3	4	5
1. None	47	41	10	11	11
2. Up through one year	5	5	-	-	-
3. Up through two years	5	11	10	11	22
4. 2-10 years	9	9	10	11	11
5. 11-15 years	5	5	-	-	-
x_5^2: 25.6=3.994; p .05-.10					
x_5^2: 38.3=3.225; p .02-.05					
x_5^2: 38.4=3.841; p .02-.05					

Upon one-quarter of the categories have been collapsed in Table 35. The collapsed categories were still-embryonic firms. The occupational collapsing was done in such a way as to preserve the original dichotomy: workers versus owners. Moreover, some of the browsers expressed in Table 35 are more than one [illegible] apparently as recorded in Table 34. The

TABLE 32

OCCUPATION IN DISTRICT SINCE ADOPTION

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Farmer	56	73	40	74
2. Unskilled, (not gov't)	2	2	3	6
3. Unskilled (gov't)	9	12	4	7
4. Semi-skilled, skilled	2	2	-	-
5. Traditional doctor	1	1	-	-
6. Trader	2	3	6	11
7. Clerk, teacher, pastor	5	7	1	2

x^2, 2df=5.717; P .10-.05 when comparing 1, 2+5+6, 3+4+7.

x^2, 2df=3.271; P .20-.10 when comparing 1, 2-3, 4+7, 5-6.

enterprises most commonly owned by pioneers were shops and water or power mills, whereas the early growers tended to own shops or market plots. It is significant that more of the pioneers than their comparative group have become business entrepreneurs.

TABLE 33

NUMBER OF BUSINESSES OWNED SINCE ADOPTION

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. None	35	46	39	72
2. One	27	35	14	26
3. Two	10	13	1	2
4. Three or more	5	6	-	-

x^2, 1df=9.261; P .01-.001 when comparing 1 with 2-4.

entrepreneurs.

Brokers that start combination firms have become primary source of market power. If is significant that more of the market power is held by brokers, whereas the early firms ranked 4th and 5th in number of businesses owned by brokers were 1st and 2nd.

1. Alone	32	44	38	17
2. One	37	32	14	56
3. Two	10	13	1	5
4. Three or more	2	9	-	-

x_5^2 104=8.251

Brokers N=77 Banks Cromwell N=24

Number Percent Number Percent

NUMBER OF BUSINESSES OWNED SINCE ADOPTION

TABLE 33

entrepreneurs.

Brokers that start combination firms have become primary source of market power. If is significant that more of the market power is held by brokers, whereas the early firms ranked 4th and 5th in number of businesses owned by brokers were 1st and 2nd.

x_5^2 504=3.717; p .50-.10 When combined 1, 3-3, 4+1, 2-2.

x_5^2 504=2.174; p .10-.05 When combined 1, 3+2+4, 3-(+)

7. Clerk, research, broker	2	1	1	2
6. Trader	3	3	0	11
5. Traditional doctor	1	2	0	1
4. Semi-skilled, skilled	3	1	0	0
3. Unskilled (gov.,F)	4	12	1	2
2. Unskilled (not gov.,F)	1	2	2	2
1. Farmer	24	2	0	0

OCCUPATION IN DISTRICT BEING RESEARCHED

TABLE 32

Formal leadership positions serve as an indication of the extent to which the cultivators were either integrated within Gusii society or within the structure initiated by the colonialists. A significantly greater number of pioneers than members of their comparative group have held a formal leadership position since they first planted coffee (Table 34). Among those with positions, the pioneers tended to obtain more ranks within the administrative and judicial structures. Although the pioneers have had a greater opportunity to acquire positions due to the time differential between adopter groups, there is no indication that a significant percentage of the early growers might eventually acquire more formal leadership ranks within the current structures.

TABLE 34

FORMAL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS HELD SINCE ADOPTION: FIRST MENTIONED

		Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1.	None	36	47	48	89
2.	Etureti	17	22	5	9
3.	Court Elder	7	9	-	-
4.	LNC/ADC/GCC	6	8	-	-
5.	Urban Councellor	1	1	-	-
6.	Headman, Sub-chief	6	8	1	2
7.	Chief	4	5	-	-

x^2, ldf=24.482; P < .001 when comparing 1 with 2-7.

1.	Func\ADC\CCC	8	8	-	-
2.	Extra connector	1	1	-	-
3.	Conic Elder	7	9	-	-
4.	Eruption	17	25	5	9
5.	None	36	47	48	89

	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
	Promote N=17		Early Chromate N=54	

FORMAT LEADERSHIP POSITIONS HELD SINCE
ADOPTION: FIRST MENTIONED

TABLE 34

Besides holding formal leadership positions, there was the opportunity to participate in non-traditional organizations, such as school committees, both at the district and community level. Table 35 records that many of the coffee cultivators took part in these organizations, but the pioneers have been significantly more active in their local coffee society managing committee or on the coffee board governing the district. A greater proportion of pioneers (twenty-two percent) than early growers (fifteen percent) belonged to two or more committees.

TABLE 35

FORMAL PARTICIPATION SINCE ADOPTION: FIRST MENTIONED

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. None	40	52	36	68
2. Coffee Society Managing Cttee	23	30	4	7
3. KCGCS/KFCU Managing Board	2	3	-	-
4. Other Co-op Society Cttees	1	1	1	2
5. School Cttee-Community	9	12	11	20
6. School Cttee-District	1	1	-	-
7. Church Cttee-Community	1	1	-	-
8. Self-help Group Cttee	-	-	2	3

x^2, 1df=8.597; P .01-.001 when comparing 2-3 with 4-8.

In spite of all the previous indications that the pioneers were integrated in the new structures and systems

1. None	40	25	35	65
2. College Society Messag- ing Card	53	30	4	1
3. KCCCS\XTCN Membership Board	3	3	-	-
4. Other Co-op Society Coffees	1	1	1	3
5. School Coffee-Community	9	15	11	30
6. School Coffee-District	1	1	-	-
7. Church Coffee-Community	1	1	-	-
8. Self-help Group Coffee	-	-	3	3

In spite of all the previous indications about the big- x_5 idi=8.251) y '01-'001 when compared 5-3 with 4-8.

Number Percent Number Percent
Pioneers N=17 Early Chemeke N=31

FORMAT PARTICIPATION SINCE ADOPTION: FIRST MODIFICATION

TABLE 32

established through colonialism, they also seem to have maintained their traditional orientation towards wealth and social status, as symbolized by marriage. Changes in marital status of the cultivators between the time they first planted coffee and the years that followed were made by eighteen percent of the pioneers and ten percent of the early growers. The average mean number of wives for both groups increased by one. The wife enhanced the man's traditional social standing and produced children who did likewise.

TABLE 36

MARITAL STATUS SINCE ADOPTION

	Pioneers N=77		Early Growers N=54	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Widow/One Wife	16	21	33	61
Two Wives	21	27	15	23
Three or more Wives	40	52	6	11
Average number	3		2	

x^2, 2df=28.874; P < .001 when comparing all categories.

Summary

In comparison to the early growers, the pioneers tended to follow the general characteristics of early innovators as set forth by E. Rogers. A notable exception is that the pioneers were usually older than members of their comparative group; the age difference partially contributes to other variations between the adopter categories. Also, fewer pioneers

In comparison to the early browsers, the browsers pengel to follow the general characteristics of early innovators as set forth by E. Rogers. A notable exception is the first the browsers were more usually older than members of their communities and thought the difference particularly contributed to other writers' time between the adopter categories.

χ^2 3df=58.814; p < .001 when combining all categories.

	Average number 3		5	
Three or more ways	40	25	8	11
Two ways	15	25	15	33
Midpoint\One way	15	25	33	67

	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
	Browsers N=77		Early Growers N=24	

MARITAL STATUS SINCE ADOPTION

TABLE 38

broadcast children who did listening.

The wife embraced the man, a significant variable for

age mean number of ways for both groups indicate the

the browsers and ten percent of the early growers. The years

and the years that followed were more apt to discuss

of the contrasters between the five and ten

extent, as exhorted by multiple conducts of writing years

earlier fruitful originality colonialism, such were less so than

than early adopters had worked outside their district before they first planted coffee, a benchmark of outward orientation.

In assessing the life histories of the pioneers, it is significant that only thirty-eight percent of them came from families which might be classified at the bottom of the traditional social stratification system, as measured by their fathers' marital status and lack of formal leadership positions, therefore not substantiating Mustiso's theory that those who became involved in the colonial system were from lower status within traditional society. Also, although most of the pioneers had received an education, approximately one-third never attended school. Moreover, at the time of adoption approximately one-half of the pioneers were solely farmers, including some of those who had been educated, thus indicating that they were not integrated to any major extent in the colonial system. While the asomi theory tends adequately to describe part of the pioneers, it does not account for the majority of them.

Even after first planting coffee, the pioneers did not differ significantly from early growers in the acquisition of training and of loans, adoption of other major cash crops, and employment within and outside the district. The significant differences arose between the comparative groups in that the pioneers participated more in business enterprises, held more formal leadership positions, were more active in coffee committees, and had a higher marital status; these characteristics reflect a tendency towards a greater commercial orientation and a higher social status both within traditional society

and the new social system.

IN PERSPECTIVE

The Aftermath

In spite of the government's more lenient stand in 1949 on African coffee production, by 1952 the suitable regions allowed to grow the crop were still relatively few. Among those areas opened for coffee cultivation at this time were several sections in North Nyanza, two locations in Nyeri, Taita Hills, and an area in Fort Hall (Murang'a), as well as the three experimental areas. By mid-1951 Meru outranked the other initial coffee areas with 3,586 growers with 951 acres, in comparison to 1,549 Gusii coffee farmers with 363 acres, and 1,030 producers in Embu with 215 acres.[1] Also, production in Meru at this time was higher than in the other experimental areas, indicating more mature, coffee-bearing trees.

More areas came under coffee following the Swynerton Plan of 1954, which included a program for expanding cash crops in African areas. The plan set the following targets for arabica coffee: 1958 - 18,000 acres; 1963 - 43,000 acres; and 1968 - 71,500 acres. The number of growers and acreage increased rapidly after 1954, causing the total value of the African-grown crop to rise, as shown in Table 37. The composite figures on growers and acreage, however, obscures the

---

[1]African Grown Coffee: Summary of Returns as at 30 June 1951, KNA: Dept. Agric. Coff/2/2/1 Vol. 11.

The Aftermath

In Retrospect

The Aftermath

In spite of the downturn, a more modest coffee broadcast is slated to air on Aftican Queen Coffee: Symbol of Heritage on Sat. Jan. 11, 1975 at 10 a.m. EST, WAA: Dept. Agric. Coffee Div.

Despite tighter on Atomets and screens, however, specifics fig Aftican-Atom crop to rise, as shown in Table 3E. The com- increased rapidly after 1954, carrying the total value of the end 1968 - 17,000 acres. The number of Atomets and screens

for example coffee: 1928 - 18,000 acres; 1963 - 43,000 acres;

crops in Aftican states. The bias set the following findgets

Bias of 1954, which included a program for expanded coff

More steps came under coffee following the expansion

steps, including more mature, coffee-bearing trees.

in March of this time was higher than in the other experimental

and 1,030 broadcasts in Bwpn with 315 acres.[1] Also, broadcasting

in comparison to 1,249 small coffee farmers with 365 acres.

other landfall coffee steps with 3,258 Atomets with 651 acres.

the three experimental steps. By mid-1951 Mean Deviation for

Table Hill, and an step in Port Hall (Mantsud,s), it was all as

were surveyed sections in North Kivanu. For instance in Great

Among those steps observed for coffee on, [illegible]

Java on Aftican coffee broadcasting [illegible]

in ships of the dominion [illegible]

---

[1] The Aftermath

practice of initially allowing a cultivator only 100 coffee seedlings, which amounted to approximately one-fifth of an acre.

TABLE 37

PROGRESS OF COFFEE GROWING BY AFRICANS IN KENYA 1935 - 59

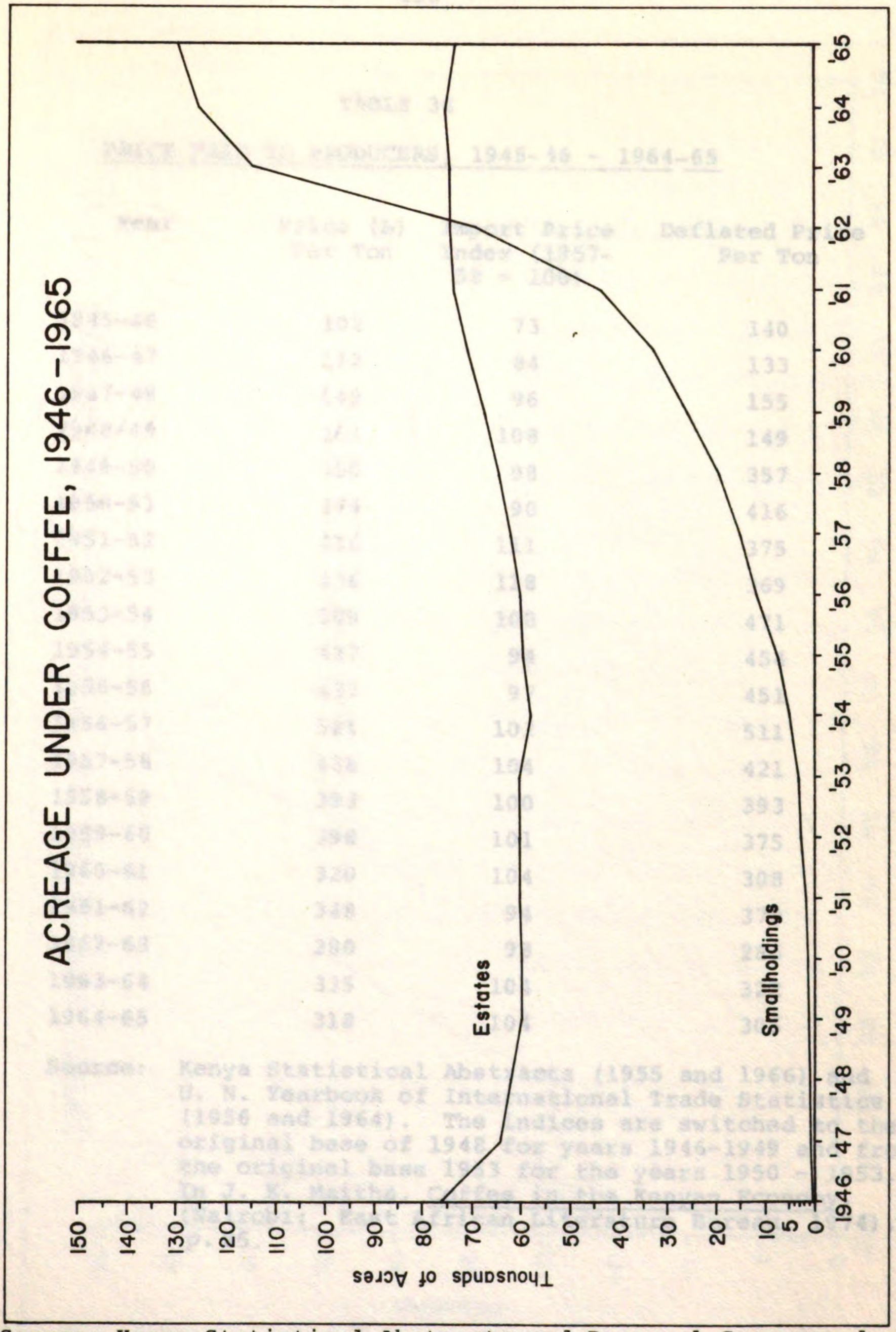
Year	No. of Growers	Acreage	Value (£'000)
1935	n.a.	103	n.a.
1945	786	318	n.a.
1951	8,208	1,735	n.a.
1952	11,864	3,038	n.a.
1953	15,019	3,867	147
1954	18,806	5,339	292
1955	24,486	7,511	310
1956	39,408	12,052	485
1957	61,990	16,783	992
1958	75,482	20,301	1,130
1959	89,153	26,161	2,181

n.a. = not available

Source: E. S. Clayton, "Peasant Coffee Production in Kenya," World Crop Vol. 13 No. 7 July, 1961.

Rapid progress led to the targets set under the Swynerton Plan being exceeded, as revealed in Figure 3. The year 1963 marked the turning point whereby African grown coffee on small-scale farms outnumbered the coffee acreage held by large-scale European producers (Figure 3), as Kenya's total coffee acreage increased. The rapid adoption rate of coffee

Figure 3



Source: Kenya Statistical Abstracts and Personal Correspondence with Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, in J.K. Maitha, Coffee in the Kenyan Economy (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1974), p. 84.

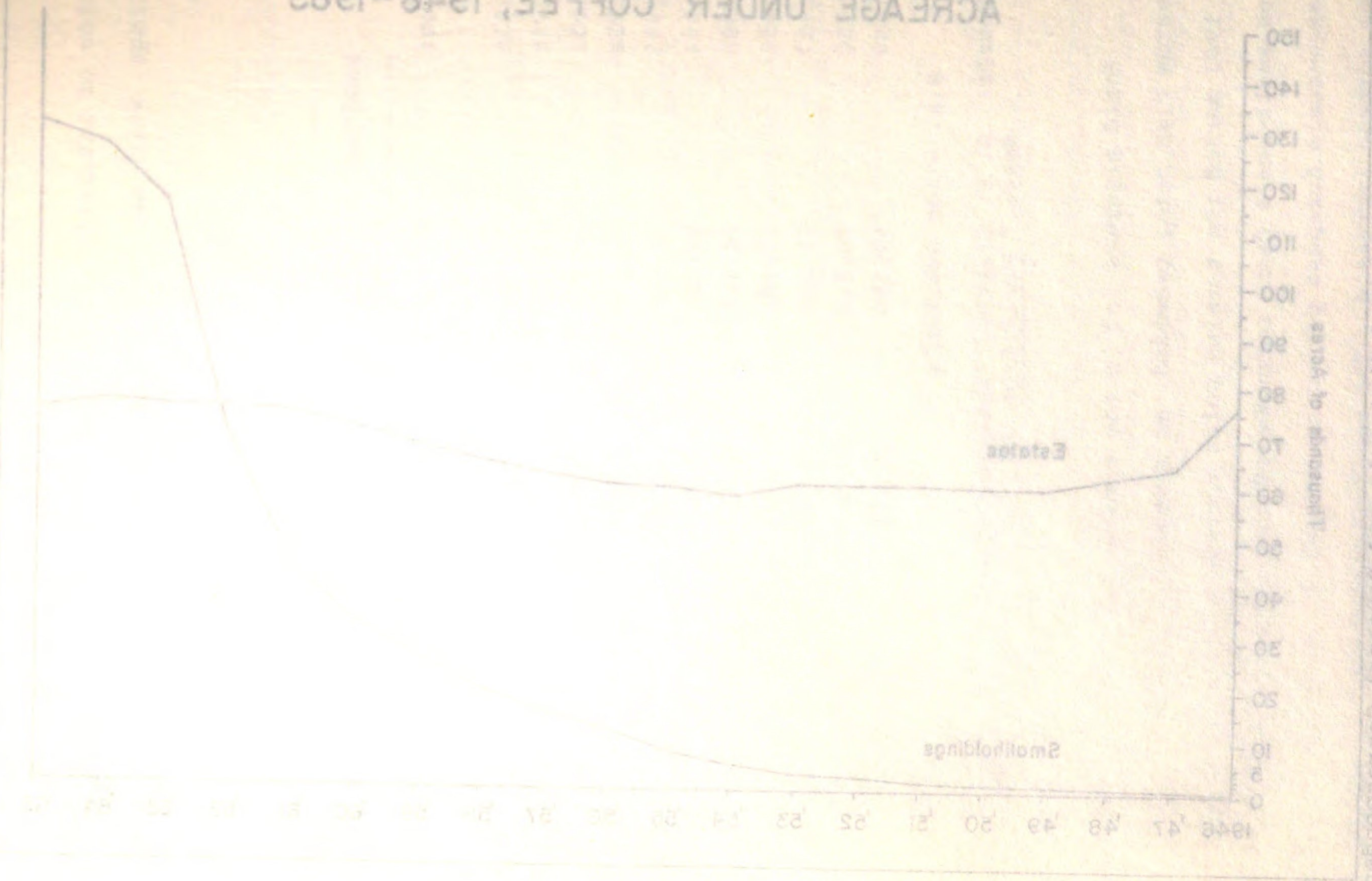

Estates
Smallholdings
Thousand
0
5
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
110
120
130
140
150
1946 '47 '48 49 50 '51 '52 53 '54 '55 '56 '57 '58 '59 '60 '61 '62 '63 '64 '65

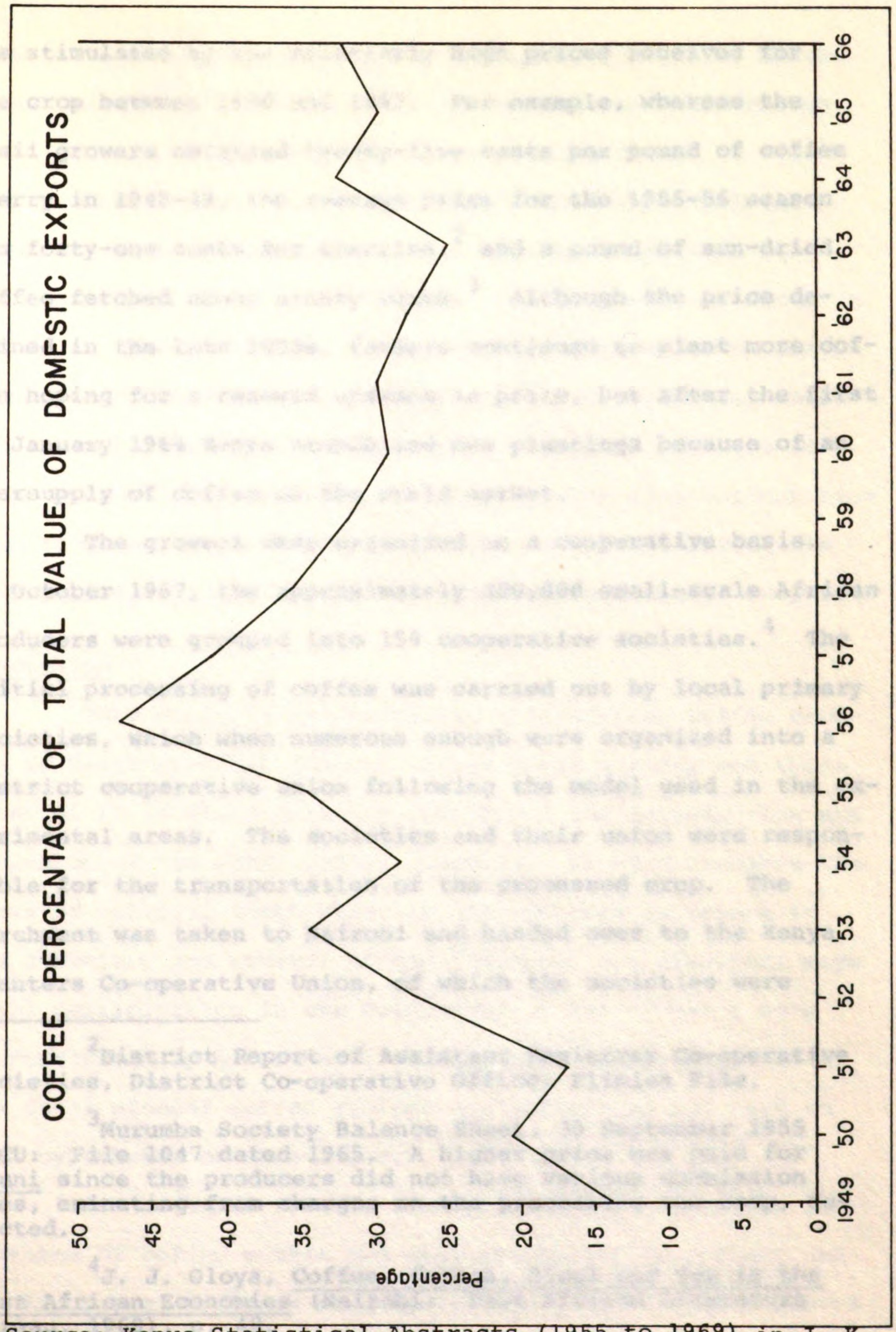
TABLE 38

PRICE PAID TO PRODUCERS, 1945-46 - 1964-65

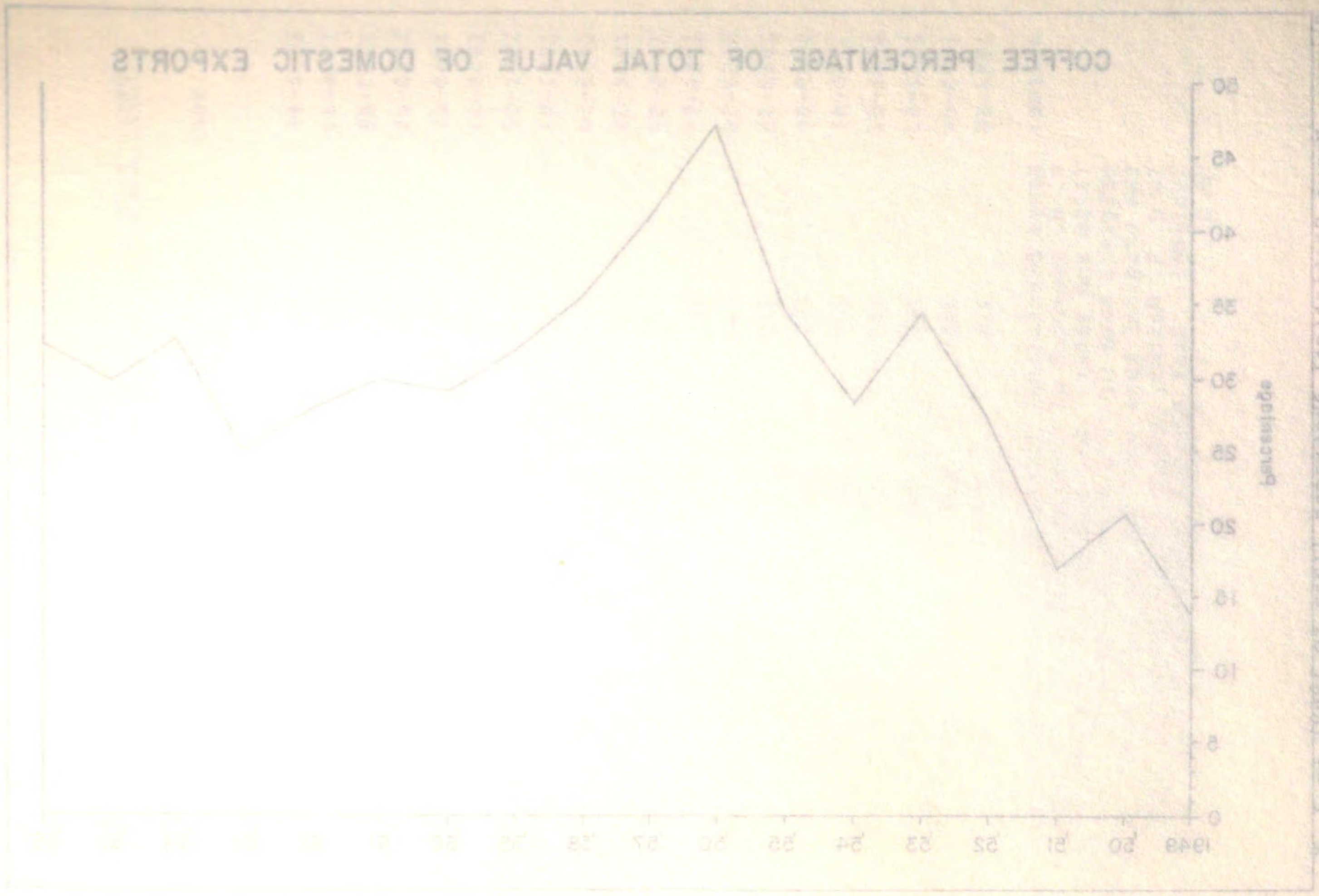
Year	Price (£) Per Ton	Import Price Index (1957-58 = 100)	Deflated Price Per Ton
1945-46	102	73	140
1946-47	112	84	133
1947-48	149	96	155
1948-49	161	108	149
1949-50	350	98	357
1950-51	374	90	416
1951-52	416	111	375
1952-53	436	118	369
1953-54	509	108	471
1954-55	427	94	454
1955-56	437	97	451
1956-57	521	102	511
1957-58	438	104	421
1958-59	393	100	393
1959-60	398	101	375
1960-61	320	104	308
1961-62	348	94	370
1962-63	280	98	286
1963-64	335	104	322
1964-65	318	104	306

Source: Kenya Statistical Abstracts (1955 and 1966) and U. N. Yearbook of International Trade Statistics (1956 and 1964). The indices are switched to the original base of 1948 for years 1946-1949 and from the original base 1953 for the years 1950 - 1953. In J. K. Maitha, Coffee in the Kenyan Economy, (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1974), p. 85.

Figure 4



Source: Kenya Statistical Abstracts (1955 to 1969) in J. K. Maitha, Coffee in the Kenyan Economy (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1974), p. 30.


COFFEE PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VALUE OF DOMESTIC EXPORTS
50
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1949
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65

was stimulated by the relatively high prices received for the crop between 1950 and 1957. For example, whereas the Gusii growers obtained twenty-five cents per pound of coffee cherry in 1948-49, the average price for the 1955-56 season was forty-one cents for cherries,[2] and a pound of sun-dried coffee fetched about ninety cents.[3] Although the price declined in the late 1950s, farmers continued to plant more coffee hoping for a renewed upswing in price, but after the first of January 1964 Kenya prohibited new plantings because of an oversupply of coffee on the world market.

The growers were organized on a cooperative basis. By October 1967, the approximately 300,000 small-scale African producers were grouped into 159 cooperative societies.[4] The initial processing of coffee was carried out by local primary societies, which when numerous enough were organized into a district cooperative union following the model used in the experimental areas. The societies and their union were responsible for the transportation of the processed crop. The parchment was taken to Nairobi and handed over to the Kenya Planters Co-operative Union, of which the societies were

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[2]District Report of Assistant Registrar Co-operative Societies, District Co-operative Office: Flimies File.

[3]Murumba Society Balance Sheet, 30 September 1955 KFCU: File 1047 dated 1965. A higher price was paid for mbuni since the producers did not have various commission fees, eminating from charges on the processing the crop, deducted.

[4]J. J. Oloya, Coffee, Cotton, Sisal and Tea in the East African Economies (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1969), p. 48.

Brantford Co-operative Union, at which the societies were represented by delegates. The societies and their directors were:

Brantford Co-operative Dairy Society, Limited, 1 Colborne Street, Brantford: A. L. Otoya, President; Geo. Hall, Secretary-Manager.

Brantford Co-operative Poultry Association, Limited, 3 Marmora Street, Brantford: J. Hall, President; W. Hall, Secretary-Manager.

Brantford Co-operative Supply Association, Limited, 5 Colborne Street, Brantford: A. L. Otoya, President; Geo. Hall, Secretary-Manager.

Brantford Co-operative Union, at which the societies were represented by delegates.

By October 1961, the aggregate membership of the societies was approximately 300,000 and the aggregate business done was $2,500,000. The societies and their directors were:

Brantford Co-operative Dairy Association, Limited, 1 Colborne Street, Brantford: A. L. Otoya, President; Geo. Hall, Secretary-Manager.

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Brantford Co-operative Union, at which the societies were represented by delegates

members, to be processed into clean coffee and graded at the union curing mills. From there the coffee was sold through the Coffee Marketing Board at its weekly auctions.

Coffee ranks as one of Kenya's most important cash crops and export commodities, although the proportion to total value of exports has varied over the years, as shown in Figure 4. The wide fluctuation in world prices for coffee, as indicated in Table 38, leads to unstable export earnings and hence instability in the country's foreign exchange reserves, as well as the farmer's income. The fluctuations have also affected Kenya's balance of payments since, during the same period, the prices for most imports have tended to rise.

Conclusion

This study of an experiment with African coffee growing in Kenya analyzes factors within Gusii society and those external to it which directly influenced the introduction and expansion of the Gusii coffee industry. It also assesses the views of colonial administrators and officers in regard to the structure and control of the industry, and discusses ways Gusii participation in the management of the industry were circumscribed by government. The salient characteristics of the Gusii pioneer coffee growers are identified and used to test hypotheses on innovation.

The research reveals that prior to the 1930s the importance of coffee within the settler-controlled economy and the Europeans' reliance on a cheap supply of African laborers

Conclusion

This study is an experiment with African coffee from-

caused coffee production by black Kenyans to be prohibited. In 1910 when the world price of coffee began to rise steeply, a considerable number of settlers started planting the crop. The government, while not in favor of creating a monocrop culture, took interest in coffee, since it would contribute to the metropole's financial position as well as the Kenyan economy. Although less than half of the settlers grew coffee, the producers of the crop organized themselves as an effective lobby towards a sympathetic government, which supported the coffee industry by financing research, providing supervisory services, and assisting in market-related aspects. From 1920 to 1944, coffee had the highest value of any single commodity exported, and between 1920 and 1931 its value contributed annually to approximately one-third of the total revenues from all agricultural exports.

To profitably produce coffee, as well as other crops, the settlers, who tended to be undercapitalized and in debt, depended on a cheap, sufficient supply of laborers. Initially it was necessary to compel Africans to work for them through labor regulations and a tax system which provided a mechanism to ensure that Africans needed to earn a cash income. Also, the indigenous people were prodded to serve as laborers for the Europeans by the government's lack of support for agricultural activities in the African areas. Although black Kenyans, particularly the Kikuyu and Abaluyia, requested that they be allowed to plant coffee, they were not permitted to do so.

Greater attention was given to the coffee issue in mid-1929 when Sidney Webb, who favored African production of the crop, entered the Colonial Office as Secretary of State. It was politically untenable for London to support cultivation of coffee by Africans in Uganda and Tanganyika, while production by black Kenyans was de facto prohibited. And, in spite of allegations by settlers and their allies, there were no valid technical reasons to prevent Africans growing the crop in Kenya.

The settlers succumbed to the Colonial Office's insistence on allowing indigenous Kenyans to plant coffee, since the planters wanted government to approve a bill to establish a coffee board, partially financed by government. The ultimate agreement which took place under Webb's predecessor consisted of a compromise on African production. It allowed for an experiment to be conducted in three areas, away from European settlements, on a limited scale and under government regulations. Interestingly, at no time did London define the time period for the experiment, its components, or measures to judge its success. This loophole gave the settlers a stronger position than previously; coffee production in African areas was legally prohibited outside those areas gazetted by government, and the rate of expansion was to be determined by the director of agriculture, who could be swayed by the settlers.

One of the experimental regions was the highlands of Kisii. The request to government to begin coffee production among the Gusii originated at a meeting in 1931 of officers and prominent Europeans in the district to discuss the economic development of the area. Their main concern was to provide an economically viable crop which would allow the Gusii to meet their tax obligations. The district commissioner readily supported the idea of coffee, as did Gusii leaders in the local native council who were subsequently consulted. The district commissioner's determination ultimately led the government to include Gusiiland as one of the experimental areas.

There is no evidence to indicate that the Gusii ever formally requested government to allow them to plant coffee; this was not from an unwillingness to grow the cash crop, but because they regarded coffee production as one of the monopolies held by the Europeans. Initially Gusii farmers were hesitant to plant coffee because they feared that if production was successful the Europeans would confiscate their land to grow the crop. A small number of Gusii, however, were willing. These pioneer growers were either not fearful of the government's motives or so tempted by the prospect of making a good income that they were willing to risk confiscation of their land. Production of coffee did not conflict with the cultivators' traditional agricultural patterns. In Gusii society men always had the right to cultivate a plot of land (emonga) to grow crops for personal profit. The European's

insistence on coffee ownership by men was accommodated by the emonga system. Labor on the coffee fields tended to be carried out by the owners, their wives, and children and was supplemented by use of traditional work groups.

To further an understanding of the persons who responded to the introduction of coffee in Gusiiland, the pioneer growers were compared with a sample of early adopters; because of the slow rate of diffusion, as much as a twenty year differential existed between the two groups. It was found that, contrary to the expected results, the pioneers tended to be older than the early growers. The age difference partially accounts for some of the other variations, such as in education, between the adopter categories.

The education of the cultivators was investigated to test whether the pioneers had more years of education than members of their comparative group. The results show that approximately two-thirds of the pioneers as contrasted with one-half of the early growers had attended school. However, the early growers tended to have higher levels of education than the pioneers, since schooling was a more acceptable practice during their youth.

Other hypotheses tested centered on the pioneers having higher social status, more social participation, and a greater degree of upward social mobility than the early growers. The data reveal that a meaningful number of the pioneers' fathers as compared with the fathers of the early growers had high social status, as indicated by their leadership positions

and number of wives. A further assessment of social status shows that at the time of adoption, the pioneers tended to have significantly higher social status, both in terms of their occupations and marital status, than the early growers. Data on social participation since the period of coffee adoption substantiate the contention that pioneers usually had more social involvement in community affairs than did the early growers.

The degree to which the two adopter groups varied in social mobility proved more complicated. The investigation reveals that at the time of adoption a significantly greater proportion of pioneers than early growers had held an off-farm position within the district, although in the period after adoption, the occupational status of the two groups did not vary significantly. Further, in spite of a meaningful difference in the marital status between the adopter groups both at the time of adoption and later, the degree to which members in each category changed their marital status was the same; both the pioneers and early growers tended to acquire one additional wives. The number of wives also indicates in traditional terms the husband's wealth.

Postulations specifically on economic aspects were substantiated. The research shows that a meaningful percentage of pioneers in comparison to early growers had more parcels of land, larger sized farms, and engaged in business enterprises.

The economic status of the pioneers was not positively related to their geographic mobility. Although most studies on innovation show that the earliest adopters obtain more information from sources external to their social system than do later adopters, this was not true for the Gusii coffee growers, when orientation to external sources was measured by work experience outside the district. A similar percentage of both groups worked outside the district before they first planted coffee. For those who worked outside, the length of time and the type of job did not significantly vary between the adopter categories, although the place of employment did. Furthermore, since first planting coffee, there was no meaningful difference between the comparative groups in regard to the number who worked outside the district.

The extent to which the pioneers tended to follow modern norms more than the early growers was investigated by using religious affiliation and marital status as benchmarks. It was assumed that a monogamous household might be an indication of modern norms. The research reveals that, contrary to expected results, the pioneers did not differ significantly from their comparative group in adherence to a non-traditional religion. Also, fewer of the pioneers than early growers were monogamous. Thus, not all of the hypotheses tested on innovation were validated.

Information on the life histories of the Gusii pioneer coffee growers was also used to test the <u>asomi</u> theory, which states that those who became involved in the colonial system

were of low status within traditional society, and through power and rewards in the structures introduced by the colonists, they were able to buy status in the pre-European stratification system. The data reveal that only thirty-eight percent of the pioneers came from families which might be classified at the bottom of the traditional social stratification system. Also, although most of the Gusii coffee pioneers had received at least some education, approximately one-third never attended school. Among those with an education, a meaningful group were solely farmers at the time they first planted coffee. The coffee pioneers tended to enhance their traditional status by acquiring additional wives; and several of them gained higher status in the new economic system by acquiring business enterprises. Thus, the asomi theory adequately accounts for some Gusii coffee pioneers, but not most of them.

Coffee cannot be assumed to have been the prime resource enhancing the pioneers' socio-economic position, since most growers had a limited number of trees, and hence a limited income from these. Until the late 1940s, the extent and rate at which they and other willing farmers could plant coffee were determined by Nairobi. For instance, the maximum number of acres in the experimental areas was regulated by Nairobi, as was the number of trees a grower could receive each year. Furthermore, the emphasis on food crop production during the war years shifted attention away from coffee. Thus, these aspects external to Gusii society limited the rate in which

the Gusii coffee industry grew.

The structure of the Gusii coffee industry was also determined by external factors. The post-war concern of Europeans over demobilized African soldiers led the government to initiate a cooperative movement among the indigenous inhabitants. Up to this time the Gusii coffee industry had been largely under the control of the district agricultural officer. Initial financing of the industry was carried out by the local native council, but in 1943, with a sufficient number of mature trees and a retainer from sales in the local native council treasury, the district commissioner successfully proposed to the growers that they select a board to manage the coffee industry, although the responsibility and liability still remained with the district agricultural officer. The monopoly marketing conditions of coffee easily lent the crop to cooperative organization.

Although under the cooperative scheme, through their representatives, the Gusii were more able than previously to be involved in the management of the industry, the cooperative was kept locally under the direction of a European officer and fell under the close scrutiny of Nairobi. Since a formal cooperative organization was an alien institution to Africans, it was inevitable that the initiative for major suggestions was taken by the Europeans, whose institutional form was being transferred. Their control continued until the late 1940s since government did little to train Africans to take over responsibilities in the cooperative organizations.

The history of the coffee industry in Kisii shows that the government officers and officials were not always united in their approach to the coffee experiment, although their differences tended to be circumscribed by a general acceptance of government guidance of the industry. Differences arose on the marking of the coffee bags for sale; the method by which coffee would be prepared for marketing; the rate of expansion; and the extent of an individual's holdings. Nairobi, influenced by the settlers, took a much more conservative position on these issues than did the resident officers who were more concerned with successfully carrying out the experiment and aware of local conditions. In all cases, except the issue of preparation of the crop, the central government did not yield to the opinion of its field staff.

The 1949 decision to expand coffee production within the experimental areas and to other regions was motivated by economic considerations. The acreage on European plantations had dropped drastically, primarily because of the elimination of the crop from regions proven unsuitable, and, secondarily, because of uprooting due to the relatively low price obtained for coffee during the depression and war years. The government could yield to political pressure by Africans to extend coffee production and at the same time benefit from an increase in export duties and foreign exchange earned through coffee exports.

Kisii, as well as Meru and Embu, demonstrated that Africans could successfully produce coffee, and provided a

model for expanding production and marketing to other areas. The case study of the Gusii coffee industry shows that after 1938 the farmers' willingness to adopt coffee was circumscribed by external factors which were not related to the successful growing of the crop by the Gusii nor the quality of the crop produced.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

APPENDIX V

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In selecting a research location, I sought an area where the people had been growing a cash crop over an extended period of time, since initially I wanted to study the transformation in production activities, as well as to identify and evaluate factors internal and external to the society which influenced the adoption of the cash crop. Gusiiland in Kenya was chosen since it is a major area of cash crop production within the country's small-scale agricultural sector, and one of the areas where cash crop production has been carried out for many years.

Research was conducted in three phases. Phase one consisted of the collection of information from written sources. Primary data were gathered at the British Public Record Office, the British Museum Reading Room, the Colonial Office Library, the Royal Commonwealth Society Library, and Rhodes House. In Kenya, original sources were consulted at the Kenya National Archives, the Ministry of Agriculture Library, the Kenya Planters Coffee Union, the Coffee Board of Kenya, the Gusii County Council, the Kisii Farmers Co-operative Union and its oldest societies, the District Co-operative Office, the District Agricultural Office, the District Commissioner's Office, and

the MacMillan Library. Information was also obtained from the Kenya National Archives Microfilm Collection of Syracuse University, and from the Historical Club of Bishop Otunga Secondary School in Kisii. Secondary materials were gathered from various holdings.

A file at the Kenya National Archives contained a list of the first group of Gusii coffee growers (1934-1937). This led to phase two. Eighty percent of the pioneer growers, who were still alive, were interviewed. Gusii interpreters assisted in these sessions, which were usually tape recorded, and the information later transcribed. As the interviewing proceeded, following an interview guide, farmers frequently raised topics which I wished I had discussed with the previous interviewees. Also, the research and my observations led me to perceive of the pioneers as a special, possibly elitest, group, but to test this hypothesis, data collected on a more systematic basis were required. To obtain a more objective measure of the coffee pioneers as a group and in relation to others in their society, it was necessary to have a comparative cluster. I chose a group of early adopters, that is those who most immediately followed the pioneers in the planting of coffee.

A two stage random sampling process was used and then a purposeful sample taken to identify the early adopters. Stage one consisted of an area sample. On a map of Kisii (East Africa, 1:50,000 Kenya) each grid square in the major coffee growing region was considered as one unit, and a random

sample of ten percent of the grid squares was made. Stage two consisted of a sample of farmers within the selected areas: a list of all heads-of-farms was compiled by going into each area, and then twenty percent of the names were randomly selected and these persons were interviewed about the year in which they first adopted coffee. (The cross-checking of the year given with the year recorded by the local coffee cooperative societies proved futile, since most original membership records had been destroyed or lost.) Since diffusion theory classifies innovators as the initial ten percent of the population, the farmers were ranked by order of earliest in adoption of coffee and the first ten percent were selected to comprise the comparative group. Thus, the unit of study was all Gusii pioneer coffee growers and a sample of early coffee adopters.

A structured questionnaire was designed, which included some pre-coded sections. A draft of the questionnaire was pre-tested to learn if the questions were properly phrased to elicit the desired information. It was then modified, re-tested and further changes were made. A two-week training session was held for the research assistants, who were three young Gusii men, to acquaint them with the purpose of the study, the reasons for the specific questions, and the marking of the interview schedule. The questionnaire, written in English was translated into Gusii, and practice sessions were held on conducting interviews. If a member of the study unit was deceased, questions about him were asked to a member of his family,

A structured discussion was designed, which in-
cluded some pre-coded sections. A draft of the discussion
was pre-tested to learn if the directions were properly
followed and if the questions were being understood.
It was then modified, re-
tested and further changes were made. A two-week training
session was held for the research assistants, who were then
to elicit the desired information. It was decided to
collect

preferably his eldest son.

In phase three, I interviewed and corresponded with key figures, such as the district agricultural officer and agricultural instructors, who assisted in the introductions and extension of coffee in Kisii. Also, valuable information was obtained from a few Europeans who resided in the district during the 1930s. In all phases, information acquired was cross-checked, whenever possible, to test its validity.

In the analysis and presentation of data from the questionnaires, simple statistical methods are used to compare the two groups of coffee innovators. In addition to recording percentages and number of persons within given categories, chi-square tests were carried out to test the statistical level of significance. No arbitrary level of significance is used, although I assume that any result of .02 or less shows the data to be highly significant: when the P value is .02 it means that it could occur by chance in only two out of one hundred cases.

APPENDIX B

ARABICA COFFEE

Most coffee consumed in the world is arabica, although robusta and liberica are of commercial importance. The three species differ in appearance, resistance to infestations, suitable growing conditions, and flavor. Robusta and liberica, highly resistant to diseases and pests, are grown mostly at low elevations and in hot climates. They produce a lower quality crop than arabica. The arabica species includes Brazilian-grown coffee. The coffee trade distinguishes between Brazils and other arabica coffee since the former produces a distinctive product due to differences in climate, cultivation and preparation. Mild arabicas command a premium price over Brazils because they are strong and acidic, usually possessing a finer aroma.

Several arabica varieties are grown in Kenya. Europeans consider the first coffee planted to be Bourbon, a Bourbon variety, but in the 1930s it was discovered that this plant bore little resemblance to that of the same name in the East Indies, so the East African plant was renamed French Mission. This variety, still largely grown as typical in Kenya, produces good quality crops, although the yields are not high.

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[1] This section is taken primarily from Chapter 12, J. D. Acland, East African Crops, Food & Agriculture, 1971, pp. 97-87.

ARABICA COFFEE

APPENDIX B

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ARABICA COFFEE[1]

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Several arabica varieties are grown in Kenya. Europeans consider the first coffee planted to be "Mokka," a Bourbon variety, but in the 1930s it was discovered that this plant bore little resemblance to that of the same name in the East Indies, so the East African plant was renamed French Mission. This variety, still largely grown on estates in Kenya, produces good quality crops, although the yields are not high.

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[1]This section is based primarily on Chapter 12, J. D. Acland, East African Crops. FAO: Longmans, 1971, pp. 57-87.

[1]This was recently published by Chisholm, J. C. D. Schaad, Essex Agricultural and Technical College. Lawrence: Landmarks, 1961, pp. 57-58.

Several examples were drawn to the „Mokka," a Bourbon
variety, but in the 1930s it was discovered that this bean
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Kopnate and Liberica are of commercial [illegible]

Most coffee consumed in [illegible]

AMERICA COFFEE

APPENDIX C

Both the French Mission and Blue Mountain varieties have some resistance to coffee berry disease, but the latter is suitable only for high altitudes and is very susceptible to leaf rust. The Kent variety proves to have a high degree of rust resistance and, unlike most other varieties, produces a reasonable sized crop during the off-year biennial bearing cycle; however, the quality of the crop tends to be low. Since the 1950s Kenya has developed several varieties, each with its own attractive features under certain ecological conditions.

For a good coffee crop, rainfall needs to be fairly well distributed throughout the year, with the exception of a six - to ten-week dry period which stimulates the trees into a cycle of flowering and bearing. The altitude limits for coffee vary, but in Kenya it is generally between 4500 and 6500 feet. Coffee should be planted on gently sloping land which allows free drainage, while also permitting reasonable water retention. Deep soils ensure against drought. Although early cultivators planted coffee under shade trees, there is a trend towards reducing or eliminating them. Shade is only fully justified at high altitudes where it modifies night temperatures.

Coffee is usually propagated through seedbeds. The seedlings take six to eight weeks to germinate and are ready for transplanting when they have one pair of leaves.

Land for the trees ought to be prepared at least six months before transplanting. Eradication of couch and star

grass usually requires special attention. The planting holes ought to be dug at least three months before cultivation to ensure good weathering of the holes' sides. Although recommendations on spacing have varied over the years, the traditional pattern is nine feet by nine feet, which amounts to a plant population of approximately 540 trees per acre. Planting ought to be carried out at the beginning of the main rains, and mulch applied.

Coffee trees begin to bear fruit within three to five years from seed. The berry changes color from green to red during the ripening period, which normally takes from eight to nine months. Each fruit or berry normally contains two beans. The mature trees tend to produce a heavy crop one season and a light one the next. To control cropping and facilitate picking, mature trees are pruned.

When the berry is ripe, the outer skin encloses a slimy mucilage, covering the beans which are enclosed in a tough membrane called parchment. Closely attached to each bean is a very thin testa called silverskin. Cherry is the term used for ripe berries which have been picked, but not processed. Picking is done entirely by hand and carried out regularly during the harvest season.

The initial processing can be carried out by a dry or wet method. There are two dry processing methods. One, the berries can be left to dry in the field and then collected. J. S. Acland designates this method as the '<u>buni</u> method. Second, berries can be picked when ripe and dried in the sun

on trays; the product, according to Acland, is referred to as sun-dried cherry. The second method produces a higher quality coffee than the first. The first method has never been advocated in Kenya and most documents make no distinction between the products of the two drying methods; all dried coffee is referred to as mbuni.

The wet method produces a better product. The cherry is fed with water into a pulping machine which separates the beans from their outer skins. The parchment is still intact, and at this stage the coffee is referred to as parchment. The parchment is left for two to four days in fermenting tanks, where the sticky mucilage is broken down by naturally occurring micro-organisms and enzimes; the beans are then washed and dried in the sun. If the wet processing is done inefficiently, even good quality cherries result in a poor quality product.

The wet-method processing is carried out at coffee pulping stations, which, among small-holders, are cooperatively owned. From the pulping stations the parchment is sent to curing mills owned by the Kenya Planters Cooperative Union. At the mills, the parchment and silverskin are removed, resulting in what is termed clean coffee or green coffee. After it has become clean coffee, the quality is judged at three stages: the raw, the roast and the liquor. At the curing mills, beans are graded according to weight and size. The top grades are: A, B, C, and PB. The first three represent heavy solid beans, with A the largest; PB stands for peaberry, which is a fully

broduct.

The new-method processing is carried out at coffee

automatically, even good quality coffees result in a poor quality

and dried in the sun. It the wet processing is done inst-

formed and heavy bean from a berry which contains only one bean instead of the usual two. The grades are ranked by numbers to further represent the quality of the beans. After this rating process, samples are sent for testing. In roasting, the coffee is judged on its shininess and the whiteness of the center cut. Liquoring tests are based on acidity, flavor and body.

The following are descriptions of coffee pests and diseases which are mentioned in this study:

1. Antestia is a frequent pest in wet areas, like western Kenya. The antestid insect population builds up significantly during May and June, attacking the maturing green berries, causing bean discoloration.

2. Berry borer, stephanoderes hampei, is a pest. Larvae feed in the beans, causing them to appear blue.

3. Coffee berry disease is a fungal disease caused by a parasitic strain of colletotrichum coffeanum.

4. Leaf rust is caused by the fungus hemileia vastatrix. It is potentially hazardous in warm, wet areas.

5. Mealy bugs form a white mealy mass around flower clusters, fruits and growing tips.

6. Trips, of which there are several species, attack coffee particularly in hot, dry periods.

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clarafeia, tinnie and dromund pibs.
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SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography lists those items found most useful for the study. Left unlisted are sources which proved extraneous or immaterial.

Two types of materials which were unavailable should be noted. First, some of the Colonial Office records, from the mid-1930s onwards, dealing with African coffee growing in Kenya were destroyed, according to statute, a usual practice due to space. Second, records of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for Kenya, held by the Kenya National Archives, were not available to the author.

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Five on the Register, Second, the Files of the Registrar of

in Kenya were destroyed, according to staffs, a small brace-

the mid-1930s onwards, dealing with African Coffee Growing

be noted. First, some of the Colonial Office Confidential files

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for the study. Late archived Sir Horace Murray papers

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Interviews

Open-ended interviews were conducted with thirty-four of the pioneer coffee growers and other key informants. Also, a group of fifteen coffee growers, who planted in the mid-1940s, in Gesarara area were interviewed in this manner. With a few exceptions, the interviews were conducted in Egegusii, with the assistance of an interpreter, tape-recorded and later transcribed. Below is a list of persons who provided extremely useful information; those who are not pioneer growers are designated by the abbreviation (NPG). The following does not include the fifty-four early growers and all the pioneers or their respondents to whom questionnaires were administered.

Abuga, Erasto. Over the years he served as a key assistant and informant to W. H. Whitely. He is recognized as an excellent source on Gusii customs and pre-colonial history. Interviewed on two occasions in June 1973 at his home near Sengera, Kitutu Central. (NPG)

Aminga, Manya. Before planting coffee, he attended Nyanchewa for two years and worked outside the district. Interviewed in March 1971 at his home near Keumbu, Nyaribari Chache.

Amunda, Wesisilao. After being conscripted into World War I, he attended classes at Nyabururu. He taught school and was a clerk in the native tribunal court and court of appeals. Interviewed February 1971, at his home in Amasago area and June 1973 at Keumbu, Nyaribari Chache.

Interviews

Angwenyi, Aoga. At the time he adopted coffee, Aoga was an assistant chief. Soon thereafter he became chief of Kitutu, a position he held twelve years. Interviewed March 1971 and June 1973 at his farm near Marani, Kitutu West.

Angwenyi, Mariera. A step brother of Aoga's, he attended Nyabururu for three years. Before planting coffee, he was an askari and then a clerk. At the time he adopted the crop, he held an administrative position. Interviewed March 1971, at his farm near Nyagiti, Kitutu West.

Angwenyi, Zakariah. He became chief of Kitutu upon the retirement of his father, Aoga, in 1948. Previously he worked as a clerk for the agricultural department and the local native council. Interviewed December 1971, at his home near Sengera, Kitutu West and May 1973, in Kisii. (NPG)

Atambo, M. M. Otwori. He worked outside the district approximately twenty-two years before planting coffee. When he adopted the crop, he was a sub-chief. Interviewed February 1971, on his farm near Ekerubo, Kitutu Central.

Auma, Maraburi. After attending Nyabururu for three years, he was at Bukura Agricultural Institute, 1922-1925. He worked as an agricultural instructor in Gusiiland for nine years, including the time when coffee was introduced. Interviewed February 1971, on his farm near Nyosia, Nyaribari Chache. (NPG)

Carver, Humphrey and Anne. Mr. Humphrey was a district officer in South Kavirondo in the early 1930s. Interviewed September 1970, at their home in Whitehead's Well, England. (NPG)

Mabiria, Omambia. After briefly attending Igeno school, he worked in the Kericho area for six years. Interviewed March 1971 and May 1973, on his farm near Marani, Kitutu West.

Machuki, Nason. He has written a list of names according to events in Gusiiland, for the years from 1900 onwards. Interviewed April 1971 at his shop in Nyansiongo, Borabu. (NPG)

Maera, Mogire. He attended Nyabururu for less than one year, then he worked outside the district for approximately four years, and returned in 1930 when he became disabled. A brother planted coffee at the same time he did. Interviewed February 1971 and June 1973, on his farm above Magunga, Bassi.

Mundy, Marilyn. He was written a list of names according to
seventy in Louisiana, for the years from 1940 onward
Interviewed April 1971 at his shop in Alexandria.
Bordon. (WPC)

Carver, Humphrey and Anne. Mr. Humphrey was a practicing ob-
tician for the early 1930s. Interviewed September 1970, at their home in Multiphased,s
Well, England. (WPC)

Chapin, Omasprig. After privately attended Idaho school, he
worked in the Kentucky area for six years. Interviewed
Match 1971 and May 1973, on his farm near Marant.
Kitwin Weep.

Dudmeuly, Lakeridge. He became diplomatic ministry for
more as Bankrupt Yardconditioner Inspection, 1952-1955. He
worked as an agricultural instructor in Louisiana for
years, included the time when coffee was introduced
Borden. (WPC)

Dudmeuly, Marilyn. After attending Wisconsin for three years, he
graduated. Interviewed Leptinsky Test and June 1971, on his
sphed. A brother branded coffee at the same time he
took Yeats, and returned in 1930 when he became ste-
then be worked onstage the director for approximately
Mears, Madrid. He attended Wisconsin for less than one year,

Dudmeuly, Mario. He was written a list of names according to
seventy in Louisiana, for the years from 1940 onward
Interviewed April 1971 at his shop in Wisconsin.
Borden. (WPC)

Hamilton, Roman. Mr. Hamilton was a practicing ob-
tician for the early 1930s. Interviewed September 1970, at their home in Multiphased,s
Well, England. (WPC)

Kitwin Weep.
Match 1971 and May 1973, on his farm near Marant.
Worked in the Kentucky area for six years. Interviewed
Mundy, Marilyn. After attending Wisconsin for three years, he

Dudmeuly, Mario. At the time he was a drafting of-
fered Match 1971, at his shop in Wisconsin.
Borden. (WPC)

Dudmeuly, Marilyn. A step brother was written for three years,
Was an agent and then a city, Interviewed
the crop, he held an agricultural instructor in Louisiana
Offered Match 1971, at his farm near Marant.
Kitwin Weep.

Dudmeuly, Mario. At the time he was a drafting of-
fered Match 1971 and June 1971 at his farm near
Kitwin, a position he held concurrently with
assistant chief. Soon afterwards he became
the crop, he held an agricultural instructor in
Was an agent and then a city, Interviewed
Dudmeuly, Mario. At the time he was a drafting of-

Maigo, Alois. After attending Nyabururu for three years, he worked in Mombasa for approximately ten years. He served in World War II. Interviewed in February 1971, at his home near Keumbu, Nyaribari Chache.

Makoro, Daudi Nyakundi. He worked as an interpreter for colonial officers in Kisii for about twenty years. Also, he served as an elder on the court of appeals for three years and as chairman of his local coffee society for two years. Interviewed April 1971, at his home near Jogoo, Kitutu Central.

Mayaka, Leonardo. He attended school at Eramba in 1926, and completed his education at Nyabururu. Mr. Mayaka worked as a tax collector and then as a clerk for the government for approximately fifteen years. Currently he has one of the largest coffee plots in the district. Interviewed June 1973, on his farm near Marani, Kitutu West.

Mbera, Mikael. After working as an askari, he attended Nyabururu school. When he planted coffee, he was on the court of appeals. Interviewed January 1971, at his farm near Sengera, Majoge.

Mogire, Clement Nyangau. He was educated at Nyabururu for two years and later served as an askari during World War II. Interviewed March 1971, at his home near Kegati and in June 1973, at Kegati, Nyaribari Chache.

Monyoncho, Nyakundi. His father planted coffee at the same time he did. Nyakundi attended Nyabururu for less than a year, served in a low-level government position for two years and later worked as an overseer on road construction in the district. Interviewed February 1971, at his farm below Tinga, Kitutu Central.

Monongo, Marido. He attended a rural Seventh Day Adventist School. When he planted coffee, Marido worked as an askari for Chief Musa, a position he held for seventeen years. Interviewed March 1971, at his home near Nyaguta, Nyaribari Chache.

Nyamwamu, Nyagetiria. He was chief of Nyaribari for two years in the late 1910s. Interviewed May 1973, on his farm near Nyaguta, Nyaribari Chache. (NPG)

Nyamweya, Gabriel. After attending Nyabururu, he worked as a teacher for nine years. He became an agricultural instructor in 1935, attended a six-month course on coffee at Kabete, and served as an instructor until 1965. Interviewed March 1971 on his farm near Keumbu, Nyaribari Chache. (NPG)

Nyamweya, Paulo. A member of the first graduating class of Nyanchewa in the 1940s, he became pastor of Nyanchewa Mission. Interviewed April 1971, at his Nyanchewa home. (NPG)

Nyasinga, Mariko. He was in the first graduating class of Nyanchewa and received further training as a teacher at Kamagambo. Mariko served on the Kisii Coffee Growers Board. Interviewed June 1973, at his home near Nyaguta, Nyaribari Chache.

Nyatome, Nyamari. He received some education,but has spent most of his life farming. Interviewed June 1971 and May 1973, in Keumbu area, Nyaribari Chache.

Ogeturengia, Nyangota. His father was chief of Nyaribari in the early 1920s. Nyangota attended school for approximately four years and held various government administrative positions, including at the time when he planted coffee. Interviewed May 1973, on his farm near Kerera, Nyaribari Chache.

Okeyo, Alexander. After attending school for three years, he worked in the Sotik area and later for the agricultural department in South Kavirondo 1930-1949. In 1961 he was appointed to a government administrative position. Interviewed February 1971 the Ekenyoru, Kitutu Central with about thirty persons present.

Ondara, Absolom. From 1925 -1931 he worked outside the district. After planting coffee, he was a court elder and on the local council. He has engaged in several business and commercial enterprises, and is active in community affairs. Interviewed in March 1971, at his farm, Tendere area, Majoge, and June 1973, at Ogembo, Majoge.

Ongwora, Marita. He is the eldest son of Bonari, a woman arrested for being leader of an anti-European cult called Mumbo. After being in prison, Marita worked as a tax collector. For several years he held a leadership position in his local coffee society. Interviewed on two occasions in March 1971, at his home near Kiamoncha coffee society, Kitutu West.

Ongwora, Onyiego. A brother of Marita, he served as an elder on the tribunal court from 1930-1950. He was on the managing committee of the Kisii Coffee Growers Co-operative Society. Interviewed May 1971 and June 1973 at his home near the police lines, Kisii town.

Onkoba. Masiemo. He worked in the first coffee nursery and continued service with the agricultural department for twenty years. Interviewed March 1971 and May 1973, at his home above Getare, Kitutu Central.

Orwenyo, Kasmir. After attending Nyabururu from 1919-1922, he received further religious training in Uganda. He taught for three years and then worked as a labor recruiter for a Kericho-based estate for twenty years. His recruiting activities included the Congo and Ruanda. Interviewed April 1971 and May 1973 at his farm near Sensi, Kitutu West.

Oseko, John. He attended school and worked outside the district before adopting coffee. In the early 1960s he attended Bukuru institute for an eighteen-month agricultural course. Interviewed April 1971 and June 1973 near Mogunga society, Bassi.

Osoro, Bosire. Before planting coffee, he worked outside the district for about eight years. Later he was employed as an assistant veterinary instructor and has been active in business and community affairs, including the coffee union. Interviewed on two occasions in May 1973, at his home in Kemera, Kitutu Central.

Otundo, Chrisanthus. He attended school in Uganda for six years and served as a teacher, establishing Yala School in 1929. From 1932-1947 he worked as an administrative clerk and from 1950-1955 was employed as cooperative inspector for the union. Interviewed July 1971, at Nyabururu school, Kisii. (NPG)

Otuke, Lazaro. After graduating in the first class at Nyanchewa, he was a teacher and a court elder. Interviewed in March and April 1971, at his home near Nyankororo, Nyaribari Chache.

Oyando, Zedekiah. For three years he was a student at Bukura agricultural school and then attended Scott Laboratory in Nairobi for special coffee training. He was senior agricultural instructor in the district from 1935-1967. Interviewed July 1973, at his home near Maseno, Siaya District. (NPG)

Ratemo, Mathew. He was in the first class at Nyanchewa and was a teacher for eighteen years. In 1945 he became chief of Bassi. Interviewed April 1971 at his home, Borabu. (NPG)

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